

# Grammatical Sketch of Banarasi : A Dialect of Bhojpuri

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## ABSTRACT

The present paper is demonstration of the effort made to draw "Grammatical Sketch of Banarasi". Banarasi, a dialect of Bhojpuri, is still an oral tradition in Varanasi and demands for its culture to be preserved. Therefore, this work is an initiative towards documenting the present day local language of Varanasi. A spoken corpus of folk stories in Banarasi was collected and transcribed as part of this research work which was extended and eventually contributed for creating Bhojpuri corpus (Singh and Banerjee, 2014). The paper covers the phonological, morphological and syntactic analysis of the language and also touches discourse at the level of code-mixing and code-switching in present form of language. The features like PNG (person, number and gender), TAM (tense, aspect and mode), cases, verbs, qualifiers, particles, classifiers, reduplication, causativization, ergativity, negation, particle, expressive, words of perception, kinship and focus etc are discussed in detail.

## 1. Introduction

**Bhojpuri** (ISO code 639-3) is one of the important Indo-Aryan languages with more than 50 million native speakers (census 2011<sup>1</sup>) at present. Outside India, many other countries like Nepal, Mauritius, Guyana, Burma, Fiji and Guyana also have a big Bhojpuri speaking population. This spread of Bhojpuri claims for its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution (Singh and Banerjee, 2014). Upadhyay (1988) reports the regional differences among the different varieties of Bhojpuri and considers the dialect of Bhojpur & Rohtas in Bihar and around Ballia & Ghazipur in Uttar Pradesh as the most prestigious varieties. These varieties have much commonality in syntactic structures and basic vocabulary but affixes, auxiliaries, address terms, kingship terms and domain specific terms differs a lot. These features, on one hand, make these varieties highly intelligible while on the other hand differentiate them significantly e.g. the Western Bhojpuri dialect of Varanasi is very different from the 'Madheshi' spoken in Gorakhpur.

*Varanasi* is a cultural treasure mainly for its temples, preaching, religion and education. Therefore, the language has absorbed all the religious and cultural values in it. The glimpse of this can be seen on different occasions in rituals and practices when people in their full form. The variety of Bhojpuri Spoken in Varanasi district (also known as Banaras) is acknowledged as **Banarasi**. It is also known as **Kashika** by some scholars. Though Varanasi is a place where people from different countries and nearby states visit with varied interest, therefore, it is very difficult to make clear cut distinction between the varieties of language spoken and a new pidginize form of language can also be heard. More or less, they are perceived as some or the other regional varieties of the more standard 'Bhojpuri'

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/Language-2011/Statement-1.pdf>

**Alternative names for Banarasi-** This language variety is also popular by the names *Theth* (*tʰeʰ*) *Boli*, *Kashika*, *Western Bhojpuri* or Grierson's *Purbi dialect* (1903).

**Banarasi speaking population in Uttar Pradesh-** Faizabad, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Varanasi, Ghazipur and Mirzapur.

**No. of Bhojpuri Speakers-** According to Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (1903), there were 3,939,500 native speakers of Bhojpuri which rose to 5,05,79,447 as per the census language data records (2011).

Linguistically, *Banarasi* is a variety of Bhojpuri that lies in between Hindi and Bhojpuri. It has relatively free word-order like Hindi but has Bhojpuri like word formation processes. It shares much vocabulary with Hindi but syntactically it is closer to Bhojpuri. Although it is very rich culturally, but for an oral tradition to live long, there is always a need for its documentation and preservation. The language is used for spoken communication only and no local journal, newspaper or texts are found for this which evoked the author to initiate with drawing the very basic outline i.e. grammar of Banarasi.

The present paper deals mainly with the phonological, morphological and syntactic features and restricts to a few discourse features due to the space limit.

