4.0. BI- AND MULTILINGUALISM

Introduction:

The theme of bilingualism is a knotty problem. Mehrotra (1977: 97) compares it to a "labyrinth which has led astray even the most cautious among scholars. The subject becomes all the more complicated because of its various dimensions — linguistic, sociological, psychological, educational and political. We can not, therefore, make a correct assessment of bilingual situation until all these dimensions are explored and explained". Bilingualism according to Bell (1976: 118) "is an instance of the concept of co-existent systems, .......... multi-code usage is normal linguistic behaviour, whether it be intra- or interlanguage switching and, in rather simplistic terms, it might be better to think of the bilingual, not as an oddity but as an ordinary individual, whose repertoire happens to contain codes which, in others, would be labelled as separate languages". Hence within the limits of this dissertation the present study may not be exhaustive; however an attempt has been made to study the verbal behaviour of the Bhojpuri speakers of the region in question in bilingual and multilingual contexts. It will show how the actual vernacular speech becomes affected (and mixed) by other codes; what are the main disparities, if any, that exist in bi- and multilingual speech of various caste groups and strata of the community.
Bilingualism is a relative concept; it involves the question of:

(i) **Degree**: degree of competence in languages concerned.

(ii) **Function**: the purposes for which languages are used, i.e. the role these languages play in verbal behaviour.

(iii) **Alternation**: the extent to which the usage alternates between the languages in contact; i.e. how they change from one language to another and under what conditions.

(iv) **Interference**: to what extent do the speakers fuse them together, or how does one of the languages affects the use of the other.

It is the bilingual speakers who are the initiators of the social as well as linguistic changes in the community. The incidence of bilingualism is, roughly speaking, more in the speech of the higher castes and classes, the educated and the urban population. By rich cultural tradition and an easy access to education the H people automatically know more than one languages. In Bhojpuri area — Sanskrit, Hindi, English and Urdu, besides Bhojpuri which is the MT, create this situation.

Multilingualism is a characteristic feature of the urban speech community because the "urban set up presents a
wide range of differences in the social structure as well as in the linguistic contact" (Padmanabh, 1977: 18).

Varanasi and Gorakhpur are two major cities in the area under study. Of the two Varanasi is bigger in many respects: there are three universities, about half a dozen degree- and post-graduate colleges and many intermediate colleges, high-schools and primary schools. Gorakhpur has a smaller ratio. Almost all district head quarters have one or more degree or post-graduate colleges, and so on. During last few decades these cities and towns have swollen enormously in size; similarly many minor towns have come up in existence in the area. Because of the high percentage of literacy, heterogeneous (and more or less unstable) population, industrial complex and fast means of transport and communication urban Banaras and Gorakhpur present problems of bi- and multilingualism of a different nature. The nature and extent of bi- and multilingualism in the rural areas is somewhat different than in the urban.

4.1.1. **Bhojpuri and English**

English in India is a highly controversial subject; much has been said and written for and against it. Every succeeding year, since the British left this country, has seen many Indians raising hue and cry in an advocacy for the retention of English and almost an equal number of
vociferous champions who oppose it in the same spirit. Over the decades there have also been many incidents of turmoil all over the country. The north and south still seem to be divided on this issue. And till this day the problem remains unsolved; rather it is assuming alarmingly complex magnitude.

Nevertheless, English is so much ingrained on the Indian scene that scholars like S. Mathai call it an Indian language and Khushwant Singh his mother tongue. In about one and a half centuries this language has spread its roots on Indian soil and though spoken and understood by much fewer a number than any of the native languages it is now getting a near native status. Their claim is that Indian English is a product of this land and in this sense it is very much Indian rather than foreign. If compared in functional aspects, English surpasses Hindi in one sense: If Hindi, in non-Hindi region, showed restricted domain with unlimited users, according to Pandit, English, as an associate language for urban elite population, can be characterized as having extensive domain with limited users" (Pandit quoted by Srivastava, 1975: 30).

The main reason behind the hue and cry is that during the British regime English was the language of the government, court and education. Knowing English was a passport to getting government jobs and was a marked badge
of being elite in society. The situations have changed since the country became free. Though English has still been trailing, the growing demand of the masses is that in the name of democracy they should be governed through a language of their own. Their language should be the medium of all functions of public interest. It is only the vested interest that wants to retain English; those who think want to govern those who toil by not letting them understand their rights and privileges and by exploiting them for their own selfish ends. Because of the upperhand of English in administration native languages have been exiled. Even the peons, who do not know good English, prefer to speak English mixed language to their own. A class of officers and administrators resist the use of native languages in many walks of administration and this makes the entry of the native languages almost forbidden. On this count the common-folk ever remain second class citizens in their own country. They want Hindi to be installed in the place of English. Since 1979 the fourteen languages given in VIII schedule of the Indian constitution are being used as medium/subject in the UPSC, IAS and other competitive examinations.

At present English is being ousted in favour of Hindi at all levels of communication. It is no longer a compulsory subject anywhere in educational institutions of
the region. As a result many English teachers already on the staff have become superfluous and they have been asked to qualify themselves in other subjects. The protagonists of Hindi hold the view that the retention of English is detrimental to the growth of regional languages and vernaculars. However, the findings of the survey show a surprisingly different thing: nearly 80% of the informants opted for the retention and cultivation of English. This reflects the psychology of the masses of the region in general and the fact that English still commands a high prestige. Below is being given a line of a particular 'Tilak-song' sung by women at 'Tilak', a pre-marriage ceremony:

hamar babu parhele apanejI tilak bara thor ba

'My son (/YB/HYB) studies English, the dowry is very meagre'. That is, the dowry should be much more, in proportion to his English education.

It has been observed that the people of the Bhojpuri community in general hesitate calling a highly educated person "really educated" if he does not have a working knowledge of English as well. Because sometime or the other there comes an occasion when the educated is demanded of writing or explaining a particular paper in English (e.g. telegram, notice, application, legal judgement in a case); speaking English to an officer or an outsider who begins in English. Such persons sincerely realize that, without a working
knowledge of English, however, highly educated they may be, they fall short of the norm and ability of the educated. This becomes acutely painful to such a scholar when in course of his higher education he has to consult books in English. English is quite useful as a library language but because of the lack of its proper knowledge many students getting higher education fail to avail the advantages of quite rich and informative literature of various kinds available in English. The bilinguals who know English are very few indeed. Not a few of them exhibit many features of Bhojpuri and Hindi in their English. The marked deficiency in their expression of English is due to the utter rustic environment and also ill-equipped training given to them at schools and colleges. Inspite of a number of deviations in their speech and writing, English has become an inseparable element of their day to day speech. They quite freely use English lexical and syntactic items in their Bhojpuri and Hindi and through this they too are deemed as superiors. This psychology gives a stimulus to many people for making use of English sentences, phrases or words in formal or informal contexts.
4.1.2. **Bhojpuri and Sanskrit**

The classical Sanskrit, a language of ancient India has been studied by Panini and Patanjali in their works. They have also codified a norm of correct usage. Its mastery was a difficult task; learning Sanskrit meant thorough practice of the language for about a decade. For this reason it could not be widely spoken, and remained confined only to the elites. The Brahmins and their royal patrons have preserved it and handed down to the succeeding generations.

