1.1. **Sociolinguistics : The Field**

1.1.1. **The Interdisciplinary Nature**

Sociolinguistics is a hybrid and bridge-building specialization; it links the linguistic sciences, the humanities and the social sciences with one another. It is of inter-disciplinary nature because it relates to and partly overlaps a number of subjects.

- **Linguistics** :
  - context bound usages.

- **Education** :
  - implications for education.

- **Anthropology** :
  - in terms of differentiation in ethnicity and cultural levels.

- **Sociology** :
  - the social structure and how people interact.

- **Psychology** :
  - attitude of speakers, language loyalty, etc.

- **Geography** :
  - Physical features of the region, human settlement and economy.

- **Sciences and technology** :
  - register, style, code.
Thus, sociolinguistics is made up of various disciplines and therefore, "it recognizes a unique subject matter which in many if not in all respects amounts to a fusion of forms of behaviour each of which would otherwise be tackled independently by distinct disciplines" (Pride, 1970: 288). Only recently it has been well established as a new field of scientific enquiry and has created much interest among the linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, educationists, and the like; and has developed considerably within the last one and a half decade. Not only that, it also seems to be touching upon demography, biological and medical sciences, and engineering and technology. Scholars should have a broad view of linguistics in which all topics related to language be included.

1.1.2. Genesis of the Discipline

Since 1920s stray materials of sociolinguistic nature have been coming in light here and there mostly in the form of cultural anthropology. Bloomfield's "literate and illiterate speech" came out in 1927. Edward Sapir too realized the close relationship between language and society and said (1929: 214) that linguistics "must become increasingly concerned with the many anthropological, social and psychological problems which invade the field of language". Weinreich deserves a special mention because his work on languages in contact (1953) provided the stimulus
for further research in the coexistence of language systems and their interference, change and variation in socio-cultural contexts. Ferguson in 1959 gave the concept of diglossia, a situation in which two varieties of a language formally and functionally different are in coexistence. These two works are remarkable for giving to the succeeding scholars an insight for further investigations into form and function of language variations in a social group.

In 1963, in the U.S.A. the first Committee on Sociolinguistics of the Social Science Research Council was formally established. In 1964, the first conference on sociolinguistics was held at the University of California, Los Angeles, the proceedings of which edited by Bright (1966) appeared two years later. Another important publication in this field was 'Social Dialects and Language Learning' edited by Shuy. Later other linguists like Levi-Strauss, Pike, Firth, etc. tried their hands at the incorporation of context of language but did not get much success because of inadequate methods of linguistic analysis prevalent at that time.

Now scholars from diverse fields (such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, linguistics, etc.) have jumped into the field of sociolinguistics. They have brought with them the ideology, methodology and techniques of their respective sciences. And hence have developed many cross-currents in sociolinguistic studies. The terms
like 'ethnolinguistics', 'anthropological linguistics', 'ethnography of speech', 'sociology of language', 'sociolinguistics', etc. have much of their subject matter in common. They reflect differences in the interests and approaches of the investigators. Hymes, Bright and Gumperz in America and Bernstein in England can be named as pioneer scholars in the field who are responsible for the genesis of sociolinguistics as a new branch of scientific research. Thereafter many others have joined hands with them and now with energetic activity and prolific publications sociolinguistics has made a special mark and has recently been recognized as a well established discipline. Labov (1966: 8 - 9) goes a step further and calls sociolinguistics as socially realistic linguistics. Language is a social fact, and linguistics is sociolinguistics. His monumental work on the stratification of New York English has given a momentum to the sociolinguistic studies. For the first time he showed that linguistic differences are correlated to the corresponding differences in society. The British sociologist Basil Bernstein, a highly controversial figure in sociolinguistics, has linked the elaborated and restricted codes with the social classes, socialization and education. Their approaches are different; technical terms and labels are different. Dell Hymes calls sociolinguistics 'ethnography of speech' and is concerned with the theory of communication and the role of language in culture and society. Gumperz
is concerned with the concept of 'verbal repertoire' and various aspects of linguistic scene in the Indian subcontinent. Fishman prefers the term 'the sociology of language' for wider perspectives and is interested in 'who' speaks 'what language' to 'whom' and 'when'. Ervin-Tripp is interested in studying psychological aspects and rules of address, whereas Labov in language in social contexts.

1.1.3. Departure from Structuralism and TGG Grammar:

"Although sociolinguists derive much of their approach from structural linguistics, at the same time they break sharply with one linguistic trend. This is the approach which treated languages as completely uniform, homogeneous or monolithic in their structure; in this view, now coming to be recognized as a pernicious one, differences in speech habits found within a community were swept under the rug as 'free variation'. One of the major tasks of sociolinguistics is to show that such variation or diversity is not in fact 'free', but is correlated with systematic social differences. In this and in still larger ways, linguistic DIVERSITY is precisely the subject matter of sociolinguistics", says Bright (1966:11). In any speech there is much social information of various types about the speaker, the hearer and the social context; it may indicate their caste, class, age, sex, education, ethnicity and region they belong to. The speech variations within a
dialect and between dialects of a language; and between languages are another aspect of sociolinguistic investigation.

The structuralists concentrated on the formal structure of language as the object of their studies; they did not incorporate the context of language and its cultural milieu nor did they pay any attention to the function of language in society. Quoting himself (1964:11) Hymes (1974:208) says that "the first half of the century was distinguished by a drive for the autonomy of language as an object of study and a focus upon description of structure, the second half was distinguished by a concern for the integration of language in sociocultural context and a focus upon the analysis of function".

In fact, sociolinguistics originated from dialect geography and adopted much of its terminology from the same. It can not be denied that the language variation is the object of study of both dialect geography and sociolinguistics. In a narrow sense we can say that dialects are social and regional; the former are vertical and the latter horizontal.

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The scope of sociolinguistics is much wider than either or both of these can suggest. As a matter of truth, language variations of various kind (e.g. social, geographical, diglossic, registral, bi- and multilingual, stylistic, etc.) are related to differences in social groups on account of race, religion, caste, class, age, sex, education, urban, rural, local, regional, transitional, formal, informal, etc. All this and how social groups affect language and vice versa is the subject matter of sociolinguistics. Besides, trade jargons; secret dialects (pandās, brokers and underworld argot); pidgins and creoles; and other purposeful variations which have special forms and structures are also its subject matter. Spatial linguistic variations are peripheral aspect of sociolinguistic study.

