CHAPTER I

CONTEXTUAL VARIATIONS

1.0 Every speaker of a linguistic community has his verbal repertoire. And his communicative competence helps him select a particular variety that is linguistically appropriate to the differing situations. Language, like other forms of a social activity, has to be appropriate to the speaker using it. It is determined by the social characteristics of the speaker (such as social class, ethnic group, age, sex etc) and by the social context in which he finds himself. The same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations for different purposes.

1.1. Among others the context of the addressed and in particular the role relationship and relative status, of the addressed and the addressee form an important feature of the social context. The use of particular terms in a discourse indicate such metalinguistic features as deference, intimacy, solidarity and distance. That social restriction plays a key-role in the selections of pronominals for addressing or referring to somebody in many Indian languages is a recognised fact. We shall begin with different context-governed forms of address, reference and response; we shall then discuss the use of kinship terms, language-switching and other features.
1.2. Forms of address, reference and response:

1.2.1. Pronominal usage (see 3.5 on pronoun):

It has been described in 3.5.4.3 that second person ordinary pronoun is / tui / 'you (ord.). Any speaker of the dialect knows by his communicative competence, when to use /tui/ 'you (ord) or other pronouns and when not to use them. He never violates the rules unless in joke, satire or abuse. Sometimes we find somebody complaining against somebody after a quarrel, that such and such person used 'you(ord) to refer to him ( tui-tokari kesse ).

In the following subsections, we shall try to describe when the different honorific, or familiar or ordinary terms are used.

1.2.2. The use of the honorific terms:

The terms:

/ amɔɔ / 'you (hon) / heɪtɔn / 'he (hon).

/ ˈiʃn / 'that (human and hon) / zeɪtɔn /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
<th>reciprocal/ non-reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grown-up man or woman of the same class</td>
<td>grown-up man or woman of the same class</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excepting relatives and friends)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see ... 2.0.11 about social class)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young speaker of Class- II</td>
<td>elder by man or woman of Class-I</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
young speaker of Class-I
elderly man or woman of the same class
reciprocal/non-reciprocal

poor elderly man of Class-II
grown-up young-man of Class-I reciprocal if the age difference is much.

Wi. Mo. (both the Classes) Dau. Hus. (both the Classes) reciprocal

Bro. Wi. Hus. Bro. (both the Classes) reciprocal

Wi. (both the Classes) Hus (both the Classes) Non-reciprocal

Hus. Wi. (in satire or taunting)

elders of the same Class
youngers of the same Class
(in taunting)

Note: The frequency of the terms / heitân / 'he (hon)', / hitân / 'that (human and Hon), and / zeitân /, is very less. Instead the familiar forms are used.
### Use of the familiar terms:

The terms:

- **/ tui /** 'you(fam)'
- **/ higa /** 'she(fam)'
- **/ uiga /** 'that (female and fam.)'
- **/ ziga /**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
<th>reciprocal / non reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>friend of the same class</td>
<td>friend of the same class</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hus. of Class-I</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elderly people of Class-I</td>
<td>any speaker</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any speaker</td>
<td>beggar</td>
<td>- do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td>aged son</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The use of **/ higa /**, **/ uiga /** and **/ ziga /** are very less. The reference is made in different ways, e.g. instead of using **/ higa koise /** 'she said', the speaker says **/ kalu ma koise /** the mother of **/ kalu/** said 'or **/ boin koise/** (my) sister said ' etc.etc.
1.2.4. The use of the ordinary terms:

The terms
/ tui /  'you (ord.) / hia / 'he(ord) / heiti/ 'she(ord)
/ uia / 'that (male and ord).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
<th>reciprocal / non-reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boys</td>
<td>boys</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elderly people</td>
<td>boys</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the same class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hus. of class-II</td>
<td>Wi.</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any speaker</td>
<td>fisherman</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger</td>
<td>elder(in abuse)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grown-up man</td>
<td>grown-up man</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(in abuse)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The use of / heiti/ 'she(ord) is highly restricted. It is current among women only.

1.2.5. Problem of pronominal selection:

Some times there arise then problem of pronominal selection. This will be discussed in 1.3.
1.3 **Kinship terms:**

(See 'Hindu-Muslim-difference' (Chapter III) and 'Social stratification and Social-class-dialect' Chapter III (Part II))

We have described in Chapter III that there are two sets of Kinship terms among Hindus and Muslims, in Chapter III also, we have described some variations among different social classes.

