3. GEOGRAPHICAL VARIATIONS AND STANDARDIZATION

3.1. Introduction

This section presents only the general observations about dialectology in Indian context. It is but natural that while studying the social dialects the investigator came across geographical variations in the Bhojpuri speech community. Hence an attempt has been made to give a bird's eye-view description of the regional differences which have been attested during the field-work. No exhaustiveness is claimed because it is a big job in itself, enough for a full size doctoral dissertation. A thorough investigation of the area and a detailed interpretation of the wealth of material, item by item and map by map, will be more revealing. But that is beyond the scope of this limited dissertation. The Bhojpuri speech community is populous and occupies a vast area. It is about 80 million people in 25 districts according to an estimate of the Govt. of Bihar (Dinman, 1978 : 23-29).

It will be worthwhile to start a separate project to do the enterprising task of investigating the spoken Bhojpuri of U.P. and Bihar. The investigator also likes to draw the attention of the linguists toward the desirability of conducting afresh a systematic survey of the network of the Upper Indian dialects of Hindi. Sir Grierson's survey is obsolete and not enough. Such surveys and large scale studies conducted today would help us compile dialect
dictionaries and a series of linguistic maps. They will be a sound contribution to the studies in linguistics in general and linguistic geography in particular.

The historical linguistics so far has shown that languages have always been fragmented into dialects and thereby led to the evolution of new languages. This is how a large number of languages of the modern world have come into existence from Indo-European and its sub-branches and a great many of the languages of Upper India from the Indo-Aryan stock. The earlier models of linguistic analysis have concentrated on what is regular or general and universal in linguistic systems. The comparative philology too at its best reconstructs a monolithic proto-language.

The dialectologists in particular, except Hans Kurath and a few others, have been mainly interested in describing diachronically related dialects and the amount of preservation of older speech forms in the community. Less attention has been paid to the considerable variation that occurs within language or dialect or even within the speech styles of a single person. The exponents of the Chomskian School too have ignored it; they "have taken for their goal the description of linguistic competence and considered many kinds of variation to be instances of linguistic performance and, therefore, of only peripheral concern" (Wardhaugh, 1972 : 188). However, it is consoling
to know that synchronically oriented study of the dialects has only recently begun. Modern dialectology assumes its magnitude by a great diversity of speech in various social and geographical aspects of the community.

"In India the dialect survey is in its infancy. Westerners have 150 years of experience in this field" (Subramoniam, V.I. 1973: 28). With Sir Grierson began our dialect survey. His volumes of the 'Linguistic Survey of India' are a record of different speech varieties with their skeleton grammar and possible classification. After Grierson, we have had a long gap in dialect studies. Although never completely ignored, it has got volume and momentum in last couple of decades. The Osmania University; the Telugu Academy, Hyderabad; the Annamalai University; the Kerala University, Trivandrum; the Deccan College, Poona; the Punjabi University, Patiala; the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore are the main to have conducted dialect surveys in their respective or allied regions. Some stray surveys have also been done in Gujarat, Karnataka (by Universities of Mysore and Karnataka, Dharwar), Madhya Pradesh (by universities of Sagar, Ravishankar Raipur), U.P. (by varsities of Allahabad, Banaras, Lucknow, Agra), Bengal and so on. Various publications, some of them with illustrative atlases, from these centres are really edifying and have given a boost to the dialectological study in this country.
In this perspective we can have a look at the situation in Bhojpuri. All items—whether phonological or grammatical or lexical, do not show variations. Many do not change at all and can be attested throughout. They form part of the core common to all varieties which is the basis of the uniformity of the Bhojpuri dialect on the whole. Hence they have been omitted because they do not belong to particular sub-region or social groups. The dialect variations minus the common core are the subject of treatment in the present study. Of these variations it is the major features and not the minor ones, that show the general pattern of usage, and demarcate clearly the boundary of one sub-dialect from that of the other. Such major features have been selected to serve as linguistic traits for the present study. Therefore, all the data are of little use in a study of this type. The linguistic traits which have comparable formal variations in different localities have been selected to see whether the same or drastically different items are in vogue in all the regions. Items which have no variant or too many variant forms have been omitted and handled elsewhere because they do not help in demarcating one sub-dialectal area from the other. At times even one linguistic trait/feature, if very significant, is enough to demarcate the dialectal or sub-dialectal divisions in the speech area. On the basis of intervocalic \(-r-\) \((\text{VrV})\) it could be possible for a number of scholars (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974, and others)
to distinguish the -r- dialect from the -r- less ones. The abundance of -ch and -chh like features made Sir Grierson in his LSI Vol. V, Pt. 2 call Angika/Maithili as a 'Chikāchiki' dialect.

3.2. Various Standards and their Sub-dialects

In Bhojpuri there are diverse regional speech varieties. Out of the four dialects of Bhojpuri enumerated by earlier scholars only three are represented in Uttar Pradesh. They are:

(1) The Western: spoken in
    Jaunpur (east)
    Azamgarh
    Varanasi
    Mirzapur (north)

(2) The Northern: spoken in
    Basti
    Gorakhpur
    Deoria (north)

(3) The Eastern*: spoken in
    Deoria (south)
    Ghazipur
    Ballia

To the south of the river Son is the (4th), the *Nagpuria standard*, also called *Sadānī*. But this is not represented in the area under study.

The standard *Bhojpuri* is the same as the Eastern dialect which is spoken in Deoria (south), Ghazipur and Ballia districts. For the three dialects Vāranasi, Gorakhpur and Ballia are the geographical centres representing the Western, Northern and Eastern dialects respectively. The regional (and social) variations are almost inevitable because the speech community consists of diverse (social) groups inhabiting the different geographical areas. The geographical sub-dialects are widely spread over the whole area; so much so that every region or part of the community is not in contact with all, its geographical dialects; practically it is in contact with only few of them which are neighbouring ones.

The speech community being quite large all people are not settled at one point; people of different regions speak slightly differently from one another. After having understood and noted down the scrupulous differences in the one or two days in the area one becomes at home with the dialect in question.

Out of the three main standards of *Bhojpuri* in the area under study only two - the western and the eastern stand in marked contrast to each other. Except for a few examples, the northern standard goes with the western in some respects and with the eastern in other respects.
It has been classed as a standard, separate from the other two, only because of few features in certain examples which make it distinct from the rest two.

The linguistic map attached herewith shows various standards of Bhojpuri. The distribution of certain dialect features set each area separate from the others. The thick isoglosses separate the regions into western, northern and eastern zones. The most apparent differences in the regional sub-dialects concentrate in terms of (1) pronunciation, (2) vocabulary and (3) verb forms. The dialect boundaries established by pronunciation get reinforced by mapping different vocabulary items and again by different verb forms. The dialects have identifiably different sets of speech forms constituting different speech varieties. They have enough demonstratable cognates which show that they have all developed from one earlier speech form and the present study shows that they are mutually intelligible.