'Langue' is housed "in the collective consciousness of the speech community" (Bell, 1976 : 20), that is, it exists in the aggregated minds of the whole speech community. On this count, then, depending on a single informant for data would result in description of an idiolect rather than a dialect or language. It may be and usually is ideal for the linguistic study but for a view of behavioural
patterns, etc. it falls short. Therefore, sociolinguists believe in collecting data at large scale from all kinds of informants representing different social strata and groups.

The basic difference between TG grammarian and a sociolinguist is that the former believes in his ideal speaker-hearer's perfect mastery of the entire language system whereas the latter takes into account the variations from informants of all sorts. The TG grammarian believes in a uniform system of language where one utterance can be equated with other while for the sociolinguist both the utterances can be relevant in two different contexts. In other words the sociolinguist believes in context bound speech. Hence a sociolinguist has to collect data from more and more informants of all social groups and he may not agree with transformationalists who hold that their informant, an ideal speaker-hearer of his native language, is master of the entire language system. To study the native speaker's intuition sociolinguists have the deductive approach with data-model theory, whereas the transformationalists have the inductive approach with theory-model data.

The structuralists and transformationalists consider sentence as the uppermost unit of analysis and $\Xi$ is the symbol given to it in TG grammar. 'From sound to sentence in English' is the sub-little of A.A.Hill's book 'Introduction
to Linguistic Structures' (1958). It is mainly syntax that has been treated at large by scholars of the TG grammar. The sociolinguists take for analysis the larger utterances, speeches, conversations and discourse, etc. plus the social interaction of speech rather than merely sentences in isolation. They do not concentrate only on grammatically well-formedness of sentences but also on their appropriateness in social context. That is, they concentrate not only on linguistic competence but also on communicative competence. In terms of data collection, methodology, techniques and findings sociolinguistics differs sharply from other approaches of linguistic science.

Sociolinguistics aims at studying the language variation with two main approaches:

(i) Microsociolinguistic approach which, with a worm's eye-view, studies the problem at small scale and in minute details; it investigates linguistic interaction within small groups.

(ii) Macrosociolinguistic approach which, with the bird's eye-view, takes the whole society as its field for studying how language functions within it.

These two approaches — the micro and the macro — are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Griper and Widdowson (1975:156) opine that "Sociolinguistics is the study of language in operation; its purpose is to
investigate how the conventions of language use relate to other aspects of social behaviour. This discipline enables us to know language as a communicative conduct and as a means of social interaction rather than merely as a formal system. In order to understand better the structure and functions of language in society and to make an adequate theory of language sociolinguistics can not be overlooked. It explains the linguistic behaviour in its social context; hence a linguistic theory can not be "divorced from its social reality; (it) must be based in the socio-cultural system within which it operates and of which it forms a part" (Bell, 1976 : 210).

1.1.4. Usefulness and Prospects

Sociolinguistics has remarkably developed in America because of sociopolitical problems. As a discipline of scientific inquiry it is, of course, related to many social problems to which it can suggest remedial measures or find solutions. It can contribute on many fronts. For example, if a social group suffers from any linguistic inadequacy, it can detect and suggest corrective measures. Its services will be no less valuable in language planning and other aspects of applied linguistics. Now language planning, language teaching, language standardization and language technology are some of the growing topics in socio-linguistics. Teaching language actually means teaching linguistic behaviour of the society in which that language is spoken as native
tongue. Sociolinguistics may provide with useful infor-
mation for understanding such problems.

At the present stage of development in linguistic
studies it seems that the disciplines and sub-disciplines,
such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, stylistics,
dialect geography, historical linguistics, T.G. grammar,
etc. are very much mutually related and their border lines
are blurred. The establishment of a cordial relationship
among them is very much in the offering for a mutual enrich-
ment of all.

1.2. THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

The study of caste-class dialects of Bhojpuri
presupposes a prior understanding of the social structure
of the community on the part of the researcher.

The Bhojpuri speech community is a vast rural
community with a few patches of urban settlements and
minor townships here and there. The Hindus and the Muslims
are two main constituents of the social set up of the
region. Although in close contact with each other for
centuries they have maintained their separate socio-
religious identities and are in marked contrast with each
other. Christian families are almost nil in the whole of
the countryside and only few in cities and towns of the
region. There are a few churches in Varanasi and Gorakhpur.

1.2.1. The Chaturvarna System

The society of the Hindus is static; its social mores, customs and traditions have changed little over the ages. Its social structure stands on the 'Chaturvarna' doctrine and joint family system. 'Varna' means colour and has racial significance. The four 'varnas' are the four caste-groups (the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras) each of which consists of a number of castes and sub-castes. The Brahmans enjoying the highest social order are devoted to religion, virtual performances, learning and teaching. The Kshatriyas rank next as rulers, defenders and warriors. Below them are the Vaishyas engaged in trade, craft and cultivation; and below the Vaishyas are the Shudras consisting of untouchable labourers, menials and servants engaged in pure and impure tasks. Behind the social organization of this type are four tendencies common in man - Satvika, satvika-rajasika, rajasika-tamasika and tamasika. The Brahmans are believed to be of Sativika nature, Kshatriyas of the Satvika-rajasika, Vaishyas of the rajasika-tamasika, and Shudras of the tamasika. According to the Hindu Dharma-shastras janmanā jāyate shūdraḥ sanskrād dvīja uchvate everyone is a shudra at birth but becomes a dvija 'twice born'
after sanskaras like 'upanayana', etc. It is to be noted that the shudras are devoid of the 'upanayana' sanskara.

The Hindu community of this region is divided into groups of castes with varying degrees of respectability and circles of social intercourse. In it mobility or up and down movement is prohibited. Birth determines one's occupations, social status, place of residence, style of life, friend circle and the group in which one will marry. Each caste contributes its services toward the general life of the village. All castes are welded together and interdependent for the purposes of civic life. Thus the caste system has its roots deep in the social organization of the Hindus.

