ISSN 2319-6165

BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

NUMBER TWENTY THREE
2022

Department of Linguistics
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

ISSN 2319-6165

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EDITED BY

Aditi Ghosh

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(All articles in this issue are peer-reviewed)

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Editor's Note

On behalf of the Board of Editors of the Bulletin of the Department of Linguistics, I am honoured to present issue 23 of the Bulletin. It is indeed a humbling experience to be able to edit the second consecutive issue of the Bulletin of the Department. This is not just because they embody a very long and rather formidable academic tradition, but also because through the trials and tribulations of time, the Department and its Bulletin have not only survived but have evolved and flourished. This issue is an illustration of that. This issue contains seven research articles and one research communication, all contributing significantly to different streams of both core and associated branches of Linguistics. Furthermore, the papers also contribute to the understanding of diverse languages and language scenarios. All the articles have been peer-reviewed and revised as necessary. I extend my thankfulness to all the authors for their interest in the Bulletin. I am greatly indebted to the reviewers who, despite their busy schedules, have kindly reviewed the articles. We have no doubt that the papers in this issue shall enrich the field of Linguistics and shall be a source of encouragement for young linguists. The e-copies of this and some previous issues of the Bulletin are available on the webpage of the Department, the link to which is given below.

After two long and challenging years, the Department has now transitioned to the phase which may be best expressed with the new and yet almost clichéd term – the 'new normal'. It is good to see students, colleagues and friends outside of the computer screens and in real life, albeit with masks. The crisis has made us adept at technology catered to serve academia, this will be a beneficial and useful part of our life now. It has also taught us to value real-life human interaction, which we can no longer take for granted. The Post Graduate batch of 2020-22 has finished their final semester, the only semester in their batch, in traditional classroom teaching mode. We wish them a bright and fulfilling future as we look forward to welcoming the next batch of students joining to study this fascinating and dynamic subject.

This issue would not have been possible without the constant and unwavering support of my colleagues, who are also members of the board of editors of the bulletin. A note of gratefulness to the wonderful research scholars of the department for their sincerity and hard work. They are truly the backbone of the department.

I want to express my gratitude to the chief Patron of the Bulletin, Professor Sonali Chakravarti Banerjee, the Honourable Vice-Chancellor of the University and Prof. Asis Kumar Chattopadhyay, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Academic Affairs) for their support.

Aditi Ghosh
Date: 8th July 2022
https://www.caluniv.ac.in/academic/Linguistics.html

ARTICLE

A Qualitative Study of Language Policy Management in Jammu & Kashmir

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Paper received: October 31, 2021
Paper revised: March 1, 2022
Paper accepted: May 4, 2022

Abstract :

National language policy, as implemented from the top, is viewed as official legislation intended to influence "people's linguistic lives" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 185). The Jammu and Kashmir Language Policy of 2020 is such an official language policy which has a significant impact on the region's linguistic diversity but confronts certain obstacles due to its adherence to certain constitutional provisions, policy directives and recent amendments. This paper examines the state's language policies in order to comprehend its impact on people's linguistic lives. It provides a brief history of Kashmir's languages, as well as an overview of several language policy implementations from 1889 to 2020, to better understand the status of Jammu and Kashmir's native languages. Furthermore, the study will look briefly at language/medium of education, language use patterns, language management and responses to present state-imposed language policy (2020), and other constitutional provisions and recent amendments (2019).

Keywords: *language policy; language use; language management; native language*

Introduction

For centuries, caravans carrying silk, spices, tea, brocades, shawls, and precious stones traversed the Hindu Kush mountains, valleys, and plateaus that make up the Silk Route. The Silk Route not only transported products, but also languages, faiths, cuisines, and cultural influences. The Jammu and Kashmir region, as a key transit site on the silk route, was undoubtedly a focal point of these exchanges, resulting in a melting pot of culture, cuisines, religions, and linguistic diversity. As empires rose and fell and national boundaries arose over time, it left behind an 'enclosure' known as Kashmir. This region of Jammu & Kashmir became a part of India with the Instrument of Accession in 1947 which owes much to the 1935 precedent – Government of India Act (Lamb, 1991).

