

## Pragmatics Perspectives On Language Use In Aravind Adiga's The White Tiger

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### Abstract:

Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* is taken up in this review as a contribution to social critique through the use of language as a pragmatic tool used in the tale. Using the lens of pragmatics, this study examines through the pragmatist lens basic concepts like speech act, implicature, politeness strategies and code switching in the context of the protagonist, Balram Halwai. This analysis shows how Balram's language use reflects his changing self-perception and his way of dealing with class dynamics and power relations in modern India. Using many pragmatic strategies, Adiga manages to present a nuanced skight of the caste system and also the struggles of the 'servant class.' The research makes Balram's journey from subjugation to empowerment the study's focus, and highlights language's contribution towards propagating or subverting social norms. Finally, this paper showcases how pragmatics is essential to literary analysis and adds to this broader understanding of how language affects identity and mocks socio economic discrepancies in modern Indian society.

**Keywords:** Aravind Adiga, *The White Tiger*, pragmatics, speech acts, implicature

### INTRODUCTION

The novel *The White Tiger* (2008) by Aravind Adiga is critically acclaimed novel that provides an in-depth commentary regarding social stratification, class conflict, and economic disparity in modern India. This Booker Prize winning piece is told from the point of view of a young man named Balram Halwai from a rural poverty-stricken area in India. The move from a lowly servant to business entrepreneur in the ever-humming Bangalore of today is a striking examination of the complexities and the contradictions of the contemporary Indian society. By using Balram's first person narrative voice, when the reader immerses into his personal experiences, they look into the broader socio-economic landscape which is experienced by 'servant class' in India, and the societal structural arrangements that beget the systemic inequality.

Ingenuously structured as a letter written by Balram to the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, the novel is a series of anecdotes from Balram's life, his aspirations and the myriad challenges he faces in a socio-economic system that seems to conspire against upward mobility. Its epistolary format allows Balram to create an intimate connection with his viewers to get his readers to come closer to his experiences. Humor and bitterness shift abruptly in the narrative voice, a device which deciphers the rigorousness of Indian social hierarchy (Adiga, 2008). This duality of tone is representative of the internal conflict of Balram, who has to deal with the repressive barriers of poverty and class system.

When it comes to linguistics, one cannot do without pragmatics, the study of pragmatics gives the readers good ideas of the intricacies of language found in novels like *The White Tiger*. Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics which treats the contextual factors on which the meaning of communication depends. Beyond the literal sense of the words, discourse is examined how social variables, speaker intention, and relational dynamics determine the use of words (Levinson, 1983). At first glance semantics is concerned with the meaning of expression while pragmatics looks at the way those meanings are negotiated and created within specific context. These are key concepts, performing in understanding language in its social and cultural circumlocution, notably implicature, speech acts, politeness and face threatening acts.

Teachers asked Jesus, 'Which commandment is greatest in the Law?' Jesus replied, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the greatest and first commandment. And a second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. ... Jesus said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind.' (Matt. 22:35–37) The teacher's question was intentionally designed to trip up the students in their answering requirements. By tying the lists together with the explanatory clauses, the protagonist of *The White Tiger* proves he understands those commandments. With the help of pragmatics readers can decode not only what is said but also the implicit meaning that is said through tone, contextual clues and sociocultural references (Senft, 2014). For one, in *The White Tiger*, for example, Adiga makes use of Balram's language to illustrate the pervasive social and economic imbalances that characterize Indian society, at the same time creating Balram's persona as a bold, self-asserted individual who resists its confinements.

Examining pragmatics in *The White Tiger*, readers can learn a lot about how Balram's linguistic choices reflect his understanding of social hierarchies and his resistance to them. Beyond characterization, this exploration of language is also a commentary on the wider socio-political environment in which Balram works. His evolving self-perception, how

he negotiates language and communication, moves from a place of subservience to an autonomous existent active agent of configuration and empowerment.

The purpose of this review article is to analyse how Adiga successfully uses language as a tool for social critique through the pragmatic elements of *The White Tiger*. The purpose of this study is to explore how speech acts, implicature, politeness strategies, and face threatening acts are manifested in Balram's narrative and how these pragmatic concepts reflect the complexities of class-based interaction in Indian society. This article will show, through a detailed pragmatic analysis, how Balram's linguistic choices are used to create his journey from subjugation to self-empowerment, and how this sheds light on Adiga's critique of social and economic structures in India. In this article Balram's language will be examined via the lens of pragmatics to illustrate the ways in which Balram's language not only tells his own story of change but also points to the problems that permeate Indian society. Examining Balram's dialogue will show how he uses language to resist that oppressive social order as one way of asserting his identity. In addition, this analysis will demonstrate how different characters in the novel use different strategies to negotiate their social environments, and how these strategies reveal the broader implications of language use in power and inequality.

By way of summary, this review seeks to add to a wider literature on language use in literary contexts, taking a pragmatic perspective. This article aims at encouraging further studies on the role of language in modern Indian literature and of the works of Adiga, in particular, in order to show its relevance in using pragmatics as a framework of analysis on literary texts. In this way, it will reinforce the relation between language, power, and identity and suggest, through ways of overcoming, how literary narratives may critique and bring light to the complications of social dynamic.

## UNDERSTANDING PRAGMATICS IN LITERATURE

Contextual factors beyond mere semantics are the content of Pragmatics defined as a subfield of linguistics (Levinson, 1983). Unlike semantics, which concerns itself with meaning as located in words and sentences themselves, pragmatics is interested in language as actually used in social interaction, and it takes into account the speaker, the hearer, and the real circumstances under which an utterance is used (Thomas, 2014). Concepts that are central to pragmatics, including speech acts, implicature, and context, are absolutely necessary in order to understand both verbal and non-verbal communication more generally and in the specific, goldfish bowl interactions that typify literary characters.

### Speech Acts

The notion of speech acts is one of the foundational principle in pragmatics, elaborated from Austin (1962), and developed further by Searle (1969). Speech acts are about the fact that language is not merely a vehicle for information, but carries out actions. As a case in point, if a character says 'I promise' not only are they informing their listener of their intention, but are promising to do something in the future (Austin, 1975). Speech acts are usually meant in terms of locutionary (what is said), illocutionary (what is intended to be communicated with what is said), and perlocutionary (what is the impact on the hearer) (Austin, 1975). Speech act is a tool in literature of the written word of power dynamics; that of intentions and relational characteristics of the characters. We see in *The White Tiger*, for example, Balram's illocutionary acts—statements like complaining about the order of society—throughout his dialogue as he begins to feel himself, and eventually starts to rebel against social norms.