1.2.2. Festivals

The feasts, fasts and festivals are an important part of the religious life of this community and they are spread throughout the whole year. Some of the important ones are: Rām Navami, Nāg Panchami, Rakshābandhan, Shrikrishnajanmāstami, Ganeśh Chaturthi, Anant Chaturdashi, Dashahra, Deepāvalī, Annakutā (Govardhanpujā, Bhāiduj), Makar Sankrānti, Vasant Panchami, Shiva-rātri, Holi, etc. On these occasions various types of pujas and rituals are performed and occupational implements worshipped by the community. Yagyas are also performed. The H(igh) and sometimes M(iddle) caste people can afford to call the Brahmin priest to perform these in details and with the
chanting of the mantras. Among the L(ow) caste people the chanting of mantras are absent.

_Sanskāra_ means to purify the body. The Hindu sanskāras are believed to contribute to the development of personality, spiritual progress and material prosperity. Opinions differ regarding their exact number. Some say they are 48, others only 16. However, the important ones are (1) garbhādhana, (2) punsavan, (3) simantonnayana, (4) jātikarma, (5) nāmkaran, (6) niskrān, (7) annapraśan, (8) churākarma, (9) karnawedh, (10) upanayana, (11) veda-rāmbha, (12) samāvartha, (13) vivāha, (14) vānaprastha, (15) sanyās, (16) antyesti sanskāra. The H people have more of them than the M and L.

The Ashram system is a Hindu way of life. The final aim of life is liberation which can be attained by a four rung ladder of the ashramas: brahmacya, grihastha, vānaprastha and sanyāsa. According to the fundamental principles of social ethics the purusharthas are four: dharma, artha, kāma, and moksha. Every person has to attain and fulfil these purusharthas. The first three, namely duty, wealth, and sex are briefly called 'trivarga' and the fourth 'liberation' is the final aim of life and hence no less important.

The basic characteristics of this system are:

(1) Caste is innate, determined by birth.
(2) Inequality sanctified by religion and accepted by all, permanent distance between them.
(3) Caste endogamy; gotra and vansha exogamy.
(4) Traditionally fixed occupations.
(5) Food can be accepted only from one's own or of higher caste.
(6) Rules governing status and touchability.

As units of social organization the castes cross the boundaries of the villages and extend to a wide region. The villages are smallest but important territorial units in which persons of all castes are united by some common values and obligations.

Panchayats: There are caste panchayats which control the members of a particular caste settled in a number of villages. The village panchayats control the whole village which consists of all castes settled in it. Serious breaches of the norms and traditions of the caste; or of rules of endogamy and exogamy; important intra-caste disputes; cases of divorce and incest; eating forbidden food and pursuing a lower occupation; etc. are decided by the caste panchayats. The cases of local and general importance and those cases which did not get settled by the caste panchayats are referred to the village 'panchayat'. Each village is officiated by a 'sabhāpati'. He is assisted by a team of members elected by popular votes.

Joint-family system is regarded ideal. The brothers get married; they may get separated sometime after the death of the father. The eldest male is regarded as the chief
of the household; he controls and is responsible for the activities and the conduct of all members of his family.

The seating arrangement:— People of the M and L castes offer those of the H a seat toward the (Sirhana) upper side of the cot or any other seat which is more respectable. And they themselves sit on the floor or on a lower seat but not on the same cot with the H caste people. As a token of courtesy and respect to the H people the M and L leave their cots and stand up, if the former happen to pass by their doors.

People do not accept food from a caste lower than themselves; they can take meals from their own castes or from those superior to themselves. On festival days the Naḷ, Dhoḷīs, Chamārs, etc. go to their client agriculturists round the village and get 'tīhuwārī', their portion from the special food prepared for the occasion.

The low untouchable castes live in a colony separate from the main village. Their small houses, made of straw or tiles, provide only limited accommodation. Many do not have a separate kitchen or cowshed nor have sufficient space at their doorway. The houses are poorly furnished. They do not have many items of coockwares, nor the furnitures, etc. Some of the members in every family sleep on the floor because of insufficient number of cots. Their standard of living is low because of their poverty. They
move and mix up with people of their own circles in respective castes and caste-groups.

The smoking and chit-chat groups are also formed according to the respective castes. After tiresome works people sit in groups and relax; they smoke and chit-chat. The social status can be seen working behind who fills the chilam, who smokes first and who sits where. For fairs and ‘melās’ also people prefer their own castes for a congenial company, otherwise they will have to make distinction in food, sleep, seat, water and carrying luggage.

The settlement pattern: Villages are divided in parts. The H and M people live in the main part, again in clusters of houses of their own castes. The H and Muslims, if any, usually reside in the centre and the M castes at the outer periphery. The Brahmins and the Kshatriyas do not like that any M or L caste person should settle near their house, in front of it or at the sides. The shūdras live in the second part, usually at some distance and cut off from the main village population. They come in contact only when employed as servants or agricultural labourers. Their social mixing is restricted.

The H women observe purdah and do not mix freely with the rest of the society. On the contrary, their M and L counterparts work in and out of the house, in the fields, gardens, etc. and add to the income of the family.
They used to sell oil, curd, vegetables, bangles, etc.

1.2.3. Classification and Description of the Main Castes

The Bhojpuri society, like many others, is divided into many strata which are arranged in a hierarchical order. Over 30 castes have been grouped as high, middle and low (HML) in order of status. Because of many similarities in social as well as linguistic behaviour the Brahmins and Kshatriyas have been placed in one group ‘H’, the Vaishyas in a separate group ‘M’ and the shudras in still another ‘L’. Further subgrouping in ‘M’ (such as upper middle, middle middle and lower middle) and in ‘L’ is quite possible because each of them consists of large number of diverse castes. But since the present work is of micro-sociolinguistic nature only broad grouping has been preferred. A brief introduction of some of the castes is being given here:

**Group ‘H’**

The Brahmins and more than them the Kshatriyas are well to do landlords giving employment to people of other castes. They are educated and have aptitude for learning; they have got good posts in government and private establishments. Among Brahmins only few stick to their traditional profession of priesthood. Others cultivate land of their own and employ M and L people for agricultural works (such as ploughing, planting paddy plants, harvesting etc.). The Kshatriyas, only next to Brahmins, are ruling
people and command considerable influence on others (including the Brahmins) in the village.