The Kinship terms are used for address and reference also. The Hindus select the terms from their own set and the Muslims from theirs. The same is true about the social classes also. Sometimes, there arises the cross-group situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the terms</th>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ bai/ 'Bro(e)'</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ dada/ 'Bro(e)'</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ kaka/ 'Fa.Bro.'</td>
<td>Class-I</td>
<td>Class-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ kaku/ 'Fa.Bro.'</td>
<td>Class-II</td>
<td>Class-II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cross-group situations the use of the terms will be as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the terms</th>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ dada/ 'Bro(e)'</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>elderly Hindus of Class-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ bai/ 'Bro(e)'</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>elderly Muslims of Class-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ kaka/ 'Fa.Bro(lit)'</td>
<td>Class-II</td>
<td>Class-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ kaku/ 'Fa.Bro.'</td>
<td>Class-I</td>
<td>Class-II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.4 Names used in address:

Both the real names and nicknames, (see 3.3. (part II)) are in address. Sometimes full names, some times first half of the names, some times part of the first half with or without endearing or pejorative suffixes are used.

1.4.1 Full name:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name</th>
<th>by who</th>
<th>to who</th>
<th>when</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nobiulla/</td>
<td>friend of the same official rank</td>
<td>friend of the same official rank</td>
<td>formal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.2 First half of a name / rohim ulla /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First half</th>
<th>by who</th>
<th>to who</th>
<th>when</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ rohim</td>
<td>parents</td>
<td>aged son</td>
<td>formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friends</td>
<td>friends</td>
<td>formal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.3 Part of the first half of a name with endearing suffix

Names:  /dolil uddin/ 'a Muslim-name & male
          /konak kormorkar/ 'a Hindu-name (male)
          /aziza bogom/ 'a Muslim name (female)
          /kala/ 'a nickname (male)
          /lili/ 'a nickname (female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>part of the names with endearing suffix</th>
<th>by who</th>
<th>to who</th>
<th>when</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dolu/,/konu/ elderly relatives</td>
<td>younger relatives</td>
<td>endearingly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/azu/,/kalu/ parents</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lili/ friends</td>
<td>friends</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rule: The first three phonemes of the first half of a name will be taken if the name begins with a consonant and the first two phonemes of the first half of a name will be taken if the name begins with a vowel and the endearing suffix / -u / will be added (see 3.2.2.1(13))

1.4.4. Part of the first half of a name with pejorative suffix.

Names: / kala mia / ' a Muslim name ( male )
/ ali mia / ' a Muslim name ( male )
/ konok kormorkar / ' a Hindu name ( male )
/ kazoli banu / ' a Muslim name ( female )
/ lili bégom / ' a Muslim name ( female )
/ aziza bégom / ' a Muslim name ( female )

Part of the names with pejorative suffixes

by whom elderly speaker younger speaker pejoratively

to whom

When

/kaila ~ kalaia /

/ailla//konikkka/ speaker of speaker of the - do -
/kazoli/,/lilini/ the same

/ azuni / age

Rules:

Rule for male: If the name ( first half ) is of disyllabic pattern having both the syllables open, the first two or three phonemes of the first half of the name will be taken according
to the vowel initial or consonant initial names respectively.

If the name (first half) is of disyllabic pattern having the second syllable closed, the pejorative suffix will follow the first half.

In both the cases the pejorative suffix is /-ia/

(See.. ③, 16, (11) Car) 1

Rule for female:

The pejorative suffix / -i / is added to the first half of the name when it does not end in / i / and the pejorative suffix / -ni / is added when the first half of the name ends in / i /.

Sometimes / -ni / is added to the proper names in endearment as in / azuni / ' a Muslim female name ( pej. )

1.5 A few items are introduced either after the first half of a name, or the important half of a name ( in case of Muslim names, where sometimes first half is important as in / rohim-ullah / and sometimes second half is important / abdur rohim /) or even after some words referring to certain professions. These items will be called address words. Address words can be used in isolation too.

Most common of these address words are: / mia/, /babu/ and /sáb/, . They are used in the following context.
1.5.1 Important part of the name followed by / mia /

**Examples:**
/ sālim mia / (when the name is / sālim ulla/ ' a Muslim name'
/ rōhim mia / (when the name is / abdur rōhim/ ' a Muslim name'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
<th>reciprocal/ non reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.2. First half of the name followed by / babu /

**Examples:**
/ sōtis babu / (when the name is / sōtis kōrmākar (surname/ ' a Hindu name'
/ mīntu babu / (when the name is / mīntu saha ( surname ) / ' a Hindu name'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>to whom</th>
<th>reciprocal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>non-reciprocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.3. The words referring to professions followed by /sāb /

and / babu /

1.5.3.1 The use of / sāb /

**Examples:**
/ māṭās sāb / (when the receiver is a teacher )
/ ḍaktōs ˈsəb/ (when the receiver is a physician)
/ malana ˈsəb/ (when the receiver is educated in Islamic education)

by whom                   to whom                   reciprocal/non reciprocal
________________________  ______________________   ______________________
Muslims                   Muslims                   reciprocal
Hindus                    Muslims                   non-reciprocal

1.5.3.2 The use of / babu /

Examples:
/ ḍaktor babu/ (when the receiver is a physician)
/ māstor babu/ (when the receiver is a teacher)

by whom                   to whom                   reciprocal/ non reciprocal
________________________  ______________________   ______________________
Hindus                    Hindus                    reciprocal
Muslims                   Hindus                    non-reciprocal

1.6. Address morpheme:

One morpheme is used to address unknown persons on hearing their voice. This will be called as address morpheme. There are two allomorphs. We want to call them as context-conditioned allomorphs.