3.3. Variations:

3.3.1. Phonological

Among various standards of Bhojpuri there are many phonological differences. The E(asterm) standard is characterised by aspiration, nasalization and final -i in many vocables. This -i should not be confused with the feminine marker -i in certain grammatical forms. These
features are absent in W(estern) standard. Many characteristics of both the standards can be attested in the N(orthern) standard.

**Aspiration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʌ sıɾ</td>
<td>ʌ sıɾh</td>
<td>ʌ sıɾh</td>
<td>'bull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barady</td>
<td>baradh(a) baradh</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokarlı</td>
<td>tokarlı</td>
<td>thokarlı</td>
<td>wounds produced to provoke the ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatlı</td>
<td>tatlı</td>
<td>tatlı</td>
<td>'a hayrick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>connə</td>
<td>connə</td>
<td>connə</td>
<td>'coquettishness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Retroflex sounds:**

Western Bhojpuri abounds in retroflex sounds (specially t, d, r, etc.) whereas the Eastern one in r sound.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paral</td>
<td>paral</td>
<td>paral</td>
<td>'fell on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garhal</td>
<td>garhal</td>
<td>garhal</td>
<td>'carve, build'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korhı</td>
<td>korhı</td>
<td>korhı</td>
<td>'leper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipihirı</td>
<td>pipihirı</td>
<td>pipihirı</td>
<td>'flute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basurı</td>
<td>basurı</td>
<td>basurı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagara</td>
<td>nagara</td>
<td>nagara</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gur</td>
<td>gur</td>
<td>gur</td>
<td>molasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cherı</td>
<td>cherı</td>
<td>cherı/I</td>
<td>'goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghora</td>
<td>ghora</td>
<td>ghora</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saraq</td>
<td>saraq</td>
<td>saraq</td>
<td>'road'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
W N E Meaning
garh garh garh 'thick (liquid)'
hagarā hagarā hagarā 'quarrel'
aghorī aghorī aghorī 'dirty'
egō ego ego 'one'
pacgo pacgo pacgo 'five'
eija e(h)iJa e(h)iJa 'here'
oija o(h)iJa o(h)iJa 'there'
jeija jeija jeija 'where'

W N, E Meaning
ekthe buddhi ke ghar paral ego burhiya ke ghar paral 'There came a house of an old woman.'
awat baṭa? awatāta? bara? Do you come?
awatara? awatara?
the badāsi the badāsi karatāra/ra karatāra/ra 'This is the mischief you are doing.'
karat ha/baṭa/ hauwa

Final Vowel (-----i)

In many nouns and verbs the E standard has a final vowel (usually short — i) which is a rare thing in western Bhojpuri.

W N E Meaning
rahab rahabi rahabi "will stay"
manab manabi manabi 'will accept'
khaib khaibi khaibi 'will eat'
jaib jaibi jaibi 'will go'
Many vocables in eastern standard are shorter by one syllable than their counterparts in northern and western Bhojpuri, that is, the Ballia speech characterizes by loss of the final syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭokāî</td>
<td>okāí</td>
<td>ōki</td>
<td>'vomiting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍorāhā</td>
<td>dorāhā</td>
<td>dōṛ</td>
<td>'water snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍokiya</td>
<td>ḍokiya</td>
<td>ḍokī</td>
<td>'wooden plate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaṭiyā</td>
<td>khaṭiyā</td>
<td>khaṭī</td>
<td>'cot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rākhī</td>
<td>rākhī</td>
<td>rākh</td>
<td>'ash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jōkhi</td>
<td>jōkhi</td>
<td>jōk</td>
<td>'leech'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ācara</td>
<td>ācara</td>
<td>ācar</td>
<td>'front end of sari'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papara</td>
<td>papara</td>
<td>pāpar</td>
<td>'a thin garbenzo flower pāpar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nagīce</td>
<td>nagīca</td>
<td>nagīc</td>
<td>'near'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kinship Terminology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W,ABTD</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cacā</td>
<td>cacā, cācā, cācā</td>
<td>cācā</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakā</td>
<td>kākā, kākā, kākā</td>
<td>kākā</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bābā</td>
<td>bābā</td>
<td>bābā</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māmā</td>
<td>māmā, māmā, māmā</td>
<td>māmā</td>
<td>'mother's brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phuphphā</td>
<td>phuphphā</td>
<td>phuphphā</td>
<td>FZH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nānā</td>
<td>nānā</td>
<td>nānā</td>
<td>MF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basti has cacā, kakā, māmā, .......
According to Singh, (1960 : 96) such kinship terms as caca, mammă, mammă, etc. are in common use in the ABD belt especially in the districts of Mzp, Jnp, and Azm. The western standard is characterized by doubling of consonants:

bannar  bānar  bānar  ‘monkey’
nagicce  na(i)gica  magic  ‘near’

3.3.2. Grammatical

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age-age</td>
<td>age-āg</td>
<td>aga-āg</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāche-pāche</td>
<td>pāche pāche pācha pācha</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīche-pīche</td>
<td>pīche pīche</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīce</td>
<td>nīce</td>
<td>nīcā</td>
<td>‘below, under’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bade</td>
<td>khatir/a</td>
<td>khatir</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyar</td>
<td>niyar</td>
<td>nihām</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāleūce</td>
<td>kāle-ūce</td>
<td>kālā uca</td>
<td>‘Low and High’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay, aw</td>
<td>ē, ő</td>
<td>abbe/o</td>
<td>‘right now’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abbay/w</td>
<td>abbe/o</td>
<td>‘then only’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tábbay/w</td>
<td>babbe/o</td>
<td>‘then only’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kábbay/w</td>
<td>kabbe/o</td>
<td>‘then only’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jábbay</td>
<td>jabbage</td>
<td>‘when, whenever’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The common affirmative and negative adverbs are:

\[\text{ha}, \text{j}\bar{I} = \text{'yes'}\]
\[\text{n}\bar{I}, \text{n}\bar{I}\text{h}, \text{mat}, \text{jin}, \text{jani} = \text{'no', 'don't'}\]

Of these \text{mat} is used with imperative only and \text{n}\bar{I} with any part of the verb. In Gkp \text{n}\bar{I} and in Chaudauli Talsil of Varanasi \text{n}\bar{I} Jnp \text{n} are in use.

\[\text{n}, \text{n}\bar{I} \ldots \ldots \ldots \text{used for I person}\]
\[\text{n}, \text{n}\bar{I}, \text{mati}, \text{jani}, \text{jin} " \ " \text{II and III persons.}\]

\[\text{laukati naha (Azm.)} \quad \text{Katto laukati naike (Der. Ball.)}\]

It is not visible anywhere.

\[\text{\bar{u} ghare na jai p\bar{a}l (Jnp.)} \ldots \text{na ja p\bar{a}l (Der)}\]

'He will not be able to go home'.