**Group 'M'**

Kayasthas are "a writer caste" (Hutton 1973: 284 glossary). Writing is their main profession. They are popularly known as Mumshiji.

Banias are a business and moneylending community. They own grocery shops and deal in clothes, grain and other items of daily need. They have no land, no cattle; and farming does not suit their nature.

Ahirs are variously named as Choudhars, Yadavas and Gwalas. With small land they are agriculturists. They breed milch animals, sell milk and milk-products and have little education in the family.

Goldsmiths make ornaments. During marriage season they work hard and earn more. They own little or no land and generally are not rich.

Lohars and Barhais too have little land. They repair agricultural implements and do woodwork. They make doors, windows, furniture, carts, ploughs, ‘bewans’ for the dead, and other things connected with the construction of the house. They are in close contact with the farmers whom they render useful services and are paid grain for that in the harvesting season.
Thaters are a business community which manufactures, repairs and sells metalwares.

Telis are oilseed crushers and sellers of the oil. They own some land and are partly agriculturists.

Koiris are agriculturists. They have little land yet grow good crops especially vegetables.

Gors are a hardworking caste. They earn their livelihood by parching grain, harvesting (reaping crops), carrying water, doing household works of the H castes and carrying palanquins and 'newtā'.

Kumbhars. As they have little land, they depend on their craftsmanship. They make and sell earthenwares.

Khatiks deal in fruits and vegetables. They and the Nats are known to be quarrelsome people.

Barbars are cunning people and are in close contact with all classes of society. At occasions of birth, marriage, death, ritual ceremonies, and otherwise also by haircutting, their services are very useful. They have little land and farming is their secondary profession. They get grain, cash, garments, and meals from the H and M for their services.

Bhats, Bhars are jesters. They move from village to village and earn by jesting and singing.
Nonyas are a hardworking labour caste doing earthwork for buildings, roads, wells, tanks, brick-chimneys, etc.

Kewats are better known as mallahs. Sailing boats on ferrys, and catching and selling fish is their profession. They are not well off.

Mālis are gardeners. They deal in flowers, garlands, etc. They are a clean caste. During marriage season they earn better, yet are not rich.

Darzis own little land and pursue their traditional profession of stitching clothes. Now some women and educated girls have started sewing themselves and menfolk getting their clothes stitched from the nearby towns. This gives a setback to their profession and they are not well off.

Maniharās are bangle dealers. They move about in villages. They have little prospects in their occupation.

Julāhās are a Muslim weaver caste. They weave clothes and sell them. They are uneducated and simple people.

Kalwārs distil countrywine and sell it. They are well off but are looked down upon because of their profession.

A special mention can be made of the following:

Bārīs - leaf plate making.
Tamolīs - dealing in betel leaf.
Gaḍarih - rearing sheep.
Barais - betel-wine growing.
Muslims are of different religion, having Islamic customs, rituals, ceremonies, festivals, laws of inheritance, marriage and divorce. Many of their dishes and styles of dress are also different. They do not believe in the doctrine of rebirth (नवनवमन).

**Group 'L'**

The Harijans are untouchable castes of diverse type. They are at the lowest rung of the varna system. They do impure tasks, eat impure food, and are treated as menials. The Brahmins do not administer to their religious needs nor do the barbers and washerman serve them.

The Chamārs are one of the village menials in the traditional village economy. They work in leather and hides and are entitled to get their customary share at the harvest. They own little land and work as labour, ploughman, servants and scavengers. They are also known as Rabidās.

The Doms are traditionally concerned with scavenging. The anthropologists say that they are a branch of the non-Aryan nomadic tribe (Tiwari Shashi Shekhar, 1970: 129). In the Bhojpuri community they are called 'Magahiya Doms'. They earn their bread by making baskets, scavenging, giving five to the cremation of the dead, and piggery, etc.

"The breed of the chandāla is a degraded one and is ranked with that of the dog and the pig (Ghurye, 1957: 243)."
Nomads, better known as 'nats' belong to a forest tribe and are a typical minority community. They are Hindus and Muslims both. With their household on their shoulders and on the back of their buffalos, they move from place to place in search of better woods. Only some of them have their temporarily established settlements in villages; the rest are without permanent homes and landed property. They live on basket making, singing, begging, collecting and selling honey and on raising livestock like buffalows, goats, and hens. The crude tents under a shady tree or in a garden somewhat away from the villages are their temporary dwellings. They do not enjoy respectable position in the social set up. Most of them are illiterate and have little motivation for education. Their speech, which is undescribed so far, is rough and is characterized by sharp and shrill intonation. In such circumstances they are subject to social as well as linguistic acculturation. In terms of linguistic studies all this assumes a complex nature and many problems (such as linguistic dominance, linguistic tolerance, acculturation, language shift, language maintenance, etc) crop up.
The Dhobis render a valuable service to the H and M villagers by washing their clothes.

Other castes that can be mentioned are as follows:

Dharikar - rope-making.
Bansphor - basket making, bamboo-splitting.
Dusadh - are watchmen and guards.
Pasî - toddy tappers.
Musahar - who catch and eat mouse.

The government, the Arya Samaj, and others have launched a mass movement for the uplift of the low castes, in larger interests of solidarity and equality of all Hindus.

Agriculture is the main source of getting food, income and employment in various ways. Many castes work together and thus contact and communication between them becomes possible. The peasant folk regard earth as their mother and cattle as members of their family. Land, cattle and women's ornaments, if any, are their main property. They are very sentimental to the above-mentioned and normally do not want to part with them. The village folk at large are simple living, God-fearing and superstitious people.

The countryside is in contrast with the cities. The population there is mostly sedentary and the region lacks sufficient network of industrialization; railways, roadways and fast means of communication; hospitals and other amenities.
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<td>Ox, Milch animals</td>
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Note: Not all but only few families of Brahmins are engaged in the priestly occupation. Almost all castes are in government and semi-government services.
1.3. **About the Present Dissertation**

1.3.1. **The Aim and Scope of the Work**

The present dissertation is an attempt to give a picture of social stratification and linguistic diversity in the Bhojpuri speech community. The community manifests remarkable differences in language use along caste, class, age, sex, literacy, region, etc. It studies the correlation of the linguistic variables with the social parameters to understand the role of linguistic behaviour in social setting.