## 2. Literary Corpus for Banarasi

### 2.1. Corpus Data (Folk Literature)

Data for writing grammar of Banarasi was collected from the native of Varanasi (Shivvati Devi) who was 74 years of age at the time of data collection in 2014. This spoken corpus on Banarasi Folk (collection of child stories) is included as part of Bhojpuri Corpus in (Singh and Banerjee, 2014; Singh 2018) under literature domain. The data is in the form of narratives and recorded in audio files which were later transcribed in Hindi and IPA. Out of ten children stories, two stories with mythological values and moral lessons are extracted here for devising the grammar of *Banarasi*. These stories consists 202 sentences and approximately 3,277 words/tokens.

Both British and American Standards for transcription are followed. The transcribed text is further processed with interlinear glossing and free translation in English. The audio files for both stories are extracted using Audacity software, which are entitled: (1) *Hathira Babaji* and (2) *Ganesu* with approximately 8 and 12 minutes run time, respectively.

## 2.2. Data Analysis

The glossed data is used for the language analysis and grammar reading which is the objective of present work. This work is divided into three major sections- (Phonological, Morphological and Syntactic analysis with sub-sections like sound system, inflections, derivations, Case, TAM features, qualifiers, determiners, classifiers, verbs and numerals etc. The paper also throws light on the present day code-mixing and code-switching found in the language.

## 3. Phonology of Banarasi

Phonologically, Banarasi shares the sound system of Bhojpuri. There is a very significant difference between Hindi and Banarasi phonology where /ʃ/ (sha) sound of Hindi is simplified and changed to dental /s/ in Banarasi, similar to Bhojpuri.

The Bhojpuri writing system uses /s/ like alphabet for /ə/ 'a' which is shorter than Hindi /ə/, but though no data is available in Banarasi in the text form, therefore, nothing can be certainly said about it. The abandonment of the oblique form of nouns and pronouns which ends in ā, and which is so characteristics of all the dialects of Bihārī, and the substitution of oblique form of ē, as in standard Hindi (248, Grierson 1903) is very well documented in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*. Banarasi has later been fully illustrated in Dr. J. R. Reid's grammar and reported in four specimens numbered from no. 52 to no. 55 (vol. IV 'Bihari and Odia') in the appendices of this paper, in which specimen no. 52, 53, and 54 carries the text from western Banarasi whereas **No. 55** is entitled as 'Low Banarasi' collected from the Banaras city (266- 276, Grierson 1903).

The contemporary Banarasi, like any other language, is greatly influenced by code-mixing with English and Urdu and code switching with Hindi and English. The emphasis of English and Hindi can be easily found in the present language use where speakers have started making use of the non-familiar /ʃ/ (sha<sup>2</sup>) sound and sometimes undergo hyper correction. For example, speakers are often found confused with the pronunciation of 'short' and 'sort' and found using it alternatively. A deeper analysis of the sound system of the language can explain this and other contrasts and comparisons of Banarasi phonology with other varieties.

## 4. Morphology of Banarasi

This section will discuss the verbal inflection and derivational morphology, agreement and case marking, TAM features, grammatical categories like verbs and converbs, qualifiers and unique feature of Bhojpuri like classifiers,

determiners, numerals, particles, expressives, reduplication etc in detail.

### 4.1. Inflectional

Inflection is a morphological process where the characteristics of word class are defined. Noun can be marked differently for different languages + or - abstract, count, animals, human feminine, plural. The inflections like Person, number are generally overtly marked on nouns in many Indian languages like Hindi but in Banarasi, like Bhojpuri, it is the verb which is marked for person, number and gender whereas noun remains the same. Abbi (2001) also confirms such changes by saying "sometimes two different languages from the same family form their noun class by two different types of word formation processes" (Pg.115).

#### (A) Gender

Banarasi does not make any gender distinction in 1<sup>st</sup> Person. Both Masculine<sup>3</sup> and Feminine use suffix *-t̪*: as Past and *-həi* as Present tense marker. Whereas, suffix *-a* is used with 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Masculine and *-u* with the Feminine forms. For example, *buɟh̪-e* (to understand) becomes *buɟh̪ə-la* for a 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Masculine and *buɟh̪ə-lu* for 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Feminine.

Similarly, a 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Pronouns with the Honorific marker *-ənə* takes *-ənə* and *-inə* forms when used for Masculine and Feminine, respectively.