### Implicature

Grice (1975) introduced the concept of implicature, that is, meaning implied, but not stated. The cooperative principle is what underpins Grice's theory of implicature, i.e. that the speaker and hearer are cooperatively trying to explain something to one another. For instance, within this framework the maxim of relevance implies that speakers give information that is relevant in a conversation. In using implicature, authors invite readers to infer—go beyond the literal—that which is not literally said (Grice, 1975). For example, in *The White Tiger*, Balram's flights of irony often have an implicit critique of class based injustices that have beset him. Adiga uses implicature, so that when Balram makes these apparently offhand remarks, the narrative can carry commentary on corruption and inequality, extending the social polemic that runs through the novel.

### Context and Sociocultural Dimensions

Pragmatics relies on context, that is, the physical and the social setting of an interaction (Leech, 2016). In the context of literary work: context is formed by several layers, which are not limited by the environment surrounding an emergent event itself, but can extend to history, culture, and social environment of a story in general. Context is used by literary works to magnify the socio cultural relevant issues of the character's interaction such as power, identity, and cultural norms. Pragmatic analysis in literature, argues Senft (2014), should be examined in the context of the cultural system in which the characters use language. The summary of small farmers making great efforts for others to live large lives and move forward in their own lives is what the socio economic background of Indian society, its class distinctions and class barriers allow us to understand of Balram's language choices and interaction with others in *The White Tiger*. In my opinion, the narrative revolves around a white man who is indebted to the rich for his everyday survival. In doing so,

Adiga anchors Balram's experience through use of the culturally specific idioms and references, which raise the issues related to the uniqueness of Balram's experience as a 'lower' in Indian society.

### **Importance of Pragmatics in Literary Analysis**

From literary analysis perspective, however, pragmatics serves as an important supplement to meaning in a richer interpretation of characters' motives, the nature of social relationships and the writer's intentions. Looking at pragmatics can tell readers more than the words on the page: what is being relayed through the unspoken or those 'subtext' messages that are pushed through but not spoken. For example, speech acts in literature may elaborate the tensions between characters or show us what the characters are unwilling to bring to the surface through polite word. Implicature can give meaning layers that either correspond with or conflict with what might be expected by readers, elaborating character psychology and social critique (Clark, 1996). Additionally, context driven analysis shows how authors place characters in specific socio cultural frames, and how societal norms and values influence individual behavior.

Finally, pragmatics can provide very effective tools for grasping the language uses in literature. If we look at speech acts, implicature and context we can see how language and social structure interplay in a work like *The White Tiger*. Looking at the novel from this perspective not only makes the interactions of the characters more stimulating, but also makes the social critiques apparent which Adiga weaves into his work. From this, pragmatic analysis offers promise for reading literature that both authentically and reflectively portray social dynamism and cultural ramifications, and for our further engagement with both the text and the context of which they are a part.

### **THE WHITE TIGER: AN OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE AND CLASS DYNAMICS**

In Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (2008), we see how language and class dialectics functionalize Indian society today. By telling Balram Halwai's story, a man who climbs from a life of humble background to business success, the novel uncovers the complex patterns of language that bring into stark relief the language patterns that articulate social stratification and power imbalances. The criticism upon the hierarchical structures Indian society espouses through Adiga's language in *The White Tiger* is of an effective medium through which readers can see how communication styles and linguistic choices form reality to the class conflict and societal divisions that exist in the narrative.

### **Class Struggle and Social Hierarchies Through Language**

Language in *The White Tiger* serves to reflect the rigid social hierarchies maintained in Indian society showing how class influences the way in which characters interact with one another and view themselves. Balram's richly colloquial, sarcastic, and filled with local dialects and expressions, presents sharper contrast between his rural, deprived upbringing and the sophisticated, well polished form of language of the elite. For Bourdieu (1991) language works as a form of symbolic capital that maintains social structures by favoring one linguistic form over another. Early on, Balram's use of unrefined language, as in the description of 'Goddamn damned poise', is nothing if not authentic, clearly a part of the servant class, betraying his total lack of social capital.

Language embodies a kind of power dynamic and Balram's conversations with his employers, particularly Mr. Ashok, explain it. Mr. In their many interactions, Balram uses accessible English and rudimentary vocabulary, through which Ashok displays refined English, control of sophisticated vocabulary, which reflects his status as the upper class, thus an implicit power imbalance in their interactions. Linguistic politeness and deference work as observed by Goffman (2017) as strategies which individuals of a lower social status resort to show respect or submission. Mr. Ashok's family and Balram communicate hitherto with honorifics, indirect speech and self effacing language to remind us of their subordinate position. For example, when speaking to his employer he uses terms like 'sir' and 'madam' (Adiga 2008: 42) illustrating his social inferiority, and the man above him to whom he is expected to show obeisance.

However, this deference to the 'bright lights' is marred by plenty of irony and resentment, so without knowing it we are torn between Balram's divided loyalties about his 'lowly' status. He's sarcastic, has a dark sense of humor, all of which are subtle acts of resistance against the very thing he ostensibly respects. Such forms of resistance, as Scott (1990) called them, are 'hidden transcripts'—expressions of dissent that are covert in the presence of power figures but which serve to maintain a sense of agency. To veil his real feelings within ironic comments, Balram writes himself into his own personal narrative of being aware of and in discontent with the class structure that is imposed upon him.

### **Role of Language in Depicting Societal Divisions in Indian Society**

We can see representing some of those divisions in Indian society in the language Adiga gave to Balram and other characters in *The White Tiger*. Throughout history the caste system has influenced India's complex social structure and while constitutionally outlawed it still plays a large part in social interaction and access to opportunities. Language in the novel acts as a marker of caste and class and consequently a divide between class and caste people. Balram's tale of rural village boy to the city is a telling picture of the language transitions and the class language that nuances also the upward mobility, but as one, Balram's rural colour of accent and vocabulary here at first announce him as an outsider among the urban elite.

