ABSTRACT
        This paper compares respect forms used in Bhojpuri,
standard Hindi, and suddh Hindi. The role and use of each dialect are
described, and a comparison of respect forms used in each is
presented, considering phonemic, grammatical, syntactical,
suprasegmental, paralinguistic, and kinesic features. The differences
noted appear in a continuum among the dialects. (VM)

ED 061815

FL 003 043

CONFIGURATION OF STYLE-DIALECTS IN BANARAS, INDIA
A Continuum Based on Respect Forms
Jane Christian

Bhojpuri	standard Hindi	śuddh Hindi
3 ordinary Bhojpuri with sets of neutral markers & set of respect markers	5 formal polite style highly inflected, Sanskritized, a formal literature written, highest respect markers	6 extreme respect for religious exposition, public speeches, highly Sanskritized and inflected, the highest style of writing, three highest sets of respect markers
2 rude style or khārībōlī without respect markers		
	4 ordinary style written, three sets of respect markers as in Bhojpuri, but more inflection	
1 abuse style or gālī, burābōlī, defined as khārībōlī with its own paralinguistic and kinesic features, and lexicon additions		

Sample Respect Forms in Imperative-Requests, for the above styles.

1 verb root only jā (go!) disrespectful

2 "   "   "   jā (go!)   "   , also simplified for babies

3 "   " plus -ō (go.) lacking respect
  "   "   " -nā (go.) neutral
  "   "   " -iyē (please go.) respectful

4 same as 3,
5 also same as 3, and
  verb root plus-iyēgā (please have the pleasure of going.) extreme
                                                            respect
6 verb root plus -nā (go.) neutral
  "   "   " -iyē (please go.) respectful
  "   "   " -iyēgā (please have the pleasure of going.) "   "

Bhojpuri arose as a dialect indigenous to southeastern Uttar Pradesh and southwestern Bihar, centered along the Ganga or Ganges River, as an unwritten Indo-Aryan dialect, presumably from the medieval Prakrits. It exhibits considerable variation from west to east and, on its edges, blends in with other dialects.

Standard Hindi was created artificially in part, from dialects closer to Delhi in Mogul and British times as a useful lingua franca

across broad stretches of North India, and has always been iden-
tified with the government and with literate speakers. It has
tended also to be identified with outsiders; though this aspect is
diminishing,as Hindi served for a unifying force in India's struggle
for freedom and as such was consciously developed. A Hindi liter-
ature appeared in this century, and Hindi is definitely spreading
through North India at several levels: as the main film medium,
the government radio medium over large areas, a medium of instruc-
tion in schools, a: government medium in several states, as bāzār
and commercial linqua franca, and other ways. Furthermore it has
become a prestige language associated with literacy and important
posts, and its use. is a mark of upward mobility. It is gaining as
a second language or dialect for many speakers.

Śuddh Hindi is a purely literary and formal expository style
used traditionally in religious contexts and increasingly in poli-
tical expository style in some parties where the dress of religious
sanction is useful.and even necessary. Characterized by the incor-
poration of many words and roots from Sanskrit it was developed
especially in and around Banaras as a self-conscious elite style
in this holy city of pandits and publishers. In śuddh Hindi, and
indeed in other speech to some extent, the verbal symbols have
something of the quality of signs as well. The sanctified syllables
and words are directly associated with sanctified being and action;
the sacred syllable ōm is more than an invocation in the Western
sense: it is an automatic evocation of transcendence. The idea is
strong that form implies meaning as part of the same basic unity,
so Sanskritic scholars would not agree with the assumption in Wes-
tern linguistics of a necessary dichotomy between sound and meaning
in human speech. It is no accident therefore, that people under this
influence tend to treat language as an important thing itself to
be treated respectfully, whether they are speakers of śuddh Hindi,
standard Hindi, or Bhojpuri.

Notes on Some Outstanding Features of Comparative śuddh Hindi,
Standard Hindi and Bhojpuri structure

1 There are some phonemic differences between śuddh Hindi, standard
Hindi and Bhojpuri; the most noteworthy for mention here perhaps is
the general and progressive tendency to simplify consonant clusters
from $C_1C_2(C_3) \rightarrow C_1(C_{2,3})$ or $\rightarrow C_1 \ni C_2$, etc. Also some phoneme sets
such as spirants and nasals have a tendency to collapse somewhat,
from three to two, and five to three to two respectively, while the
vowel system follows a simpler pattern in Bhojpuri as well. (We find
this same tendency towards simplification of these items redoubled
in young children, not only in this area, but in all the languages
thus far studied for acquisition patterns. Caution and further re-
search should, of course, precede any interpretation of this.)