1. ek      **gənesə ji:**      rəh-l-ə-nə      əurə  
                 3MSg HON<sup>5</sup>      aux-PST<sup>6</sup>-M-HON

ekə      **ləç'mi: ji:**      rəh-l-i-nə (Banarasi)<sup>7</sup>  
                 3FSg HON      aux-PST-F-HON

'There were Ganesh ji and Lakshmi ji'      (English)<sup>8</sup>

The gender marker for God Ganesh and Goddess Lakshmi is *-ə-nə* and *-i-nə* respectively which shows the gender marking system of Banarasi.

#### (B) Number

According to Corbett (1991) the number of gender is determined by the type of agreement. In Banarasi the number distinction is divided into two: Singular and Plural. Some community does not distinguish between Masculine and Feminine singular and use *-ələ* for both while some other community uses *-ələ* for singular male and *-ilə* for Singular Female in 3<sup>rd</sup> Person Pronouns. For example-

'*neha(F) əjilə*' means *neha came* and  
'*Suresh(M) əjilə*' means *Suresh came*.

2. ekə      t̪hə      **ləɾəkə**      rəh-ələ      (B)  
                 one CLF<sup>9</sup>      3MSg<sup>10</sup>      aux-PST.Sg

'There was a boy'      (E)

3. **səbə**      mar-e      j-əɟə      rəhə-l-ənə(B)

<sup>3</sup> Masculine and Feminine is also written as F and M in short form throughout the paper

<sup>4</sup> IPA is used for transcribing examples from Bhojpuri and italicised

<sup>5</sup> HON is abbreviation used for Honorific.

<sup>6</sup> PST is abbreviation used for Past Tense

<sup>7</sup> (B) is used for indicating Banarasi examples throughout

<sup>8</sup> (E) is used for indicating English examples throughout

<sup>9</sup> CLF is abbreviation used for Classifier.

<sup>10</sup> SG and PL are abbreviations used for Singular and Plural.

<sup>2</sup> The *Itrans* standard is used for transliteration of sounds and words in Banarasi

all.3MPI beat-PRF<sup>11</sup> go-PROG aux-PST-pl  
'They were about to beat him' (E)

In the above examples the singular *boy* is agreeing with *-ələ* tense marker in example 2 whereas in example 3 the tense marker changes to *ə-l-ənə* for plural *all*.

**(C) Person**

The **Person** marking system in Banarasi is also similar to **Gender system**. In Present Tense, *-həi* is the marker for 1st Person Singular/Plural; *-hɛ*, *-həua*, *-həu* are the 2nd Person Markers. *-ələ*, *-hɔ*, *-u-* are 3rd Person Masculine whereas *-ilə*, *-hɔ*, *-esə* are 3rd Person Feminine markers. *-a-* is used distinctively, when it is used for 2nd Person in Future tense it becomes a *word medial suffix* whereas for 1st Person it becomes a *word final suffix* as in example 5 and 6. There are some other similar affixes also.

**[1] 1<sup>st</sup> Person:**

4. **həmə** kəha se li:  
1.M/F.Sg/Pl take (B)

ə-il-e **həi** (B)  
come-PRS-1.M/F.Sg/Pl aux.PR<sup>12</sup>.1M/F.Sg/Pl  
'I did not bring these' (E)

**[2] 2<sup>nd</sup> Person (Singular/Plural):**

5. **(tu/tu logə)** kəha se li:  
(2M.Sg/Pl) take (B)

ə-il-e **həu-a** (B)  
come.aux-PRF-2M.Sg/Pl aux.PR.2M.sg/pl  
'from where have you brought all this' (E)

**[3] 3<sup>rd</sup> Person (Singular):**

6. u: kəise itəna churə-u-l-esə (B)  
3MSg steal-3M.sg-PRF  
'How did he steal this much?' (E)

**[4] 3<sup>rd</sup> Person (Plural):**

7. kəise itna churə-u-l-ənə (B)  
steal-3M-PRF-Pl  
'How did they steal this much?' (E)

**[5] 3<sup>rd</sup> person (Feminine)**

8. Bəsə nahi mən-əl-inə (B)  
PRT<sup>13</sup> NEG trust-PST-3FSg.HON  
'And she did not listen.' (E)

**4.2. Derivation**

Derivational morphology is that which can change one grammatical category into another according to its usability in the sentence.

