

The Hierarchy of Honorifics in Bhojpuri

Anupriya

Centre for Linguistics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

Abstract— This paper studies the hierarchy of honorificity in the language of Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri is one of the dominant languages of Bihar which has a lot to explore in linguistically. Previously, a lot has been studied on Bhojpuri but this specific study deals with the case of honorificity in the various social contexts of Bhojpuri. It tries to showcase that how the speakers of the western dialect of Bhojpuri, spoken in western part of Bihar carry their cultural domains in the form of honorifics into the structure of their language.

Keywords— Honorifics, Bhojpuri, politeness, Bihar, UP, Jharkhand.

I. INTRODUCTION

Honorifics and politeness are an important and universal feature of a language. It is evidently clear from the diverse structure of different languages that these features of honorificity and politeness exist differently in each language. The concept of honorificity helps in describing the social relationship between the individuals. The role play of honorificity in any language is very important for the relationship ties, for the work and business relations and for monitoring the use of good language and paying respect to the elders. Imagine meeting someone for the first time and behaving in a very rude manner and being impolite, how it would affect the later bonding or what impression it would leave on the hearer of the speaker's character. Since each language has every tool to deal with each kind of situation, honorificity and politeness are such features of language which enable a person to be safe from the face threatening act. It protects the hearer as well as the speaker from the damage.

In this research study, Bhojpuri is considered to be a language which has high dialectal variations. Mainly spoken in the states of Bihar, UP and Jharkhand, it has many dialects. The area of research was chosen to be the western part of the state of Bihar as it is densely populated with the native speakers of Bhojpuri which provided the scope of larger data collection i.e. Aara. In this research study, the main goal lies on focusing the hierarchy of honorifics in the social strata of the native speakers of Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri is considered to be a language which has high dialectal variations. Mainly spoken in the states of Bihar, UP and Jharkhand, it has many dialects. The area of research was chosen to be the western part of the state

of Bihar as it is densely populated with the native speakers of Bhojpuri which provided the scope of larger data collection i.e. Aara. The chapter one of the dissertation is intended to focus on the history of Bhojpuri. It also talks about the linguistic features of the Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri, being a language of several different dialects is considered to be one of the main native languages of the state of Bihar.

Being a major language of Bihar, Bhojpuri has evolved a lot socio linguistically in the recent years. With the up rise of Bhojpuri cinema, it has gained much popularity and fame worldwide. Not only in India but it is spoken in many other different countries like Suriname, Mauritius, Fiji, Guyana and Tobago. Despite of the much-gained fame and popularity, there are many areas that are left untouched to explore from the linguistic point of view. Due to the indentured labor, this language has spread all over the world.

In the light of Linguistics, when we talk about a language, at the initial stage, it focuses upon the sound system of the language. Though there has been an extensive study done upon the phonology of the language, this study includes the phonology chart of Bhojpuri previously mentioned in the book, "The Indo-Aryan languages" by "Danesh Jain, George Cardona."

Looking at the phonology of the language, Bhojpuri has a phonetic system consisting of six vowels and 34 consonants.

1.1 Vowels of Bhojpuri

Table.1 (Jain.2005, cordona.2005)

	Front	central	back
Close (higher)	i ɪ		u
Close-mid	E	ə	o

Open-mid			ɔ
open	æ	ɑ	

In the Bhojpuri phonetics, the higher vowels are tense and the lower are comparatively lax in nature. All the rounded vowels are very slightly rounded. It is said that among the seven languages i.e. (Haryanvi, Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Bundeli, Bagheli and Kannauji), Bhojpuri has the highest allophonic variation in vowels (Mishra, Bali.p.)

1.2. Consonants of Bhojpuri

Table. 2. The Consonants of Bhojpuri (Jain.2005, cordona.2005)

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
Nasal		M		N	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ		
Stop	voiceless	P	t̪		t̪	tʃ	k		
	voiced	B	d̪		d̪	dʒ	g		
	aspirated	p ^h	t̪ ^h		t̪ ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h		
	Breathy voiced	b ^h	d̪ ^h		d̪ ^h	dʒ ^h	g ^h		
Fricative				S				H	
Rhotic	Plain			r	ɭ				
	aspirated			r ^h	ɭ ^h				
Approximant				L		J	w		

The syllable system is of peak type in Bhojpuri. Vowel phoneme will lie at the highest position of sonority in a syllable. It may happen that the codas would consist of one, two or three consonants. When the diphthongs, are concerned,

the vowels occur at simple peaks or as peak nuclei. The intonation system involves four pitch levels and three terminal contours. The stress in Bhojpuri generally falls on the penultimate syllable.

1.3. Defining Honorifics

Honorifics are defined as any word or expression which depicts a sense of respect in a conversation towards the addressee or to the person who is being talked about. It also signifies the social status of a person or depicts the social relationship between the participants in the conversation directly or indirectly.

Taking a broad look at the term, Levinson would be the best, here to quote, “the term for those aspects of language structure that encode the social identities of participants, or social relationships between them, or between one of them and persons or entities referred”(Levinson 2004:97). Rather than conveying propositional meaning and having "truth value, honorifics belong to the realm of "expressive meaning (Potts 2005; 183.). Potts says that the expressive meaning of honorific forms is the expression of “social superiority.” (Potts 2005; 183) Talking about the honorifics, they come in the form of affixes, words, and formulaic expressions that consists of words that signify honorifics. The linguistic and sociolinguistic rules form the basis for honorificity for the addressee or for the person who is being referenced.

The term honorifics was invented to observe the level of politeness one uses to participate in a conversation. (Song, 2012. P. 130). The use of honorifics is one of the linguistics forms of pragmatic modality used to express deference within organization (Ide, 2005; 10). The use of honorifics makes speech polite because of the linguistic role assigned to the modality by a particular culture (Song, 2012.7). Accordingly, honorifics accomplish their function of linguistic politeness if they are used in connection with the cultural context. “For example, if a high honorific form is chosen inappropriately when a less polite honorific form is expected, it would be interpreted as a sarcasm or a cynical expression” (Okamoto 1999; 87).

In the words of Agha, “the use of honorifics in all communities is governed by the social status of person to whom deference is paid, but it is also sensitive to interactional variables. With regard to status, the general norm: the higher the status, the greater the degree of deference” (Agha 1994; 294)

The general view of the social honorifics can be seen “as the encoding of social information in human interaction. Such information is manifest in the use of pronouns and titles of address” (Farghal 1994; Shakir 1994; 240).