The Government of India promulgated Article 370 in 1954, which granted the newly formed state of Jammu and Kashmir a special status, comprising a separate constitution, a state flag, and authority over internal affairs, including language policy decisions. Since pre-independence, there have been various iterations of language policy and planning decisions in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, with the 2020 language policy being the most recent top-down policy implementation in the state. However, as a result of several constitutional provisions and modifications, Jammu and Kashmir's language policy (2020) presents several challenges. Official policy implementations frequently determine the language(s) used in the public domain, influencing people's perceptions on language(s). Furthermore, the public domain is often dominated by politically powerful or metropolitan languages (or dialects within a same speech community), forcing people to question the legitimacy of their own languages. It often happens that a linguistic group often comes across highly explicit predicaments and generally accepts policies resulting from negotiations amongst particular pressure groups (Tollefson, 2015). While it might be advantageous to be literate in the languages that dominates a region's linguistic landscape, it becomes empowering only for people who can read or speak those languages but at the same time, it is an imposition on everyone else. Thus, it is imperative to analyse and investigate the language policy in a multilingual state like Jammu and Kashmir in order to comprehend the status of the native languages and understand the relationship between language ecology and ethnolinguistic vitality.

Research Aim

In order to evaluate the status of the native languages, language use and practises, it is necessary to examine language policy implementations. The goal of this study was to learn more about the impact on language use and practices in Jammu and Kashmir, particularly in light of recent policy changes.

Research Objectives

Description of the languages of Jammu and Kashmir which are widely spoken throughout the state (now Union Territories).

Investigate the language policies of Jammu and Kashmir.

Examine the key parameters such as constitutional provisions and recent amendments that influence language use and practices in the state.

Research Method

A qualitative research approach was employed to meet the study's aims, and it primarily relied on secondary data. Government documents, policies on Jammu and Kashmir's language policies were analysed alongside various sociolinguistic studies, books, journals, official documents and survey reports.

Description of the languages of Jammu and Kashmir

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is home to a variety of languages (or language families), including Kashmiri in the Kashmir valley, Shina (a Dardic language) in the north, Tibeto-Burman languages (such as Balti and Ladakhi) in the east, Pahari and Punjabi in the west, and Dogri and Pahari in the south. According to the census of 2011, there are approximately 6,680,837 Kashmiri speakers, 2,513,712 Dogri speakers, and 1,135,196 Gojri, 977,860 Pahari speakers and 219,193 Punjabi speakers and there are several other indigenous languages and dialects. Kashmiri, Pahari, Dogri, Shina, Gogri, Balti, Burushaski, and Ladakhi are the primary vernacular languages of Kashmir.

Kashmiri or 'Koshur' is one of the oldest documented languages of Kashmir (Koul, 2005). Historically the people of Kashmir spoke Prakrit with heavy influence from various other languages which later shaped into a vernacular form that is Kashmiri (Bhat, 2017, p. 58-61). Although, Kashmiri has the largest number of speakers it is mostly spoken in a relatively small geographical area that is the Kashmir valley (Bhat, 2017).

Dogri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mostly in the districts of Jammu, Reasi, Udhampur, Kathua, and Poonch. The Dogra people's language is frequently associated with the Paharis, who have rich literature. Strong positive attitudes have been observed towards Dogri across all demographic categories (Brightbill& Turner, 2007). Dogras who live at higher elevations are often referred to as 'Pahari people', however, the 'Pahari' language is a set of Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the lower Himalayas.

The Pahadis or Paharis of Jammu and Kashmir are a group of people distinguishable from various other socio-ethnic groups living in the state. Pahari, is one of the major local languages of Grierson's 'Western Kashmir', their language – Parmiu or Hindki is dissimilar from other native languages (Grierson, 1928). Despite the community's positive attitude towards Pahari, there is a need for research to standardise dialects for use in various domain, which can be accomplished through policy-driven efforts, "Language attitude and vitality were found to be high, and we believe that Pahari speakers will be enthusiastic about further language and literature development" (Lothers & Lothers, 2010, p. 126).

Another ancient language spoken in Kashmir is Gojri or Gujari, which is the mother tongue of more than one million people in Kashmir (Census of India, 2011). In Kashmir, Gojri is mostly associated with the Gujjars and Bakarwals. The language has over twenty million speakers in South Asia, despite its large number of speakers, it is frequently overlooked in the linguistic space in Kashmir (Kalis & Zaidi, 2017).