/ -re / if from the voice it is understood that the speaker in not grown up as in / ke-re/ ' who, oh ( is/are there ?)
/-gɔ/ if from the voice it is understood that the speaker is grown-up as in /ke-gɔ/ 'who oh' or 'who is (there)'

1.7 Forms of response:
There are two types of form of response, (i) response to somebody’s call and (ii) supporting response.

1.7.1 Response to call:
a) prolonged /hɔ/ if the man who calls is of class-II or a young boy.
b) prolonged /zi/zɔ/ if the man who calls is of class-I or senior in age.

1.7.2 Supporting response:
/aio ~ ɔ/ if the speaker is of Class-II or a friend
/zi/zɔ/(non-prolonged) if the speaker is of Class-I or senior in age.

1.8. Problem of pronominals and person/grade concord selection:
It has been described already (in 4.4.3 (Part-I)) that the person suffixes show a concord with the subject noun or pronoun i.e. if the subject is second person honorific pronoun, the verb takes second person honorific person/grade suffix.
When the sender cannot decide which pronoun or person/grade suffix will be suitable for the receiver he avoids both the pronoun and the person/grade suffix. If he deletes pronoun, the pronoun is recoverable from the person/grade suffix. So he avoids both and used completely different type of sentences than usual.

Usual sentences:

/ ammə zaibən nə / 'will you go?'
'you(hon) go-will (hon) ?

/ tui zaiba nə / 'will you go?'
'you (fam) go-will (fam) ?

/ tui zaibi nə / 'will you go?'
'you (ord) go-will (ord) ?

The sentence used because of the problem of selection

/ zaon oibonə /
'going become will ?

Instead of verb+person-grade suffix, the verbal noun is used and the pronoun is completely deleted.

1.9. Code-switching:

The same speaker switches from one word to another of the same variety (dialect) to convey the same meaning or to
refer to the same thing: Some times he is influenced by the status of the person referred to or sometimes by his religion. Sometimes he goes from his variety to standard variety and vice versa, wherever he feels ease to convey his ideas. Sometimes he goes from his variety or language to another languages for his own purposes; to influence or define the situations as he wishes and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intentions.

1.9.1. **Use of synonyms:**

(a) The following synonyms are used by the same speaker to refer to somebody's death.

/ sari gese / 'died'  
if the dead is relative including the members of his own family.

/ opat jise / 'died'  
if the dead is a sainty person (among Muslims)

/ mara gese / 'died'  
if the dead is of Class-I

/ mosse / 'died'  
if the dead is of Class-II

(b) to refer to a book:

/ kitab / 'book'  
any religious book (among Muslims)

/ boi / 'book'  
och other books
(c) to ask the price

/ hadia / ' price'

about religious books (among Muslims)

/ kimbət - kimbe / 'price'

about the animals which the speaker wants to sacrifice in the name of / alla / ' God' (among Muslims)

/ dam - mullə /

elsewhere

(d) to refer to a banyan tree

/ kaligas /

if the tree is worshipped (tree of the Goddess / kali/ ) (among Hindus)

/ bodgas /

elsewhere

1.9.2 Formal—informal style:

We have already stated that the speakers may switch from the standard variety to his variety and vice versa according to his own convenience. Sandvipi speakers of Class-I, outside Sandvip, use standard variety in formal situation, otherwise Sandvipi, with members of the family when sometime they refer to something relating to Sandvip, their village, village life, they switch over to Sandvipi. I observed on one Sunday of my holiday in our Dacca house where the Class-I speakers of the same village where using standard variety in their formal discussion, caught by nostalgic mood, they were discussing
about some happiness of village life, winter in village, about some village games. At that time they switched over to Sandvipi to convey their emotions, feeling nicely.

Example:
A discourse:

In the standard colloquial of Bengali—

/ajkal shhre ar ha dqçu ba onk gram/n khsladhula nei bll/e
cle msnr lqr/l gorur lqr/kr kth/ to che/qi dilam, amader
'sodi/p e/b kintu bjs jomi/. amader brir samnej bost
ha dqçu/r asr amader pser brir kal u khub bhalo khelto take
carjon mle dhore rakhao muskit/ hto/tar kta kousol chilo. /

Then in Sandvipi
donstlge lge maito sk hal. sk hale niza zagat soli aito/

Translation:
In the standard colloquial of Bengali.
Now a days in city / ha dqçu / ( a village game) or many others village games are not seen (played) at all. ( as for) The fight of buffalos or oxen — we have given up ( = cannot even) talk about these games.