The cultivation and growth of Sanskrit was hampered by the "decline of the Hindu kingdoms during the present millennium, and the rise of Persian and Urdu as court languages. A more rapid decline in Sanskrit learning followed the change to English, and later, modern Indian languages, as media of education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (Killingley, 1967 : 300). However, Sanskrit, at onetime in India, was a powerful language. It covered a large area and served as a lingua franca. According to Killingley (1967 : 300) "it was the only language used for advanced education; and it was also the only language known, if only by a few, in every part of India. As the one all-India language, it was used extensively not only by Hindus but also by Buddhists, Jains and other heterodox sects, and even by Parsis."
Now Sanskrit is known as the devavāni — the language of the gods. For the Hindus, even if a great many of them do not understand it, it is still the sole language of religion, of ceremonial rites and rituals, of prayers and worships, and of learned discourse 'Shāstrārtha'. From the viewpoint of specific function it performs, Sanskrit is a classical language. It is nobody's mother tongue (although few people do claim it their in census reports) and is learnt by instruction at language. We know of its standardized form only, devoid of any colloquial forms, slangs and social or regional variations.

Sanskrit has been the language of a high culture and potential religion. The upper castes have more of Sanskrit and hence have higher culture and religion than the lower castes. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas have developed a rich tradition of mythology (religious and spiritual) and songs, slokas, prayers, Bhajan kirtan and the like whereas the middle castes have less of its and the low castes the least. Instead, they have mundane stories and songs for the purpose of trivial entertainment. The high caste people give to their customs and beliefs supernatural explanations rather than the common sense attitude of the latter. During the survey when asked about the names of our main gods and goddesses the high caste people began with the trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, and so on, whereas
low castes came up with the local deities, minor saints, etc. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas have identified themselves with gods and goddesses. The significant cultural difference, in almost every respect, makes a wide gap between the two.

Religion depends for its perpetuation on a continuous verbal tradition, it is not accessible to direct sensual perception. To some extent the purity of the Vedic language has been maintained to serve the religious rites. Sanskrit has the same place for the Hindus what the Hebrew has for the Jews. Brahmins have been in the front to preserve it, transmitting the knowledge from one generation to the other, first by oral recitation and later by using Brahmi and Devnagri scripts for writing it down. Though prakrit and Apabhramsha the New-Indo-Aryan languages and the regional vernaculars have developed. The blood-stream of Sanskrit flows through their veins; Sanskritization is a pan-Indian feature. It is
4.1.3. Bhojpuri and Hindi

Even when Hindi is very much everywhere it is more in use in the cities of Varanasi and Gorakhpur and in district towns than in the countryside. Some minor officers who visit the villages talk to the villagers in Bhojpuri unless they belong to a non-Bhojpuri region. Some of them sometime make a discrimination: they talk to the educated upper caste people in Hindi, while with the simple farmers in Bhojpuri. Big officers from the towns, such as the Deputy Director of Consolidation, the S.O.C., the District Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, etc. on their visit to villages talk in Hindi only because they are normally from non-Bhojpuri area. Many of them casually shift to English or mix English words and phrases with Hindi. With them the rank and file talk in the vernacular; some people of the H social groups talk in Hindi and rarely in English.

At primary and high schools the vernacular is used at large but at colleges Hindi is used for classroom teaching, lectures and formal conversation. The quantum of the vernacular Bhojpuri which is largest at primary schools recedes upwards. For interpersonal communication at rural colleges Bhojpuri, Hindi and/or a mixed variety is used. There is a wide variation in codes that are used depending on the role of the interlocutors, topic and context or
situation. Their city counterparts employ more of Hindi and some English as and when the situation demands.

If a person lands in Varanasi, Gorakhpur or any major town, he has to speak in Hindi (except with rikshawalas, porters, etc. who may otherwise guess the speaker as a visitor from the outside and charge more). Monodialectal interaction is possible in villages but difficult in Varanasi and Gorakhpur or in other district towns, and so on, where the speaker has to shift from Bhojpuri to Hindi or sometimes English. The addressee may be a stranger (—— a Bengali, a Muslim, a graduate from the university campus or a visitor to the city) and may not understand the dialect. The vernacular Bhojpuri, because of its limited functions, gives way to Hindi which becomes handy and serves as lingua franca. For intra social groups, even in these cities and towns, it is only Bhojpuri which is mostly used.

4.1.4. The Functional Differences

Bhojpuri is the language of the majority of population of the region. It is the MT of the entire rural world, and also of native residents of the urban centres therein. In this sense the Bhojpuri speech community can be said to be a homogeneous community. Still Bhojpuri is the sole language of a large chunk of people. However, a close look at the issue shows that Bhojpuri forms a constituent of the cluster of languages (Hindi, English,
Sanskrit, Urdu and Bhojpuri) that are in actual use in this region. Among them are the functional differences; they serve different purposes. Bhojpuri is the language of the home, hearth, friends, and so on. It is used in informal contexts, and communication through it establishes intimacy and solidarity. With its restricted functions Bhojpuri can be equated with what Ferguson (1959) calls a variety of the diglossic situation.

In this entire region Hindi is used as a medium of instruction at all levels of education. It is also used for radio broadcast, speeches, newspapers and magazines, official work, administration and actually for all formal purposes. The greater utility of Hindi and the extent to which it is used scores over English or any other language. Hindi is a dominant language because it serves all the purposes of formal contexts and a relative proficiency in it becomes a matter of prestige. Those who are deficient in it achieve only few social privileges. Thus, Hindi functions as an H variety in this speech area.

The Bhojpuri dialect is not taught anywhere; it is learnt as the first language from the early childhood. An infant at school begins with Hindi (which is the medium of instruction throughout and also a compulsory subject up to Intermediate) and later learns little English and Sanskrit in the main. Hindi serves as a lingua franca; it is also the main language of the mass-media in the region. Of course,
there are Bhojpuri radio programmes as well on All India Radio meant for the rural folks. If we consider the functional aspect of Hindi and Bhojpuri we see a marked difference in it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Bhojpuri</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Official</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Contact:</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) intergroup</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) intragroup</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Literary</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Technical</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mass-media</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Court</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Religion:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Rituals, Worship</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Prayers</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Superposed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Home, hearth, informal</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = in restricted form.

Hindi has its regional variations which are more crystallized in its informal variety. To the extent that Bhojpuri speakers use Khari Boli Hindi they give it a local colour with Bhojpuri features. Thus the Bhojpuri speech community contributes in its own proportions to the growth
of Hindi. This implies that unless very careful even on formal occasions, speakers tend to mix many dialectal features in their Hindi.

4.1.5. Language Attitude and Language Identity

It is to be noted that many of the illiterate villagers do not know the names of their MT and other languages that are used in the region, nor do they have a clear concept of the identity of Bhojpuri, Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu. Hence, their replies to the questionnaire of the investigator were very vague. However, the statements of those who knew it and gave satisfactory answers indicate their language attitude. Their arguments in favour of retention of English are:

(i) Knowledge of English is compulsory for people of mobility. All signboards at shops and roads are in English mainly (says an illiterate farmer of Azamgarh who was earlier a truck-driver for years).