\textbf{Pronominal Usage}

\textbf{I Person}

\begin{align*}
\text{may, mo, ham} & \quad \text{may, mo ham} \\
\text{hamhan, hamlogan} & \quad \text{hamman} \\
\text{hamme} & \quad \text{hamme} \\
\text{hamar, hamare} & \quad \text{hamar, hamare}
\end{align*}

\textbf{II Person}

\textit{Except in Deori district, rauwa is quite ) rau(w)\bar{a} absent in Western and Northern standard ) rau(w)a sabhe}

\begin{align*}
\text{t\bar{u}, tay} & \quad \text{tay t\bar{u} p\bar{a}can} \\
\text{to, toh,} & \quad \text{to, tore, toh-p\bar{a}can tohanika, tohalogani} \\
\text{tuhare, tuh\bar{a}r} & \quad \text{tuhare p\bar{a}can, tuh\bar{a}r tohar\bar{a}, tohar\bar{a}} \\
\text{t\bar{e}} & \quad \text{tay t\bar{e}}
\end{align*}
III Person

en, ǝ, hǝ'

I, ha'I

I, ha'I, inhi,

ǝ, hǝ,

I log/an

I log/an

I sab, ǝ sab

ekr/ǝ, hekar/e

enhan, he

enhan, henhan

inahan, ǝ

ǝ, hau, un

ǝ, hau

ǝ, hau sab/log

ǝ, hǝ

on, onahan, unahan

uhan, o, hǝ

ǝ, hǝ sab/log

ǝ, hǝ

ǝ, hǝ logan

ǝ, hǝ logan, pǝcan

ǝ, hǝ

okar/ǝ, hokar/e

honkar, hokar

okar/ǝ

apane/apanǝ ghare

apane/apanǝ ghare

apana ghare

apana ghare

etǝhan, oṭthǝn, jǝtthǝn

etǝhan, oṭthǝn, jǝtthǝn

etǝhǝn, otǝnǝ

etǝhǝn, otǝnǝ

atǝnǝ, hatǝnǝ, jatǝnǝ

katǝnǝ, tǝtǝnǝ

etǝnǝ, oṭtǝnǝ

etǝnǝ, oṭtǝnǝ

atǝnǝ, hatǝnǝ, jatǝnǝ

katǝnǝ, tǝtǝnǝ

Case

The old declension system is little preserved in Bhojpuri. Nouns usually do not inflect for case, hence separate postpositions have to be added to nouns to serve the purpose.
Instrumental and Ablative

For instrumental and ablative case Bhojpuri has 'se' and 'le' postpositions meaning with, by, for, from. The variable 'se' is in common use in Western Bhojpuri while 'le' in the Eastern. In Northern standard both variables have been attested but 'le' means up to (not from as it is in the Eastern standard).

(W) bhaiya se puchi? Shall I ask the brother?
(N) " " " " "
(E) " le " " " "
(W) aj se hamare ghare aiha/aya jin Do not come to my house from today onwards.
(N) ajuse hamari ghareaiha mati
(E) aju le hamara ghare aiha mati
(W) ath din se upar ho gail/gayal It is more than eight days.
(N) " " " " "
(E) " le " " "
(N) iha le = 'upto here'
(E) " " = 'from here'
(N) pe re se patai= 'leaf from the tree'
(E) " le " = " " "

Genitive:

There is partial similarity between accusative and genitive. The genitive post-position has many variables: kay, ka, ke, ke, ka, etc.
Western
Ashm (ka)
babuna ka rumāl
'Babunā's handkerchief'
unka ghar = 'his house'
narendar ka bhai
'Narendar's brother'

Northern
Basti (kay)
hamare khete kay dhan
'the paddy of my field'
ganhiya kay parkop
'the attack of a crop-disease'

Eastern
Bali (ka)
khatiya ka nice
'under the cot'
maī ka samne
'before the mother'

Vns (ke)
iskūl ke lage
'near the school'
narendar ke bhai
'Narendar's brother'
dasasumedh ke ghat par
'At the bathing-ghat of Dasaswamedh.'

Deoria (kī)
khatiā kī nice
'under the cot'
maī kī samne
'before the mother'
iskūl kī lage
'near the school'
The Verbs

The geographical variations in Bhojpuri are the most manifest in the morphology and syntax of its verbs. The growth of a language or dialect has its reflections most of all in its verbal system. That is, the grammar of the verbs in its entirety shows much of the liveness and vigour of the language. The study of this aspect of Bhojpuri is a rich field for a dialect geographer.

It is the verb conjugations which reflect, most of all, the sub-dialectal diversity. One conjugation is in use in one part, while a slightly variant form in another, and still another in the third.

Western

ū dekhay lagal
‘He began to see’

ū maray/kahay lagal
‘He began to beat/say’

ham dekhīla/iskul jāila
‘I see/go to school’

Northern

ū jāt haw
‘He goes/is going.’

ukhuri cusaba?
‘Will you chew sugarcane’?

mur pirāt haw
‘The head is giddy.’

Eastern

ū dekhe lagal

ū māre/kahe īgal

.....dekhīle /iskul jāile

Northern

ū jāt haw
‘He goes/is going.’

ūkhi cibhaba?
‘Will you chew sugarcane’?

kapar bathat ba

Northern

ū jāt haw
‘He goes/is going.’

ūkhi cibhaba?
‘Will you chew sugarcane’?

kapar bathat ba
katto herā gael

'It is lost somewhere'

hera ohke search him.

kahi bila gail

'Or is lost somewhere'

khoja oke 'search him'

The Auxiliary verb system in Bhojpuri is more diverse than its counterpart in standard Hindi. Such verbs have grammatical function to determine the tense, aspect and mood in concord with the number and person.