**V>V (CAUSATIVIZATION)**

"Indian languages typically have morphologically marked causative verb stems" (Masica 1976).

A causative affix increases the valency of the verb under consideration, and thus may be considered a valency increasing affix. (Pg 159, Abbi 2001,). Therefore, if there is a transitive verb like *sona*, its first causative will be *su-la-na* and its second causative will be *su-l-wa-na*, which is also known as direct and indirect causatives, respectively. Like Hindi, Banarasi also has similar steps of derivation. For example, take a transitive verb *ḡhoē* (to wash). The steps of derivation are given in table 1 and some derived words in table 2.

**Table 1**  
**Causativization in Banarasi**

Verb	Steps of Derivation	Meaning
Transitive	ḡho-e	To wash
1 <sup>st</sup> transitive	ḡo-a-e	To make someone wash
2 <sup>nd</sup> transitive	ḡhu-hə-wa-e	To make someone wash someone's (hand etc)

**Table 2**  
**Other Derived words in Banarasi**

Categories		
V>ADJ	cəl-e (to walk)	cəlai:/cal (way to walk)
ADJ>V	b'hərel (filled)	b'hər-e (to fill)
V>N	k'həj-e (to search)	k'həjai: (search)
ADJ>N	Gəri:b (poor)	gəribi: (poor state)

This table shows some other derivational words of Banarasi where a Verb is changing to Adjective and Noun class in case 1 and 3 and an Adjective is changing to verb and Noun class in case 2 and 4, respectively.

**4.3. Agreement**

According to Steele (1978) the term *agreement* commonly refers to some syntactic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another. Banarasi also shows Subject-Verb Agreement like many other Indo Aryan languages in which the verb agrees with the Person, Number and Gender of the Noun. Look at the example below:

9. Gənesu: ki: baṭ kahe nahi  
3MSg GEN<sup>14</sup> talk.F why NEG

man-ə-l-u: rani: (B)  
trust-INDF<sup>15</sup>-PRS-3FSg 3FSg  
'Why don't you follow Ganeshu, queen. (E)

**4.4. Case**

Abbi, in her *Manual of Field Linguistics*, describes cases as "Case exhibits the relation between verbs and nouns (or pronouns) in a sentence" (Pg 127). And then she explains it by saying that one must distinguish between case and case markers. The former is a semantic relationship while the latter exhibits this very relationship by some phonological word (Pg-127).

<sup>11</sup> PRF is abbreviation used for Perfective aspect.

<sup>12</sup> PR is abbreviation for Present Tense

<sup>13</sup> PRT is abbreviation used for Particle

<sup>14</sup> GEN is abbreviation used for Genetive case

<sup>15</sup> INDF is abbreviation used for Indefinite Tense

**(A) Nominative**

Hindi is a language which entertain both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive constructions but Bhojpuri and Banarasi are less-ergative languages. Nominative case is a case given to the agent or subject of the sentence and is assigned by the verb to the head noun.

10. hēm ə-ile həi, ɖeve (B)

1Msg.NOM<sup>16</sup> come. PRF

'I have come here to give. (E)

**(B) Accusative**

Accusative case is a case which is assigned by the auxiliary to the direct object of the verb.

11. Pili: saɾi: pəhinə-la əur

Yellow saree.ACC<sup>17</sup> wear

lalə bilaujə pəhinə-la (B)

red blouse.ACC wear

'Wear yellow saree and red blouse. (E)

From the example above saree and blouse are in accusative case with the verb *pəhinə* (to wear).

**(C) Ablative**

Ablative case is marked by *se* marker in Hindi, Bhojpuri and Banarasi. It is case marking separation of the entities from their respective nouns/pronouns as in:

12. ʒala kʰolə ke um-me se

open that-in from.ABL<sup>18</sup>

inke nikəllənə . (B)

3M.Sg Taken out

'then opening the lock they relieved him.' (E)

From the above example the *se* in *um-me se* is giving the meaning of separation and is in ablative case.