(ii) To teach English is a necessity. When one goes out its knowledge is desirable. You can see people talking in English almost everywhere and we are unable to understand anything out of it. If our children do not learn English they will remain all foolish (— a litigant Thakur of Jaunpur).
(iii) To know different peoples of the world, their ways of living, culture, ideology and their achievements knowing English is a must (___ an educated man of Deoria).

Their arguments in favour of revival of the Sanskrit language are:

(iv) It should be revived for our glorious culture.

(v) It should be preserved for the survival of the Hindu religion:

Sanskrit nahi rahega to hindu dharam nahi rahega

'If Sanskrit ceases to exist the Hindu religion too will die (___ a semi-literate M person of Azamgarh).

All are unanimous about the cultivation and maintenance of Bhojpuri and Hindi. Likewise almost all informants of the H social groups strongly advocated for a revival, retention and culture of Sanskrit but many of the M and almost all of the L opined that they can do well even without Sanskrit and hence its revival is not necessary. The use of Sanskrit tatsama words in the speech of H bears testimony to the fact that Sanskrit has a prestigious position in H group, so much so that those (of this group) who do not know much Sanskrit also use Sanskrit Vocables.

The Bhojpuri speakers try to maintain their identity even in far off places. This is more so in case of the
educated people. Those Bhojpuri people who have migrated to other countries such as Fiji, Mauritius, the British Guiana, Uganda, etc. Still retain their language and thereby provide a broader base for the development of Hindi.
4.2. **Code-Switching and Code-mixing**

4.2.1. **Introduction**

"Intralanguage and interlanguage switchings are sociolinguistic universals" (Verma, 1976: 161). Switching and mixing of the codes are the natural linguistic phenomena which characterize the bilingualism and multilingualism of the speech communities. Speakers "move back and forth among languages, dialects, and registers with ease, as demanded by the social situation or their own inner necessities" (Elgin, 1979: 109). Code-switching is a normal activity; it normally facilitates social interaction rather than hinders it. There are no single-style-speakers; even monolinguals show some range of style shifting.

The data shows that the Bhojpuri speakers also shift from one language or variety to another and also constantly transfer linguistic units of one language or variety into another when social situation demands.

The Bhojpuri is a receptive dialect. When native words for its various registers are lacking, the speakers conveniently borrow from other languages (especially Hindi, Urdu and English). A large number of English loans in Bhojpuri come through Hindi. Bhatia (1967) has studied in detail the English loans in Hindi.

The volume of education is much-thicker in urban areas; hence the education has influenced the speech of
the urban population more than the rural. Hence in Benaras, Gorakhpur and the district towns the quantum of switching and mixing of the codes is higher. In countryside too this phenomenon is not uncommon. This is more so in the speech behaviour of the educated people specially belonging to higher castes and classes than the rest of the community. Switching of the codes is attested in the speech of the educated groups whereas mixing even in the non-educated. Thus, code-switching and code-mixing are normally tolerated rather than condemned by the members of the community.

A great number of bilinguals is not proficient in the other language(s).

At times it becomes difficult to assign a particular sentence or utterance as belonging to a specific language. That is, whether the speaker is conscious or not, very often his utterance consists of elements belonging to more than one code or language. While describing the structuring of code-mixing in an Indian perspective Kachru, Braj (1977 : 194) says that "in a given multi-lingual situation, it is difficult to say that a person will code-mix in only one or two acquired languages. The tendency is to code-mix in all the languages in which a person code-switches with proficiency".
4.2.2. **The Choice of the Codes**

The following factors influence the choice or shifting of the code:

(i) Setting

(ii) Topic or Content

(iii) Social distance between the speakers

1. **Setting**: The social setting — time, place, and other such things determine the code the speaker will select. For example, the codes he will use in an office will be different from that of the home.

2. **The topic** also influences code-choice. A talk about education, legal issues, medicine or technical subject is bound to affect the medium of conversation. There will be abundance of Hindi and English words in it. The field of discourse will affect the medium and style of discourse.

3. **Social distance** is another situational variable which influences the selection of the code. It has two dimensions:

   (A) **Vertical**: Whether someone (the speaker/hearer/the person talked about) is superior or inferior. This measure places us on a respect-disrespect continuum (in terms of age, sex, marital status, caste, class, and so on).
(B) **Horizontal**: How intimate the interlocutors are
(in terms of friendship, sex, ethnic background, educational background, religious affinity and proximity of residence).

These factors influence the code-selection in an encounter. The frequency of switching and the degree of mixture depends on the topic of discourse and the level of education of the persons involved.

4.2.3. **The Switching and Mixing**

The rural countryside is traditionally a monolingual (or better say, monodialectal) community. Within it speech variations are prevalent and the investigations demonstrate that they are socially structured. Switching between its styles in a monolingual society is analogous to switching between different languages in a multilingual society. The following example is of style switching which can be equated with intra-language code-switching:

A woman from inside responds to a knocking at the door and questions the identity of the person on the other side. (The superscripts R, T and t denote respect, familiarity and derogatory use of pronouns):

kawan(t) ha re(t) = Who is there ?
ke(T) ha ho (T) = " " " "
'Who is there brother and does not speak'?  

καϊ(R) ραυω(R) ήαι(R) ?  \( \vec{\alpha}(R) \)  \( \beta\iota\iota\iota(R) \)  \( \kappa\iota\iota(R) \)  

\( \beta\iota\iota\iota\iota \cdot \kappa\iota\iota\iota \)  \( \alpha\iota\iota(R) \)  \( \hbar\iota \)  

'Halo, is it you? Please come inside and take your seat. Tell (me) how you are and when you came'.

In these four utterances we can see the addressee's style switching from derogatory/ordinary gradually to politeness and her attitude towards the addressee. The first utterance is derogatory with T pronoun and address form; the second is familiar equal with T pronoun and address form; the third is T pronoun + address term : bhai 'brother' + intimate; the fourth R pronoun + polite + solidary + intimate. The style of the last utterance is markedly different from the rest. Politeness, solidarity, intimacy and respect for the addressee have been expressed again and again. The pronoun, the address form and the verb all come in mutual agreement and concord with each other. Her switching of style expresses how she feels about her relative status in comparison to that of the addressee.

Another very common example of style switching can be seen at the occasion of a verbal dual between two or more persons. When the quarrel starts, the speakers of either or both the sides shift from polite to rough and from rough to abusive language. Hence, the code-switchings
that usually take place in Bhojpuri speech community can be characterized as follows:

(i) **Intralingual**: Within Bhojpuri from one style or dialectal variety to another.

(ii) **Bilingual**: between Bhojpuri and Hindi.

(iii) **Multilingual**: between and among Bhojpuri, Hindi, English, etc.

The topic as mentioned earlier influences code-choice to a great extent. A talk about education, legal issues of the courts, medical treatment or about any other field is bound to affect the medium of conversation. Even if the code does not change there will be abundance of Hindi and English words mixed into it. All and sundry know a bit of Hindi and some English words and while talking consciously or unconsciously they intersperse their utterances with the same; some examples:

kort mē gail rehāī ha relwe
mjistret kiha ego kēs rahal ha.
cahatānī je kesawa siwil mjistret
kiha trānsphar ho jau

'I had been to the court, there was a case in the court of the railway magistrate. I want that the case be transferred to the civil magistrate'.