Language policy management in Jammu and Kashmir

The establishment of the modern polity of Jammu and Kashmir slowly began in 1885, when the British Indian government recognised Pratap Singh as the ruler of Kashmir after the death of Ranbir Singh on two conditions: his agreement to implement administrative changes in the state and his acceptance of a British Resident Officer, "This Council will have full powers, subject to the condition that they will take no important step without consulting the Resident, and that they will act upon the Resident's advice whenever it may be offered." (Lamb, 1991, p. 13). The British gained increasing control over administrative decisions in Jammu and Kashmir, the colonial government intended to bring uniformity and centralization to British India. The first step in this effort in Kashmir was to change the official language of the state from

Persian to Urdu in 1889 (Tajuddin & Sharma, 2012). During this time Urdu became "the language of administration" and "state schools followed Urdu as the medium of instruction" (Sengupta, 2018, p. 43). The principal tool for this transformation was the "centralization and bureaucratization" of education to a colonial pattern (Zutshi, 2003, p. 173). This attempt was made when Hindi and Urdu were bifurcated into separate languages with Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic borrowings respectively, throughout India (Rai, 2007). Urdu was adopted as the state's educational language in an effort to narrow the literacy gap between the upper and lower classes since Persian was primarily the language of the Upper Class. In 1912, the Inspector of Schools of Dogra state ordered the inclusion of Hindi along with Urdu for a more 'successful moral religious education' (Zutshi, 2003 p. 194–195). However, this state-driven policy ignored the fact that Dogri, a distinct language that arose as a result of Dogra rule, was the prevalent language of the majority of the population (Zutshi, 2003) along with Kashmiri, Punjabi and other indigenous languages.

In 1941 Leaders of the National Conference, along with Sheikh Abdullah, who would become the first elected Prime Minister of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (1948-1953), suggested a 'Naya Kashmir' (New Kashmir) with a mission towards modernising the former princely state to construct a secular Jammu and Kashmir polity (Bhat, 2017). The New Kashmir Manifesto was published in 1944 and was based on fifty articles about state management, law and order, and the state's political, socio-cultural, and economic development, including language reforms. It was the section under National languages that was concerned with the development and improvement of the state's literature and languages (New Kashmir, 1944, p. 21), the 'New Kashmir' manifesto' (1944) stated, "The national languages of the state shall be Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti (Pali), Dadri, Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu. Urdu shall be the lingua franca of the state. The state shall foster and encourage the growth and development of these languages, especially those which are more backward, by every possible means." The manifesto also laid down several measures towards grammar formation, and development of the languages, however, the manifesto's efforts towards the development of the native languages was not based on any survey but on conventional wisdom (Tajuddin & Sharma, 2012). Sh. Haroon Rashid the Deputy Secretary (Incharge), Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages (2014-2015) mentioned in an

interview in 2011 that while efforts were made to develop and revitalize certain languages or dialects, others in the same district were ignored, (Tajuddin & Sharma, 2012). However, Urdu remained the language of administration and the medium of instruction in schools/madrassas and it held a prominent political position (Bhat, 2017), as a result, the manifesto was heavily criticised as it did not "take into account the principle of proportionate representation according to population…" (Zutshi, 2003, p. 315). Another significant event in Indian history is the State Reorganisation Act of 1956. And as described previously, Urdu is not native to the state but "is actually a minority language" (Amritavalli & Jayaseelan, 2007, p. 65-66) in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and after independence, when the Linguistic Reorganisation of States took place in 1956, Jammu and Kashmir ironically became the only state in India with a non-native language as the state official language (Bhat, 2013). In 1957 the Jammu and Kashmir constitution was drafted and Article 145 titled 'Official Language of the State' states that: "The official language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir shall be Urdu but the English language shall, unless the legislature by law otherwise provides, continue to be used for the official purposes of the state for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir." (Ranbir Government Press, 2009, p. 68; Patra, 1968, p. 665). Attempts to utilize the state's native languages and include them into the linguistic space have not been very effective which is why survey reports recommend proper promotion of native languages (Kumar & Ansari, 2010). To address such challenges, the Jammu and Kashmir administration introduced a new language-education policy in 2006 which stated, "Sanction is accorded to the introduction of six mother languages namely Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Gojri, Pahari, and Bodhi in the areas where such languages are spoken as mother tongue from class first in all government or private recognized institutions of the state from the current academic session." (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2006, as cited in Tajuddin & Sharma, 2012, p. 333). This attempt was to demonstrate that the state is concerned with protecting and developing native languages; we use Kashmiri as an example because it has been included in the school curriculum since 2001, and inclusion in the state policy in 2006 meant further development; however, "...this turned out to be a half-hearted, non-serious effort towards the state language-education policy…" (Bhat, 2017, p. 86). The two major native languages – Kashmiri and

Dogri are listed under the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, which guarantees their inclusion in Union Public Service Commission (U.P.S.C) examination, freedom of usage for a petition in the court of law, and simultaneous translation of the language in the Parliament of India. However, such provisions have limited application since the native languages play a minor role in the media, governance, and education (Koul, 2005).