The language perpetuating the societal divisions is exposed by how language is used in Adiga's work. As he tries to blend in with the world of his wealthy employers, Balram's linguistic choice changes, he uses pieces of their language to be heard by them and to be accepted. People tend to use such social mobility and code switch (Gumperz, 1982). Balram takes on the English words and more special kinds of expressions as means to step out from his class and to show us the limits that he faces. But still, his language regularly gives away his history, a recollection of the social wilting that is entrenched in him.

Additionally, the novel examines the ways in which language is not only indicative of social divisions but also aids in maintaining these divisions: Mr. Ashok's casual use of English peppered with Hindi only when addressing the servants indicates that he is 'belonging' to the elite and where one uses language to exercise hegemony. Code switching has been observed by sociolinguists to be laden with power dynamics; higher status individuals use language choices to delineate in and out groups (Myers Scotton, 1993). Mr. Ashok, when speaking to his peers, would speak in English, switching to Hindi when speaking with Balram, almost forcing him to concede to his importance, and his position in the lower class, by using language as a tool of exclusion.

Furthermore, this novel looks into the issue of how the linguistic marginalisation contributes to the silencing of some social groups. Balram's voice becomes assertive and critical from the start until the end of *The White Tiger*; which is hosted in contrast with the voice that was supposed to define him by the society that it belongs. His narrative is in many ways the "carnavalesque" in literature, as the lower classes use language as a space to critique and subvert dominant ideologies. Balram's linguistic progression from humble servant to self proclaimed 'entrepreneur' is not only a social progression but also a psychological one, from the shackles of his class.

### **The Power of Language as a Tool of Resistance**

Adiga uses language as a medium of resistance in one of the most striking ways in *The White Tiger*. While Balram starts to see the social injustices to which he is a party, his language becomes more and more the language of his resistance to the status quo. His linguistic transformation, which makes him sound fractionally more sarcastic and far more bold, echoes this psychological transformation, in that he no longer watches passively, but becomes an active critic of inequality. This is consistent with Fairclough's (2013) notion of "critical discourse analysis," which focuses on the idea that language is something other than or, at the least, more than simply a form of communication, but also an instrument for contesting and recirclement of social reality.

By the end of the novel, Balram's [use of] language to characterize those that sought to impose a life of servitude upon him highlights his direct resistance to those forces. Balram's correspondence with the Chinese Premier is no longer deferential, but confident, and he openly discusses issues of corruption and oppression (Adiga, 2008, p. 102). Having previously been limited by class expectations his language becomes a means of expressing his aspirations and criticisms, as an image of his freedom from social use. The language of this transformation invites inquiry about the possibility of language as a realm from which to challenge and subvert dominant ideologies, and the role of linguistic agency as a path of social mobility and self determination.

Finally, *The White Tiger* by Adiga entwines language and class dynamics to elucidate language aspect and of the society at large, and how the two interact. Adiga uses Balram's narrative to show how language reflects, reinforces, and ultimately challenges the social hierarchies that determine people's lives. The novel explores language as a marker of class and as a way of resistance, providing a deep critique of the class divisions which still govern individuals' identities, and relations, in contemporary India. Analysis of *The White Tiger* in light of pragmatic theories not only helps us understand the motivations of the characters, but also enables us view the wider socio-political contexts within which the text resides.

### **SPEECH ACTS AND POWER RELATIONS**

Language in Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (2008) operates as a means to discuss power relationships and social hierarchies by using speech acts that confront and expose the true agenda, disposition, and the social dynamic between characters. The originally Austinian (1975), then Searlean (1969) speech act theory identifies speech as different acts: assertions, directives, and expressions, each of which acts as a functional marker of intention and social position. The various speech acts reflected in Balram's dialogues in *The White Tiger* are demonstrated through his language choice: his identity, and desire to redefine himself, comes out through the choices he makes with his language. Adiga's employment of speech acts evidences the oblique means by which language resembles and also takes after social disparity, making it a key part of the book's investigation of control and opposition.

### **Analysis of Speech Acts in the Dialogues of Major Characters**

Balram's connections with other characters are informed by his social standing as the servant, a standing in which he is called upon (demanded) to use specific speech acts to express respect, obedience and restraint. The characters who use them extractively in these interactions are whoever is from the upper class, like Mr. Ashok, and they use assertive and declarative speech acts that carry with them notions of authority, control, and ability. And the other characters that appear in these interactions, John Elliot and Rana from Pathman's End, they involve themselves as the people who need to accept

these directives and expressions, because they essentially acknowledge this other person's subjugation position. Following Searle's (1969) taxonomy, directives are those speech acts performed with the goal of getting the listener to do something (requests or commands), while assertive speech acts present facts or claims and the speaker's belief.

Throughout his interaction with Mr. Ashok and his family in the beginning, Balram frequently uses deferential directives; for example polite requests and indirect statement; in an attempt to follow social etiquette and remain in his appropriate role. For example, he frequently couches requests in a tentative, 'lowering' register (in which the speaker attempts to diminish his/her own agency and reinforce the addressee's greater social position, see Adiga, 2008, p. 56). Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that these linguistic choices represent strategies of 'negative politeness,' because in speaking so sparingly, the speakers avoid imposing on the autonomous higher status individuals. Examined in the case of Balram, this strategy only highlights how little autonomy he leads in his interactions, and as an allegory for his treatment at the hands of a classist society.

On the other hand, Mr. Ashok's assertive speech acts are positive politeness and directness, which are the cultural capital of his status. Mr. While Ashok's language is assertive, he's not like Balram in having the hedging and politeness markers that Balram had. For example, Ashok's simple directives, for example "Get the car ready" and "take care of this" (2008, p. 112), convey authority and have control without the usage of mitigative language. Fairclough's (2013) critical discourse analysis demonstrates exactly what this linguistic assertiveness means with language as a means of dominance assertion, Mr. Ashok's speech acts clearly reinforce and support his supremacy over Balram.

### **Balram's Evolving Self-Perception through Speech Acts**

Balram's awareness of the injustices he faces grows, as his language evolves, his first step out of the complacent servant and into the capable, self empowered individual. At first, Balram's speech acts are contained by his urge to please and abide by his employers, which are likewise an indication of his approval of a lower status. Through his experience he starts using assertive speech acts more often, just like the development of his sense of autonomy and resistance to oppression. The transition corresponds with that of expressive speech acts in Searle's (1979) sense that are disclosed when the speaker reports on his or her own psychological state, and the psychological state of Balram becomes more and more dissatisfied with the country's social constraints on his own life.