In this utterance words like — kort, relwe mjistret, siwil mjistret, trānsphar, etc. are English. There are other utterances in the data in which words like — pendiā, apīl, jajment, prūph, ebhidens, dēt, etc. are used freely.
Similarly,

hamār bhāī aso gorakhpur inwarsītī se emme histri sekand dibijan pās bhaile ha

"My brother passed this year from the Gorakhpur University his M.A. in history with second division".

Other words that may occur in similar context are being given in paradigmatic sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tī di kālej jaumpur se</th>
<th>emessī kemistrī</th>
<th>thārd klās</th>
<th>pas bhaile ha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intār kālej mahuabarī se</td>
<td>hāiskul</td>
<td>sekand</td>
<td>pās bhaile ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yū pī bord se</td>
<td>intār</td>
<td>phast dibijan</td>
<td>pās bhaile ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sant binowa digri kālej se</td>
<td>bi ē</td>
<td>saplimentarī</td>
<td>aile ha</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>phel ho gaile ha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are equivalent Hindi words, such as:

- mahāvidyālay = 'College'
- vishwavidyālay = 'University'
- śnātak = 'Graduate'
- śnātakottar = 'Post-graduate'
- pratham = 'First'
- dwitiyā = 'Second'
- pūrak = 'Supplementary'
- uttīrṇa = 'Passed'
- anuttīrṇa = 'Failed'
- itihās = 'History'
- rasāyan shastr = 'Chemistry'

but they are less used than the English ones. Many English expressions have become a part of the conversational Bhojpuri. By using Hindi equivalents one may sound formal and be sarcastically remarked as speaking English or "as speaking Urdu" (Chaturvedi, 1979:3). The speech of the educated shows a greater degree of code-mixing and code-switching in informal spoken style rather than in formal. The uneducated can be classified as rural: urban. The urban uneducated are exposed to the educated speech and are more sensitive than their rural counterparts to the upward mobility in their speech patterns.
The faithful transliteration of Devanagari into Roman script has influenced the pronunciation of the native speakers. The Madan Mohan Malviya Post-graduate College Bhatpar Rani and Shri Krishna Inter College Barhaj (both in the Deoria district) are popularly known and referred to as 'malviya' and 'krishna' (मल्विया, कृष्ण) respectively whereas their normal Bhojpuri (and even Hindi) pronunciation will be 'malviy' and 'krishn'.

A number of English words pertaining to the register of education, politics, trade, industry, railways, etc. claim high frequency in current usage:

हैस्टल, रोल नम्बर, प्रोफेसर, लेट, राजिस्टर, बाई संस्लार, दिपार्टमेंट, इनवर्षिती, एडमिसन, etc. can be cited as some of the examples.

Allopathic medicine is a significant source of many English loans in Bhojpuri to which common speakers very often shift. Names of common diseases, tablets, etc. and a volley of words pertaining to the register of medicine are quite conducive to the switching and mixing of the codes. Even the illiterate masses have absorbed many of them very well. E.g.

अपारेसन, डॉक्टर, एनासिन, टेबलेट, निमोनिया, इंजेक्शन, कंपाउंडर, नार्स, हॉस्पिटल, etc.

With the extension of road transport to every nook
and corner of the area words such as:

spīd, rōd, eksīdent, trak, bas, motār,
kandakṭar, darāibar, ṭikāt, sīt, etc.

have gained wide currency, so much so that they have got
near native status:

Also many English abbreviations are in common use
by the Bhojpuri speakers:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{biārdī} & \quad \text{B.R.D.} & \text{names of colleges} \\
\text{diebhī} & \quad \text{D.A.V.} & \\
\text{bhīsī} & \quad \text{V.C.} & \text{Vice-Chancellor} \\
\text{sio} & \quad \text{C.O.} & \text{Consolidation Officer} \\
\text{bie} & \quad \text{B.A.} & \text{Bachelor of Arts} \\
\text{dīdī} & \quad \text{D.D.} & \text{Deputy Director} \\
\text{bhieldablū} & \quad \text{V.L.W.} & \text{Village Level Worker} \\
\text{biecyū} & \quad \text{B.H.U.} & \text{Banaras Hindu University}
\end{align*}
\]

It has been observed that the educated try as far
as possible to keep their Hindi free from Bhojpuri and
Bhojpuri free from other influences. And it is they who
speak better (relatively pure and refined) Bhojpuri than
the illiterate and semi-literate. The Bhojpuri speech of
the H social groups seems to be less influenced by the out-
side stay, contacts, travels, etc. This is so because
they are sure of their social status. The people of M and L
social groups who have resided in Calcutta and Bombay even
for six months show traces of 'kalkativā' or 'Bambaiyā'.
elements in their speech. For example:

ham kahalī je hamra bhālī īhā rahte hāy,
ham obhī jāyega.

I said, "My brother lives here. I shall go to him".

Sāheb aīle to ham chuttī ke liye bōlā
dhī 'when the officer came I asked him for a leave'.

Their speech will often be spattered with Hindustani or Bazar Hindi and English words here and there, often with very deviant pronunciation. They suffer from a sense of social insecurity, and are always conscious of their status. Because of this tendency they wish to give through their speech an impression that they hail from the H stratum of society. Their assuming the H castenames and titles also confirms this.

The H and the educated people do code-mixing in their speech as an artistic skill. They consciously and skilfully incorporate Bhojpuri words in standard Hindi speech and vice-versa to give beauty and colour to their speech. Many scholars, more so the creative writers such as Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra and others do so and are appreciated for their literary style. Also high Hindi words, when used in Bhojpuri, give a delightful flavour to the dialect:

unke ghare jetanālog hāwē sabkēsēb neckoti
ke kāhil hāwē
'All the members of his family are lazy and inefficient of a high order'.

Instances of code-mixing are more in number than neat code-switching. It can be studied as follows:

**Unit insertion**

**At word level:**

- सर्जी = 'Honourable Sir'
- नावर्ता चश्मा = 'Spects with power glasses'
- हाथ कमीज = 'half shirt'
- दीप्ति साहेब = 'Sir, the Deputy'
- पुत्रपति जीवन = the life on footpath

**At phrase level**

**NP** इनवार्ति कैंपस में जु पंजाब अर मोहनबाग जे पुटबाल मैत्रे होट हाव 'A football match between the Punjab and the Mohunbagan is played in the university campus today'.

**VP** ओकर नाटिजा इ भाल जे साब काम हेल अप हो गाई 'The result was that all the work got held up'.

Another process, that seems quite common, is the hybridization in the formation of compound/conjunct verbs:

- पास भाई = 'to pass'
- अरेस्ट कायल = 'to arrest'
- परमिट दिहाल = 'to permit'
- इंटरव्ह्यू लिहाल = 'to interview'
- कांट्रोल कायल = 'to control'
Sarah saw laikan ke a sathi go mastaran ke kantrolkail aasan bati na ha

'It is not easy to control 1200 students and 60 teachers'.

ham jo galii bolii ta cek kariha

'If I speak wrong you check me'.

At clause/sentence level

"hato, bhago, kuwatar khali karo" saheb kuli kahi dihale

"Go, get away, vacate the quarter", the officer said all that.

admii ki deh ke kawano thik naikhe, kab ka ho jai sariram byadhi mandiram.