The most common auxiliary verbs are ha/hō, bā,

bh-, rah-

jāt bā/y jātā jat bā = He is going.

haw/bāy  bā, bāte, he bāre, bāre= 'is'

haɪ/hāw haɪ/bāti bāni/hāi = 'am'

hayu/bāu hayu/bātu bāru, bāru = You are (fem.)

hauwa/haya hauwa/bāta bāra/hawa = You are (masc)

The attached chart presents the regional variations of few sentences in English. This gives a clear picture of some of the variant verbal forms in the standards of Bhojpuri.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I see</th>
<th>ham dekhat hai, dekhat hai</th>
<th>ham dekhat batí</th>
<th>Dekhatanne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You do (fem.)</td>
<td>tū karat hau/bāu</td>
<td>tū karatī bātī</td>
<td>tū karatarū/rū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform me</td>
<td>hammad kahavya diha</td>
<td>hamme kahavyā diha</td>
<td>hamme kahavā diha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give me</td>
<td>hamkā dyā</td>
<td>hamme da</td>
<td>hamme da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I did see</td>
<td>jo ham dekhit</td>
<td>dekhatī</td>
<td>dekhitī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is this?</td>
<td>Īkāw hay</td>
<td>Ī kā haw</td>
<td>Ī kā hā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do you go</td>
<td>kahā jāt haya/bāya</td>
<td>kahā jatātā, jatāra</td>
<td>kahā jatāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I said</td>
<td>ham kahe, kahalī</td>
<td>kahalī</td>
<td>kahalī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I read a book</td>
<td>ham kitāb parhe, parhalī</td>
<td>ham kitāb parhalī</td>
<td>parhuvi, parhalī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did you eat</td>
<td>tū kāw khāyā</td>
<td>tu kā khāya</td>
<td>tu kā khaila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May he be well</td>
<td>ū, way, on acchā hoy jāy</td>
<td>ū acchā ho jāy</td>
<td>ū acchā ho jāsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He did</td>
<td>ū kihes, kihin, kailes</td>
<td>ū kailas</td>
<td>ū kailasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I not able to walk</td>
<td>hamse cal nāi jāt bāy</td>
<td>hamse cal nāi jāt ha</td>
<td>hamse cali naikhe jāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was doing</td>
<td>way karat rahe/rahen</td>
<td>u karat rahalā</td>
<td>u karat rahale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We were doing</td>
<td>ham sab karat rahe</td>
<td>haman pācan karat rahalī</td>
<td>hamanikā karat rahalījā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We shall be (there)</td>
<td>hamhan rahab</td>
<td>ham pācan rahabay</td>
<td>hamanikā rahabijā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will you listen</td>
<td>sunbyā</td>
<td>sunaba</td>
<td>Sunaba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3. **Lexical**

In the chapter 2.3 we have seen the social variation of the lexicon in terms of cultural (Sanskritized) vocabulary of the H people and the occupational jargon of all social groups. Besides, the lexical repertoire of the Bhojpuri speakers varies along geographical parameter as well. Parts of this big speech community settled in various districts have no common connection with all. The districts are connected to their immediate neighbours and not to those settled for off. The regional variation becomes most manifest in distribution of its vocables. Many words have three, four or even more synonyms out of which one or the other has become established in each area. A word can be said to belong to one area and another to another area on the basis of its high (about 75%) or low (about 25%) frequency. The frequency of occurrence of a word becomes less in proportion to the increase in distance from one particular area/region to another and vice-versa. New conditions beget new words and the dialect evolves differently in various geographic and social regions. Then one and the same word has different meanings in different parts of the speech community. Different meanings of the same word over the geographical distances characterize mutually exclusive areas.

Such words exclusively belong to a particular region and they are difficult to be understood in other regions.
On such findings it is possible to construct semantic maps, to compare semantic areas and detect the reasons and conditions of polysemy. The meanings may be weaker and less stable in the periphery of the zones and very vigorous in the middle. Bottigioni (1954: 378) is of the opinion that the "areal comparison yields results not only in the field of lexicology, but is useful also in the fields of phonetics, morphology and syntax". Certain words are already negative in meaning, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wāhiyāt} & = \text{`senseless, nonsense'} \\
\text{phajul} & = \text{`useless'} \\
\text{murukhaī} & = \text{`foolishness'}
\end{align*}
\]

They should be used as they are, without addition of any negative prefix. Two negatives, if put together, nullify the effect of negation and make it positive or affirmative. But many speakers do not heed to that. On the analogy of such words as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{behisāb} & = \text{`incalculable'} \\
\text{bekār} & = \text{`useless'} \\
\text{kucāli} & = \text{`bad habits'}
\end{align*}
\]

They go on using the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bewāhiyāt} & \text{ to mean } `\text{nonsense'} \\
\text{bephajul} & \text{ " } `\text{useless'} \\
\text{kumurukhaī} & \text{ " } `\text{foolishness'}
\end{align*}
\]
There are individual words specific to particular sub-regions or districts. In other regions these words will be understood only in their contexts:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mansedhū} & \quad = \text{'husband', 'man'} \quad (\text{Jnp.}) \\
\text{murāhā} & \quad = \text{'cunning, clever, jolly, funny'} \quad (\text{Est.}) \\
\text{mālū} & \quad = \text{'fool'} \quad (\text{Azm.}) \\
\text{māinar} & \quad = \text{'minor canal'} \quad (\text{Gzp.}).
\end{align*}
\]

Some of the nouns that are feminine forms in one sub-division are masculine in another.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baccī} & \quad = \text{boy} \quad (\text{Jnp.}) \\
\text{ka baccī} & \quad \text{? Suna baccī} \quad (\text{Jnp.}) \\
\text{'What boy? Listen boy.'} \\
\text{nawahī} & \quad = \text{'young, robust, wrestler'} \quad (\text{Ball.}) \\
\text{I laika bahut nawahī nikalal ba} & \quad \text{'This is a youthful/wrestler boy'.} \\
\text{jānī} & \quad = \text{persons} \quad (\text{Azm.}) \\
\text{tin jānī aīl ba log} & \quad \text{'Three persons (males) have come.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Elsewhere all these forms will be feminine but in Jnp., Ball. and Azm. they are masculine.
Western    North    East    Meaning
jhaua    khaci    'basker'
jeba    thailI, bagali    'pocket'
balam    bhalo    'spear'
dana    bhujia    bhujuina    "fried grain"
bennar    bennar    'monkey'
cilni    cilhori    'kite bird'
csekhur, cikhuri    kanhaudi    rukkhi    'squirrel'
por    por    giror    'sugarcane joint'
osar    osara    dorokha    'corridor'
takiya    sirhani    balitti    'pillow'
marai    palani    'hut'
gotha, sar, ghari    goth, dera    'cowshed'

3.3.4. Sayings and Proverbs

The stereotyped sayings and proverbs, which have more or less identical meanings, have some formal variations in various regions:

1. maja mara gaji miya mari kha daphali (Deor).
   'Ghazi Mian enjoys something and Daphali gets the punishment for it'.
   .................dhakkA................. (Gkp.)
   '...............is bullied .................'
.............lat khay mujawar       (Jnpr)
.............Mujawar is kicked for it'.

2. buribakawā ke bhaïsi biāli ṝāli gāwbhāri ghûća leke daural
  'A foolish fellow's buffalo calved and all the villagers
  ran to his house with their milkpots to get milk from him'.

  Sojhiyāke bhaïsi ................. (Ball.)
  An innocent person's buffalo .........

3. marjī gobind ke kerāi phare bheli (Der., Jnp.).
  'If God wishes even peaplants bear molasses as fruits'.