Balram's speech acts reach one significant turning point when he starts to use language as a way to assert himself, using more declarative and critical tones. One can see this in his conversations with Mr. Ashok, as he slowly (or continues to slowly) becomes more candid in his observations of these inequities within society, pointing them out indirectly and (albeit) rather subtly criticizing the status quo. He comments, for example, 'The rich think they have it all, but they don't know how much they owe to people like me' (Adiga, 2008, p. 186). This assertion, essentially, negates the very premise of Mr. Ashok's worldview and undermines his self imposed superiority, it reframes Balram from a servant to it's inhabitant. His speech acts serve here as markers of an emerging sense of identity that is not fashioned in any way dependent upon servitude, but which is structured by an awareness of his worth and of his exploited condition.

Additionally, Balram's internal monologues are mirrors of his progression in their own self perception, changing from downtrodden language to more assertive as he sees himself as a person who deserves and freedom and respect. His last letters to the Chinese Premier are assertive, confident, and direct, and sum up his transformation. In these letters, Balram uses expressive speech acts to tell his own story and to justify his decisions, presenting himself as a self made man who has risen above his past (Adiga, 2008, p. 299). The linguistic change reflects similarly his starting out passive accepting of his social status and then shift to resistance to be against an act of oppression; language plays both part of mirror and actuator of cultural change.

### **Examination of Power Dynamics Between Balram and Other Characters**

But the power dynamics between Balram and the other characters can be teased out of the way they speak to one another, through the language of speech acts, which serve as shibboleths of authority vs. subservience. Balram's choice of submissive language in his conversations with Mr. Ashok and his family shows that he is taking into account the expectations for him as a servant. The deferential tone, self effacing language, and a host of other speech acts he uses function as a means of compliance, to allow himself to exist within the power hierarchy of the institution and to stay away from conflicts that could threaten his livelihood.

However, as Balram becomes more self aware and his speech acts become more resistant and resistant he indicates a shift in the power dynamics. This is seen in the way Balram is changing his treatment of Mr. Ashok, and more and more directly opposing his status as an authority in sarcasm and criticisms. This chimes with Foucault's (1980) theory of "micro-resistances" of discourse in which language provides a stealth weapon in the fight against power. By speaking in ways that express his disquiet and critique the social order, Balram destabilizes the power relations that once kept him tilted, the voice he now issues becomes disobedient to those traditional servile-master arrangements.

Indeed, there is one striking example of this power shift: when Balram refuses to carry out Mr. Ashok's orders—in contrast to how he has always responded to him in the past. For one instance, where Ashok asks Balram to work overtime without pay, Balram responds politely yet firmly denying Ashok that is a sign that Balram's going to refuse any further exploitation

in that manner (Adiga, 2008, p. 245). Refusing this act is an assertive speech act, a way of his reclaiming his agency, of tearing down the power imbalance that defined the way they used to relate. In this Balram's language choices become illustrative of his formative self perception as he takes a turnabout in the power dynamics previously assumed to be absolute.

### **Speech Acts as Tools for Resistance and Empowerment**

Adiga uses speech acts in *The White Tiger* not only as means for basic communication, but also as means for deconstructing existing social hierarchies. Finally, Balram's language, initially framed by the limits of serving, grows into a resistance in the encounter that is manifested not just in Balram's developing more assertive tone but he begins to use speech acts to make himself his own person. As Balram transitions through this transformation, in this way, language is proven to be empowering medium to the point where a man may rid himself of his poverty imposed class, and society. As well, this narrative arc follows the insights of critical discursive theorists, who assert that language serves simultaneously to reinforce and re contest social inequalities (Fairclough, 2013). Through the analysis of Balram's speech acts in relation to his changing self perception, Adiga shows how language, power and resistance are intertwined. Trace of Balram's journey from compliance to defiance reveals how linguistic agency can be used as a ladder to self determination, to counter the structure of oppression which kept him bounded.

### **LANGUAGE, CONTEXT, AND CULTURAL IMPLICATURE**

In Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (2008), language is an adaptable tool through which to examine how class, identity and power are complicatedly mapped upon one another. Adiga uses culturally specific references and idioms that directly tell, but also implicate, understanding meanings often several levels hidden below the direct language through the lens of pragmatics, specifically implicature. Next we have Grice (1975)'s implicature, which consists in saying something that doesn't appear within context, but rather where meaning is inferred from what isn't said. Like other literary devices, this one enables Adiga to inscribe hidden meanings and unique cultural nuances, under the guise of dialogues, a book which proofed to be rich for the study of the marriage, and relevancy, of language and context, vis a vis the structure of a society. Adiga crafts dialogues and other contextual cues that use the technique known as implicature in order to uncover the distances in power and knowledge that characterize the lives of characters particularly Balram as he moves along a highly unequal society.

### **Role of Implicature in Conveying Hidden Meanings and Cultural Nuances**

Adiga uses Grice's (1975) concept of implicature as a tool to help the reader think in the way that they are to think. A lot of Adiga's characters communicate their intentions, criticisms, resistance, and so on through implicature. Similar to the sociopolitical constraints of a still rigid class structure in India that reigns supreme, this indirect language is due to direct expressions of dissent or defiance resulting in retaliation. While Adiga embeds meaning in unspoken words, he gives Balram's protagonist the opportunity for supernatural critique of the societal norms, while keeping a facade of obedience on Balram, that is, enabling Balram to subtly oppose the expectations that the upper classes have laid upon him. For example, in an early scene, Balram tells of his experiences working for Mr. Ashok and his family, and uses sarcastic comments that his employers do not recognize as criticisms (Adiga, 2008, p. 72). Balram expresses his frustrations with his servant life and his employer's hypocrisy through indirect speech and subtle insinuation. Leech (2016) says that these attitudes which a speaker cannot or would not make explicit, especially in a hierarchical power structure, often are conveyed through implicature. By using implicature, Adiga thus stresses Balram's refusal to play his wretched role and disturb the status quo, but also shows that in each one of these wretched positions, language can become a method of silent revolt.