There exist honorific titles in every language to confer honorificity. For example, in English, the honorifics conferred

as Sir, madam are honorary title and likewise there exists such things in each language. Therefore, it can be ruled out that there is existence of a certain lexicon that can be referred to as an honorific lexicon. As seen in many languages of the world, there is existence of honorific lexicon that cannot be same for all the age, gender of person so in order to distinguish the different honorific markers or the phrases or expressions, the honorific system has been divided into certain groups. The division of honorific is entirely based on the participant, the addresser and the addressee. This division was first suggested by Bernard Comrie introducing the different categories of honorifics. Though not each language has the same honorific rule, some are complex in nature, some not so complex and some has the basic honorific rules like English. This study mainly investigates that how the age, gender, social status and different social contexts influences the use of honorifics in Bhojpuri and how complex does its honorific system is. In most of the Indo-Aryan languages, there exist a good honorific lexicon. Bhojpuri is one of them.

1.4 Properties of honorifics

As stated above, honorifics impart an important feature to the language. Any expression of respect in any form is termed as an honorific term. There are many languages in the world that have this feature of honorificity inculcated heavily, for ex. Japanese, Hindi, Korean, etc.

“The concept of social honorifics is very deeply rooted in cultures that make linguistic use of it. Once aware of this phenomenon, many cultural norms and taboos become culturally understood for their connotative meanings” (Whossamt 2012).

“The term describes how a speech variety is characterized by language users, not what the variety can be used to accomplish in usage. The phenomenon that the term “honorific” describes is itself a very leaky thing” (Agha 1994; 288).

Each language is individually endowed with particular honorific lexicon. Talking about the properties of Honorifics of language, each language has usage of honorifics. There occurs noun and verb inflections marking the honorifics in each language but also there are languages like English where honorific inflections do not occur and comes with honorific titles to pay the respect. No matter, what is the gender, age or context of the conversation or the discourse, there is no distinguishable affix that can be seen inflecting on the noun or the verb to mark the honorific. But also, there are languages that has a very complex system of honorificity. We will see to

that later. Since honorific is an expression that is used to pay respect to elders or to a person of higher social respect or which makes a conversation polite with a stranger, it automatically forms a social hierarchy that most perfectly suits the position based on the age and the social strata. A person tends to use a word or phrase to distinguish the older person from people of the same or younger generation to highlight the respected position of the individual. It is said that language is the identity of culture and in order to know a language well, we need to know the roots of that particular language through the history of the same.

Along with the different honorific lexemes, there also arises the honorificity in the paralinguistic features. The pitch, loudness and the stress are the features that add to the honorificity in a conversation. In order to pay respect to a person one is not allowed to raise his voice. Raising voice in an interaction is considered to be disrespectful in most of the cultures. So, apart from the morphological and lexical honorifics there are paralinguistic honorifics that exist in the form of pitch and loudness of the voice. It is the general idea that high pitch is more polite across the cultures in the words of Morton. However, there is an exception to all theories contradicting the general model of general acclaimed perception. In Korean culture, low pitch is considered to be more polite contradicting the general theory of pitch politeness.

1.5 Honorifics and politeness in Bhojpuri

As stated in the first and second chapter, Bhojpuri is a dominant language spoken in the parts of Bihar. It derives its name from the district called Bhojpur. Since Honorifics is a major linguistic feature of the language, there lies many variations in the use of honorifics in different social contexts. This study is based on the empirical data collected by the native speakers of the Bhojpuri of western Bihar.

There are various ways of showing respect or to denote the honorificity. The concept of honorificity is basically a form of politeness, though there is a thin line that exists between the honorificity and politeness. Though Bhojpuri and Hindi share similarities in the use of honorificity, Bhojpuri has only a single form of honorific address while Hindi has variation depending on the intimacy and social status. Within the socio-pragmatic domain of language, honorificity has occupied a major space. Honorifics have been defined as “politeness formulas in a particular language which may be specific affixes, words, or sentence structure” (Richard et al., 1985: 131). Languages which have a complex system of honorifics

are, for instance, Japanese, Mudurese (a language of Eastern Java), Hindi, and Arabic; English, on the other hand, has no complex system of honorifics, but there are few cases of compound honorifics; e.g. professor doctor, dear sir, etc. (ibid.: 131). Though not much but a bit complex, unlike English, Bhojpuri spares a good space for the honorificity. Irvine (1995: 1) points out that “linguistic honorifics are forms of speech that signal social deference, through conventionalized understandings of some aspects, of the form meaning relationship”. From this brief account of the concept of honorifics, we may define it as linguistic or non-linguistic means or device that can function to convey social deference or respect influenced by the dimension of power and solidarity.

Since honorifics mainly function as the markers of social superiority, this is where we can differentiate between the honorificity and politeness. Usually, honorificity is used to mark the superiority whereas, politeness is only just being nice to people. Honorifics are necessarily used for the elders in the community but the use of politeness depends on the user and his intentions whether he wants to use it or not in a conversation. To characterize polite language usage, we might resort to expression like “the language a person uses to avoid being too direct” (Watts 2003). Politeness criterion differs with cultures and languages. Intercultural differences may lead to pragmatic failure especially in cross cultural business context, whether it is a communication at the work place, at the negotiation table, or in choosing management strategies. Bhojpuri is very similar to Hindi in terms of honorific discourse but there are lexical and grammatical differences that are present in the language which occurs in the honorific discourse.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted on the basis of data collected by the native speakers of Bhojpuri in Bihar. For the data collection, the questionnaire method was followed. A set of questionnaires was prepared concerning the honorifics and politeness and were recorded in IPA. Since, collecting information from more than 30 persons is not an easy task to deal with, the questionnaire method acts as a great facilitator in collecting the information from the respondents. There are many advantages of the questionnaire method. The questionnaire used for this study was an open-ended questionnaire. All the data was collected face to face. Few could be listed here:

- Practical in nature.
- It's cheap.
- Easy to obtain information.
- Often have standard data and thus easier to compile the data.
- Less effort is required in getting the information from the informants.
- The data can be analyzed more scientifically and objectively than other forms of research.
- Positivists believe that quantitative data can be used to create new theories and/or hypothesis

With all the advantages stated above, it cannot be denied that it this method of questionnaire has its own disadvantages as well like it is inadequate to understand the emotions and feelings of the respondent. Sometimes the informant may not be giving the exact information as well. Despite of the disadvantages, it was the best suited method to conduct the study mentioned in this dissertation.