  .........rāmji ke marjī .......... (Ball.)
  'If it is Rama's wish'. .............

4. ṭāthī bāithalo rahi ta gadhā re ūc rahi (Ball.)
  'Even if the elephant is sitting it will be taller
  than a donkey.'

  ṭāthī ketano dubarālī ta gadhā re moṭe rahi (Deor.)
  ..............becomes weak, it will be fatter than
  a donkey.

  τūṭāhī ṭāthī tau nāw lākh        (Jnpr.)
  'Even if the elephant has very poor health it costs
  nine lacs'.

5. dekhādekhī puni dekhādekhī pap   (Bst., Jnpr.).
  'People usually do holy deeds or sin by seeing
  others do it'.

  ......................dharam...............(Der.)
  ......................religious deeds........
3.4. **Transitional Variations**

3.4.1. **Inter- and Intra District:**

There is sufficient linguistic diversity, on micro level of investigation on the basis of which a single district can be divided into a number of subdialectal regions. So much so that two speech varieties (east and west) of Jaumpur and (north and south) of Mirzapur belong to two exclusive dialects – Bhojpuri and Avadhi. Dubey, M.N. (1966) studied the dialect of Azamgarh and found three speech varieties (eastern, midland, and western) within the district. Similarly, the southern half of the Deoria district goes with the Eastern standard while the northern half with the Northern. It is controversial whether the whole of the Ghazipur district can be grouped with the Eastern Standard. Upadhyay, K.D. (1963 : 50) is of the opinion that the western half of the Ghazipur goes with the western standard. The investigator feels that the Ghazipur district is the central area in which many features of all the three standards have been amalgamated.

Now some examples of intra-district variations:
For the expression 'we were going' there are two variant forms in two regions of Ballia.

1. hamanika  jat rahalI ja (western and mid Ball.).
2. " " " sa (Doaba, Bairia region).

Similarly:

barawar = big (west Deoria)
barahan = big (east Deoria)
Besides the three standards — western, northern and eastern, there are districtwise variations in Bhojpuri. Some of them are so prominent that they have been given different names by Grierson, such as chapaṛiya, banarsi, baŋarahi (of the tract between the West Ballia and east Azamgarh which is not watered by the floods of Ganga), Sarwariya, Gorakhpuria, Jaunpuri and so on. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okp.</th>
<th>Der.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>herā gail</td>
<td>bilā gail</td>
<td>'It is lost'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham baṭī</td>
<td>ham baṇī</td>
<td>'I am'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even when Azamgarh, Varanasi, Jaunpur and Mirzapur are grouped into the Western Standard each district has its distinct linguistic traits which set it apart from other districts. The speech varieties of various districts can be compared to those of the major dialects like Avadhi, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili, etc, on a larger scale.

However, there is perfect intelligibility among the speakers of various district-varieties of Bhojpuri. Extremely local/regional vocables might seem somewhat difficult, yet they are understood in their contexts. Along with the detailed accounts of social and regional variations a single grammar may be written on the whole.
3.4.2. **Urban**

When we take up Varanasi and Gorakhpur cities we are faced with a much more complex society and also a speech differentiation of a corresponding complexity. In fact, the study of the urban speech still remains anomalies of linguistic geography. The speech of the district towns is less complex and that of the smaller towns the least. The smaller towns like Lar, Barhaj, Dobhi, Ghosi, Maunath, Bhanjan, Saidpur, Kushinagar, Bāŋsgaon, Khalilabad etc. have little speech differences in comparison to that of the rural countryside.

In last few years all the major and minor towns have widely expanded and their population doubled. The activities and needs of people in cities differ from those in the villages and this has its reflections in the speech behaviour of the people.

The 'Kashika' dialect is the native tongue of the static population in Urban Varanasi. In its colloquial form it is distinct from all other rural or urban dialects of Bhojpuri, so much so that on the basis of speech only it is possible to identify a native resident of Varanasi city and its vicinity. This dialect can be shown by a broad circle (isogloss) across the Ganges for including Ramnagar, Moghulsarai area with the city of Benaras in the centre.

Varanasi is the capital centre of the eastern variety of standard Hindi. Because of the influence of literacy many
tatsama words of Hindi and Sanskrit are current in the speech of urban Varanasi and the vicinity. Hence it is said that the Kashika dialect is closer to standard Hindi.

People of urban Varanasi are fond of flying kites; it is a common sight there. Hence the word 'gudjī' is in vogue there. In far-flung rural regions it is almost unknown and the word is understood as a name of a female child.

The word 'gurū', of a long tradition and deep roots in Hindu religion and culture, is subject to a shift of meaning in Varanasi. The original meaning is 'a reverend teacher of the classics or a pundit of the Gurukula system of education' is still preserved in the Sanskrit paṭḥahalas as gurujī and in the rural world as gurūmahārāja for one who gives mantras. In schools all over the Bhojpuri speech community the common word is 'māṣṭar sahab' which becomes 'sar' or 'sarjī' in English medium schools of Varanasi and Gorakhpur. At the university level in these cities the word 'gurujī' is gaining ground because the students probably find that 'māṣṭar sahab' is short for the status of professors. However, in urban Varanasi the word has come to mean 'a cunning fellow' or a minor 'Gunda' also. 'kā guru', 'bara guru haw', etc. are common expressions there. Verma, Madan Lal (1974: Abuses 95) regrets the sad lot of semantics (currency of the derogatory meaning) of the word 'gurū' in a cultural and religious centre of the country: Varanasi. The Muslims use the word 'ustād' to mean the same.
3.4.3. **Border Areas**

Transitional variations can be attested where a shift from one speech variety to another takes place. Basti, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Ballia show the extremes of speech variations in Bhojpuri. The speech varieties of the border zones are remarkably different from those of the interior mainland. The neighbouring dialects of Bhojpuri are Avadhi on the west, Nepali on the north, Maithili and Magahi on the east, Baghel and Chattisgarhi on the south. To fix the boundaries between Bhojpuri and the above mentioned dialects, and between its sub-dialectal regions is a difficult task. It becomes more difficult because the dialects and speech varieties in question (except Nepali) belong to the same language. In the event of political or natural boundaries (i.e. rivers, mountains, dense forests, etc.) the job would have been relatively simpler. But in plains where dialects and sub-dialects penetrate into and overlap each other it is difficult to draw a fixed dividing line and to say that Bhojpuri ends here and Avadhi begins hereafter. Dialects and sub-dialects are only arbitrary subdivisions of the total spread of the Bhojpuri/Hindi language. The borderlines separating them are only conventional and get blurred in transition zones. There naturally is an intermediary transition area which is bidialectal in nature. The study of Singh, A.B., 1960, shows that the speech of the border zones ('ABID') is a transitional continuum and is
Key to the map:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rajapur Mandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nepalganj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mahilwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Payagpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Barhani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bidhiyani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nawabganj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Samsuddinpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Patna Mubarakpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Pratappur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Jalalpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Sarai Misirani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Singarauli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Sarna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to the map:

[Map of AVADHI-BHOJPURI TRANSITION AREA]
characterized by the mixture of elements pertaining to dialects on either sides.