Beyond this, implicature in *The White Tiger* points out cultural subtleties and social differences, occasionally backhandedly through Balram's perceptions of social customs and demands. Balram's reference to his former village life is in idiomatic language, and colloquial expressions, common to the rural, and caste-cultural norms. Linguistic choices function as 'social deixis', indicating where he comes from in addition to denoting the lower echelons of the Indian social hierarchy (Levinson, 1983). By the strategic use of implicature and social deixis, Adiga not only explains the cultural dimensions of Balram but also the social boundaries through which he has to cross in order to attain freedom.

### **Culturally Specific References and Idioms and Their Effect on Reader Understanding**

*The White Tiger* relies heavily on cultural references and idioms in that Adig author's use of culturally specific language helps enrich the narrative as well as inform more deeply about his characters lived experiences. Adiga uses idioms and cultural allusions that are familiar to Indian readers but perhaps not familiar to international readers and thus an immersive narrative which draws attention to the specificity of the novel's cultural and social context. By choosing these words the reader is encouraged to enter into Indian society's intricacies and to value the cultural niceties that form Balram's world view.

for instance, Balram often employs the term 'Rooster Coop' to symbolise the limiting social arrangement in India, where human beings are jailed in predefined positions as regards to caste and economic situation (Adiga, 2008, p. 153). The Indian context is one in which societal expectations can get in the way of upward mobility, and this metaphor really resonates. Implicit within the "Rooster Coop" symbol is a critique of the caste system and class hierarchies, rooting each individual either in the 'Rooster Coop', never able to move upward. Readers from different backgrounds may easily catch the broad metaphor of entrapment, but Indian readers may pick on cultural references to caste system and its far reaching effects on individuals' dreams.

Just as Adiga employs colloquial Hindi expressions in Balram's dialogues – paan (betel leaf) and sahib (master)- similar to the dialect in *The Namesake* to authenticate the narrative, and depict Balram's 'locale'. The use of these idiomatic expressions is a "linguistic marker", present throughout the narration of Balram's story, giving all readers a sense of the sociolects that differentiate his character from those who hold higher status (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). It is Adiga's preservation of these idiomatic expressions which serve not only to further imbue his characters with cultural specificity, but also to further illuminate the reader to their social positions and interactions. In addition, these linguistic markers are signs reminding that there is cultural diversity within India showing the language is an identifier of a regional address and a social class.

### **Analysis of How Adiga Uses Context to Convey Disparities in Knowledge and Social Position**

For Adiga, context is central to his portrayal of those differences in Balram's access to knowledge and the social standing of those involved. Adiga reveals power imbalances that determine Balram's relationships systemically—Mr. Ashok and his family—via utilizing settings skillfully designed and implicit contextual cues. Balram's village in Laxmangarh and urban Delhi are contextual symbols of the differences in knowledge and access to opportunity between urban and rural India. High volumes of incidence in such communities also reflect this spatial context, which implies a hierarchical nature of Indian society whereby, often the geographic location is synonymous to access to education, wealth and social capital. Contrary to his portrayal of Delhi as a 'bustling metropolis' characterized by 'glittering shopping malls' and 'towering skyscrapers.', Adiga describes Laxmangarh as a 'village where people live in crumbling 'mud huts' with little access to any of its bare basic resources' (Adiga, 2008, p. 89). This pairs off the rural poor and the urban elite vis-à-vis a lack of knowledge, and a lack of opportunity to know more, reinforcing the notion that geography serves as a barrier to social mobility. In these urban settings Balram is always forced to remember that he is inferior, he is not one of them and that he can't enjoy the same sort of lifestyle that his employers can. Ghosh provides insight not only into what the novel is critiquing about economic inequality but also into the knowledge gap between Balram and the urban elite who see him as ignorant and someone who simply can't move up.

When Adiga uses context, he uses it to highlight Balram's rise over time to 'street smarts' and practical knowledge, which allows him to subvert the power relations that set in when he interacts. During his time in Delhi, Balram picks up the subtler aspects of how the city's social landscape works, gaining a very keen understanding of the unwritten rules which govern his relationships with the employers whom he serves. By careful observation and experience, he comes to know it, which is power for him, and he is thus able to resist the Mr. Ashok authority and exercise his agency. Also, Fairclough (2013) maintains that knowledge and language are what people rely upon to 'cheffe' social stratification. Through the character Balram in *The White Tiger*, the contextual knowledge of Delhi's social dynamics offers him the ability to, at least for a short period, resist his subservient role and animate the suggestion that even those who are related to the margins of society may use knowledge as a way of self liberation.

Adiga develops a narrative that, using his complex implicative, culturally specific references and contextual settings shows us the complexities of Indian society, but also positions language as a tool used to resist and empower. Both markers of cultural identity and symbols of shifting self perception, the linguistic choices in *The White Tiger* all serve as representations of language in its relation to societal structures, demonstrating how language can strike at, or back, the forces of society. In addition, the context applies the disparity of knowledge and power in Balram's journey, which word advocator for the readers to have a more complicated understanding of cultural and social dynamics regarding Balram worldview.

Finally, Adiga's novel shows that human stratification, as explored by language and context, are effective ways to convey secret meanings, reflect on how society figures itself and how the characters in it maintain their individuality. By digging into the ways that Balram uses language to make his way through his social environment, readers learn how language is a force for submission and defiance—one of *The White Tiger*'s key thematic bookmarks.

### **CODE-SWITCHING AND IDENTITY FORMATION**

The code switching—which is moving the dialect, or language, or the words from one form to another form within a conversation—of Balram Halwai, the protagonist of Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* is very important to creating the identity as well as to establishing the aspirations of the character. Not only does code switching exemplify contemporary sociolinguistic India, it is representative of the internal conflicts Balram is experiencing in this novel regarding the struggle of being a conscious mortal in a society of the impervious upper classes, but also within himself as he tries to overcome

fate and maximize his potential. Adiga uses English, regional dialects and sociolects to show how language is a marker of identity, aspiration and social mobility.

### **Instances of Code-Switching Between English and Regional Dialects or Sociolects**

In *The White Tiger*, Balram code switches between English and Hindi, and the dialects of his rural background. This cultural heritage bilingualism not only attests to his cultural heritage, but also to the language use social stratification. For example, Balram speaks English with his employers, which he uses to indicate his eagerness to join into the upper class world of the urban elite. Unlike the above, when he talks to his family or his fellow villagers he speaks in the local dialect to reflect where he comes from and his connection to his history.