2.1 Designing of the questionnaire

Designing a questionnaire is a big task to deal with because the whole analysis of the study depends on how good the questionnaire is. In conducting the present study, the following points were kept in mind: It was kept in mind that all the questions asked were aimed directly or indirectly to the topic of the study. The questions were shorter and it was kept in mind that the informant doesn't get irritated or bored while answering the questions. A pilot study was done on the subject and on the language so that it was easier to deal with the people and the terminology. The question order progressed from the easy to the difficult ones. A good questionnaire tries to meet all the research objectives to get the maximum and accurate information about the subject to be researched upon. The two things that were kept in mind while designing the questionnaire were the amount of information needed and the number of target informants to cross-check the data. It was also kept in mind that the native speakers of the language with less influence to the other language were targeted to gather the information. The questionnaire was prepared in such a way that the respondents were comfortable answering the questions.

III. HONORIFICS IN BHOJPURI

This section describes the honorificity in Bhojpuri based on the analysis of data collected by the native speakers of the language in various social context. It has a not so complex

honorific system in different social contexts. Honorificity is a very wide aspect of language and it goes very deep into the human cognition. Honorificity is a feature that influences language structure in variety of ways. Thus, this section shows only the most important aspect of the honorificity feature.

3.3.1 Honorifics in second person

There are variations in the second person honorifics.

Example:

1. *tu jaiba?*

You.2.PN go.FUT.INT.HON.

Will you go?

2. *te jaibe?*

You.2.PN go.FUT.INT.NON-HON.

Will you go?

3. *tu k^haiiba?*

You.2.PN eat.FUT.INT.HON.

Will you eat?

4. *te k^haiibe*

You.2.PN eat.FUT.INT.NON-HON.

Will you eat?

5. *r^hua k^hali*

You.2.PN.HON eat.V.PRS.HON

You eat

6. *r^hua ka^hwan jaijm?*

You.2.PN.HON where go.V.INT.FUT.HON

Where will you go?

7. *r^hua k^hona kam k^haram?*

You.2.SG.PN. which work.V.
do.V.HON.

Which work will you do?

8. *tu k^haiibu*

You.2.SG.PN eat.V.FEM..FUT.

Will you eat?

In the second person honorifics, there is occurrence of three forms, *tu*, *te* and *r^hua*.

te is the most non honorific form used to address the younger ones in the family or community or to address the friends. It depicts the informality and intimacy in a relationship.

Sometimes it is used for addressing mother. This denotes that how close is one to his or her mother. This form is similar to *tu* in Hindi.

tu is another form which can be termed as mid honorific. The verb used with *tu* is inflected with the honorific marker as stated in the examples.

1. *tu k^haiba?*

You.2.PN eat.FUT.INT.HON.

Will you eat?

Here *k^haiba* is used as the honorific form of the verb *k^hao* (eat). –a is the morpheme used to mark the honorificity. Same happens in the next example:

2. *tu j^aiba?*

You.2.PN go.FUT.INT.HON.

Will you go?

Here same happens with the verb *jao*(go). The morpheme –a adds honorificity to the verb *jao* used with *tu*.

But during addressing a female and in the interrogative sentences, the verb has a different honorific marker.

1. *tu k^haibu?*

You.2.SG.PN eat.FUT.INT.HON

Will you eat?

2. *tu p^ad^h le lu?*

you.2.SG.PN study.V HV

Did you study?

3. *tu j^aibu?*

you.2.SG.PN go.INT.FUT.HON

will you go?

Here in the above examples, there are interrogative sentences, being addressed to females, where the mid honorific marker changes from that of the markers used to address the males. The honorific marker –a changes to –u in feminine cases of interrogation and when used with the second person *tu*. While it remains the same for both the gender when it is used with the second person pronoun *te* which is non honorific in nature.

Then comes the most honorific marker (*r^aua, r^auo*) for addressing elders or the in-laws.

When addressing to the in-laws, this pronoun is used as it is highly honorific in nature. According to the popular culture

practiced in North India, the in laws are treated and addressed with great respect.

1. *r^aua k^halihⁱ*

You.2.SG.PN.HON. eat.V.HON

You please eat.

2. *r^aua k^hali*

You.2.SG.PN.HON eat.V.HON

You eat please

3. *r^aua k^haijm?*

You. 2.SG.PN.HON. eat.V.INT.HON

4. *r^aua k^haleni?*

You.2, SG.PN.HON. eat.V.INT.HON

There are two variations in the honorific marker used for the same kind of sentences. The honorificity is inflected on the verb along with the pronoun. The honorific markers used here forms an imperative mood which allows a request or command to take place politely. To have a compact and easy study of the honorificity in Bhojpuri, this section has taken the case of Honorifics in different categories so that the concept can be made clearer that how does it varies in different social contexts. We will be studying that how does the honorifics and the honorific marker changes according to the relationship with the addressee, the person in higher social status, with age and with intimacy.

In most of the Indo-Aryan languages from the state of Bihar, the concept of honorificity follows the same pattern. In the parts where Bhojpuri is a dominant language, the in-laws are treated with great respect. This is one social context where the honorificity takes its highest form. When talking with one's own parents, there is no honorificity specially when one is interacting with the mother, this case exists only because of the emotional intimacy that exists between the child and the mother. Though this is not the case with the father, the father is always treated with respect despite of the existence of the emotional attachment and intimacy between the two. Same occurs with the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law. At some instances, the honorificity changes with time in case of daughters-in-law.

Well, to understand the concept, let's have a look at examples.

3.3.1. son to mother interaction

Examples:

1. *mai tu kh^aile?*

Mother.2.SG. you.PN.SG.2.NON HON.
 Eat.V.NON.HON.PST

Mother did you eat?

2.mai k^halelās?

Mother.3.SG eat.INT.PST.NON HON.

Did mother eat?

3.mai səb kam kərdelās

Mother.3.SG. all. Work.V. did.HLP.V.NON.HON

Mother did all the work

4.mai c^həl k^haeke

Mother.2.SG. come.NON.HON eat.V.

Mother, come let's eat.

5.mai baṭ kəṛṭiya

Mother.2.SG talk.V do.V.NON.HON.PRST CON.

Mother is talking.

In the above examples, the interaction is with one's own mother or the conversation is about one's own mother and there is a touch of non honorificity in each of the sentence or can say that since there exists intimacy between this relation of mother- daughter or mother-son, non honorificity is the symbol of intimacy.

In the first example, the sentence is of interrogative nature and is addressed to the mother. Here the non-honorific marker is inflected on the verb and the pronoun *tu* is used which is non honorific in Bhojpuri. The verb *k^ha* i.e. eat is inflected with the non-honorific marker i.e. *le*. These types of sentences can be used by both the son or the daughter.