'We can not be sure of the human body.
Anything may happen to it any time. The body is likely to be infected with all diseases'.

The sentences have usually the Bhojpuri frame into which the words, phrases, clauses or sentences of other languages creep in and give rise to a peculiar style.

The social differences can also be observed in the code-switching and code-mixing behaviour of the community. Longer unit insertions from standard Hindi, English, Sanskrit, etc. have been attested in the speech of the H group people
alone; and the shorter ones in that of the M and L group people as well.

\[ \text{admī ke chudhā ke sāntī nā hoī ta u kukchū ka sakēlā bubhukshitam kim na karoti pāpam} \]

'If the human does not get his fill he may do anything. The hungry man do all the sins.'

\[ \text{admī kī deh ke kawno tāk naikhe, kab kā no jāī sarīram byādhi mandiram.} \]

'We can not be sure of the human body. Anything may happen to it anytime. This body is likely to be infected by any disease'.

\[ \text{mohsīnā kidwāi ledīj hāē ki jent?} \]

'Is Mosina kidwai a lady or a gent?'.

\[ \text{dākṭar ā okil log apnā sīt par nā rāhī ta de wil lūž dear praektis} \]

'If the doctors and advocates are not available at their seats they will lose their practice'.

\[ \text{egjāminī ēf betar daen egjāminar rājendār bābū ke liye likhāyā thā} \]

'Examinee is better than the examiner' was written for Dr. Rajendra Prasad'.

\[ \text{acchī acchī dawāiyā kāstī lī hotī hāē} \]

'Good medicines are costly'.

They have now modernized everything in Ayurveda also'.

'He is an M.Com. and he will definitely get a job but it would be better if he learns type-writing also'.

The applications mount 500 and it is a very tough competition'.

'I had heard it at random'.

The insertions in the speech of the M and L people are shorter and less in number, and in many cases their pronunciations are so bad that they can not be understood unless in full context:

M  kanṭekṭar = 'conductor'
kanṭekṭar kahā gaile ho? unka se hamara
paīsa pawe ke ba
'Halo, where did the conductor go?'
I have to get money from him'.

I have to get money from him'.

I have to get money from him'.
phūn = 'telephone'
bacca babu pāndawalogani ke phūn kaile rahale
'Bachcha Babu had telephoned to the Pandas'
āṭāek = attached
usī se aṭāek hae
'It is attached to the same'.
masinjaṅī = 'machinery'
masinjaṅī me se = 'from the machinery'

Among speakers of all castes and classes there is a common tendency to reproduce somebody's statement (the reported speech in terms of direct-indirect narration) in Hindi:

But the illiterate and the L caste/class people are unable to neatly maintain the separate codes:

kahalas je "isko ēva ḍharo isko ēva ḍharo"

He said, "keep it like this, keep it like this"

dāebaraṅa kahalasā je "garī jāī cārī baje,
cale āweṅā"

The driver said, "The vehicle will go at four, you come at right time".

kita leke sikho nāta deke sikho

'Learn either by gaining or by losing'.

Because of lack of even elementary knowledge of other languages when the rural folk switch or mix the codes they speak bad Hindi or bad English. Even then the speech
community does not show any reluctance to their speech because barring some exceptions they are intelligible and serve the purpose of communication.

4.2.4. Bhojpuri and Informal Hindi

By 'informal' is meant the colloquial variety of speech which is relaxed and somewhat loose in grammar. Its use does not befit formal occasions. It can be heard anywhere — at railway stations, in buses and trains, at tea stalls, market places and so on. A close observation and analysis of the data collected shows that informal Hindi which is used in this region is highly influenced by the vernacular Bhojpuri and English. It allows borrowing and heavy code-mixing of various types. A small sample will suffice to indicate the general nature of informal Hindi spoken by the people of this region. The frames of the sentences are Hindi, but a suffix, phrase, lexicon or some other element of Bhojpuri gives them the Bhojpuri colour.

(1) A Suffix: a noun + $\tilde{a}/\tilde{w}/\tilde{y}$ suffix showing intimacy.

- kallu$\tilde{a}$ (kallu$\tilde{u}$a) = A name
- saikiliya$\tilde{a}$ (saikili$\tilde{i}$i$\tilde{a}$a) = a bicycle
- patrawa$\tilde{a}$ (patra$\tilde{r}$a$\tilde{w}$a) = the letter
- burha$\tilde{u}$ (bur$\tilde{r}$h + au) = the oldman
kalun kē saikiliyā kā kyā huā?
'What happened to the bicycle of Kallu?'
āpne hamārā patrawā dālā ki nahi?
'Did you post my letter or not?'
choriye, burhūn kyā kar sakte hae?
'Leave it, the oldman can not do any harm.'

(2) The Verb Phrase: The main verb or the root in it is Bhojpuri whereas the auxiliary verb is of Hindi.

batiyā (Bhj. root) + lijiye = 'talk'
cetā (Bhj. root) + dijiye = warn (him).
bassā (Bhoj. root) + raha hae = giving bad smell
chilā (Bhj. root) + gaya hae = has been scratched
unse batiyā lijiye dekhiye kyā kahte hae
'Talk to him and see what he says'.
Unhe cetā dijiye
'Warn him'.
kuch bassā raha hae
'Something is smelling bad'
ṯēhun par thora chilā gayā hae
'Little portion of the knee is scratched'.

(3) Echo words, lexicon, etc.
sunāta (the passive of sun) + unata(echo)
sunāta unata = 'hear'
gor = foot, feet
tumhe kuch sunāta unāta hae ki nahī?
'Do you hear something or not'?
koi bhi dukān me unke gōr kā jūta nahī milā, pūrā gorakhpur khojā gayā.
'We searched the entire Gorakhpur but did not get in any shop shoes for his feet.'

(4) **Emphatic particle and phonological**

\[ \text{Suru} + e \quad = \text{beginning} \]
\[ \text{kaise} \quad \langle kēse \rangle \quad = \text{how} \]

usme jo suru se palega usko na mālum hoga ki kaise kya hotā hae.

'Re, who is nourished in that milieu from the very beginning will know what and how to do'.

4.2.5. **Conclusion**

To conclude it can be said that:

(1) The H people and the educated frequently switch from one language to another and they incorporate in their speech the full phrases, clauses and sentences of other languages. They do code-mixing also but almost neatly reproduce the elements of other languages.

(2) The M and L are usually confined to code-mixing. They use the nativized and simplified individual loanwords only here and there. They do switch the codes (especially Bhojpurī to Hindi) sometime but fail to reproduce the elements of other languages neatly; i.e. they commit some mistake or their construction goes wrong somewhere.
4.3. Sanskritization and Westernization

4.3.1. Sanskritization

The caste system is a rigid and closed system where on the basis of a person's birth his position in society is fixed once for all. By adapting a Brahminical mode of life called 'Sanskritization' a member of a lower caste may obtain a higher social status but still cannot change his caste. Sanskritization is a process of group mobility through which people of a group or segment can move upwards without changing their caste. By purifying the way of life (adapting vegetarianism and teetotalism, sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon and by taking over the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins and studying Sanskrit) it is possible to raise one's status to that of the Brahmins. This is Brahminization to which Srinivas (1962:42) in a broader sense gives an appropriate term 'Sanskritization'. The middle and low castes of the Bhojpuri speech community are raising their position in the caste hierarchy by sanskritization. This seems to be a countrywide phenomenon. Swami Vivekananda, one of the greatest Hindu monks of India, was an English educated non-Brahmin yet he enjoys a high position. Gandhiji was a Vaishya by birth but he became a 'Mahātma' and 'rastrāpita' and attained remarkable height in our ideal Sanskritic culture and set an ideal for Indians. Sage Vishwamitra was a Kshatriya but because of his intense 'tapas' he attained a vulnerable status. It is rumoured
that the Yogiraj Deorahawababa is also a non-brahmin but by his 'Yoga' and 'tapas' he has risen to the height of a super-Brahmin.