The Bhojpuri differs widely in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary and does not have an established orthography. There are only few standard works on it worth the name. It remains so far mostly unexplored and hence needs thorough exploration in respect of all aspects of its linguistic complexities. A thesis of this type will be a contribution to the understanding of what the community speaks like at present, a highly complex system of communication in its sociolinguistic perspective.

1.3.2. **Its Scheme And Planning**

This work contains four chapters and a selected bibliography. The first chapter is Introduction which consists of six sub-chapters: (i) Sociolinguistics - the field and recent developments, (ii) The Social structure of the community, (iii) The aim, planning and limitations of the present dissertation, (iv) the Bhojpuri dialect,
area, standards and sub-varieties, (v) the earlier works on Bhojpuri, and (vi) Data collection - procedure and techniques followed.

The second chapter describes the social stratification of Bhojpuri under the heads: (i) Phonological - vowels, consonants, clusters and syllables (ii) Grammatical - pronouns, gender, adverb, verb, sentences, etc., (iii) Lexical, (iv) Personal names, (v) Modes of Greetings, (vi) Abuses, and (vii) Kinship terminology.

The third chapter deals with the regional variations along geographical distances and the standardization of Bhojpuri. Of the five sub-chapters in it the first gives a general introduction of dialectological study and surveys specially in Indian context, the second one gives major and minor standards of speech varieties. The third describes speech variations - phonological, grammatical and lexical, sayings and proverbs etc. and the fourth one gives an account of transitional variations. In the fifth sub-head the need and procedure of standardization has been discussed.

The fourth chapter illustrates the bi- and multi-lingualism of the speech community. The first sub-chapter deals with English, Hindi, Sanskrit, etc. with Bhojpuri in the speech behaviour of the people and how they are functionally different from one another. The second item is of code-switching, code-mixing and related problems. The third discusses the Sanskritization and westernization and the
fourth sub-head the innovations and archaic features that have been attested.

Motivation for the present work came from Labov (1966) which was further supported by Trugill (1974).

1.3.3. Limitations of the Work

The researcher describes the social and geographical differentiation of the Bhojpuri speech and also the common phenomena of code-switching, bi- and multi-lingualism and the need and measures of standardization in it. However, this work is by no means exhaustive. The parts of Bihar which constitute more or less half of the speech community in question have been completely left out and the area of study remains limited to U.P. only. Even this is no small an area: it is quite possible to analyse for a full-size dissertation the speech of only one or two villages as Irulappan (1979) and Rohaj (1972) have done, or only one city as Labov (1966) did, or only one district as done by Dube (1966). The U.P. part of the community consists of nine districts, hence the work tends to be a selective study. Various centres have been established in each district, with an assumption that these centres represent the Bhojpuri speech of that area. Varanasi and Gorakhpur have also been chosen as centres for a little sample of urban speech variety.

The social stratification and regional variation of the dialect might well be the subject for two separate
dissertations which are both incorporated into the present one. In addition, it also studies in some detail the code-switching, bilingualism, multilingualism and standardization which, though related, may belong to a different field of study. To quote Mehrotra (1977:104) "There can not be a better laboratory than India for understanding the nature and process of bilingualism. But unfortunately so far we did not have on our soil a Haugen or a Weinreich who could make this subject the centre of all his research activities and the sole object of his scholarly pursuit and deliberation. Thus this thesis, essentially selective, tends to be macro-sociolinguistic rather than the micro- in nature. Within the present limits it has not been possible to go very deep into each problem and hence, the researcher is afraid, the work may not have been very sensitive to delicate details.

The Nagpuriya standard (or 'Sadani' as some scholars prefer to call it) which is spoken in Ranchi, parts of Palamu and Chota Nagpur area and also the 'Madhesi' sub-variety of Champaran are exclusively out of the delimited area of this investigation. Other standards of Bhojpuri namely the northern, the eastern and the western are, however, well represented in the eastern Uttar Pradesh and they get all the prime focus of the study.
1.4. THE BHOJPURI DIALECT AND THE COMMUNITY*

Bhojpuri is a living language of a large tract of the east Uttar Pradesh, west Bihar and northeast Madhya Pradesh. In an area of "about 50 thousand square miles" (Misra, Shridhar, 1971: 14) in the heartland of Northern India, the population of which is more than 60 million, it is live manifestation of the Magadha culture. Sir Grierson was much impressed by this language and the people (1903: 4):
"Bhojpuri is the practical language of an energetic race which is ever ready to accomodate itself to circumstances, and which has made its influence felt all over India. The Bengali and the Bhojpuri are two of the great civilizers of Hindustan, the former with his pen and the latter with his cudgel". Thus it will not be an exaggeration to say that to understand the Indian culture and civilization a basic knowledge of the Bhojpuri tongue and people is desirable.

"Bhojpuri is the western most speech of the eastern or Magadhan group of the Aryan languages of India. Grierson has given the name 'Bihārī' to this Magadhan group of speeches. By 'Bihārī' he implies a single language of which 'Magahī', Maithili' and 'Bhojpūri' are three dialects" (Tiwari, U.N., 1960: Introduction). Although all the three are mutually

*The research scholar acknowledges his gratitude to Tiwari, U.N. for having got various informations about the Bhojpuri dialect and the speech community from his books.
intelligible, Bhojpuri shows sharp differences from the other two. Magahi, now a fullfledged dialect, can be treated as only a variety of Mathili. This group of languages can be classified in the following manner:

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<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
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<td>Prakrit</td>
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<td>Western Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ehojpurī Maithili</td>
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<td>Magahi Oriya Bengali</td>
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<td>Eastern</td>
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1.4.1. The name and the history

Although 'Ehojpurī' and 'Ehojpurīya' both mean the people and the speech of the area, the former is preferred for its brevity and analogy with other adjectives such as Gujarati, Nepali, Bengali, Sindhi, etc. and also for the fact that the latter formed with 'īya' suffix is derogatory and denotes contempt and inferiority. These names are after the historic Ehojpur, sometime a fiscal division of the erstwhile Shahabad district, but now itself
a full-fledged district in west Bihar. At one time it was
the royal seat of government and administration of the
King Bhojadeo and other descendants of the Ujjain kings
of Malwa. During the reign of the Rajput kings the kingdom
saw its heyday and earned the name and fame. The Moghul
governments and more than them the British did realize
the powers of these rulers and the people. This is why
Bhojpuri people were much sought for recruitment in army.
The brave Kunwar Singh is still remembered usually through
folk-songs and folk-tales, for his heroic fights against
the rule of the whites. A Bhojpuri epic on Kunwar Singh
by Chandra Shekhar Tiwari is the latest addition to the
heroic achievements of the Bhojpuri people.