In one particular scene, Balram uses English phrases while addressing Mr. Ashok, showcasing his attempt to gain acceptance and credibility in the eyes of his employer: 'I will do anything for you, sir' (Adiga, 2008, p. 98). This use of English is deliberate, showing he knew from which power dynamics he was working that he would like to elevate his social status. However, when he communicates with his community of a village, he starts speaking Hindi and thus reiterates his cultural identity and association with his roots.

The frequent shifts between languages highlight Balram's dual identity: Man of the ambitious servant, wishing for upward mobility; the villager, stuck in the bounds of his socio economic background. Myers-Scotton (1993) claims that code switching is a strategy that people use to move between different social contexts, and to communicate different aspects of their identities. As in Balram's case, certain language choices present his inner battle of attempting to bridge the gap between his former and his present existence.

### **Analysis of Code-Switching as a Reflection of Identity and Aspiration in Balram's Character**

Code switching in the story illustrates Balram's increasing self consciousness together with his desire for a better life. The English of Balram is a strategic use, one not just concerning him desiring to move upward in society but also a way of exerting his dominating forces in a society that tries to make him marginal. In other words, from submissiveness to self assertion, which means that Balram's code switching becomes more deliberate once he becomes aware of the power dynamics, giving his readers a hint of possibility, of course, only in a fictitious, dark universe.

This transformation is exemplified by Balram's relations with Mr. Ashok. His language in earlier chapters is deferential, using formal English to speak to his employer. But, as he grows bolder and starts to oppose the current system, his use of English becomes more pronounced as a dynamic of self assertion and his desire and new found self. The fact that Balram's utterances change forms a linguistic shift that reveals connections between language and identity, since Balram's speech lingo evolves with him in his strategy to discover himself and upset his position.

In addition to that, Balram's code switching also depicts larger class and aspiration themes in the novel. English, used synonymously with glamor and privilege, makes Balram sit on the edge of two worlds — rural and urban. When he masters English, he not only becomes a member of a language used by the elite, but he also uses English to distance himself from his origins, complexities of identity which are given in a stratified society. Throughout his journey, Balram faces this tension between aspiration and authenticity constantly: throughout his journey he struggles with the question of who he actually is, and who he wants to become.

### **Influence of Bilingualism and Linguistic Choices on Balram's Narrative Style**

Balram's bilingualism is a major factor in his narrative style, which is the voice through which he tells his story. What is fluid about his language resonates with the fluidity of his identity and with the complex experiences which make up his point of view. Balram's speakership is further authenticated by the decision to let it include code switching and regional dialects, which engage the reader further in the complexities of Indian society.

The narrative of Balram is conversational, sometimes humorous and sarcastic. One of the things that help humanize his character is to create this style making his struggles and aspirations relatable to readers. He brings in some Hindi phrases and idioms, which help him to tell stories given the nuances will otherwise get lost in translation. His visiting "the Great Indian Rooster Coop" is a magnificent metaphor for the existence of systemic oppression among those in the lower classes (Adiga, 2008, p. 153). But the combination of these languages and references endows Balram's voice with a vividness that appeals both to readers familiar with his milieu and to the largely international audience.

In addition, Balram's use of language emphasises empowerment through language. Through his assertion of his narrative, articulation of his experiences through the lens of who he is and reclaiming his agency, Balram proves he is an agent in a society that wants to silence voices like his. This act of storytelling becomes a resistance, a way for him to see where he stands against the status quo and be able to touch on what his idea of life is like. While weaving in and out of language and identity, Balram's story is an indomitable testament to the ways that stories can change our lives place in the face of systems of inequality.

Finally, *The White Tiger* employs code switching in order to explore the formation of Balram's sense of identity and aspirational politics. Adiga shows us through examples of bilingualism and the strategic use of both English and regional dialects the intricacies of India's social stratification and the inner conflict individuals experience as they try to leave the

lower ranks. Balram's choice of words shuffle along with his nascent sense of self, and the way in which he orients himself to a world ruled by class, aspiration and wanting. Finally, Adiga's sublimation of code switching underscores how language is a means of identity negotiation, as well as identity resistance and identity empowerment, within a clearly stratified social context.

### **POLITENESS AND FACE-THREATENING ACTS**

In Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (2008), politeness and face-threatening acts mutually constitute the social dynamics between characters by which class and power relations are imposed in contemporary India. The politeness strategies characters often rely on to traverse social hierarchies, as a means of establishing or navigating relationships and defining identity are critical to understanding spoken interaction. Instead, face threatening acts—acts of communication that threaten the social standing or self esteem of individuals—are key transformed moments that exist to test the power structures in place. Adiga explores the tenuous derangement between humility and assertiveness utilizing Balram Halwai, and language that upholds and holds the social norm at the same time.

### **Examination of Politeness Strategies Employed by Characters**

Contrary to the Denotative Politeness that I have described here, politeness Strategies are such necessary tools in Communication where in hierarchical societies respect and deference are Important. Throughout *The White Tiger*, characters resort to different politeness strategies more or less to preserve social harmony or defend their rank. Indirect requests, euphemisms and honorific language are among the strategies adopted by both individuals and institutions to neutralize potential conflict, and to maintain the face and the “face needs” of both the speaker and the listener (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

For instance, Balram handles his employers with great deference: Mr. Ashok, Pinky madam, the list goes on. According to his formalities and honorifics, he seems aware of social gap between them. He continually says ‘sir’ and ‘madam’ and uses indirect requests to not get too face to face. In another instance he says, “If it's not too much trouble, sir, could I please have a day off?” (Adiga, 2008, p. 92). Balram's avoidance of telling things directly represents respectively how carefully he follows politeness norms and how he tries to keep the goodwill of his employers and how carefully he ought to tread the fine lines in servant master relationship.

In addition, Balram's use of euphemisms is a strategy to mitigate the face threat of potentially face threatening topics. When he is describing his conditions, his complaints are done so that it is not direct criticism of his employers. He says, for example, “The work is demanding, but I am happy to serve” (Adiga, 2008, p. 105). However, Balram tries to protect his employers' face while also showing his displeasure in the way of his struggles by refashioning them to a matter of his personal choice and service.