Many of the middle and low castes have sanskritized their customs and rituals. The blacksmiths call themselves Vishwakarma Brahmins and wear sacred threads and Koiris, who are called 'Bhangat' = 'devotee,' have improved their ways of living and definitely consider themselves superior to other castes of their group. The Ahirs claim to be Yaduvanshi Kshatriyas, belonging to the clan of Lord Krishna. A few of the Chamars have certainly moved upward from their original social status. They have acculturated to higher castes by forbidding, drinking and meat eating, widow marriage, divorce, etc. These are some examples of vertical rise in the social hierarchy. The inclusion of new ideology as expressed in sacred and secular literature is also implied in Sanskritization. Karma, dharma, ishwar, jiva, jagat, atma, papa, punya, maya, sansar, moksha are common concepts of theology which abound the speech of the people when sanskritised.

Though not quite necessary, yet political power, education and economic betterment are favourable factors in sanskritization. With the rising status the ways of living also improve for the better and many of the so called impure tasks are just given up.

While discussing the structural framework of caste in Hindu society Srinivas (1962 : 44) remarks that "the castes
occupying the top positions in the hierarchy are more sanskritized than the castes in the lower and middle regions of hierarchy and this has been responsible for the sanskritization of the lower castes as well as the outlying tribes. The lower castes always seem to have tried to take over the customs and ways of life of the higher castes".

With the lone exception of the high castes almost all other castes try to pass for a higher social status. The present survey of the field shows that the informants of all castes claim themselves and their clan ('gotras') to be superior to others within their own respective castes. It finds manifestation in adapting themselves to customs and ways of life of high castes (especially Brahmins and Kshatriyas) or some other dominant caste who are a model and the source from which the deployment of many traits in the rest of the community takes place. "By a cumulation of obvious superiorities, both of character and standing, as well as of language, some persons are felt to be better models of conduct and speech than others" (Bloomfield, 1964 : 396). Practically the entire way of life of the high castes (their speech habits, cooking, clothing, jewellery, customs and rituals, etc.) spreads in all the middle and low cadres of society.

There is a cultural difference between the high castes and the non-high. There is much difference of
institutions, ideals and values, and norms of behaviour between the two. The middle and low castes lack the sanskritic and spiritual culture of the high caste. They adopt not only the food-habits, clothing, customs and rituals of the high castes but also their institutions and values. Marriage in Brahmins and Kshatriyas is indissoluble. A high caste widow, even if she is a child, cannot be remarried. She will shed her jewellery and gaudy clothes off. Her look is regarded as inauspicious and sex life is totally denied to her. Srinivas (1962 : 46) comments, "among Hindus generally, there is a preference for virginity in brides, chastity in wives, and continence in widows, and this is specially marked among the highest castes. The institutions of the "low" castes are more liberal in the spheres of marriage and sex, ............. divorce and widow marriage in them are both permitted and practised. In general, their sex code is not as harsh towards women as that of the top castes, especially Brahmins and Kshatriyas. But as a caste rises in the hierarchy and its ways become more Sanskritized, it adopts the sex and marriage code of the Brahmins. Sanskritization results in harshness towards women. 

Thus sanskritization means the upward mobility of a caste or tribe by adopting purified way of life of the high castes. The Brahmins are the model of sanskritization
but the converse is also possible. Many of the higher castes have low secular status, and are ritually low. They show downward mobility. If a Brahmin is a beggar, leads immoral life and has given up all the norms of Brahminic culture he is an embodiment of desanskritization.

The following factors have added to the spread of sanskritization:

1. Development of transport: railways, buses, jeeps, cycles, etc.
2. Press, radio, cinema.
3. Literacy and publication of popular and cheap editions of Ramcharit-manas, Gita and other books of religious and semi-religious nature.

If the region is dominated by the Brahmans or the upper castes Sanskritization will be quicker and the Brahminical values will be spread; if other castes are dominant it will be slower (because they themselves are less-sanskritized) and only non-sanskritic customs will prevail.

4.3.2. Westernization

The top castes have a tradition of literacy to their credit. After the establishment of the British rule in India they sensed fairly early the arrival of the new opportunities of jobs and prosperity. By education and better knowledge of English, Sanskrit and Persian they
equipped themselves for better posts and naturally got recruited on them. Srinivas (1966: 64) remarks, "As far as Hindus are concerned, there was — and to a very limited extent still is — a very broad and general correlation between traditional caste hierarchy and the new Western-occupational hierarchy. Thus the members of the higher castes dominated the professions, the higher level posts in the government — in fact, all white collar jobs — while the lower castes provided certain essential services and goods. A traditional modern continuum did exist; Brahmins, Kayasthas, and Banias sought Western education and reaped its rewards, whereas members of the low artisan, servicing, and landless labor castes became launderers, barbers, domestic servants, peons, basket makers, oilmen, potters, and sellers of vegetables, milk and fruits", about the Hindus of the south and that holds some truth in case of the Bhojpuri speech community also. But now people of all castes have opportunity of education and as the times are changing the M and L are also getting higher posts and professions.

Thus the western education in H encouraged the western ways of life and values which in turn provided a sound base for modernization — i.e. keeping pace with the latest developments in every walk of life. By adopting the western ways of life they are being more and more westernized.
The elite among them acquire many habits of the British, such as taking non-vegetarian dishes (e.g. eggs, meat, fish); drinking and smoking; dress — pant, bush shirt, coat, tie, etc.; style of speech as well as the language with a touch of urbanization. The more orthodox among them adopted not the ways of life but only the western knowledge, science and technology, language and literature. This trend of the upper castes is to some extent followed by the M and L receiving western education. To say that so and so castes have westernized or sanskritized does not mean that all members of that caste have done so nor does the non-mention of a particular caste means that people of that caste have not moved at all in that direction. The middle and the low castes have, no doubt, upward mobility but they too are prone towards westernization because of the influence of education and settlement in the urban areas. This can be shown in the diagram as follows:

![Diagram of Westernization and Sanskritization]

Movement of the castes: Sanskritization and Westernization
More or less all sections of our Hindu society have become westernized in varying degrees with the result that the life in general has become secular with a materialistic and unspiritual tinge. Although the essentials have not changed, some of the rituals of the H, who are becoming more and more westernized, have been weakened. Many paraphernalia are being dropped due to rationalization. The people of the H group who were distinguished for their close ties with the religion are not as particular to the view of purity and pollution as they used to be earlier. Now taking or serving meals is not a ritual in its original sense. The Brahmin dietary now includes onion, garlic, etc. and for health reasons many eat eggs and take medicines of objectionable compositions. The age for marriage of the girls has gone up because of many social reasons; pre-puberty marriages and child widows are now quite rare. They still observe untouchability with the low castes and Harijans but are not as harsh and rigid. The more orthodox too have become somewhat liberal in outlook and have begun to use finished goods of leather, drink water from the handpipe having a leather-washer in it. Educational institutions, means of transport and communication — buses and trains and other public places do not observe any discrimination against any caste or creed.