1.4.2. The Area

In respect of its area and population Bhojpuri
ranks among the major dialects of Hindi. Whether there is
at all any other dialect or language in the country which
commands so much coverage is a matter of doubt. The Bhojpuri
tract does not have any geographical or political boundary.
It extends from the foothill of the Himalayas down to the
former Jashpur state in Madhya Pradesh and Chota Nagpur
division of South Bihar, and from the towns of Jaumpur and
Bansi to a little west of Patna and Muzaffarpur. It is
spoken in Bihar in 10 districts wholly and in districts
partly; in 9 districts of U.P. and 2 districts of Madhya
Pradesh.
The districts of Basti, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Ballia, Varanasi, North Mirzapur and East Jaunpur of Uttar Pradesh, and Gopalganj, Siwan, Motihari, Champaran, West Muzaffarpur, Western parts of Patna, Monghyr and Gaya, Chapra, Bhojpur, Rohtas, Palamu, Ranchi and Chota Nagpur of west and south-west Bihar form the main Bhujpuri speaking area.

The Bhojpuri people are energetic and daring, they are scattered far and wide not only in various parts of India (e.g. West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Arunachal, Tripura, Maharashtra, etc.) but also in various countries abroad (e.g. Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad, Surinam, Guiana, Nepal, Burma, Thailand, Singapur, Hongcong etc.). According to an estimate of the Ministry of Education, Government of Bihar (Dinman, 1978 : 44) Bhojpuri is spoken by about 8 crore people in India and about 10 crore in the world.

1.4.3. Various Standards and Sub-varieties

Because of being spoken in a vast area it is but natural that the dialect has many standards and sub-dialectal varieties. Gumperz (1960 : 94-95) states that "dialects spoken at the local or village level form part of a chain of mutually intelligible varieties of Indo-Aryan Stock, extending through all of North India from the Arabian sea in the west to Assam in the east. They vary geographically from village to village and socially from caste group to caste group".
The Bhojpuri dialect in Uttar Pradesh can be broadly divided into three standards - northern, south-eastern and western. The Sadanī or Nagpuriya standard does not find any place in it. The northern standard spoken in Basti, Gorakhpur and northern Deoria is again subdivided into 'Sarwariya' and 'Gorakphuri'. The districts of Ballia, Ghazipur and (South) Deoria go with the south-eastern standard which is considered as the standard form of the dialect. Even this one is not free from the districtwise regional variations. The western standard comprises of the districts of Varanasi, Azamgarh, parts of Mirzapur and Jaunpur, again with many local variations. Besides, the Bhojpuri speech of the Varanasi city, better known as 'Kashika' is a standard in itself and potentially differs from that of the rest of the district. The speech of the border areas shows altogether different variations depending on the geographical location and neighbouring dialects influencing them.

The narrow belt of Terai, about 15 miles wide (at places a little more or less) from Bahraich to Champaran, is inhabited by people of Tharu tribe who speak a crude sub-variety of Bhojpuri which is in many respects distinct from the mainland dialect. Another sub-variety is 'Madhesi' spoken in parts of Champaran district and written in Kaithi script. It has remarkable similarity with Maithili. These varieties do not a place in the area of the present study.
1.5. EARLIER WORKS ON BHOPURU.

1.5.1. There are quite a few research works on Bhojpuri done by earlier scholars. The inadequacies in their works stem from their employing crude field-methodology and the negligence of the fact that most of the speech communities are more or less socially and linguistically heterogeneous. Those are purely linguistic studies. However, their significance and contribution to the field can not be undermined because they still serve well for a basic understanding of the field and the problem and encourage the researcher to work further and improve upon them.

1.5.2. John Beames and others:

Chronologically Beames was one of the earliest scholars who did scientific work of some recognition on Bhojpuri (phonology and grammar). His article 'Notes on the Bhojpuri Dialect of Hindi spoken in Western Bihar' in JRAS, Vol. III 1868, pp. 483-508, as mentioned by Tiwari (1960 : XXXI Introduction), includes the phonology and the declension of nouns and pronouns; the conjugation of verbs and the derivations of post-positions; and a list of common Bhojpuri words.

The names of J.R.Reid, A.F.Rudolf Hoernle can also be mentioned for their contributions, though meagre, to the field.
1.5.3. Grierson

Grierson took the whole sub-continent as the field of study. His monumental eleven volumes of LSI are a good record which gave phillip to linguistic studies in India. They are quite comprehensive and have covered a large number of dialects and languages for their analysis and classification. In Vol. V, Part 2, he has given a description of Bhojpuri, the speech, the people and various other aspects related to it, a skeleton grammar and also speech samples from various parts of the region. Besides, the Seven Grammars of the Dialects and sub-dialects of Bihari languages, Bihar Peasant Life, and many collections of Bhojpuri folk literature are also to his credit.