Nouns and adjectives in Bhojpuri morphology, unlike their counterparts in standard Hindi, have their many variants. They have three forms—short, long, longer and "second longer" (Singh, A.B. 1972:263); thus "camər, camara, camarawə and camarawana". Out of these the first two types are common throughout, the third one has restricted use.

beṭə 'son', bər 'big', kariyə 'black'
beṭəwa bərakə karikka
beṭaumə bərakawə kariyawə

are in common use but not camarawə, dhobiyawə, maliyawə, etc. The fourth type, i.e. ghoɾawə, camarawana, domawana, etc. remain confined to the western part of the western standard called ABTD belt.

3.4.4. Conclusion

Bhojpuri can be realized in its dialects and sub-dialects and the sub-dialects in their idiolects. Societies differ socially as well as geographically and so do the dialects. The speech differences indicate only differing societies. The social and regional dialects are mutually exclusive: one being vertical or hierarchical, the other horizontal—spread over the length and breadth of the Bhojpuri community. The phenomenon of the spread of dialects can be compared with the arrangement of linguistic units in
their paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. The two types together make the fine network of Bhojpuri dialects and subdialects intertwined and on the whole constitute the formal texture of language.

It can be said that the conspicuous local and regional speech variations, which preserve localisms, are on the way of being blurred because of widespread education and eradication of illiteracy. Besides, the increased mobility of population to and fro the cities and up and down the social scale and the news media of mass communication also contribute to blur the speech differences at large.
3.5. **STANDARDIZATION OF BHOJPURI**

3.5.1. Why Standardize Bhojpuri?

Bhojpuri is predominantly a spoken tongue and regionally so diverse that it can be called a various dialect. This vernacular has a large unilingual community to support its survival. It is employed to perform only limited functions and, thus, is less developed than Brajbhāṣā, Awadhi and Maithili which are used for literary writings. It is the language of hearth and home and of informal contexts. Functionally it can be compared with the L variety of diglossic situation. However, this does not mean that Bhojpuri can not be developed. "The history of language demonstrate convincingly that there is no such thing as inherently handicapped language. All the great languages of today were once undeveloped" (Haugen quoted by Srivastava, 1975 : 32).

It can be pointed out that the Bhojpuri speech community has done little in this respect. This state of affairs stands in sheer contrast to that of Maithili. Even when that community is much smaller and the speakers much less in number in comparison to that of Bhojpuri, the Maithils have tried hard and have been successful in establishing Maithili as a language and a subject of academic pursuit from the school, to the university level.
Maithili has been recognized by the SAHITYA AKADÉMÍ and it is taught as a subject at the post-graduate level at KSD and Mithila Universities and their affiliated colleges. It is consoling to know that conscious efforts for the development and cultivation of Bhojpuri have only recently begun.

Standardization has to be basically of experimental nature. It is imposed upon rather than inherent in the language. One does not know which innovations and new coinages the language will assimilate and which it will discard. The existence of grammars and dictionaries is not enough unless the linguistic descriptions are accepted by the users. The speakers usually have a sense of judgment regarding what is worth retaining. They should know and be taught to use the best alternative expression for achieving the maximum rhetorical effect. However, standardization has its own limits; by way of it the language or dialect in question can not be made an absolutely uniform code, fixing it for all times and imposing it on all the speakers of the most diverse dialects. "An absolute standard with uniform spelling, grammar and lexicon has never been attained by any known language. A high degree of uniformity backed by social prestige is what is to be aimed at" (Krishnamurti, 1973: M.).

Now that English is no longer a compulsory subject in the schools and colleges nor is it a medium of instruction.
Thus the foreign language has disappeared from the entire north central belt of India. In that case Hindi has to be more efficient for all purposes and along with it the dialects - Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Brajbhasha, etc. have to shoulder the new responsibility. Bhojpuri too has to be something more as a means of mass communication than what it is at present. The development of Bhojpuri will give a boost to the development of Hindi. For its strength and prosperity Hindi owes much to its dialects. The eminent scholar Misra, Vidya Niwas (1975 : 92)* rightly opines that "the regional dialects are the main source of strength to Hindi. Having taken its elixir from these regional dialects Hindi has assumed its own identity separate from that of Sanskrit". The north central India's large network of dialects has given Hindi its gigantic magnitude. If Hindi is accused to be tough and artificial, it is only because it is being cultivated off the base of its dialects and the distance between Hindi and folk speech is ever increasing. The words of Bhojpuri and other dialects impart vividness and homely flavour to standard Hindi. The literary works of Jayasi, Vidyapati, Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are testimony to the fact that these dialects are capable of producing classics. They can provide Hindi the vigour to last longer.

* Translated from the original in Hindi : "हिन्दी की शक्ति के स्वरूप है इसकी केंद्रीय उपभाषायें, इन भाषाओं से निरंतर रस लेकर ही हिन्दी संस्कृत से शब्द लेकर भी संस्कृत नहीं है"
and it can be said that there is still plenty of room in Hindi for borrowing from its dialects.

Revival of the dead Hebrew in Israel, standardization of Swahili in Tanzania and creation of Bahasa Indonesia from a nonstandard pidgin type Bazar Malay are some of the examples which show that even Bhojpuri can be standardized and made dynamic to meet the linguistic requirements of the speech community in terms of speakers being able to participate effectively in day to day communication system. "Logically speaking an ideal system of communication should be ideally uniform, and any difference in its coding and decoding operations means less efficiency in its use leading to lack of perfect understanding and hence some amount of break in communication its primary purpose (Ghatage, 1969 :52). To attain this ideal situation is usually not possible nor will it work even if attained. The more uniform it becomes, the less language like it will look. However, there is much truth in what Ghatage says.