The / ha dqçu/ used to take place just in front of our house. Kalw of our neighbouring house used to play very well. It was difficult to catch hold of him even with all four. He had a trick.
Then in Sandvipi:
He used to jump up as soon as he was being caught. He used to return back to his own place just with only one jump.

1.9.3 Switching from one language to another language:
Generally all educated speakers of Class-I know a little bit of English. The knowledge of English indicates a speaker's good educational background. So a speaker may intersperse his talk with English words or phrases in an influence a situation, as we have already mentioned earlier.

Examples
(a) ibhinem plaţ-e dakas zam
'I shall go to Dacca by evening flight'

(b) kala suisaid kosse
'Kala committed suicide.'

In both the examples, we not only find the use of his own suffix, but the interference of the standard colloquial Bengali in the pronunciation also.

1.10. Baby talk:
Sometimes elderly people mostly women, talk like babies, rather they try to imitate them when they talk to them. They think that babies will be happier, if they (the elderly people) can imitate them. Such imitations of babies are called
baby talk. We should keep in mind that the term 'Baby talk' refers, not necessarily to the way that babies talk, but the way the adults talk to babies *

The change from adult speech to baby talk is mainly observed in phonology and particularly intonation pattern. A sort of stretching or dragging of the vowels, and some times of the consonants is quite noticeable, and the tempo of speech is much slower *

1.10.1 Substitutions of phonemes:

(a) $r \rightarrow l$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult speech</th>
<th>baby talk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kɔɾɔ/ (you) do (fam.)</td>
<td>/kɔlɔ/ (you) do (fam.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gɔɾi/ 'bullock cart'</td>
<td>/gɔlì/ 'bullock cart'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) $\ddot{a}$ and $\ddot{t} \rightarrow t$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult speech</th>
<th>baby talk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/rɔsɔgolla/ 'a kind of sweetmeat'</td>
<td>/lɔtɔgolla/ 'a kind of sweetmeat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rɔs/ 'juice'</td>
<td>/lɔt/ 'juice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hɔt/ 'a pot'</td>
<td>/hɔt/ 'a pot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.10.2 Free variation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>z</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

* Charles A. Ferguson "Baby talk in the language", American Anthropologist, LVIII, 1960
+ Tania A. Strouse "Bengalen Baby talk" in "Word" volume 27 (1-2), 1971
### 1.10.3 No vowel sequence:

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult Speech</th>
<th>Baby Talk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/zaibɔ/ 'will go'</td>
<td>/zabɔ/~dabɔ/ '(he) will go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zaga/ 'place'</td>
<td>/zaga-daga/ '? place'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.10.4 Gemination is preferred to cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult Speech</th>
<th>Baby Talk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/khaibɔ/ '(he) will eat'</td>
<td>/kha-bɔ/ '(he) will eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zaibɔ/ '(he) will go'</td>
<td>/zabɔ-dabɔ/ '(he) will go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.10.5 The use of the endearing suffix /-u/<

In adult speech, /-u/ is added to propenames only whereas in baby talk they are added to some words also.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adult Speech</th>
<th>Baby Talk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bat/ 'rice'</td>
<td>/bat-u/ 'rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dud/ 'milk'</td>
<td>/dud-u/ 'milk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.10.6 The use of pronoun and person-grade suffix:

We have described the context of pronominal usage in 1.1.
In baby talk only the second person familiar pronoun is used. Accordingly only the second person familiar person-grade suffix is added to the verbs as they show concord.

Examples:

/ (tui) ai-ō /  ' (you) come (fam)'
/ (tui) hol-ō /  ' (you) read (fam.)'

Note: /a/ of /ai-ō/ (in the first example) becomes a little rounded. In adult speech it is central unrounded (See 1.1.1.)

1.11. Verbal strategy:

Some times the speakers of Class-II delete object in transitive verbs in order to give rise to ambiguous meanings. When the receiver does not like his (sender's) utterance, the sender says that he wanted to convey a different idea than what the receiver has understood.

There are some verbs and adjectives which are used for non-human. Somebody may use those adjectives and verbs for human. If the receiver shows his dislikings, the sender says that he was joking.

We want to call both of these situations as verbal strategy.

1.11.1 Use of transitive verbs by deleting the objects:

Examples:

a) / dibi/  '(inquestion)' will (you) give (ord)'

b) /tipi dum/  '(I) shall compress'
by whom       to whom       wanted to mean        ambiguity
unmarried     unmarried     a) whether she       a) asked to give
young man     young woman   will agree to       something.
of Class-II    of Class-II    sleep with
him

b) the sender  b) he wanted to
will squeeze   compress her
her breasts    head, etc. if
there is any
pain.

1.11.2 The use of adjective and verb:

1.11.2.1 The use of adjective:

The adjective / qēqa / 'tender' is used to modify some
plants, leaves etc. If a boy has some grey hair on his head,
somebody may address him as / qēqa buirra / 'tender old man'.
If the receiver becomes angry, the sender says that he is joking.