2 A few outstanding grammatical divergences along this same scale
are:
a) increasing use of pluralization from śuddh Hindi to Bhojpuri for
a respect marker over literal enumeration—plurality becoming more
of a semantic marker in Bhojpuri, where it rarely/used to denote
pluralization; e.g., Bhāgavandās, age four years, one month, offering
a sweet to an old neighbor woman: lē, dādiyā, lē. 'Take, father's
mother +plural marker, take.' It should be noted that this tendency
is present even in śuddh Hindi, for example, in the substitution of
plural for singular pronouns and verbal inflections to indicate
respect. All similar tendencies of śuddh Hindi are present and in-
creased in standard Hindi; this process continues with Bhojpuri.
b) Śuddh Hindi most closely parallels the enormous inflectional
complexity cf Sanskrit, for example, in large multidimensional para-
digms for nouns, verbs, and adjectives along such axes as number,
'gender', direct-oblique constructions, and several specifically on
verbs with regard to person, time, causality, transitivity, aspect,
etc. In standard spoken Hindi we find very similar verb patterns,
but less complexity and less regularity in such items as direct-
oblique, singular-plural, masculine-feminine distinctions. In Bhoj-
puri a few verb constructions are absent and others changed in their
phonological realization; not only number markers but gender some-
times shows more affiliation with respect.
c) Correspondingly, śuddh Hindi depends less upon word order than
inflectional markers and agreements, is characterized by intricately

imbedded sentences dependent upon this inflection and by parallel
grammatical constructions of phrases, clauses, etc. Standard
spoken Hindi possesses a more closely defined word order and less
range of variability in imbedding and other features of syntax.
Again in Bhojpuri this process is carried somewhat further, though
the parallel structures continue in profusion.
d) Some intonation patterns of śuddh Hindi appear to be derived
from ritual Sanskrit chanting, or at least to be related to it;
narrative intonation patterns conform to the intricate syntactic
structure. In standard Hindi and in Bhojpuri these are corres-
pondingly modified to fit the syntax, but features of rising and
falling pitch, length, juncture, etc. are very similar in narrative
patterns.

3 Paralinguistic and kinesic features are, in this system at least,
of far greater overall importance than they are usually accorded in
narrowly defined linguistic terms, in conveying often the bulk of
the semantic content of a communication, and being certainly capable
of definition, study, and analysis. One speaking śuddh Hindi sits
erect or stands, head back and eyes directed somewhat down to listen-
ers; arm and hand gestures are broad and relatively slow; he does
not smile, but his expressions are intended to convey power and
dignity; he gazes down on listeners with brow drawn down, chin and
mouth somewhat forward. He speaks relatively loudly, and he is the
one to initiate speech or conversation if different styles are being
used in one group. His intonation patterns are exaggerated beyond
ordinary Hindi. If śuddh Hindi is used in private reading or pūjā
these features are less marked. In standard Hindi use they are again
less marked, though gestures tend to be more rapid, along with speech.
With standard Hindi and Bhojpuri there is considerable variation
in paralinguistic, kinesic and proxemic features, depending upon
the respect relationship between the participants in communication.
To give respect one makes namaste or, more respectful, namaskār, in
a slight bow from the waist with palms together before the chest or
face, depending upon the degree of respect to be given. A high
degree of respect is conveyed by pranām, prostration on knees and
face. Both may be given the gods, to certain kin, to certain others
in a complex system. In giving respect one also keeps silence, or
speaks when spoken to, maintaining an erect posture, a solemn coun-

tenance, and correct distance, and speaks clearly but not loudly. To a guest one shows respect by offering water and ritually pure foods or pān (betel). In neutral respect contexts speech tends to be somewhat louder, and a complex array of facial expressions and gestures, postures, etc. comes into play, formalized as bhāva and mudra in the dance systems of India. No learner can speak the language without learning and using these; children are masters of nearly all patterns before the age of three years. There are also several features of these sorts which indicate disrespect: posture, gesture, facial expression all exaggerated, and speech loud and rapid, without the customary pauses for replies found throughout polite styles. This may also be learned very early, but in nearly all cases is soon eliminated in the presence of any elders. These features of language and style structure are, of course, only a minute selection from what could well occupy volumes, and are intended only hopefully to be a representative enough sampling to convey some appreciation of what dialectical and stylistic items and differences children within the system must learn; and learn they do, mastering their home dialect-style before five, and learning more or less of all which are pertinent within the lifestyle of their group by about the age of eleven.

This study of style-dialect learning was part of a larger
thirty-one months project researching the acquisition of linguistic,
cognitive and behavioral patterns in young children from two widely
separated regions of India. Those contributing to this paper live
in and near Banaras (or Varanasi), Uttar Pradesh; the others being
Telugu learners of southern Andhra Pradesh. Most are children of
handloom silk weavers of fairly low but clean caste, and are members
of agnatic joint families. Formal education of mothers and other
elder female kin ranged from zero to two years; that of fathers and
elder male kin from zero to five years. Most families today try to
send their children to local government schools for more years of
formal education than they had themselves, though this is often
difficult. Pressures are strong for the children to work at home
by nine or ten for several reasons. Children are exposed to various
linguistic styles and even languages beyond those of the family in
the larger neighborhood, school, temples and religious functions,
and occasionally by being taken to another community to visit kin
or a holy place.