In the second example, also the sentence is of interrogative nature but is not directly addressed to the mother. Something is being asked about the mother. Here the non-honorific form changes to *k^halelās*. In this form *lās* is the morpheme used for the non-honorific marker. The non-honorific marker like the first example is inflected on the verb.

In each of the examples, the verb is inflected with the non-honorific marker and different morpheme attaches with different verbs.

Daughter-in-law to mother-law

1.maji rəua k^ha-lihī

Mother.2.SG.HON you.SG.2.HON. (highly)
 eat.V.FUT.HON

Mother-in-law you eat.

2.rəua k^haim?

You.2.SG.HON. eat.V.HON.

Will you eat?

3.maji baṭ kəṛətani

Mother.3.SG.HON talk.V
 do.HLP.V.HON

Mother-in-law is talking.

4.əmmaji kəhle bari suṭe ke

mother-in-law.3.SG.HON say.V.PST.HON sleep.V.FUT
 mother-in-law has told to sleep.

5.Maji k^həijni?

Mother-in-law.3.SG eat.V.PST.PART.HON.

Has mother-in-law eaten?

In the above examples, the social setting is that of a daughter-in-law and mother-in-law interaction. Since the in-laws are treated with great respect, there exists high honorificity in addressing the in-laws. In all the above examples, the mother-in-law has been paid great respect.

In the first example, there is an imperative mood requesting the mother-in-law to eat the food. *Rəua* is a highly honorific word which is used to address the elders and not only the in-laws. *Rəua* is a singular form in second person, highly honorific in nature usually used to address the elders in the community, the in-laws or the strangers. Apart from the addressing term, there are suffixes that attaches to the verb to form the honorific markers in the above sentences

Son to father or when the son is talking about his father to someone.

1.babuṭi tu k^həilə?

Father.2.SG.HON YOU.2.SG eat.V.HON (mid-honorific)
 Father have you eaten?

2.babuṭi k^halelən?

Father.2.SG.HON eat.V.HON.PST.

Did father eat?

3.babuṭi jatarən

Father.2.SG.HON go.V.PRST.CONT.HON

Father is going.

1.babuṭi buy^həuli buy^hlən

Father.2.SG.HON. Puzzle.N
 puzzled.V.HON

Father puzzled a puzzle.

2.babuji k^hailən?

Fathe.2.SG.HON.eat. V.PST.HON

Did father eat?

There exist two forms for the same word i.e. when one is asking about his father whether he ate or no, we get two form i.e. k^halelən and k^hailən. Thus, *lelən* and *ilən* are the two suffixes that attaches to the main verb k^ha (eat).

1.babuji k^həibə?

Father.2.SG.HON eat.V.HON.FUT

Father will you eat?

2.babuji c^hələ.

Father.2.SH.HON go.V.HON Father lets go.

In all the above sentences, “*ji*” is used as a particle that gets attached to the noun and forms a honorific term. Ji is the most prolific particle in all the Indo-Aryan languages in which ji is used in everyday speech. It is must in Bhojpuri to use ji, when in conversation with a stranger and thus it is a marker of politeness.

When one is talking to the father-in-law or the father-in-law is being talked about.

1.babuji rəua k^haijm?

Father.2.SG.HON. you.2.SG.HON. eat.V.FUT.HON

Father-in-law will you eat?

2.babuji c^həli so jai

Father-in-law.2SG.HON come.HLP.V.FUT.HON

Father please go to sleep.

3.babuji kəhle bani jae ke

Father.2.SG tell.V.PST aux.v.HON go.

Father has told to go

4.babuji k^hae bəit^həl bani

Father.3.SG.HON eat. V sit.V

Father has sat to eat.

In the above examples the person talked to or talked about is the father-in-law. The social setting is of daughter-in-law or

the son-in-law. While in the context of daughter- in-law and father-in-law, there occurs much more respect and politeness as compared to that between a son-in-law and father-in-law. Not only this politeness and respect is restricted to the mother-in-law and father-in-law but much respect is paid to the sister- in-law and brother-in-law even when they are younger than the daughter-in-law. But this is not the case with the son-in-law. The son-in-law is treated with great respect at his in-law’s place. In this social context, age is not a factor to be considered for the use of honorifics. The son-in-law anyhow is paid respect by his in-laws. The next section shows the use of honorificity that is used for the son-in-law.

3.3.1 When the son-in law is talked about or when the one is talking to the son-in- law

1. pahun bəit^həl bani

Son-in-law.N.HON.SG sit.V HV.HON

Son-in-law is sitting

2. mehman aijl bani

Son-in-law.N.HON.3.SG come.V.PRS. HV.HON

Son-in-law has come

3.č^həli pahun k^halihiñ

come.V.HON.PRES son-in-law.N.HON
eat.V.HON

come son-in-law eat.

The son-in-law is treated with great respect and is honored by everyone in his wife ‘s home, be it be his father or mother-in-law or any other family member of the household. Here in the above sentences, there are morphemic markers used to show the honorificity.

The morphemic markers are the same as that of used for the father-in-law in the above case.

-bani

-hiñ

-li

The case for the own son is different. When one is in conversation with his or own son, there is too less honorificity or no honorificity. When the mother is talking to her son or addressing her son, there may be some mid-honorific markers used but that is mostly the marker of intimacy of love for the male child. But this is not the case with the father-son conversation. It may occur sometime that the father is more polite towards the son but there exists no

honorific marker, in the dictionary of the father towards his son.

3.3.1 Mother to son

Example

1. *bəbua kʰa le*

Son.N.2.SG.INT. eat.V.FUT. HV.NON.HON

Son, eat.

2. *babuo kaʰwā baɾə?*

Son.2.SG.INT where.N AUX.V.HON.

Where are you son?

3. *bəbua kʰaɟ ba*

Son.3.SG.N eat.V AUX.V.NON.HON.

Son is eating.

Here the mother is using the mid-honorific markers for his son out of love. The same pattern is not followed while addressing the daughter.

3.3.2 Father to son conversation

1. *bəbua kʰaleləs?*

Son.3.SG eat.V.NON.HON.INT.

Has son eaten?

2. *bəbua cʰəlbe?*

Son.SG.2 go. V.FUT.NON.HON.INT.

Son will you go?