To conclude, the actual Sanskritized are becoming liberal in views and attitudes whereas the neo-sanskritized are trying to be more rigid in some aspects, specially eating and drinking.
4.4.0. **Innovations and Archaic Features**

4.4.1. **Introduction**

Sometimes new linguistic items (such as words, pronunciations or expressions) spread to and come in use in a wider area than it used to be previously. In the Bhojpuri speaking area under study there are only a few cities worth the name. Varanasi has over the centuries remained the religious, cultural, educational and commercial centre of the region. Now has come up Gorakhpur only next to it. The neighbouring areas that come within the range of commutive distance from these cities, have had many linguistic (and other) innovations. People who commute very often and bilinguals are the main carriers of innovations. They are the careers of social as well as linguistic changes.

A number of sources contribute to the innovations in speech. The rural world has come in contact with the urban. Almost every house has children going to schools; is in touch with the printed page; has contact with the educated and elite and the mass media. The semi-urban and the rural areas (within a commutive distance from the cities) Mughalsarai, Sarnath, Raja Talaw, Aunrihar, Chakiya, Chandauli, Sakaldiha, Ashapur, Gyanpur, Ghazipur around Varanasi and Anandnagar, Pharena, Kushinagar, Deoria, Basti, Jagatbela, Khalilabad around Gorakhpur show more influences of the urban speech innovations than their remote counterparts where it takes
longer for innovations to reach. Satellite townships (such as Lar, Rudrapur, Kerakat, Ghosi, Sikandarpur, etc.) are outgrown villages amidst the countryside world. They come next to the major urban centres in respect of innovations. Thus all the district head quarters and towns on the main routes of communication play an important role in receiving the innovations and deploying them farther onwards. In the interior countryside the islands devoid of innovations from relic areas. Besides, the distance whether social or geographical is an important factor in the study of linguistic, scientific and technological as well as behavioural innovations. Whether it is a social (e.g. caste, class, religion, age, sex, occupation, education, etc.) or geographical (e.g. region, distance, river, mountain, political boundary, etc.) barrier it more or less hinders to innovations. Innovations, in general, make an entry at the top social groups and percolate the low ones last.

4.4.2. Marginal Phonemes and Clusters

Many sophisticated among bilinguals and multilinguals possess certain phonemes that are only marginal to the phonemic inventory of Bhojpuri. Newer sounds are gaining ground because of education and urban speech. Their entry in the educated speech of the upper castes is already noticed. The neo-rich of the middle and low castes show little frequency of these sounds.
sh and retroflex nasal \( \eta \) are not used in common speech. They are casually used by the sophisticated Pandits and Sanskrit speakers. Similarly a number of fricative sounds of English and Perso-Arabic origin — e.g. \( f, v, k, g, x \) is in use by a few educated people. The following phonemes have been identified in the speech of some of the educated and cultured families of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Kayasthas:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{w} & \text{in wish}:\bar{\text{u}} = '\text{Vishnu}' \\
\text{wyawast}:\bar{\text{a}} & = \text{arrangement} \\
\text{sh} & \text{shak}:\bar{\text{a}} = '\text{branch}' \\
\text{sarwashrest}:\bar{\text{h}} & = '\text{supreme}' \\
\text{om namah shi}:\bar{\text{w}}:\bar{\text{a}} & = '\text{bowing to Shiva}' \\
\text{f} & \text{kaloaral difarens} = '\text{cultural difference}' \\
\text{farst}: & = '\text{first}' \\
\text{z} & \text{azamgarh} = \text{Azamgarh} \\
\text{barm}:\bar{\text{i}}:\bar{\text{z}} & = '\text{people of Burma}' \\
\text{e} & \text{in bank} \text{ beyk} = '\text{bank}' \\
\text{\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)en} & \text{\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)ndp\( \eta \)ip} = '\text{handpipe}' \\
\text{\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)en} & \text{\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)en\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)sil} = '\text{cancel}' \\
\text{aju program} & \text{\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)en\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)sil} = '\text{cancel the programme today}' \\
\text{kara} & \\
\text{\( \text{\( \eta \)} \) in p\( \text{\( \eta \)} \)d:}\bar{\text{h}}:\bar{\text{a}} & = '\text{plant}'
\end{array}
\]

Bhojpuri dialect usually does not permit clusters (especially initial ones). However, initial (and also medial and final) clusters are quite common in the speech of high social groups.
st-  istesan  =  'station'
pl-  kap-plet  =  'cup-plate'
tr-  ṭrak  =  'truck'
ty-  ṭyubwel  =  'tube-well'
-ndr-  pandrah  =  'fifteen'
-kt-  kalakṭar  =  'collector'
sp-  spīḍ  =  'speed'
ūr-  draibaṛ  =  'driver'
-mb-  nambar  =  'number'
-gr-  grant  =  'grant'

A look at the above examples shows that most of them are loan from English, Hindi and so on. This may be because of the spread of education. In general, the H social groups have assimilated in their speech more loans than the M and L groups.

4.4.3. Innovations and Archaic Features

While studying the dialect differences and social stratification in a north Indian village Gumperz (1971:38) strikes a truism, "language habits are constantly in a state of flux. Just as fashions come and go, new linguistic forms are acquired and old ones are dropped". Many traits of folk-speech are rapidly fading out. Some are already extinct and others are becoming obsolete, 'babua' and 'babu' are popular address terms for boys and girls in Ballia. In Deoria district 'babua' (but not 'babu') is
still in use but not to mean and address a boy but an elder or younger brother, uncle, etc. In Deoria also these words mean as they do in Ballia, but only in stereotyped expressions which have a fixed form and are repeated again and again without any change in them. For example:

(1) jhaṭaki cala babua rasan baṭata
    'Walk fast boy, ration is being distributed'.

(2) babuī bīrī piyat jāti rahalī dolī me
    āgi lagawli colī me na
    'The girl (bride) was going in a palanquin.
    She was smoking a 'bidi' and her blouse caught fire'.

Thus, 'babua' and 'babuī' words are surviving in Deoria also but only in particular folk-songs and proverbs, not in current usage. When such relics of the dialect features appear here and there it can be assumed that once upon a time these were current in more or less all parts of the speech community. Traces have survived here and there and they can be attested at scattered points. That is, such features are archaic in one region and are still prevalent in other. Now they can also be viewed as examples of areal expansion and contraction of meaning.

Men, because of their mobility and more contact with the outside world, are more adaptive of innovations than the women. Womenfolk, being confined within the four walls of the house (which is more so in the H than in the M and L
where women go out to work in the fields: to sell milk and milk products, vegetables, oil, bangles and so on) seem to be more conservative than the men. Hence they preserve many archaic forms intact. Besides, women differ in terms of their usual registers of discourse from men. Words and expressions belonging to hearth and home — kitchen, rearing and bearing of children, household management abound in their speech.