Bhojpuri has immense dialectal varities and their sub-types, so much so that no less than four standards (northern, western, eastern or southern, and Nagpuria) are recognized, and each of them is further classifiable into district, intradistrict, rural and urban varieties. All varieties (whether social, geographical or otherwise) are not equal in their social acceptability. All of them do not command prestige nor practically all can be used for all purpose
The development of Bhojpuri should not be hampered by the extremely puristic attitude. To an extent it may be exposed to the wave of innovations which will make it versatile. As and when needed lexicon can be constantly added. Sanskrit and Hindi are a good source for borrowing new words. Many Urdu words are already retained on account of their familiarity and common currency due to cultural contacts in historic times. Patwarī, tasildar, peskar, muskil, makan, intahān, etc. can be cited as some of the examples. If Bhojpuri lacks native words for its various registers there is nothing wrong if it imports from other languages. Common and novel linguistic items (lexical, grammatical or semantic) borrowed from other languages will have to be thoroughly nativized so that they agree with the phonological and grammatical nature of the language and are easily assimilated by the native speakers of Bhojpuri. The efficiency of such items, disregarding the language they come from, will have to be seen while incorporating them into the native system. As far as possible heavy borrowing should be avoided and originality and purity of the dialect maintained otherwise it will be artificial. Scholars are of the opinion that "standard languages are artifacts that result from pruning or grafting the tree" (Haugen, 1968:268). Bhojpuri should maintain its rusticity which is the essential character of this dialect. By 'rusticity' is meant the effectiveness, intelligibility and Bhojpuri ness of the dialect.
which are related to the speech features such as diction, stress, intonation, continuity and speed. These features will be available in plenty in the utterances of the habitual native speakers. On this count the illiterate peasant folk of the countryside can be highly regarded.

It is true that our age of science and technology is making varying demands on Bhojpuri also. For this reason Bhojpuri needs modernization which will imply making it modern (pertaining to our present time). As a system of communication it should be able to keep pace with rapid progress on all lines and fulfil the actual demands of the present society. Westernization along with it may result into partial or total abandonment of traditional values which will sooner or later mean the loss of Bhojpuri's original identity. A word of precaution may be said against the impending danger in this process, that is, too much sophistication in the name of standardization will tell upon the naturalness and conservativeness of the dialect and the very purpose of standardization will be defeated.

The first and foremost advantage of standardization and language planning in Bhojpuri will be that it will bring social and linguistic uniformity in the speech community. It will unify and link up all the social strata and geographical varieties and will form a single cohesive speech community. The social inequality will get compensated by conforming to a norm or standard. If the low caste and low
class groups cultivate their speech up to it they will not be deprived of many social advantages.

Engineers make the world easier to live in for everybody. The lofty buildings, great bridges and dams, the railways, highways, aerodromes and seaports have been engineered only to our needs. So do the language planners in the realm of language behaviour. Standardization and other measures of language planning can be hoped to bring many facilities to Bhojpuri speech community.

For standardization the undermentioned processes will have to be followed:

(i) Selection
(ii) Codification
(iii) Propagation

3.5.2. The Question of Norm and Selection

By the term 'norm' is meant appropriate speech behaviour. Proper behaviour is desirable in all societies and all cultures; propriety and decency is desirable in language use also. The notion of norm of speech can be equated with the correctness in language use. Correct usage is to language what rules of etiquette are to human behaviour; it facilitates effective communication. In case of Bhojpuri also, as elsewhere, it becomes almost necessary to establish a particular norm of speech behaviour (to over ride the
immense diversity of speech varieties) and codify the same. Panini did it for Sanskrit. The first step would be to select one variety over others. Rejection of a speech variety will actually mean rejection of that culture. Sociolinguistics proper is strictly against this on the grounds that all speech varieties of a language or dialect are capable of performing the role, assigned to them and are equally valid as long as they are readily understood. Notwithstanding selection is obligatory for practical utility.

Earlier scholars like Grierson and Tiwari (1960: Introduction) have already recognized the South Bhojpuri (to which this researcher prefers to call the Eastern Bhojpuri) as standard. This researcher does not differ from them on this issue. He too, a native speaker of this standard, believes that this 'rauwa' dialect is more sweet, polite and lucid than the rest. With the central chunk of the Bhojpuri region as its field, the standard variety envisages the Bhojpur, Rohtas and Chapra districts of Bihar and Ballia, Ghazipur and (south-eastern) Deoria of U.P. into its fold.

As an essential condition for selection, all varieties of Bhojpuri should be thoroughly studied and compared, if possible frequency of the linguistic traits counted. The selection will be concerned with language use.

There are many pronunciations and constructions in the speech of the low caste and low class groups which
can be termed as 'bad Bhojpuri' and they can be uniformly rejected altogether for being utterly confusing and the most deviant from the norm. Conforming to the norm would amount to correct and standard speech and deviation from it to incorrect and substandard or nonstandard. This does not mean that rustic speech is not useful. What is considered as rustic today may be part of the standard language tomorrow through its employment in creative writings and written literature.

3.5.3. Codification

In the process of standardization the technical support of writing is a must because of its function as a uniform medium of communication between the speakers separated in time and space. Shortage of graphization in Bhojpuri is one of the main reasons of its underdevelopment. "When it comes to modernizing Indian language, script constitutes a very important issue. Typing, printing and telegraphic communication are some of the key areas in which the issue is crucial" (Ishwaran, 1969: 146). It is no longer a problem with Bhojpuri since it has adopted Devanagari. The only difficulty is that this script does not symbolize many distinctive sounds of Bhojpuri (\( : mh, nh, rh, r^h \)); hence they have to be represented by providing symbols for them. Establishing an orthography and script reform are a part of the process of standardization.
After determining a widely acceptable norm which will ultimately rest upon usage a reference grammar and a complete dictionary should be prepared. Codification will stabilize the speech and admit minimum variation in forms. Panini rendered a valuable service to Sanskrit and linguistics of this day in this very sense. The codifier used to be considered a law-giver and his codification a virtual law but now he is regarded as a linguistic technician. The dictionary will record the lexical repertoire of Bhojpuri with their best pronunciation and usage. Not only will the dictionary and reference grammar prescribe the norm and preserve the identity of the language but will also make the attainment facilitated and maintenance lengthened. As a word of caution three things should be in mind during this process:

(i) A norm for unity across linguistic borders will have to be decided.

(ii) A living language always changes.

(iii) Prescriptive or normative grammar if adhered to too vigorously kills the language.

In the name of dictionary of Bhojpuri there are only a few inadequate works as under:

(i) Bhojpuri Shabdakosh (pages 28) by Miss L. Saint Joseph. This publication of about 1940 from Mission House, Motihari gives meaning in Hindi and English of about 350 Bhojpuri words.
(ii) *Krishi Kosh* Vol. I (pages 145), ed. by Dr. Vishwanath Prasad, 1959, and Vol. II (pages 378), ed. by Vaidyanath Pandey, 1966, both published by Bihar Rastrabhasha Parishad, Patna. This is a good collection of vocables belonging to agriculture.

A mention can be made of Sir Grierson's 'Bihar Peasants' Life' and 'Seven Grammars of Bihari Language'. With this asset in hand a fresh start can be made for making a dictionary.

Besides, the following measures should be taken by the speech community:

1. Making available readable materials e.g. books, newspapers, journals and bulletins in great variety and number.

2. Collection and publication of unpublished poetic works of Bhojpuri Saints, and of folk-tales, sayings, proverbs and idioms.