1.11.2.2 The use of verb:

The verb / bīa / 'to give birth' is used for non-human
only. A speaker may ask another speaker of his age, /tor bo /
bole bīaibo (question) / 'I have heard that your wife will
give birth to a child. Is it fact? If the receiver does not
like it, the sender will simply say that he was joking.

...
CHAPTER II

STRATIFICATIONAL VARIATION

2.0 A human society organises its physical world according to its world view. An ethnotaxonomic enquiry can show how the language of a human society reflects this organisation or structuring. As different linguistic varieties are used by different social groups it is possible for us to attempt a classification of speakers into different groups accordingly.

Any sandvipi-speaker will be able to estimate the relative status of the following speakers on the basis of the linguistic evidence given here:

Speaker A ]
1/ ár bûr maide ki òise kaite kaite sôs /
   I something has happened in my chest, I am almost finished with coughing

2. / bâit gese /
   (he)went home

Speaker B ]
1. / ár buker maide ki òise kaîste kaîste sôs /
   'something has happened in my chest, I am almost finished with coughing'
2. / barit gesé /
   '(he) went home'

   In the first example we find two differences between the two speakers: (1) between / búr/ 'of chest' and /buker/ 'of chest and (ii) between / káite káite/ 'coughing and coughing, and / kaiste kaiste/ coughing and coughing.

   In the second example the difference is between /béit/ in house and / barit/ in houses

   The words for chest, 'to cough' and 'house' are /buk/ /kas/ and / bari/ respectively. According to the general rules, they should be / buker/, /kais-te kais-te/ and / bari-t /,

   When the different suffixes are added to them, and the speaker B is maintaining them in tari. But the speaker A drops / k/ and / r / in intervocalic position and / s / when the suffix / -te / is added in both the cases the dropping of the phonemes has been compensated by the accompaniment of rising tone in the vowels of the first syllables in all the words. The tendency of dropping / k / and / r / in intervocalic position is almost regular (though not universal) among the speakers of the same group of A; the dropping of / s / before some suffixes is not so regular.
The grammatical differences between the two speakers give some clues about their social background. It is possible to guess that B is of higher social status than A. This particular type of social differentiation illustrates in the examples of speakers A and B is because of social stratification.

According to status Sandvipi speakers might perhaps be divided into three social groups:

1. Educated (+ poverty )
2. Non-poor (- education )
3. Poor (- education )

But the class, Non-poor (-education) is actually a transitory class, nearer to poor class in speech, though after earning some money they try to acquire the peculiarities of the educated class, more or less consciously. So we can broadly divide Sandvipi speakers into two social classes:

a) Class + education ( Class- I )
b) Class - education ( Class- II )

Besides the example of morphophonemic deletions of the speaker A given earlier, there is another marked difference between the classes- speakers of the two-classes namely the dragging of words by the speakers of Class-II like women (See Chapter IV Part II). The other differences are mainly in the phonemic inventory, distribution of phonemes, forms of address
and some other features. We shall begin with the phonemic inventory.

2.1. **Phonemic inventory:**

In the phonemic inventory given in \( \text{(1)} \)

there are no /ts/ (palato-alveolar voiceless unaspirated affricate), /tsh/ (palato-alveolar voiceless aspirated affricate) or /ɾ/ (voiced unaspirated alveolo-flapped sound).

In the conscious speech of the speaker of Class-I, these phonemes are available, at least in formal context because of the interference of the standard colloquial Bengali. We have not included them in the phonemic inventory because of the lesser frequency.

2.2 **Distribution of phonemes** (See \( \text{1, 6, } \text{(1)} \))

2.2.1. **Initial /p/**

The initial /p/ is available in formal speech of the speaker of Class-I.

**Example**

/pəni/ 'water' by Class-I in formal situation.

/həni/ 'water' elsewhere.

2.2.2 **Initial cluster**

There is no initial cluster of phonemes among the speaker of Class-II. The speaker of Class-I has this and the
frequency is not so less.

Examples

/ klás / ' class ' by a speaker of Class- I
/ kələs / ' class ' by a speaker of class-II

2.3 Two sets of Kinship terms:

There are some kinship terms which have two-sets used by two different classes in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the terms</th>
<th>by Class- I</th>
<th>by Class- II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Bro.</td>
<td>/ kaka /</td>
<td>/ kaku /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Bro.Wi.</td>
<td>/ kaki /</td>
<td>/ zi /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sis.</td>
<td>/ bua<del>apa</del>didi /</td>
<td>/ bu /</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The choice of the terms in cross-class group is interesting. A speaker of Class-I takes the set of Class-II, if he is to address a speaker of Class-II and vice versa. (See. 1.3 Part- II)

2.4 The selection of pronoun for a Hindu Fisherman

(See . . 1.2 4. Part- II)

Though the Hindu society is stratified into different castes, there is no influence of it on language as such. So, there is no caste-dialect as some Indian languages have. Excepting few Brahmins almost all are scheduled caste Hindus. So caste system is not rigid at all. But surprisingly, there is one exception to this rule in the selection of pronoun for the Hindu fishermen ( generally all fishermen are Hindus ).
Both the Muslim and Hindu speakers of any age group or class, use generally / tui / 'you' (ordinary) and at best / tui / 'you' (familiar), if the fisherman is old, non-poor and the speaker generally is a young boy. A fisherman never expects / amnə / 'you' (honorific) unless in joke or satire.