3. *bəbua jaɟ ba*

Son.SG.3

Son is going. go. PRES. AUX.V.MID.HON

Here in this father-son conversation, the father is addressing the son as the second person as well as the third person. Mostly the conversation takes place in the non-honorific form, but sometimes due to the intimacy or out of love, mid-honorific markers are used like –ba. while in the mother-son interaction, there is more intimacy and honor towards the son. Since this relationship of mother and son is more intimate in most of the Indo aryan language and culture, we can see there exists mid honorificity and more love in the mother-son interaction. We can derive from the above data that the honorific morpheme markers are

-lə

-bəɾə

-ba

Regarding the pronominal, there exists two forms to address the son, *bəbua* and *bəbuo*. *Bəbuo* is used in case of more politeness and intimacy. This term is not only used to address the son but also to address his friends.

In a way we can say that there exists a strong patriarchy in the culture where not equal respect or honor is given to the female. For further discussion taking this point into consideration, we may look at the following examples of daughter and daughter-in-law to look and generalize the honorificity in the female conversation

Mother to daughter conversation

1. *tu kʰəijle?*

You.2.SG eat. V.PST.

Did you eat?

2. *buč hiya kam kəɾəɟ bija*

Daughter.3SG.MID.HON work.V do.PRS.HV.NON.HON.

The daughter is doing the work

3. *te kʰəijlis?*

You.2.SG eat.V.NON.HON.PST.

Did you eat?

Mother-in-law to daughter-in-law

1. *kəniya kʰəijlu?*

Daughter-in-law.N.SG eat.V.MID.HON.INT.

Daughter-in-law have you eaten?

2. *kəniya suɟəl ba.ɟi*

Daughter-in-law sleep.V AUX.V.HON.

Daughter-in-law is sleeping.

3. *kəniya gəijl baɟi*

Daughter-in-law.F.SG. go.V. AUX.V.HON.

Here in the sentences, the newly married girl who comes as a daughter-in-law is paid respect by the mother-in-law. When talking to the daughter-in-law the honorificity used is mid honorific in nature but when she is being talked about, the respect paid is highly honorific.

Father to daughter.

1. bučhiyō *kʰaiyka* *ḡ e*
 Daughter.INT.N.2.SG food.N give. FUT.

Daughter, give me food to eat

2. bučhiya *jaṭ* *bija*
 Daughter.3.SG.INT. go.V.PRST.CON.
 HV.NON.HON.

Daughter is going

3. ṭe *jaṭ* *baṛe?*
 You.2SG.NON.HON go.V. HV.INTER.NON.HON.

Are you going?

In the domain of honorifics, the intonation of the sound too plays a major role. It is one of the deciding factors whether the person is talking with respect or paying honor to the addressee. In Bhojpuri the non-honorific sentences are often intoned which suggests that either the addressee is too close or the non honorificity paid to the addressee is intentional.

In the above examples, there is high intensity of intonation which during the data collection was well observed. Here in the father- daughter conversation, there sometimes occurs more intimacy. While collecting the data, it was observed as told by the native speakers, that when the daughter has been married off, she is treated with more love and respect by her own parents or siblings since she no longer resides in her parent 's home. Well that accounts for the emotional attachment with the child and hence that is reflected into the use of language. Until the girl gets married, she does not receive as much attention, love or respect as the male child does. This somehow also points towards the patriarchal touch in the culture and the language. Same is the case with the daughter-in-law. She is not treated with the same respect as the son-in-law is treated by his in-laws.

Moreover, the daughter-in-law has to be polite and respectful towards all the family member of the in-laws irrespective of the gender, age and the relationship. No matter if any member of the in-law is younger than her, she has to address him or her with full respect. Suppose if she has a sister-in-law who is younger to her in age, she has to pay respect to her in high honorificity

3.3.3 Pronominals

Apart from this honorific of addressing people with respect, there exists various levels of honorificity. For example, in pronominals, there exists a three-level hierarchy. There are different pronominal that are used to convey or address someone and in pronominal there are inflected honorifics.

For example:

Rəua – this pronominal is highly honorific in nature and is used in formal conversations, or with elders or with people higher in social status, or position or with strangers. This pronominal can take two forms according to the context i.e. rəua and rəura.

1. rəua *bəitʰi.*

You.2.SG.HON. sit.V.PRS.HON.

You sit.

2. rəura *jaṭ bani?*

You.2.SG.HON go.V. HV.HON.

Are you going?

3. rəura *kahwake* *bani?*

You.SG.2. where AUX.V.HON.

Where are you from. (talking to a stranger)

Also there exists pronominal like ṭu, ṭor, ṭohra, all these account for non-honorific pronominal and are used to address the younger sibling or to people who are more intimate to the speaker.

3.3.4 Mood

To form an imperative mood, which signifies a request or command, the use of honorifics becomes a necessity. In Bhojpuri, there are suffixes added to the noun or verb which indicates high honorificity, mid honorificity or null honorificity. Since the imperative mood form both command and request depending on the discourse, the high honorific markers and the mid honorific markers indicate a polite request but the non-honorific markers suggest a command commanded to the listener.

Example.

1. rəua *kʰa-i*

You.2.SG.PR. eat.V.PRES.HON.IMP.

You eat

2. Rəua *bolī*

You.2.SG.PR say.V.PRES.HON.IMP.

You say

In the above sentence, the second person probably a formal conversation is requested to eat. Here the verb *kʰa* and *bolī* are inflected with a nasalised tone which indicates honorificity.

1. ṭu *kʰa-lə*

You.2.SG.PR. eat. V.MID-HON.

You eat (mid honorific marker added)

2.ʔu bəitʰə

You.2.SG.PR. sit. V.MID.HON

You sit.

In the above sentence, the verb *kʰa* is inflected with the *lə* suffix which gives an essence of mid honorificity. This can be used to address person of same social status or colleague. It too depicts request of doing something in a polite manner.

The next level of the honorific hierarchy in pronominals is *ʔor*, *ʔe* and *ʔohar* or *ʔəhar*. This is a non-honorific marker used to address younger sibling or people close or intimate in relationship.

Example

1.ʔe Kʰo

You.2.SG.PR.NON.HON. eat.V.NON.HON. FUT.IMP

You eat

2.ʔe suʔ jo

You.2.SG.PR.NON.HON sleep.V.FUT.IMP.

AUX.V.

In this sentence there is no honorificity embedded anywhere in the verb or the pronoun. This clearly indicates that there is absence of honorificity but it still forms the imperative mood. The imperative mood cannot be formed with rest of the non-honorific pronouns.