For the present work Grierson's volume gives only a rough idea of the Bhojpuri dialect and the community and can not be much relied upon for a number of obvious limitations:

(i) The dialect has travelled long since Grierson, with the result that the Bhojpuri speech of today is somewhat different than it was at his time (as represented by him),

(ii) His field methodology was crude: instead of collecting the data himself he got it collected by the school teachers and government officials and also got it in response to his postal questionnaires.
1.5.4. Udai Narain Tiwari

A special mention must be made of Tiwari, U.N. who has to his credit many books and articles on Bhojpuri. The most comprehensive and edifying of them is 'The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri' in which he outlines the history and geography of the speech and the community and traces the historical development of the dialect from OIA through NIA to the Apabhramsa and to NIA. The work is a synchronic study in a diachronic perspective with special reference to the standard speech of the Ballia district. This book can be compared with Saksena (1937). In his 'Bhojpuri Bhasha aur Sahitya' Tiwari has given a classification of the languages of the world, an introduction to the Bhojpuri dialect and literature, and its phonological and grammatical sketch.

1.5.5. Vishwanath Prasad

As early as 1950, Vishwanath Prasad worked out a phonetic and phonological study of Bhojpuri. This scientific and systematic work is a good achievement and serves as a milestone in Bhojpuri linguistics. Although only phonological, Prasad's dissertation has its own importance.

1.5.6. A.B. Singh

That the speech of the border areas are usually treated as marginal to the main ones on either side is no reason why its study should be neglected. The study into
inner mechanisms of the verbal behaviour in the transitional belt is a very promising field of investigation for the linguists interested in various disciplines of the subject phonetics, grammar, T.G. grammar, semantics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, dialect geography, etc. Singh's 'Study of the Speech of Awadhi and Bhojpuri Border Dialects', 1960, a doctoral dissertation of the Allahabad University, is probably the first of its kind and still a pioneering work of the above-mentioned nature. It also marks a departure from the traditional approach of a dialect geographer in studying the distribution of archaic features to the study of contemporary speech in a critically complex community of speakers. His article (1976) on auxiliary verbs in Bhojpuri too is an edifying piece of work.

1.5.7. Mahendra Nath Dubey

Dubey's (1966) is a descriptive study of the Bhojpuri dialect spoken in the district of Azamgarh. This doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Hindi, Banaras Hindu University, is essentially of linguistic nature. His analysis of the intra-district variations is a testimony of the fact that Bhojpuri is not a uniform speech throughout even in a single district. He has shown through his samples of sentences, dialogues and stories that the speeches of the eastern, middle and western regions of Azamgarh have marked differences. However, this descriptive-cum-dialectological work that it is, should be viewed with the reference to the
time (1966) when it was done; for many of the definitions and concepts of various aspects of language and linguistics which he has given in the first part of his thesis have in recent years undergone considerable modifications. The field methods too have become more sophisticated and methodological over the years. However, the thesis is a good work in its own merits.

1.5.8. Shridhar Mishra

Mishra's (1971) 'Bhojpuri Loksahitya : Sanskritik Adhyayan', a modified version of his Ph.D. thesis in Hindi, Bihar University, is a cultural study of the Bhojpuri community on the basis of folk-songs. Folk literature is a good carrier of the cultural heritage of a society and Mishra has tapped the source in right earnest. His collection of folk-songs and few stories from various walks of life and their explanation is a contribution of its own kind. Even if, unlike him, the present investigator is interested in investigating the current speech rather than stereotyped traditional folksongs, he is certainly benefitted by Mishra's work because that reveals certain aspects of socio-cultural behaviour of the Bhojpuri people.

1.5.9. Shukdev Singh

Singh's book (1968) has two sections: the first consists of a contrastive account of the phonologies and
grammars of Bhojpuri and Hindi; the second, of a brief introduction and skeletal grammar of each of Maithili, Magahi, Vajjika, Angika and Nepali.

1.5.10. Others

Much is the importance of various forms of folk literature (songs, poetry, narratives, sayings and proverbs, riddles, etc.) which give us valuable information about the family life, the position of women, the castes, religion and beliefs, people's attitude to life and recent changes creeping in society. They are a good index of the culture of the society concerned. In this respect a special mention can be made of:

(1) Satyavrat Sinha (1957)
Indradev (1957-58)
Durgashankar Prasad Singh (1959).
for their works on various aspects of Bhojpuri folk tales, folk songs, and poetry, and of:

(ii) S. Ojha (1956-63)
Shashi Shekhar Tiwari (1970)
Mukteshwar Tiwari 'Besudh' (1971)
for their works on Bhojpuri folk sayings and proverbs.

Kripa Shankar Singh's 'Bhasha Vigyan aur Bhojpuri' (1973) is a modified version of his doctoral dissertation submitted to the Delhi University. This work is remarkable
for it is a descriptive analysis of Bhojpuri grammar on Tagmemic principles.

Other research works of importance, especially in the realm of Bhojpuri syntax, are undermentioned unpublished M.A. and doctoral dissertations of various universities:


1.6. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS

Field methodology has shown a marked development in the linguistic studies in recent years. The same has been adopted with some modifications and adjustments for socio-linguistic studies. The present field work makes of the following procedure:

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Sampling Questionnaire Elicitation
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1.6.1. Sampling

It is neither practicable nor necessary to interview all the people inhabiting the area under study. Hence only nine centres have been set up in the countryside of nine Bhojpuri districts and two in the cities of Varanasi and Gorakhpur, thus eleven centres in all. The rural centres are remote typical villages which have representation of all castes as permanent residents. Again, the castes and classes have been grouped into High, Middle and Low (hereafter H, M and L) and informants selected from each of them.

Random sampling, though advantageous in some respects, has been rejected for its limitations in the investigation of social dialects. The researcher took freedom in judiciously selecting the informants from all the three groups of castes and classes, both sexes (wherever possible), age groups, educational level, etc.

Sociologists believe in interviewing large number of informants, often in hundreds or thousands, whereas the linguists in interviewing only a few or sometimes in acting themselves as informants. But barring the two extremes in the present investigation the researcher has relied on "samples that are somewhere in between these two traditions" (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974 : 39).
1.6.2. The Questionnaire

The chalking out of an adequate questionnaire and its proper administration has been an important part of this field work. After having studied various questionnaires prepared by DNS Bhat, AB Singh, Agesthialingom and Karunakaran, and Dieth and Orton the present questionnaire has been carefully prepared to get the pertinent linguistic features attested. It consists of two parts: (i) Sociological, (ii) Linguistic. The first one is geared in such a way that it gets maximum information about the characteristics of the speaker on a wide range of complex social aspects—geographical location of the centre, name (full, diminutive, surname), residence (permanent, migratory), sex, age (young, adult, old), marital status, religion, caste and ethnic group, education, occupation, social status (property, animals being reared, house type), range of travel and the general character of the locality he lives in.