2.5. Influence of taboos

There is the influence of taboos on the speakers of Class-II in no-naming, naming and some other features (see 2.4. part)

The following nicknames are generally found among Class-II.

a) / beussa / 'sold' (lit.)
b) / ḫaẓa / 'dirt' (lit.)
c) / ḥora / 'dirt' (lit.)
d) / gūda /

There are actually 'badnames' and their meanings are something unpleasant. These names are kept in order to protect the children from evil spirits.

2.6 The use of some abusing terms:

There are some terms for abusing to which are tabooed at least in formal context. But the speakers of Class-II, generally use them in formal context also. These tabooed terms include many things. If a speaker addressed the receiver as brother-in-law or if he declares that he has sexual relation
with the receiver's mother, these will indicate abusing. We shall take some examples only.

a) / halar hut hala/ ' (you) brother-in-law's son, brother-in-law '

b) / hat sarulir hut / ' (you) son of a seven times divorced woman '

c) / sotmaranir hut / ' (you) son of a prostitute '

2.7 Code-switching:

There is the tendency of code-switching among the status-conscious speakers of both the classes. This code-switching may be from a speaker's variety to standard variety or from a speaker's own language to another language as we have mentioned earlier ( see. p. 9. 0. (part-11) )

Sometimes a status conscious speaker of Class- II also wants to switch over to standard variety either if he meets a speaker of Class-I after a long time who stays outside the locality or he himself passes some days outside the island. The following features are observed when he tries to switch over to the standard variety.

Example
' (you) come (hon) to our house ( in future ) '

In Sandvipi it is

/ anga b'it ~ barit aibon /
In standard colloquial of Bengali it is
/ amader bari asben /

The status-conscious speaker may say EITHER
a) / ango bait aisben /
OR
b) / ango barit aisben /
OR
c) / amadôr barit aisben /

In (a) he tried only to switch over to the verb-form
of the standard variety / aisben/. He could not avoid the gene-
ral morphonemic rule of the insertion of /i/ (see 2.1.116) and he used / s / instead of /ô/, as the dialect has lesser
frequency of / e /. So he said / aisben /

In (b) the speaker tried to use the standard form of
' to our house / bariô / He used / barit /. He used / r / instead of / r / and he added his own locative suffix /-t /.
The standard locative suffix / -te / is deleted optionally.

In (c) he tried to switch over to the standard form of
the pronoun / amader / 'ours'. He is almost successful, but
for the use of / s/ instead of / e /
CHAPTER III

VARIATIONS BASED ON RELIGIOUS

3.0 There are two words for the word 'water'. One is /hani/ used by the Muslim speakers and the another is /zol/ used by the Hindu speakers. In any context this difference in the use of these two words will be maintained. So, it is possible to know a man's religion from the use of these two words only. But here the most interesting point is in the use of the derived words. The Muslims use the words derived from /zol/ and some other words of Sanskrit origin as /kuzol/ 'for nothing (spent)', /ślökki/ 'unfortunate etc, and the Hindus also use the words derived from /hani/ and some other root words of Perso-Arabic origin which they do not use consciously as /hainna sair/ 'a kind of folk song and dance' /hainna tal/ 'tender palm-fruit', /hainna kọsu/ 'water arum' etc.

The marked difference however, is mainly in the use of the kinship terms, religious terms and naming. There are social variations also in the choice of words and suffixes. The Hindu kinship, religious and some other terms are mainly of Sanskrit origin and those of the Muslims are of Perso-Arabic origin.
3.1 The use of the kinship terms:

We have already mentioned that there is marked difference in the use of the kinship terms. There are some similarities also.