3.3.5 Particles

The broad definition of particle says that particle is a function word that does not has a meaning unless it is associated with a phrase. A particle cannot be inflected or conjugated. Particles are typically words that encode grammatical categories (such as negation, mood, tense, or case), clitics, or fillers or (oral) discourse markers such as well, um, etc. Particles are never inflected (McArthur, Tom.p.72-76.1992).

In Bhojpuri *jii* is one particle which is used to denote respect in both formal and informal conversation.

Example:

1.andar aʃi jii

Inside.N

Come inside. come.V.FUT.HON. particle.HON.

The above sentence is an honorific sentence with *jii* as a particle imparting honorificity to the sentence.

2.ka jii ka kəʔə tani?

So.ADV.Particle.HON what.INT. do.V.PRST.CONT.

What are you doing?

This sentence is an interrogative sentence paying respect to the addressee through the particle *jii*. This particle *jii* is common for the dominant languages of Bihar like in Hindi and Magahi.

Rəua refers to the extreme honorific form to address an elder or a stranger or generally used in formal conversations.

There are various social contexts of relationships, where different grammatical forms are inflected on the verbs or nouns to add the honorificity. The in-laws are paid more respect and honour like most of the Indo-Aryan languages. Also, the imperative mood is formed with the honorific markers which requests or commands in a polite manner. The particle *jii* is used to request and is used in the sense of honorificity.

There occurs many verbal and noun inflections depending on the context of the social interactions as mentioned above. Thus, to conclude, it would be appropriate to say that, the role played by the honorifics and politeness in a language is a major socio-linguistic feature of any language. This linguistic tool holds on the relationship ties between individuals. Hence, Bhojpuri being a polite language very well follows the rule of honorificity for the social interaction in the various social contexts.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study on the "hierarchy of honorificity in different social contexts in Bhojpuri" suggests that there occurs different context in the social discourse of human relationship, where the feature of Honorificity keeps popping up. In Bhojpuri, it can be said that more respect and honor is paid to the in-laws. Since, politeness is a pre-requisite of any conversation or interaction, be it be with family members, strangers, in-laws, siblings or with the people of the community, honorificity and politeness saves a person from the face-threatening act. As seen in the Bhojpuri language, like most of the Indo-Aryan languages, it's an honorific language resulting in parametric variations in the choice of honorific words in various social contexts. Politeness should be considered on the particular interaction depending on the context and the situation (Firth 1957; Halliday 1973). This statement very well justifies the

current study with different honorific markers used in different contexts of interaction. This research study was directed towards the goal to find the various honorific markers in Bhojpuri in the different relationship and social context. The purpose was to discover that how language works at the basic level of cultural domain and in a broader sense, how is the linguistic tool of honorificity and politeness applied in a communication to save a relationship, or to save oneself from embarrassment of face threatening act. To a larger extent it can be said that this honorificity is influenced by power and position in a society. Since the use of politeness and honorificity are influenced by culture, the language taken up for this study i.e. Bhojpuri is known for its polite culture though it cannot be termed as a highly honorific language but in the cultural domain of honorificity it has carved a special niche for itself for most of the communications held within this language is polite and honorific in nature.

The variation in the honorific markers regarding the lexical, grammatical and the acoustic cues suggests that the Bhojpuri honorificity is rich in diversity. The method used for this study was the questionnaire method i.e. empirical in nature and the main problem using this method was extract the exact expression, the intonation and the pitch which was not recorded for all these three features that matters a lot in honorificity. Though the questionnaire method was quite informative in nature, it lacked some of the attributes but nonetheless the lacking attributes, much information was extracted from it on the honorific use in the language. The questionnaire consisted of questions based on the use of honorificity and politeness. The area chosen was Ara which falls under the Bhojpuri district in the state of Bihar.

Originating from the name of the place where the language belongs, Bhojpuri has layer of honorific strata. The chapter 1 of the dissertation is an introduction to the objective and purpose of this study. It also introduces to the language and its background and history of its origin. It also talks about the phonology chart of Bhojpuri consisting of the vowels and the consonants, about the word order of the language and about the grammar. It also shows the areas that are Bhojpuri speaking areas in India as well as Bihar. Along with the phonetic chart of sounds that occur in Bhojpuri and the history of the language it also talks about the literature review. The books consulted for this research study were of immense help. "The origin and development of Bhojpuri by Tiwari, helped in understanding the language in a deeper way and it made easier to collect the data from the natives of Ara. The book added much to the knowledge about the background of the language.

The next book that was consulted is Bhojpuri Grammar by Shaligram Shukla. This book really helped in understanding the grammar of the language and that served as a help in conversing with informants. It also helped in getting the layout of the grammatical structure of the language so that the linguistic analysis would be easy.

Getting an overview of the honorifics in general, many books and articles were consulted. The book, "The Korean Honorifics and politeness in second language acquisition" by Lucien Brown. Though the book was much focused on the second language acquisition of honorifics in Korean but it very well gave an insight of the honorifics in general. The concept of honorifics in a language was made pretty clear through the beautiful explanation on honorifics. There were many papers that were consulted as well in order to get through the previous work done on the same. The research paper "Politeness in Language of Bihar: A Case Study of Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili" was extensively consulted written by Shaivya Singh, Rajesh Kumar and Lata Atreya. This paper reaches the aspects of politeness and compares it within three languages i.e. Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili. The next paper that was consulted was, 'Stereotypes and registers of honorific language by Asif Agha which perfectly explains what are the stereotypes that are encountered in honorific languages. The third chapter is all about the data collected and its analysis with the generalizations that what are the honorific markers used in various context with different people. In the second person honorifics there exists a three level honorification i.e.

Te/ṭhar

Tu/ṭor

Rəua/ rəuro

Rəua refers to the extreme honorific form to address an elder or a stranger or generally used in formal conversations. There are various social contexts of relationships, where different grammatical forms are inflected on the verbs or nouns to add the honorificity. The in-laws are paid more respect and honour like most of the Indo-Aryan languages. Also the imperative mood is formed with the honorific markers which requests or commands in a polite manner. The particle jii is used to request and is used in the sense of honorificity. There occurs many verbal and noun inflections depending on the context of the social interactions as mentioned above in the third chapter of the dissertation. Thus, to conclude the thesis, it would be appropriate to say that, the role played by the honorifics and politeness strategies in a language is a major socio-linguistic

feature of any language. This linguistic tool holds on the relationship ties between individuals. Hence, Bhojpuri being a polite language very well follows the rule of honorificity for the social interaction in the various social contexts.