The elaborate social dynamics are also revealed through the politeness strategies employed by other characters. Balram, for instance, observes how Mr. Ashok, who invites him to stay at the Ashok, tries to break the class distinction by being informal in his language when communicating with Balram. This is complicated, however, by the durable power imbalance in their relation, which Balram is continually reminded he occupies. What this dynamic shows is that politeness is a form of navigation of power and class disparities, in this case deeply entrenched.

### **Analysis of Face-Threatening Acts and Their Impact on Social Dynamics**

Face threatening acts (FTAs) are acts which threaten the social identities of the individuals involved in a conversation, and can lead to conflict or discomfort. *The White Tiger* shows the role FTAs play as key moments at which tensions underneath relationships are brought to the surface—between Balram and his employers in this case. They take on the old ways and make characters to struggle with their situation in the social hierarchy. An FTA most poignant is the moment when Balram accuses Mr. Ashok of not paying very much wages and working him in deplorable conditions. “A moment of frustration, of anger, he says, working harder than anyone else, but you treat me like a dog” (Adiga, 2008, p. 122). This is a stark departure from Balram's usual politeness strategies, in the sense that he makes a point of confronting the power dynamics at work face on. Through a face threatening act, Balram threatens his self alienation from his employer, but his dignity and humanity as well.

This is a major showdown when it comes to Balram's character building because it represents that he finally begins to understand what he's worth and what kind of injustice he faces. Adiga uses this moment to show the ways in which language can break down oppressive systems. Empirically, although the FTAs may break social harmony, they can also accelerate developments that turn a character's role and relationship into something else. In addition, in using FTA characters like Pinky Madam, the social dynamics of the narrative are illustrated in a more complex manner. With Balram, she vacillates between bouts of kindness and the slightest shred of patronizing condescension, in almost every interaction, through matters of speech belittling Balram's station in life. For instance, she says, “You should be thankful for the chance we provide you” (Adiga, 2008, p. 110). This is the politest way of making the threat of Balram's social standing but implies how weak and powerless is Balram against the white man. These face threatening acts are beyond individual interaction, but represent the baselines of our society that maintain the class divisions. Balram's willingness to see FTAs reflects an

alteration in imbalance into the narrative, where he has dared to go against the constrictions created for him by his socio-economic status. Language is not to be just a mean for communication, but it can be also a forceful instrument for social critique and resistance — according to Adiga. The language of Balram in *The White Tiger* changes drastically as he moves through the difficult terrain of being humble and assertive. Balram's speech at the outset is very much steeped in the acceptable ways of politeness and deference expected of a servant. But, with each confidence gained and with each external injustice that he starts seeing, his language becomes more complicated. Balram's language early in the novel is attributed to a humility as he is submissive within the hierarchy of the social order. By adopting a deferential tone and relying on politeness strategies, he reinforces the power dynamics between him and his employers. But once Balram's experiences in the west bring him into contact with the realities of class struggle and oppression then this dynamic begins to shift. However, this usurps a more assertive tone in his language as he makes his way, although it begins with betrayal and exploitation.

The crucial turning point comes when Balram has decided to pull his own strings; to rebel in the most final of radical ways. His speech becomes more emphasized, more direct, revealing abandonment of the politeness strategies he used to employ in social transactions. He says to Mr. Ashok in his confrontation, "I will not be your servant any more." "I am more than that," (Adiga, 2008, p. 165). Asserting this is Balram's passage from the figure who subscribes and the one who resists the status quo. He says his identity loudly, abandoning layers of politeness to be heard as a rightful person. Balram's evolving speech patterns demonstrate language and power dynamics complexity, illustratively shown by Adiga. An indicator of Balram's shift from humility to assertiveness, however, also demonstrates the way language can transform one, from self to others, from one agent to another. Balram learns to assert himself, though only so much that he balances humility and self advocacy, takes his narrative back, and secures his space in a world which wants to marginalize him.

Finally, in *The White Tiger* the politicalities of politeness strategies and face-threatening acts are explored to see how these social dynamics delineate certain interactions between the characters. Adiga's way of showing how Balram Halwai's language changes symbolizes the likelihoods of fathoming power relations in a stratified society, with regard to the tension between humble and assertive. Politely negotiating the use of FTAs through careful utilization of politeness devices, characters engage in subtle maneuvers that are predicated to a large degree upon their positioning within the social hierarchy. The linguistic shifts distinguishing the shift from Balram as a deferential servant to an assertive individual stands as a great challenge to well established communication norms. Through his exploration of language as a tool of both linguistic and social critique and resistance, Durjava points to the transformative power of storytelling against the inexorable oppression that exists to hold us back from freedom and full self-actualization. Enabling identity, power and even thwarting the status quo, *The White Tiger* naturally acts as a reminder of the power of language.

### **IRONY, SARCASM, AND SOCIAL CRITIQUE**

While not the primary means of social critique in Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* (2008), the use of irony and sarcasm channel the authors ability for social critique and give the reader a glimpse into the stark realities of class division and extreme economic disparity in contemporary India. Adiga uses these pragmatic tools to tell a story through the voice of Balram Halwai which exposes the absurdities of a system that perpetuates inequality. In this section, I analyze how irony and sarcasm work in the narrative, and offer a pragmatic analysis of Adiga's critique of social and economic issues as well as cases in which Balram's language is a vehicle for social commentary.

#### **Use of Irony and Sarcasm in the Narrative as Pragmatic Tools**

As a rhetorical device irony is characterized by the gap between saying and meaning, and frequently calling attention to contradictions implied by a situation. Typically, which is the case when we're talking about sarcasm, a form of verbal irony, sarcasm is added a layer of emotional weight to the critique by conveying contempt or something to the effect of mocking. *The White Tiger* employs a great skillfulness of irony and sarcasm to signal the absurdity of the social order, often through Balram's experiences and observation. Balram's narrative is from the outset rife with irony, especially in his description of the "Rooster Coop," a metaphor he uses to describe the societal constraints that keep people in their socio economic circumstances. "The Rooster Coop is a good place to be a rooster if you're not the one who gets killed," he says (Adiga, 2008, p. 153). This is true irony with respect to the bred of breed of the born poor, the false security that goes with being a servant. Balram's humor, however, is a cover for a more profound critique of a system that depends upon the exploitation of the lower classes.