We shall describe here only the terms to which differ in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Terms</th>
<th>By Muslims</th>
<th>By Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fa.</td>
<td>/abba/</td>
<td>/baba/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.</td>
<td>/amma/</td>
<td>/ma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa.Bro.</td>
<td>/sasa-kaka/</td>
<td>/khura/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Sis.</td>
<td>/khala/</td>
<td>/masi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.Sis.</td>
<td>/hú/</td>
<td>/hisi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sis.</td>
<td>/bua-apa/</td>
<td>/didi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bro.(e)</td>
<td>/bai/</td>
<td>/dada/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Fa.</td>
<td>/nana/</td>
<td>/dadu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo.Mo.</td>
<td>/nani/</td>
<td>/didima/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Wi.</td>
<td>/bázi/</td>
<td>/bodi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Sis.Hus.</td>
<td>/khalu/</td>
<td>/misa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.Sis.Hus.</td>
<td>/hua/</td>
<td>/hisa/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: There are some variations also. The Muslims may use the terms like /ma/, /baba/, /didi/, /dada/ with lesser frequency but the Hindus will never use /abba/ /bua/ or /apa/. Again the Hindus use /kaka/ with lesser frequency than /khura/ but the Muslims will never use /khura/.
3.2 Religious terms:

The Hindus have their own gods and goddesses and religious concepts) and the Muslims also have their own 'Allah' and angels, and religious concepts. So naturally they use different terms for referring to them according to their own religious. Some examples are given below to show the use of the different terms even when the 'idea' is same

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Idea</th>
<th>By Muslims</th>
<th>By Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'god'</td>
<td>/ ala - khoda</td>
<td>/ issar - bogoban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'angel'</td>
<td>/ hirista</td>
<td>/ deota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'prayer'</td>
<td>/ nɔz</td>
<td>/ hattona - upasana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fast'</td>
<td>/ roza</td>
<td>/ uas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'heaven'</td>
<td>/ bikoštɔ</td>
<td>/ sorgo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hell'</td>
<td>/ dozkɔ</td>
<td>/ norak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Namings:

Generally all people have two names: (1) / asol nam / 'real name and (2) / đak nam / 'nick name'. The Hindus have further their surnames as a part of their full or formal names. The / asol nam / is used in formal context.

The real names of both the Hindus and the Muslims are religion-oriented. So Hindu real names are naturally of Sanskritic Origin and the Muslims real names are of Perso-Arabic origin.
Examples:

/ konok kornokar / ' a Hindu real name + surname ' 
/ rōhim - ulla / ' a Muslim real name ' 

In nick names the rule is not so rigid. The nicknames are mainly of two-types:

(i) The first or second half of the real names may be used as nick names in case of Muslims and the first half of the real names may be used as nicknames in case of Hindus.

(ii) Entirely different.

The nicknames of the second type are after ' Sun, Moon or star ' for boys, as / tāpon / ' Sun ' / rōbi / ' Sun' / san / ' Moon' / tāra / ' star ' and after flowers for girls as / kusum / ' flower' / sepāli / ' a kind of flower ' / golap / ' rose ' etc. The bad names / beussa / ' sold ' / hōra / ' dirt ' etc. are used as nicknames only (See.. 25. Part-1). The interesting point here is that both the Hindu and Muslim nicknames of the second type are same and they are of Sanskritic origin ' Bad names ' are prevalent among the speakers of Class- II only (See .. 25. Part-1).

3.4 Forms of address, response, greetings and others:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>by who</th>
<th>to who</th>
<th>examples:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) / mia /</td>
<td>Muslims or Hindus</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>/ kala mia/ 'a Muslim name followed by address word'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) /babu/ Hindus
   or
   Muslims
Hindus /sotis_babu/ 'a Hindu name followed by address word.'
   /sotis_mia/ or /kala_babu/ will be unacceptable.

3.4.2 Forms of response:
There are two sets of forms of response:
(1) /ki/ used by both the groups when the sender is not respectful or the receiver does not want to show much respect to the sender.
(ii) a)/zi:ze/ Used by Muslims.
   b)/aigga/ Used by Hindus.

3.4.3 Forms of greetings:
Forms
   /salamaikum/ by who
   /nomoskar/ Muslims
   /adab/ Hindus
Cross-group

3.4.4 Endearing suffixes:
There are some suffixes which are used by both for endearment and respect by the Muslims only.
(a) /-zi/ as in /kak-a-zi/ 'Fa.Bro.(with respect)'
(b) /-zan/ as in /ma-zan/ 'Mo.(with respect)'
   /abba-zan/ 'Fa.(with respect)'
The Hindus who use /ma/ 'mother', will never use
   /ma-zan/.
3.5 Some phonological and morphological variations:

3.5.1 /rr/ gemination:

The Hindus do not have any /rr/ gemination, for their /rg/ clusters, the Muslims have /rr/ gemination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'river' or 'sea'</td>
<td>/doirra/</td>
<td>/doirga/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sparrow'</td>
<td>/suirra/</td>
<td>/suirga/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.2 Morphophonemic variation:

In 2.1.1 (i) (Part -l), there is an exception to the /-i-/ insertion rule: in /r/ and /t/ ending roots, /-i-/ is not inserted when the tense-suffix /se/ is added to them. It was given as a general rule, since the Muslims speakers of the dialect are far more numerous than the Hindu speakers.