APPENDIX.1

RAW DATA

Basic sentence list

Honorificity in second person

1. tu jəibə?

You.2.PN go.FUT.INT.HON.

Will you go?

2. te jəibe?

You.2.PN go.FUT.INT.NON-HON.

Will you go?

3. $\text{tu k}^h\text{əibə?}$

You.2.PN eat.FUT.INT.HON.

Will you eat?

4. $\text{te k}^h\text{əibe}$

You.2.PN eat.FUT.INT.NON-HON.

Will you eat?

5. $\text{rəua k}^h\text{ali}$

You.2.PN.HON eat.V.PRS.HON

You eat

6. $\text{rəua ka}^h\text{wan jaijm?}$

You.2.PN.HON where go.V.INT.FUT.HON

Where will you go?

7. $\text{rəua kəona kam kərəm?}$

You.2.SG.PN. which work.V. do.V.HON.

Which work will you do?

8. $\text{tu k}^h\text{əibu}$

You.2.SG.PN eat.V.FEM..FUT.

Will you eat?

9. $\text{tor kəpɽa kərija ba}$

Your.2.SG.PR cloth.N. black.ADJ. AUX.V

49

Your cloth is black

10. $\text{təhra k}^h\text{ae ke naik}^h\text{e?}$

You.2.SG.PR eat.V. do not. NEG..INT.

Dont you have to eat?

11. $\text{tu k}^h\text{əibu?}$

You.2.SG.PN eat.FUT.INT.HON

Will you eat?

12. $\text{tu pəd}^h\text{ le lu?}$

you.2.SG.PN study.V HV

did you study?

13. tu jəibu?

you.2.SG.PN go.INT.FUT.HON

will you go?

14. $\text{Rəua k}^h\text{alihī}$

You.2.SG.PN.HON. eat.V.HON

You please eat.

15. $\text{Rəua k}^h\text{ali}$

You.2.SG.PN.HON eat.V.HON

You eat please

16. $\text{Rəua k}^h\text{aijm?}$

You. 2.SG.PN.HON. eat.V.INT.HON

17. $\text{Rəua k}^h\text{aleni?}$

You.2.SG.PN.HON. eat.V.INT.HON

Have you eaten?

Son to mother

Examples:

1. mai tu khəile?

Mother.2.SG. you.PN.SG.2.NON HON.

Eat.V.NON.HON.PST

Mother did you eat?

2. $\text{mai k}^h\text{aleləs?}$

Mother.3.SG eat.INT.PST.NON HON.

Did mother eat?

3. $\text{mai səb kam kərdeləs}$

Mother.3.SG. all. Work.V. did.HLP.V.NON.HON

Mother did all the work

4. $\text{mai c}^h\text{əl k}^h\text{aeke}$

Mother.2.SG. come.NON.HON eat.V.

Mother, come let 's eat.

5. mai baŋ kərŋiya

Mother.2.SG talk.V do.V.NON.HON.PRST CON.

Mother is talking.

6. mai ka kəʔləs hə

Mother.N.SG. what.INTER. say.V. AUX.V.

What did the mother say?

Daughter-in-law to mother-in-law

Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law interaction

1. maŋi rəua kʰa-lihī

Mother.2.SG.HON you.SG.2.HON.(highly)
eat.V.FUT.HON

Mother-in-law you eat.

2. rəua kʰaim?

You.2.SG.HON. eat.V.HON

Will you eat?

3. maŋi baŋ kərətani

Mother.3.SG.HON talk.V do.HLP.V.HON

Mother-in-law is talking.

4. əmmaŋi kəhle bari suŋe ke

mother-in-law.3.SG.HON say.V.PST.HON sleep.V.FUT
mother-in-law has told to sleep.

5. maŋi kʰəijni?

Mother-in-law.3.SG eat.V.PST.PART.HON.

Has mother-in-law eaten?

6. əmmaŋi bolni hə

Mother-in-law.2.SG.HON. say.V.HON. AUX.V.

Mother-in-law has said.

Son to father or when the son is talking about his father to
someone.

1. Babuŋi tu kʰəilə?

Father.2.SG.HON YOU.2.SG eat.V.HON (mid-honorific)

Father have you eaten?

2. babuŋi kʰalelən?

Father.2.SG.HON eat.V.HON.PST.

Did father ate?

3. babuŋi jatarən

Father.2.SG.HON go.V.PRST.CONT.HON

Father is going.

4. babuŋi buŋʰəuli buŋʰlən

Father.2.SG.HON. Puzzle.N puzzled.V.HON

Father puzzled a puzzle.

5. babuŋi kʰailən?

Father.2.SG.HON. eat. V.PST.HON

Did father ate?

3. babuŋi jatarən

Father.2.SG.HON go.V.PRST.CONT.HON

Father is going.

4. babuŋi buŋʰəuli buŋʰlən

Father.2.SG.HON. Puzzle.N puzzled.V.HON

Father puzzled a puzzle.

5. babuŋi kʰailən?

Fathe.2.SG.HON. eat. V.PST.HON

Did father ate.

6. babuŋi kʰəibə?

Father.2.SG.HON eat.V.HON.FUT

Father will you eat?

7. babuŋi cʰələ.

Father.2.SH.HON go.V.HON

Father lets go

When one is talking to the father-in-law or the father-in-law
is being talked

about.

1. babuŋi rəua kʰaijm?

Father.2.SG.HON. you.2.SG.HON. eat.V.FUT.HON

Father-in-law will you eat?

2. babuŋi cʰəlīso jai

Father-in-law.2SG.HON come.HLP.V.FUT.HON

Father please go to sleep.

3. babuŋi kəhle bani jae ke

Father.2.SG tell.V.PST aux.v.HON go.

Father has told to go

4. babuji k^hae bəit^həl bani

Father.3.SG.HON eat.V sit.V

Father has sat to eat.

When the son-in law is talked about or when the one is talking to the son-in-law

1. pahun bəit^həl bani

Son-in-law.N.HON.SG sit.V HV.HON

‘Son-in-law is sitting’.

2. mehman aijl bani

Son-in-law.N.HON.3.SG come.V.PRS. HV.HON

Son-in-law has come

č^həlī pahun k^halihiñ

come.V.HON.PRES son-in-law.N.HON eat.V.HON
come son-in-law eat.

mother to son

Example

1. bəbua k^ha le

Son.N.2.SG.INT. eat.V.FUT. HV.NON.HON

‘Son, eat’.

2. babuo ka^hwā baɾə?

Son.2.SG.INT where.N AUX.V.HON

Where are you son?