In the second, linguistic traits have been embodied and suitable questions for the purpose formulated. "Naturally such traits will tend to come from the overall pattern minus the common care shared by all the related varieties and from areas of structural uncertainty and freedom of choice rather than the basic and obligatory patterns of the language" (Kelkar, 1975 : 9).

A prior elementary knowledge of the Bhojpuri speech and the community, careful study of the earlier works on the
dialect and the findings of the preliminary field-work done in his earlier trips gave the researcher a better understanding of the problem. On that basis the researcher sorted out linguistic variables which indicated significant social and regional variations. The net result came to be an overall system of linguistic variations, subject to addition and modification as and when the need be at later stages. This part of the questionnaire covers various aspects of phonology, grammar and lexicicon; modes of address and greetings; language of abuse; personal names; etc. The study of correlations between the two parts has revealed the social significance of linguistic forms in actual use, which is of paramount relevance to the study of social dialects. Labov too began "by isolating a limited number of locally current phonological and grammatical features, those which are most frequent in everyday usage, most subject to interpersonal and stylistic variation and which carry the greatest amount of social information" (Gumperz, 1972 : 12 Introduction).

1.6.3. Elicitation

Natural speech is basic to sociolinguistic research but the difficulty is how to get it. "The very fact that a person is being interviewed and tape-recorded is a formidable obstacle to obtaining casual speech. Labov refers to this problem as the observer's paradox: 'To obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed' (1972 : 113)" quoted by Wolfram and Fasold (1974 : 49).
However, these obstacles could be neutralized and the informants made to elicit spontaneous speech. The interview was informally directed to some extent. For example, if the past tense sentences were to be obtained the informants were asked to narrate an event of the past, and so on. The use of common sense and appropriate techniques were of much help.

The undermentioned five principles suggested by Wolfram and Fasold (1974 : 50-52) are good guidelines to the field-workers for elicitation of the data:

(i) The use of questions that must be answered by conversation, rather than yes-no answers.

(ii) The use of questions to which informants can relate.

(iii) Cues of informants' interests should be pursued.

(iv) Questions should help alleviate the informant's consciousness of his own speech.

(v) Questions should not arouse suspicions about any hidden intentions in interviewing.

These were followed as far as possible and they proved useful. The questions were asked in such a way that the informant's attention was focused on the subject-matter rather than on the way he was speaking. Topics of communal tensions, political controversy, criminal cases, etc. were
avoided. The same topics and questions did not suit all the informants. Sometimes the parts of the interview went off the predetermined schedule.

Sometimes group discussions were found to be more favourable for elicitation of spontaneous speech. Out of the group two or three were judiciously selected as informants and were recorded on separate sheets.

1.6.4. The Field-work Ethics

The principles of the "ethics of field-work in sociolinguistics" (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974 : 46) have been followed, except in few cases where it was not necessary.

(1) Before starting the interview for data rapport with the suitable informants was established and an informal atmosphere set.

(2) Without giving a boring detail the researcher explained them the purpose of the interviews and data collection.

(3) The researcher had an honest and sincere interest in the subject and in those who helped him during the field-work.

(4) To neutralize the hostile attitude the informant was duly informed about the act of tape-recording.

(5) The information given in confidence was used only to analysis and kept secret for finally destroying it.
(6) Permission was sought to conduct the interviews.

Evasion of the Ethical Principle

(1) The speech of quite unknown persons were also recorded at local tea stalls, bus-stands, railway stations, in local buses and trains, in the shop of the village Bani微商s (grocers), in the yards of the district and tehsil courts, at rural banks, post offices, market places, betel shops, etc. The researcher took this type of speech in crowds at public places as more or less a public property and (although with a sense of due apology to the unknown speakers) did not think it necessary to seek their permission.

(2) Pretending to be a stranger in the area, the researcher approached lonely individuals and deliberately asked a number of questions about the nearest railway station and trains, nearest bus stands and buses and other means of communication, nearest schools, colleges and what and how of education in them, nearest hospitals and types of staff and treatment in them, nearest temple, market, river, town etc. and related matters. This type of way side inforamatory talks were done solely for the linguistic information. Seeking permission was avoided.
Since sociological background of the speakers in these cases could not be known the linguistic information supplemented the knowledge of the regional dialects and an overall communication network of the community.

1.6.5. **Difficulties Encountered**

(1) It was difficult to take the middle caste and low caste people into confidence for the data. The most poor response was from the low castes who often suspected the researcher for a government agent or revenue official and his motive as doing some fraud with the innocent people of their kind.

(2) Even in convinced, they would rather toil in the field the whole day than to work as informant even on equal wages. Few of them even left for their field when the data collection from them was half way. Still others gave the appointment after many requests but did not keep it and left the place for hours without intimating the researcher who was sitting in his house and waiting for him.

(3) Almost all informants, except the educated few usually from the high and middle castes, were reluctant to give their names, information about their income, property or something about other members of their family. Hence questions of this type were dropped in most of the cases and instead, the informations were collected from the host in the village.
(4) It proved increasingly difficult to contact the high and middle caste women, even in case of the hosts who were fully convinced of the academic interest of the interviewer. Few low caste elderly women could be available but the scholar could not be satisfied with their performance as informants. Very often they would be funny, rude and would leave the information incomplete.

(5) At times interferences invariably came during the process of data collection: somebody called the informant or he was wanted in the house or he had to move away for an urgent piece of work.

(6) The place being an open one or varandah instead of a closed room in many cases, every new arrival would unnecessarily poke his nose in and would want to know the what and why of the proceeding.

(7) Since there were no tea-stalls or hotels in or around the remote village established as a centre, there were also occasions when the researcher did not get anything to eat or refresh with. The money in his pocket could not help unless a kind villager randomly served him on his own.

(8) The tape recorder was a big menace to many illiterate village folk. It affected their psychology and speech. Hence, its use was restricted for taking few important samples only.