**(D) Dative**

Dative is a case held by the experiencer. It follows the noun in Banarasi and it is marked with *ke*, *se* and *me* suffixes, if comes, is attached with the noun. Whereas, in Hindi, it is marked with *ko* marker. Sometimes one can observe a Banarasi speaker using *ko* for dative which is clear influence of Hindi.

13. hēm-me bhəgavələnə (B)

1MSg-DAT<sup>19</sup>

'They threaten me to leave' (E)

14. səbə-ne ke səməjʰə mə aelə (B)

all.3MPI-DET DAT

'They all understand.' (E)

In example 13 *me* from the 1<sup>st</sup> person and *ke* from the third person in example 14 are in dative case.

**(E) Genitive**

Genitive is a case which shows the relation between two entities. In Hindi genitives are *ka*, *ke* and *ki* which precedes the noun for which it stands. This is substituted by *K*, *ka* and *ki*: in Banarasi.

15. Harə bhəgvənə ji: kə

Necklace

god.3MSg

HON

GEN

hera gələ. (B)

loose.PST go.PRF

'God's necklace was lost.' (E)

The case marker *ka* in example 15 shows the possession of the necklace and therefore is in Genitive case.

**(F) Locative**

Locative is a case giving information about the location of the entity.

16. rəʒte me amə ka pəɾə milələ (B)

way on.LOC

'They found a mango tree on the way.' (E)

The information about the location *me* of the mango tree in the above example marks it as locative.

**(G) Vocative**

Vocative is the case which is assigned when some addressee is addressed by some addresser.

17. ka ho genesu: ! (B)

what VOC 3.MSg

'Hey! Ganeshu!' (E)

**4.5 TAM Features****(A) Tense**

As quoted from, Abbi (2001) "tense indicates the temporal location of an event or a state. ...Tense thus indicates whether the event happened *prior* to the action of speaking (past tense), is *contemporaneous* with it (present tense) or *subsequent* to it (future tense). Languages may make a distinction between past: non-past, or future: non-future, i.e. real: unreal (realis: unrealis). While Indo-Aryan languages generally make a distinction between past, future and present, the Tibeto-Burman Languages make a two-way distinction between past and non-past."

The examples below explain the tense and tense marking in Banarasi:

**[1] Past Tense**

18. ghər-e bhəgvənə ja-tə

home-DET<sup>20</sup> god.3MSg

go-INDF

rəh-əl-ənə . (B)

live.aux-PST-HON

'God was visiting my place' (E)

The *-əl* in the above example is the present tense marker.

**[2] Non Past (Present, Future)**

19. bhəgvənə nā premə

god.3MSg.NOM PARTICLE

love

ka bhukʰa həu-ənə (B)

GEN hungry aux.PRS-HON

'God is hungry for love.' (E)

20. hēmərə ghərə na a-i: . (B)

<sup>16</sup> NOM is abbreviation used for Nominative Case

<sup>17</sup> ACC is abbreviation used for Accusative Case

<sup>18</sup> ABL is abbreviation used for Ablative Case

<sup>19</sup> DT is abbreviation used for Dative Case

<sup>20</sup> DET is abbreviation used for Determiner

1MSg.POSS home NEG come-FUT  
'he will not come to my home' (E)

In the above two examples – *həu* and *-i:* are in present and future tense, respectively.

### (B) Aspect

Perfective, habitual and progressives are the three aspect considered for the present purpose. The table below is categorization of these aspects and their respective markers.

#### Perfective

21. *həmə tənni: si: cʰu:*  
1MSg.NOM slight INTF touch

*ḡe-li: , pʰəṭə ḡe-lə .* (B)  
aux-1MSg.PRF tear go.aux.INDF

'I just touched it slightly, it got torn off.' (E)

*-li:* in the above example is the perfective marker

#### [1] Habitual

22. *balaji: ki:*  
god.3MS.ACC GEN

*puja kər-ē .* (B)  
worship do-INDF.PST.HON

'He used to worship balaji.' (E)

The *-ē* marker in the verb *kər-ē* is the habitual marker in example 22

#### [2] Progressive

23. *harə kʰoɟ-ətə həu-ən ə* (B)  
necklace.M search-PROG aux.PRS-HON

'They were searching the necklace.' (E)

The *-ətə* marker in the above example is the progressive marker like *rah* in Hindi.