The Hindu speakers insert /-i-/ to any roots, before any tense suffixes.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>by Muslims</th>
<th>by Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'did'</td>
<td>/kɔr+se/</td>
<td>/kɔis-se/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'caught'</td>
<td>/dɔr+se/</td>
<td>/dɔis-se/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cut'</td>
<td>/kai̯̊-se/</td>
<td>/kai̯̊t-se/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5.3 Case variation:

There is only one example in the use of the ablative case-suffix which was mentioned in 3.3.2.3.(Part-1) as free-variation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ablative case suffix</th>
<th>by whom</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) / -ette /</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>/gər-ette/ 'from house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/gəs-ette/ 'from tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) / -ettai /</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>/gər-ettai/ 'from house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/gəs-ettai/ 'from tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...
CHAPTER IV

VARIATIONS BASED ON SEX

4.0 In many societies the speech of men and women differs from each other. The differences are quite small or marginal or trivial in some cases and are not generally noticed. They are probably taken for granted in the same way as, say, different gestures or facial expressions. In Sandvipi, there are differences between men's and women's speech, particularly with regard to the intonation patterns, intensity, pronouns and address suffixes. The rhythm also is different, particularly in exclamatory utterances. Women drag almost each word.

In case of intensity, generally, the speech of men and women differs. Women have developed a whispering style and they use that style particularly, if they are aware of the presence of some men in the sidemans or nearby. This tendency might have developed because of the influence of the 'mullahs', who order, in the name of religion that women's voice should not be heard by men. These differences in the speech habits of men and women are so marked that if a man develops the habit of speech patterns characteristic of women, he is immediately described, and condemned, as effeminate. /maissaila/

1. Peter Trudgill - 'Sociolinguistics' (1975)
Some other differences in men's and women's speech are being described in the following sub-sections.

4.1 **Female indicating pronouns:**

There are some female indicating pronouns which are used only by women.

The pronouns are:

(a) / heiti / 'she (ordinary)'
(b) / tái / 'she (ordinary)'
(c) / hiza / 'she (familiar)'

Male speaker do not use those pronouns unless in pejoration. Instead they use the terms of reference (See note: 1.2.3).

4.2 **Address Morpheme:**

There is one address morpheme /-la/ which is used only by the women, to the women.

/-la/ it can be used

(a) by a woman of the same age having very intimate relation
(b) by grand mother to grand daughter
(c) to young girls by women having grandmotherly affection.

Examples:

/ ei-la / 'this oh'
/ ki-la / 'what oh'
/khaitino-la/ 'won't you eat'
Note: The women use / -re / and / gô / also (See 1.6, p.46-47) but the men will never use / -la / even when they address a woman.

4.3 Use of permissive mode and verbal noun by a wife:

Sometimes wives stop talking to their husbands after a quarrel. If she is to convey some thing to him, she avoids direct terms of address. She avoids pronominals and person-grade suffixes (as mentioned earlier in 1.8, p.46-47) and use verbal noun. But more frequently she uses permissive mode in place of verb + person-grade suffixes.

Examples:

(a) usual: / amnô korëna /  
'why don't you (hon) do'

non-usual / korukna /

'why some body doesn't do (this)'

(b) usual: / khan / ' (you) eat (hon)'

non-usual: / khaun / '(somebody) may eat this'

4.4 Influence of taboos:

There is influence of taboos among the speakers of Class-II as a whole, but among their women it is still more prominent. The women of Class-II do not take the names of their husbands in particular and other older relatives in
general. They even avoid the use of words having partial phonetic resemblance to the names of their husbands and senior relatives. They first try for a synonym. If synonyms are not available, they try for a word which more or less can convey the idea. Otherwise, they will create a word according to their sweet will, thus contributing a new word to the dialect or language.

A sample of sound clusters, avoided by married women, and their replacements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name/sound cluster to avoid</th>
<th>Relation to ego</th>
<th>Phonetic similarity</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Replace by synonym</th>
<th>Replace almost new word</th>
<th>Replace synonymous word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. /danamia/ Hus. /dana/ 'seed' /goḍa/ 'grain' 'seed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. /kalamia/ Hus.Fa. /kala/ 'black' /monza/ 'sable coloured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. /hadi/ Hus. /hada/ 'dried tobacco leaf' /suga/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5 The use of conjunct verbs:

We find at least one example of conjunct verb which shows the difference in the selection of verbal root (in a conjunct verb $N + V$), where the nominal is the same for men and women.

**Example:**

Men / bia körmu / 'I shall marry'

marriage do will (he himself will take decision)

Women / bia bómú / 'I shall marry'

marriage sit-will (she is ready for marriage if somebody arranges)

The expression * / bia körmu / by a woman will be unacceptable, which indicates the social structure that a woman cannot take the decision herself for her marriage and thereby suggests the male dominance in the society.

This male dominance is reflected in the following examples also, when a man wants to refer to somebody's marriage. He will use two different verbal roots (in $N + V$ situation)

About men / kalu bia kösse / 'kalu married'

Kalu marriage did

About women / rezu rezu bia dise / 'Rezu was married'

Rezu-to marriage gave

...