3. bəbua k^haɬ ba

Son.3.SG.N eat.V AUX.V.NON.HON.

‘Son is eating’.

Father to son conversation

1. bəbua k^haleləs?

Son.3.SG eat.V.NON.HON.INT.

Has son eaten?

2. Bəbua c^həlbe?

Son.SG.2 go. V.FUT.NON.HON.INT.

Son will you go?

3. bəbua jaɬ ba

Son.SG.3 go. PRES. AUX.V.MID.HON

Son is going.

Mother to daughter conversation

1. ʈu k^həijle?

You.2.SG eat. V.PST.

Did you ate?

2. bučhiya kam kəɾəɬbija

Daughter.3SG.MID.HON work.V do.PRS.HV.NON.HON.

The daughter is doing the work

3. ʈe k^həijlis?

You.2.SG eat.V.NON.HON.PST.

Did you eat?

Mother-in-law to daughter-in-law

1. kənija k^həijlu?

Daughter-in-law.N.SG eat.V.MID.HON.INT.

Daughter-in-law have you eaten?

kənija suɬəl baɾi

Daughter-in-law sleep.V AUX.V.HON.

Daughter-in-law is sleeping.

4. kənija gəijl baɾi

Daughter-in-law.F.SG. go.V. AUX.V.HON.

Father daughter conversation.

1. bučhiyō k^həiyka ɬe

Daughter.INT.N.2.SG food.N give. FUT.

Give me food to eat daughter.

2. bučhiya jaɬ bija

Daughter.3.SG.INT. go.V.PRST.CON. HV.NON.HON.

Daughter is going.

3. ʈe jaɬ baɾe?

You.2SG.NON.HON go.V. HV.INTER..NON.HON.

Are you going?

Pronominals

1. rəua bəit^hi

.You.2.SG.HON. sit.V.PRS.HON.

You sit.

2. rəura jaɬ bani?

You.2.SG.HON go.V. HV.HON.

Are you going?

3. rəura kahwaḱ e bani?

You.SG.2. where AUX.V.HON

MOOD

1. rəua k^ha-ĩ

You.2.SG.PR. eat.V.PRES.HON.IMP.

You eat

2. rəua bolĩ

You.2.SG.PR say.V.PRES.HON.IMP.

You say

3. ʈu k^ha-lə

You.2.SG.PR. eat. V.MID-HON.

You eat (mid honorific marker added)

4. ʈu bəit^h-ə

You.2.SG.PR. sit. V.MID.HON

You sit.

REFERENCES

- [1] Agha, A. (1994). Honorification. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 277-302.
- [2] BARZ, R., & Jordan-Horstmann, M. (1982). Sadani. A Bhojpuri Dialect Spoken in Chotanagpur.
- [3] Bhatt, S. K. ACQUISITION OF HONORIFICS IN HINDI: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE.
- [4] Brown, L. (2011). Korean honorifics and politeness in second language learning (Vol. 206). John Benjamins Publishing.
- [5] Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). Politeness: Some universals in language usage (Vol. 4). Cambridge university press.
- [6] Coulmas, F. (2013). Sociolinguistics: The study of speakers' choices. Cambridge University Press..
- [7] Dixon, R. M. W. (1980). Speech and song styles: Avoidance styles. In *The languages* (Vol. 4). Cambridge university press.
- [8] Coulmas, F. (2013). Sociolinguistics: The study of speakers' choices. Cambridge University Press..
- [9] Dixon, R. M. W. (1980). Speech and song styles: Avoidance styles. In *The languages of Australia* (Section 3.3, pp. 58–65). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [10] Eelen, G. (2014). A critique of politeness theory (Vol. 1). Routledge.
- [11] Firth, J.R. (1957). A synopsis of linguistic theory. In *studies in linguistic analysis*. Oxford: The philological Society.
- [12] Harris, J. K. (1970). Gunkurrng, a mother-in-law language. *Pacific Linguistics studies in honour of Arthur Capell*, ed. by Stephen Wurm and Don Laycock, 783-89.
- [13] Jain, D., & Cardona, G. (2007). *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Routledge.
- [14] Kachru, Y. (2006). *Hindi* (Vol. 12). John Benjamins Publishing.
- [15] Kim, J. B., & Sells, P. (2007). Korean honorification: A kind of expressive meaning. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, 16(4), 303-336
- [16] Levinson, S. C. (1979, July). Pragmatics and social deixis: reclaiming the notion of conventional implicature. In *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (Vol. 5, pp. 206-223).
- [17] MacGregor, W. (1989). Gooniyandi mother-in-law" language": dialect, register and/or code?.na. 62
- [18] Masica, C. P. (1993). *The indo-aryan languages*. Cambridge University Press.
- [19] Mishra, D., & Bali, K. (2011, August). A comparative phonological study of the dialects of Hindi. In *Proceedings of International Congress of Phonetic Sciences XVII* (pp. 1390-1393).
- [20] Potts, C. (2007). Into the Conventional-Implicature Dimension. *Philosophy compass*, 2(4), 665-679.
- [21] Shukla, S. (1981). *Bhojpuri grammar*. Georgetown Univ School of Language.
- [22] Singh, A. B. (1976). Auxiliary verbs in Bhojpuri. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, 36(1/4), 138-145.
- [23] Singh, S., Kumar, R., & Atreya, L. (2014). Politeness in Language of Bihar: A Case Study of Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Maithili. *International Journal*, 2(1), 97-117.
- [24] Sinha, S. Pronominals: A Comparative Study of the Languages of Bihar and West Bengal Sweta Sinha, Ph. D.
- [25] Sohn, H. M. (2001). *The Korean Language*. Cambridge University Press.
- [26] Tivāri, U. (1960). The origin and development of Bhojpuri/by Uday Narain Tiwari.
- [27] Trammell, R. L. (1971). The Phonology of the Northern Standard Dialect of Bhojpuri
- [28] Sohn, H. M. (2001). *The Korean Language*. Cambridge University Press.
- [29] Tivāri, U. (1960). The origin and development of Bhojpuri/by Uday Narain Tiwari.
- [30] Trammell, R. L. (1971). The Phonology of the Northern Standard Dialect of Bhojpuri. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 126-141.
- [31] Zvelabil, Kamil, 'Dravidian Linguistics an Introduction'. Ed.1990. Pondicherry.
- [32] Institute of Linguistics and Culture, rpt. 1997
- [33] Watts, R., I. Sachiko, E. Konrad, (eds.) (2005). *Politeness in language, studies in its history, theory and practice*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.