### 4.6 Verbs

The verbs in Banarasi, like Hindi have their base form as 'VERB+ infinitive TO' but the markers are different. In Hindi '*-na*' marker is used with the lexeme to form a verb as '*ḡekʰə-na*', '*sunə-na*', '*so-na*', '*ga-na*' etc. The same for Banarasi is replaced by '*-e*' suffix and the verb in its base form appears as '*dekʰ-e*', '*sun-e*', '*so-e*', '*ga-e*' etc.

The auxiliaries '*baṭa*', '*baṭe*' in Bhojpuri has become '*bae*', '*hə*', '*həi*'. Therefore a sentence which carries both the main and auxiliary verb in Banarasi would appear as:

24. *Apənə ekə kuṭi bəna*  
3MSg.REFL.NOM one hut.ACC make

*ke rəh-ətə rəh-l-ənə* (B)

do.aux live-INDF live.aux-PST-HON

'Having made a hut, he lived in it.' (E)

#### 4.6.1. Converbs (Conjunctive Participle)

Conjunctive Participle is defined as "a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination because it has the property of modifying a verb" by Haspelmath. Converb is a verb which is composed of combination of Noun+ Verb. It is also known as Gerundive or Medial Verb.

25. *səməɟʰə ke rəkʰə*

(believe do.aux)CVB (put

*ke puja kər-ē.* (B)

do.aux)CVB worship do-INDF.PST

'believing it that and keeping it he used to worship it' (E)

### 4.7. Qualifiers

**Adjectives** are words that describe or modify another person or thing in the sentence<sup>21</sup> and an **adverb** is that which is primarily used to modify a verb or another adverb. It can also modify an adjective, a prepositional phrase or a subordinate phrase. It generally adds information about time, place and manner. Adjectives can always precede (in SOV languages) a qualifier of increased or decreased intensity (Pg.133, Abbi 2001). **Intensifiers** are the modifiers of adverbs and adjectives. Adjectives and adverbs modify some entity and intensifier marks the degree of severity to which it modifies it. '*Bahuṭə*', '*jaḡa*', '*iṭna*', '*mare*', '*ḡherə*', '*bəṭi*' etc are some of the very frequently used modifier of Banarasi.

Following are some example for explaining the Banarasi Qualifiers:

26. *u: bəhuṭə ḡeribə rəh-əl-ənə.* (B)

INTF poor(ADJ)

'He was very poor' (E)

### 4.8 Classifiers

In the words of Aikhenvald (2000) languages with extensive systems of nouns noun classification devices, especially those which combine classifiers and genders, present a rue challenge for the typologist." Bengali makes rich use of classifiers while Awadhi is a classifier less language. Banarasi make use classifiers but only after numbers. Different dialects of Bhojpuri uses different classifiers as Standard Bhojpuri uses '*go*', western dialects including Banarasi uses '*ṭho*' while some other local dialects makes use of '*kʰo*' also. The order of numeral and classifier is generally but not necessarily is Number+ Classifier+ Noun, e.g. Bengali *tin ṭa boi* 'three+ cl+ books' 'three books'. (Pg 122, Abbi 2001)

27. *ekə ṭʰo cʰimi: ṭoṭə lelənə .* (B)

one CLF

'He plucked one of the peas.' (E)

28. *ekə ṭʰə pəṭṭʰər-o milə jaje* (B)

one CLF

'If he find a single crop' (E)

The *ṭʰo* and *ṭʰə* in example 27 and 28 are examples of classifiers in Banarasi.

### 4.9 Determiners

Determiners are those which determine what kind of nouns or pronouns are likely to appear next. Determiners are found in almost all the dialects of Bhojpuri but are not there in Hindi and what we find in discourse is the influence of Bhojpuri. These are basically the discourse particles but the present work is restricted to its syntactic utility only.