In the following years a survey was undertaken in three regions, Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, with the support of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. After more than 700 delegations the committee made recommendations and suggestions on several issues (administrative, economic, social, cultural and others) that are persistent in the region, including language-related matters such as status of native languages, standardisation, setting up of language institutions. Such recommendations include – (1) "In order to promote reintegration of the three regions of the State, take the following cultural steps: … provide translation services to the State's many languages, revitalize the State's folk traditions, encourage cross-LOC tourism and open radio and television programmes in the State's languages." (Kumar & Ansari, 2010, p. 6). (2) "Preservation and promotion of all languages spoken in the State." (Kumar & Ansari, 2010, p. 43). (3) "The cultural component of regional empowerment should include the setting up of autonomous institutions for the promotion of various languages in the State – Urdu, Hindi, Kashmiri, Balti, Dogri, Gojri, Pahari, Punjabi, Bodhi, Sheena, Bhaderwahi, etc. and various art forms including music, dance, theatre, paintings and handicrafts. To ensure cultural give-and-take, these autonomous institutions should also undertake the translations of literature from every language in the State to another in different scripts." (Kumar & Ansari, 2010, p. 56). (4) "Radio and television programmes in all major languages spoken in the State must be encouraged through the government media." (Kumar & Ansari, 2010, p. 62). (5) "Take steps to nurture all languages spoken in the State, especially through the state media." (Kumar & Ansari, 2010, p. 151). This committee's final survey report makes it clear that native languages require development and inclusion; a language policy that incorporates the committee's recommendations may aid in this endeavour.

The most recent language policy implementation for the state of Jammu and Kashmir came in 2020 – The Jammu and Kashmir Official

Languages Act, 2020 (The Gazette of India, 2020), in the backdrop of several constitutional amendments; the Jammu and Kashmir Official Languages Act, 2020 states: "With effect from such date as the Administrator may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint in this behalf, the Kashmiri, Dogri, Urdu, Hindi, and English languages shall be the official languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of the Union territory: Provided that the English language may continue to be used, for those administrative and legislative purposes, in the Union territory for which it was being used before the commencement of this Act: Provided further that the business in the Legislative Assembly of the Union territory shall be transacted in the official language or languages of the Union territory." (The Gazette of India, 2020, p. 2). The implementation of the Official Language Policy of 2020 may face certain obstacles following the abrogation of Article 370 (which granted Jammu and Kashmir a special status of autonomy over the state's internal affairs) and Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act, 2019. The abrogation of Article 370 (The Gazette of India, 2019) meant that the state no longer had a special status of autonomy over the state's internal affairs. Following that, the implementation of The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act, 2019 (The Gazette of India, 2019) resulted in the dissolution of the legislative assembly which meant that powers of the assembly are now vested in the Union Government as accorded by "article 239A of the constitution" (Part VIII, The Constitution of India, 2020, p. 91) through the office of the Lieutenant Governor (The Gazette of India, 2019). From the rigging of the Assembly elections in 1987 to the abrogation of Article 370 and dissolution of the legislative assembly (Jamwal, 2020), the state's autonomy and powers over policy decisions have been gradually eroded. Another limitation of the Official Language policy of Jammu and Kashmir (2020) is that it includes Hindi (with just 304,195 speakers) as one of the official languages of the state leaving out several other native languages, which have 1,135,196 Gojri, 977,860 Pahari, and 219,193 Punjabi speakers (Census of India, 2011). Article 345 of the Constitution mandates the use of regional languages by the Legislature of a State (Part XVII, The Constitution of India, 2020, p 146); however, the Constituent Assembly does not exist in Jammu and Kashmir, and the Legislative Assembly has been dissolved (Jamwal, 2020), making it difficult to enact Article 345 of the constitution.

The inclusion of Hindi in the state's official languages despite the fact that Hindi has only 304,195 speakers in Kashmir (Census of India, 2011), has caused concern among the People of Kashmir. Hindi is a significantly dominant language – "Article 343 — Official language of the Union. — (1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals." (Part XVII, Constitution of India, p. 145), "Article 351 — Directive for development of the Hindi language. — It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages." (Part XVII, Constitution of India, p. 148). Article 351 of the constitution provides a directive to the Union to promote the usage of Hindi across India. Historically, the Union government has always favoured the use of Hindi in the Devanagari script in all capacities and Hindi has had a siege effect on various languages as a result of favourable constitutional provisions and policy directives, "Over the course of its development, for understandable reasons, 'Hindi' has developed a siege mentality. It has defined itself against a range of contenders for so long – Urdu but not only Urdu in the earlier phase, English later – that a kind of prickly defensiveness has become one of its deepest characteristics." (Rai, 2007, p. 118). It is also worth noting that, in addition to the institutional provisions mandated by state policy, Hindi has a strong support structure in other socio-cultural nodes of dispersal, especially a dynamic and highly prolific cinema and television culture. Bollywood offers viewers a diverse and complex array of visuals, narratives, and 'ethnoscapes' all of which have an impact on the linguistic landscape of the general public.