3. Developing Bhojpuri music and theatre: folk-songs, folk-dance and folk-drama; the gramophone records be made of Bhojpuri songs.

4. Arranging conferences 'kavi sammelans', lecture series in the academy of scholars, writers and social workers; further research in various aspects of Bhojpuri language, literature and culture.
5. Conduct a fresh survey of the dialects, the speech community and preparation of a linguistic atlas.

6. Award talented writers and scholars and publish their creative works.

7. Collection and preservation of old manuscripts, official documents, personal letters, drafts, 'farms' and orders, official letters, etc.

8. Translation of valuable works in other languages into Bhojpuri.

"The standard language is most definite and best observed in its written form, the literary Language" (Bloomfield, 1964: 393). Hence primacy is accorded to writing rather than to speech and to formal rather than informal style of Bhojpuri, especially in its written form. The speech of the cultured speakers whom people admire commands high social prestige and that can be exploited to serve for the present purpose. The selected variety, standardized and codified, will have minimum variation in their form. It will be more stable but the stability should be flexible, admitting modifications according to the socio-cultural change as and when it takes place. People and societies do change and there should be scope within the standard for corresponding modifications and adjustments. Flexibility will mean the readiness of Bhojpuri to accept innovations (Structural or lexical). For example, Bhojpuri may admit clusters in word initial position which
will pave the way for smooth adaptation of many terms of Hindi, English and Sanskrit in the main. For example,

Prophesar 'Professor'
Prash 'Question'
Trak 'Truck'
Krishn 'Krishna'
Kles 'Sorrow'

The illiterate may find the new clusters somewhat difficult to learn initially.

3.5.4. Propagation

Publicity plays a crucial role in evolution of a language or dialect and its standardization. Bhojpuri lacks it. The mass media and educational institutions are the effective means which can propagate Bhojpuri far and wide. It should reach the rank and file of the community.

(A) The Mass media:

The radio stations of the region (Varanasi, Gorakhpur, Patna, Muzaffarpur, etc.) can relay a Bhojpuri version of the national and state news bulletin which they don't do right now and can give more programmes about farming, folk-culture, education, etc. in Bhojpuri. A few Bhojpuri programmes that are broadcast from these stations display the dialect highly influenced by Hindi rather than its pure rustic form. This does more harm than the good. Hence it is desirable and
advisable as well that cultured native speakers of Bhojpuri be employed at these stations for radio services.

The 'Bidesiya' and 'Loha Singh' dramas are quite popular. The popularity of the 'Bidesiya' drama (written by late Shri Bhikhāri Thākur) can be estimated by the fact that whenever and wherever it was staged and played it attracted such a large audience that the entire staff of the nearby police-station used to be there as guard.

Films are popular among all people ranging from the illiterate to the highly educated and from the poor to the rich. They are one of the best audio-visual aids for language teaching and language learning. They also serve for effective publicity. Many Bhojpuri movies such as Bidesiya. He Ganga Maiyā Tohe Piyarī Charhaibo, Lagī Nahī Chhūte Rām, Māi ka Lal, Balam Pardesiya, Dangal, Kab Hoiñē Gawā Hamār, Angana Bhaīl Bides, etc. are already quite popular and are in great demand. The 'Kajārī' and film songs of Bhojpuri are very sweet and they are sung with zeal by all Bhojpuri people. The first line of some of them is being mentioned here:

1. rakhīyā banhāla bhaiyā sawan āil...........
2. latē lale othawai se barisele lalaiyā....
3. āre rāma krish bane maniharī .............
4. kāsi hile, paṭnā hile, baliyā hilela.....
5. hāsi hāsi panawā khiyawle beimanawā......
6. kahe basuriyā bajawle ki sudhi bisarawle ..... 
7. jā jā re suganā jāre kahi de sajanwā se .....  

* As the title suggests 'bidesiya' is a person who has gone to a foreign (remote) land for earning money and his wife suffers on account of her separation from him.
A recent development in Hindi cinema is that the Bhojpuri speech is partly introduced into exclusively Hindi movies as the speech of maid-servants, attendants and low-class people to provide naturalness and local colour.

Importance of journalism for the task of standardizing and propagating the speech can not be underestimated. A daily newspaper and regular magazines (weekly or monthly) can deploy Bhojpuri better. They are an object of mass appeal because of their wide variety of contents, colourful and pictorial nature and wide circulation.

(B) The Institutional Means :

The institutional means contribute much to the cultivation and propagation of a language. The Nagri Pracharini Sabha, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Prayag, the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, the Central Hindi Directorate, the Central Hindi Institute, etc. are such means working for the growth of Hindi. There is acute shortage of such institutions in case of Bhojpuri. However, it will be consoling to know that on Sept. 21, 1976 in a small house of Patna the Bhojpuri Academy was founded as a non-government establishment which later on got recognition and assistance from the government of Bihar. Conscious efforts for the development and cultivation of Bhojpuri has only recently begun and within its limited means the academy
is working satisfactorily. The academy has taken up the trying job with a lofty aim of preserving and cultivating the Bhojpuri language, literature, culture and art within the larger interest of maintaining national unity and nourishing Hindi. There should be institutions of the above-mentioned type also in Varanasi and Gorakhpur which represent the western sector of the speech community. The Bhojpuri Academy has published a sizable literature in Bhojpuri which consists of novels, dramas, collection of poems, stories and essays in prose. Besides, it also publishes a magazine 'Bhojpuri Academi Patrika' once in two months and organizes all India Bhojpuri Conference. The list of its members in hundreds consists of the elite of the community, university professors, college lecturers, literary artists and the like from all districts of the Bhojpuri region and also those settled outside at distant places but interested in participating the activities of the 'akadami'.

Elaboration will mean giving Bhojpuri maximum roles to play. Unless it has a wide range of functions and serves all the purposes it can not meet the needs of the community in view of the fast changing complexities of modern life. It is regretted that such a large community does not have its native tongue as a subject of study nor as a medium of instruction even at the primary stage, with the sole exception of the Bihar University, Muzaffarpur which has it as a subject
at its graduate level. But there too the Bhojpuri Department is a two-man department and poorly equipped. It can very well be a subject of study in colleges and universities and a medium of instruction at least up to primary (or middle) schools. It is to be expected that students with adequate training in their MT will have better commands of Hindi and English which they will learn at a later stage.

3.5.5. Recognition by the government

Bhojpuri is not recognized by the government nor is it the language of administration and records, courts, officers, educational institutions, and mass media. Hence it should get recognition and an expansion in its roles it performs in the speech community. That will contribute to the growth and prosperity of Bhojpuri.

3.5.6. Conclusion

Bhojpuri has all the potentialities of a powerful tongue. It only needs be standardized and cultivated; it can be developed to the extent that it expresses any idea and serves as an effective and satisfactory system of communication.