<sup>21</sup> (grammar.ccc.comment.edu)



used differently in different contexts. An 'eye' is the part of body which is responsible for visual perception and from this noun category we get a verb like 'to see' and an adjective like 'blind' etc. Therefore these terms are very important in defining the derivations in Languages. Below are given its cognates in Banarasi.

**Table 5**  
**Words of Five Senses of Perception in Banarasi**

Sight (to see)	-	lauk-e, ŋek <sup>h</sup> -e
Hear (to hear)	-	sun-e
Smell (to smell)	-	su:ng <sup>h</sup> -e
Taste (to taste)	-	cik <sup>h</sup> -e. cək <sup>h</sup> -e
Touch (to feel)	-	c <sup>h</sup> u-e

**4.13 Reduplication**

Reduplication is a morphological process which is multi-functional and defined in words of Abbi (2001, Pg 162). Words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating single word (phonological word), partially or completely are known as cases of reduplication.

Complete lexical reduplication is a combination of two identical words, which either extend the meaning of a lexical entry of contracts it. It can either be class-changing or class maintaining. In the present example from Bangla 'jaa' means 'to go'(verb) becomes 'jeje- jeje' which mean 'while going'(adverb), therefore it is class- changing type. Similarly Banarasi also undergo such formations. Here are some examples of complete reduplication in Banarasi.

Partially reduplicated words are formed by doubling a part of the lexeme either phonologically or semantically. Phonologically reduplicated words are also known as echo formation because the second word of the string is mere image of the first with a little variation in sounds, and does not mean anything lexically. Words in both categories either complete or partial act as a single unit.

33. pok<sup>h</sup>ri: -pok<sup>h</sup>ra mē nai: nəha-i-b (B)  
(RDP)<sup>23</sup> LOC NEG bath-1FSg.FUT  
'I will not take bath in any pond like thing' (E)

Follow table 6 to find more examples in this category:

**Table 6**  
**Reduplication and Echo Formation in Banarasi**

Banarasi		Hindi	gloss
<b>Complete Reduplication</b>			
kəreṭə - kəreṭə .	-	kəreṭe - kəreṭe	while doing
əise - əise	-	ese -ese	like this
jeṭə - jaṭə	-	jate -jaṭe	while going
<b>Partial Reduplication</b>			
boleṭə - bətiṭəveṭə	-		while talking
k <sup>h</sup> aṭə - piṭəṭə	-		while having meal
janəṭə - bu:jeṭ	-		knowingly
hileṭə-duleṭə	-		shaking

<sup>23</sup> RDP is abbreviation used for reduplication

pok <sup>h</sup> ri:			-pok <sup>h</sup> ra
<b>Echo formation</b>			
cupe-capə	-		quietly
bate - ci:ṭə	-		chit-chat
səcə- mucə	-		really

**5. Syntax in Banarasi**

**5.1. Word Order Typology**

For studying a language, it is very important to first know in which frame of categorization the language falls. Banarasi belongs to Indo Aryan, Indo Iranian and Indo European language family. Greenberg in his Universals of Language, has proposed six types of languages on the basis of their word order. Being an Indo - Aryan Language and a Variety of Bhojpuri it shares the same SOV word order with other languages of this family.

34. u: bəhuṭə gəribə rəh-l-ənə. (B)  
SUB OBJ V  
'he was very poor' (E)

In Purbi or Banarasi, due to its SOV word order, the elements of a sentence generally correlates in the following order as pointed out in Abbi (2001):

- Language makes use of postpositions.
- Modifiers (adjectives, adverbs and numerals) precede nominal.
- Genitives precede the governing Noun.
- Indirect object precedes the direct object.
- Auxiliary verbs and explicators follows the main verb
- Particles whether emphatic, inclusive or exclusive follow the element they specify.

**5.2. Focus**

Focus is a discourse element, it involves speaker's intention hence, it is a pragmatic entity. Tones and prosodic features are the markers of focus but sometimes a little shift of particles in a sentence also explains which element of a sentence is in the focus. The above mentioned feature is also part of grammar of Banarasi.