Sarcasm is commonplace in how Balram engenders his employers, as seen in Adiga's description of how he uses a biting wit to get a leg up amongst his power plays as servant. For example, when he talks about his employers' luxurious life, he says, "They had everything that was wrong with this country—the fat men in their suits, the thin men in their dhotis, and the skinny men on the street." It was all just the Great Indian Tragedy" (Adiga, 2008, p. 90). As a sarcastic observation, this also increases the perspective; Balram, in addition to acknowledging the injustices he lives on top of, criticizes the rich the elite for being indifferent to the poor. Furthermore, Balram's reflections on education are marked with irony insofar as education and the promise of upward mobility it promises are concerned. Despite his intelligence and ambition, he recognizes the limitations imposed by his social class, articulating this contradiction with sharp irony: I was a boy with

an education, but not the kind that can get you very far. This was the kind of education that taught you how much you are worth in this country” (Adiga, 2008, p. 67). In this statement, Balram pokes fun at the education system which is perpetuated a separation of class, showing how it is possible to learn, but not translate that learning in to social mobility.

### **Pragmatic Analysis of How Adiga Critiques Social and Economic Issues Through Language**

Adiga uses pragmatic analysis to explore complexities of social and economic issues in India. Through the use of irony and sarcasm the author exposes the inconsistencies within social fabric forcing readers to think about injustices which develop themselves through everyday life. This critique runs deeper than surface view of the way Balram tells his story; it is deeply embedded in the language and style of Balram’s telling. Adiga’s critique of these relationships between different social classes is one important aspect. Using Balram’s eyes as a window, readers observe the real differences between a life of luxury and one struggling. Balram points out the irony in these interactions: The people he works for frequently declare their wish to help the less fortunate, all the while pocketing the service of his labor. “They want to be seen as good people, and they’ll pay you a little bit more than the other bad people, but they’ll still pay you less than you’re worth,” he notes (Adiga, 2008, p. 122). It reveals an uneasy kind of compromised relationship between charity and exploitation, this pragmatic insight into the rich’s hypocrisy.

Additionally, Adiga reveals how the economic system itself is obnoxiously unequal. The author uses Balram’s journey to show the obstacles to upward mobility for those in the lower classes. Ultimately Balram decides to seize his own fate on questionable moral terms and it is this recognition of systemic failure that denies hard work and honesty from determining success. “Two things I knew,” he says, “I wanted to be a man of action, not a man of words, and I would have to be ruthless to get there” (Adiga, 2008, p. 166). The irony of this pragmatic realization is that it is a system that rewards corruption over merit, and yet we are trying to succeed in it.

### **Balram’s Language as a Tool for Social Commentary**

Irony and sarcasm season Balram’s language, and acts as his weapon for social commentary throughout the story. Not only does his sharp observations paint a picture of his own character, but they also paint the picture of the larger societal world he inhabits and criticises it. Balram’s reflections on what he calls the ‘Indian Dream’ notes a particularly striking example. “In India, we are all looking for our dreams but they come at a price,” he says. Our souls are the price” (Adiga, 2008, p. 78). This statement is a hallmark of the irony that drive people to success in a corrupt and morally decaying society. When Balram interacts with the well to do people, he usually uses sarcasm to point out the absurdity of their lives. For example, when he says Mr. Ashok tries to connect with him by talking about the poor, Balram retorts, “It’s easy to talk about poverty when you’ve never lived it” (Adiga, 2008, p. 110). In making this sarcastic remark, the refusal to consult the poor person’s opinion speaks to the difference in experience between the rich and the poor, as does the inability to actually help (aided by sympathy) without action as well.

Furthermore, Balram’s personal identity and self ambitions are all colored with irony. Unable to accept the full complexity of his social position, he is, in the end, moved to articulate a sense of disillusionment with the American Dream, something he draws ‘parallel’ to corruption and exploitation. He says, ‘In America they say you can be anything you want, but in India you can only be what you were born to be’ (Adiga, 2008, p. 142). This is not only a critique of the American Dream, but proves as being a critique of the Indian caste system as one has nearly a lifetime to absorb and learn their place in society, and at the end of the day, social mobility is just an illusion.

Finally, irony and sarcasm are two of the most effective means of Aravind Adiga’s *The White Tiger* to bear a sharp criticism to such social and economic problems within present India. Adiga uses these pragmatic devices through the eyes of Balram Halwai to reveal the contradictions of a society characterized by deep rooted inequality and exploitation. Social commentary is being delivered using Balram’s sharp observations and biting wit, all of it aimed at making readers examine the realities of class struggle and the complexities of identity in a stratified world. Adiga’s being able to narrate through ironies and sarcasms exposes the absurdity of the status quo. Adiga weaves into Balram’s journey the elements of his occupation and his venue, and through that not only critiques Indian society for its injustices, but also provokes readers to consider their part in the machinery of inequality. In the end, *The White Tiger* also served as a testimony in how storytelling can change things in the face of system oppression and the enduring human spirit’s fight for freedom and agency.

### **CONCLUSION**

*The White Tiger* by Aravind Adiga is a social critique propounded in rich tapestry interwoven through pragmatics. Through an analysis of Balram Halwai’s narrative, this article has shown how language works within the socio-economic fabric of modern India. Readers are given valuable insights into the dynamic of class and the power structures underneath by the pragmatic concepts, like speech act, implicature, politeness strategies and face threatening acts. Looking at the speech acts throws light on how Balram evolves in terms of how he sees himself and his assertiveness against system oppression. His language not only communicates through his personal experience from subservience to empowerment and ultimately critiques the controls of societal norms that breed inequality. Implicature and cultural wordsim also plays a role in

enhancing the narrative layer as Adiga skilfully uses the words to communicate varied meaning and a brand of commentary regarding social hierarchy. In addition, Balram's instances of code switching between English and regional dialects display the movability of identity, and the way that linguistic choices indicate the possibility to negotiate the social landscape. Politeness strategies are analyzed as reflecting the complex social dynamics at work, and irony and sarcasm further emphasize Adiga's trenchant social and economic critique. In overall, this study emphasizes the importance of pragmatics in the literary analysis and its application to the analysis of how language serves as a communication tool for social comment. This article is important because it integrates pragmatic perspectives with the consideration of *The White Tiger* in an attempt to advance our understanding of the multilayered interaction of language, power and identity in contemporary literature. Adiga's work is not only engaging in including the personal narrative of Balram to engage the reader, but also puts the reader in the position of having to follow these more global social implications of class and language in India.

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