Innovations and archaic features pervade almost all walks of life and activities. Old words are becoming obsolete and new ones are coming up, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dress</th>
<th>Obs.</th>
<th>inn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mirja̱I</td>
<td>ḍares</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dupaṭṭ̣a</td>
<td>paenṭ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pheṭa</td>
<td>koṭ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapha</td>
<td>sūṭ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anarkha</td>
<td>busarṭ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ornaments:

Since long, people of all types whether advanced or backward have been fond of wearing ornaments and typical dresses on various formal and informal occasions. This fashion reached a remarkable height among kings, nobles, courtiers, warriors, and gentry of the state in ancient and mediaeval India. Such ostentations paraphernalia are still preserved in many museums of the country. But now with the spread of education and urban civilization people have discarded many of the old type dresses and ornaments in
favour of the newer ones. Women, of course, do wear some ornaments even today but in day to day life men seldom wear any, except some who afford to wear gold finger-ring, chain or wrist watch. Many people in Ahri and barber castes still wear 'gullī' (at the neck) or a tiny ear-ring.

Many ornaments of common folk are getting out of use and the words for them are dying. E.g.

\begin{verbatim}
beharbutā & halaka
bahuta & kantha
besari & canardāthi
channa & gorahara
humel & hāsulī
bajuband & nakbullī, etc.
\end{verbatim}

With them the wooden vessels like - kathawati, dokiya, salalī etc. and the wooden sleepers like - badhaurā, caṭakī, etc. which were commonly used by the M and L people are also going out of use. Similar is the fate of terms for old coins, such as:

\begin{verbatim}
kaurī & 'cowry'
pi & 'pie'
adhelā & 'half-pie'
dabbāl & 'a heavy pie'
chedawā paisā & 'a pie with a round hole in it'
canī ka rupaya & 'a silver rupee-coin'
\end{verbatim}
They are getting obsolete. Likewise are the words for measuring weight and length: e.g.

**Weight**: chaṭāk, asera, (kaciya/pakiya) ser, paseri, man, etc.

**Length**: anur, caua, bitta, hath, deg, lattha, laggī, dhap, kōs, jojan, etc.

With the abolition of the Zamindari system many words related to it are receding. For example:

- asamī = 'tenant'
- karinda = 'clerk'
- pōt = 'revenue'
- pyāda = 'peon'
- harī = 'forced plough(ing)'
- begari = 'forced labour'
- kārkun = agent, in change

The word dasguna = 'tenfold, ten times' came in use after the Zamindari abolition but is gone now. *bhumiḍhar* 'owner of land' is a new word which has gained currency.

The land consolidation scheme of the U.P. government has been implemented in recent years and with it arose litigation in almost every village. The consequence was that a rich volley of new vocables have widely spread:

- cak = 'plot'
- cakbandī = 'consolidation'
- cak-pare) = beyond (not within) the consolidation range
- cak-aus }  
- pūṭ = 'plot'
- sīo = 'Consolidation officer'
esosī = 'Senior officer of consolidation'
dīdī = 'Deputy Director (of consolidation)'

Even the old words related with the revenue suits (kēs 'case', apīl 'appeal', rimānd 'remand', etc.) have become more common in consolidation.

With an influx of newer agricultural implements, seeds, manures and insecticides new words:

觵kē trúktar = 'tractor'
pamīng set = 'pumping set'
trēsar masṅ = 'thresher machine'
țiubel = 'tube-well'
yurīā = 'a fertilizer'
āī ār ēt = 'IR8 wheat'
ē ē arsāthī = 'K68 wheat'
naginā bāis = 'Nagina 22 paddy'

are gaining currency and the old ones such as:

khuṭaharā = 'old type of plough'
dhekul = 'old implement to draw water from the well'
hatthā = 'old implement to water the plants'

etc. are losing ground.

Cardinals above 100 are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction:
ek saw pac = 105
ek saw panarah = 415
du sai pačiś = 225
cari hājār sat saw battis = 4732

But the same from 101 to 199 are formed quite differently when they are employed in the multiplication table:

"From 101 to 118, the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of — utter (above), the initial u — of the latter combining with the final —ā of the preceding word becomes 'ō'. Thus 108 is athottarso, i.e. āṭh + utter + so, eight above hundred'. From 119 to 168, a connecting vowel 'ā' is interposed instead of 'utter' except in the case of 140 and 160 where the forms are cal-so and sath-so" (Tiwari, U.N. 1960 : 121).

Thus the forms: ekottarso = 101, tilottarso = 103, terahottarso = 113, tisāso = 130, nawasīso = 189.

Day by day these forms are being obsolete. The older generation knows and still uses such forms but the students now-a-days do not learn these, instead they manage with the first set.

sorah ekannē sorah = 4616
" dunnī battis = 32
" tiyā artālīs = 48
" cauk causāth = 64
" pace assī = 80
sorah chake chanabe = 96
" sate athottarso = 108
" atthe bisaso = 120
" nawa cawalso = 144
" dahha satthso = 160

ek bis a barah rupya = 32 rupees
du bis = 40
ek kam bis = 19
du kam saw = 98

The above mentioned way of counting or referring the subtractive numerals and also:

anutha = 3½
dhanthuca = 4½
pahuka = 5½

are fading out. Because of new maths the multiplication tables of subtractive numerals such as (ipau = ½,
addha = ¾, pawanna = ½, sawaiya = 1½, derhha = 1½, arhaiya = 2½, etc. and)

ek derhe derh = one into one and half = 1½
du " tin = two " " " = 3
tin " sarhe car=three " " " = 4½
car " chaw = four " " " = 6
pace " sarhe sat=five " " " = 7½
chaw " naw = six " " " = 9
sat " sarhe das=seven " " " = 10½
āṭh derhe bārah = eight into one and half = 12  
naw " sañe terah= nine " " = 13½  
das " panāraḥ = ten " " = 15

and the words —— gahi = 'a bunch of five, korī = 'a bunch of twenty, a score' are disappearing.

The progressive farmers are giving up raising crops of coarse grain like — jaw, maṛua, sawā, taṇuni, kodo, sāṭhī, etc. in favour of improved varieties of high yielding grains like wheat, rice and many cash crops like vegetables, sugarcane, etc. Hence the words for coarse grain are dying out.

Now new metric system of measurement has introduced many new words, such as — grām, kilo, kwintal; mītar, kilomītar, līṭar, etc. The decimal system of mathematical calculations are gaining ground.

Many Urdu words, such as —
madarsā = 'school'
mudarris = 'teacher'

were once in vogue but now they are restricted only to the traditional Urdu schools and have receded in favour of ——
iskul/pāṭshāla, māṣṭar, etc.

The modern way of beginning a letter with greetings:

ādarmīy cacaji / bhai sahab
sādar prāṇām / namaskār

is encroaching upon the old and rustic one.
"Sostī srī sarvopama jōg srī likhī sināth gōr ke
ōr se sītārām bhagat ke rām rām pahnōce. ihā ke sab samācar
acchā ba tumahārā samācar srī karījī se manāya karta
hu jē sunkar man khus ho"

'Be good to Mr. Sitaram Bhagat who is beyond all
similies. May the greetings of Shri Shivnath Gor reach
him. All is well here and we wish by Goddess Kali all well
with you. May you and all others be glad to hear it'.