35. (a) ṭirupəṭi bala hi  
3MSg 3MSg.HON.NOM EMPH  
ji: həu-ən. (B)  
HON aux.PRS-HON  
'He is none else than Tirupati Balaji' (E)

(b) ṭirupəṭi bala ji:  
3MSg 3MSg.HON.NOM HON  
hi həu-ən. (B)  
EMPH aux.PRS-HON  
'He is none else than Tirupati Balaji' (E)

**5.3. Interrogative**

Interrogative pronouns produce information questions that require more than a "yes" or "no" answer (studyandexam.com/pronoun2)

In Banarasi, like Hindi , interrogatives fall before the subject mostly. But because of have relatively free word-order

the wh-words also keep floating within the sentence for emphasis and focus. Some of the interrogatives in Banarasi are :

**Table 7**  
**Interrogative Pronouns in Banarasi**

Who	ke, kəun
Whose	keke/kekər
Whose	Kəise
Where	Kehər
What	Ka
When	kəb

36. it̪i:                      bəri:      haṯhi:                      ɛṅḍər  
 very.F    big.F      elephant.F.NOM    inside
- aj-ilə                      **kəise**      ?                      (B)  
 come-PST                      **how**
- 'How did such a big elephant enter the room' (E)

**5.4. Negation**

The notion of negation is one that opposes affirmation. It is of two types- imperative negative and non-imperative negative. As Hindi has more than one marker for negation, similarly Banarasi also has 'nehī', nahi, nā, məṯ, nə etc. and besides having their specific scope they are most of the times interchangeable. In Banarasi, one single lexeme is observed by different phonological forms, it also applies to negations due to which the nasalization sometimes occurs while other times it may not occur for the same lexical entity . It can be understand this way - nahī becomes nahī or nāhi in discourse . Some examples of negation are listed below.

37. koi                      bhi:                      ci:jə  
 any                      EMPH                      thing.M
- mane                      **nā**                      (B)  
 believe.INDF                      **NEG**
- 'He does not believe anything else' (E)

**5.5. Explicator Compound Verbs (ECV)**

An ECV construction refers to a sequence of two verbs V1 and V2, in which the main verb of the sentence, generally V1 in SOV languages, is followed by another verb, i.e. V2, which is de-lexicalized in the construction (Abbi, 2001). Banarasi examples for explicators:

38. ūkʰə                      cuh  
 sugarcane.3M                      **eat**
- jaṯə      ho .                      (B)  
 go.aux.PROG                      **aux.PRS**
- 'He is eating up all the sugarcane.' (E)

**6. Code-Mixing and Code-Switching**

Besides all these, one of the very frequently emerging aspects of language is the heavy use of code-mixing and code-switching. Due to influence of neighboring dialects e.g. Bhojpuri & Awadhi and languages in contact e.g., English, Banarasi is undergoing some remarkable changes. A language user can be found borrowing words from English like *time, late, mango, light, connection, side, click, etc.* Switching to Hindi and English phrases during conversation and making simple or short sentences is also very popular. For example, switching to

Hindi during a fight or argument for getting attention and putting their views more strongly and using English expressions to praise and for salutation at times like *very good, Good Morning, bye bye and thank you* is a common practice even in the rural environment. An example of code-mixing from the corpus is given below:

39. əbə                      bəhuṯə      **ṯaimə**                      bi:ṯə      gɛlə (B)  
 now                      INTF                      **time.ACC**                      spend      go.PST
- 'now it was too late' (E)

**7. Conclusion**

The present paper on the grammatical sketch of Banarasi throws light on the facts that every language, whether spoken by a few people or a big population, has some peculiarities of its own. Likewise Banarasi also introduced us with the different gender and person marking, its ergative-less construction, causativization and many others. And a further study of the language can be helpful in finding out more features of this type. This work also covered morpho-syntactic processes like TAM features, Converbs, Reduplication, expressive and words of perception etc along with code-mixing and code-switching.

Therefore, to save any language from losing its existence and culture, it is very important to document it down in all its aspect and add a new gem to the language treasure of the world.

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