Socio-political factors affecting Language Policy of Jammu and Kashmir

As many other governments of the world, including subsequent governments in post-independence India (Gandhi, 1965; Laitin, 1989; Eriksen, 1992; Amritavalli & Jayaseelan, 2007), the current Union

Government aims to promote national unity through linguistic homogenization via a common link language, as indicated in the statement, "India is a country of many different languages, and each language has its own significance, but it is necessary to have a common language that becomes the mark of India's identity globally. Today, if there is one language that has the ability to string the nation together in unity, it is the Hindi language which is the most widely spoken and understood language in India", Amit Shah (Express Web Desk, The Indian Express, 2019). In an article called 'Monolingual myopia and the petals of the Indian lotus: do many languages divide or unite a nation?', Debi Prasanna Pattanayak responds to a question on whether a multilingual country is always threatened by disintegration and states – "…Ecology shows that a variety of forms is a prerequisite for biological survival. Monocultures are vulnerable and easily destroyed. Plurality in human ecology functions in the same way. One language in one nation does not bring about equity or harmony for members or groups of that nation." (Pattanayak, 1988, p. 380).

Since Hindi is the official language of the Union government, and Urdu and English have historically been the official languages in Jammu and Kashmir, the status, power, integrative, normative, and utilitarian values of these languages are high. These aspects play an important role in the shift towards any language. The classic 'New York City study' by William Labov (1966) demonstrates how the integrative and influential attitude and prestige associated with a code, whether at the micro-level (such as pronunciation) or at the macro-level (such as power and economy), are linked to the process of individual and collective identification, with the goal of being associated with the notions of power and prestige (Labov, 1966). In a nation-state context, there is power asymmetry (Eriksen, 1992), and a top-down policy approach involves the institutionalisation of language(s) as a basis for distinctions among social groups. To put it in another way, language policy is one mechanism for establishing language within the social structure, determining who has access to political power and economic resources (Tollefson, 1991). Since the state of Jammu and Kashmir has limited to no administrative or legislative powers, this poses a challenge for the region's native languages. Recent developments in the state of Jammu and Kashmir demonstrate the slow integration of Hindi into the linguistic space, like, "In April, the erstwhile state's Public Health Engineering, Irrigation and Flood Control Department were renamed Jal

Shakti Department, drawing on the Hindi term for water power." (Zargar, 2020). "It is for the first time in 2020 that the Jammu and Kashmir's budget was not translated into Urdu." (Zargar, 2020). Thus, fear of linguistic homogenization is a matter of persistent concern in the state. The lack of development in the past, along with the implementation of the new language policy, has left the native languages facing an uncertain and disempowering future, particularly with a state legislature with insufficient powers.

Conclusion

In the context of Jammu and Kashmir, the recent language policy falls short of acknowledging the region's linguistic diversity. A brief description of the state's native languages demonstrates the diversity present within the areas of Jammu and Kashmir, which is unfortunately underrepresented in the linguistic space. While the 1889 amendment was intended to make colonial administration easier, subsequent policies before and after independence failed to develop an inclusive linguistic landscape. Examining government policies of 1944, 1957, and 2006 reveals that native languages were only marginally adopted and utilised, and the 2020 Language Policy has its own administrative challenges. Thus, it is critical to integrate and promote the state's native/indigenous languages (Kumar & Ansari, 2010), which will emphasize on preservation of linguistic identity and aid in the development of an organic link between a community, its people, and their rights (Spolsky, 2010) – linguistic human rights.

Paulin G. Djité (1993) has explained that economic and social development may actually be enhanced through utilizing local/native languages in society. Along with socio-economic development, such efforts will result in the revitalization of language, cultural, and ethnolinguistic identity. While Urdu may be well-accepted in the linguistic space of Jammu and Kashmir due to its deep affiliation in the language history of Jammu and Kashmir, and Hindi as required by the constitution. To properly execute language management, we must examine present language repertoires and identity links of individuals and groups, as well as implement strategies for the development and promotion of indigenous/native languages that have been marginalised. An assessment of Jammu and Kashmir's language policy (1889-2020) reveals limitations in language policies as a result of several administrative, constitutional and policy related constrains.

However, the implementation of the Jammu and Kashmir Official Language Act, 2020, is a recent development. As a result, a quantitative and comprehensive evaluation of the region's linguistic situation is required, particularly in terms of determining the impact of the Official Language Act (2020).

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ARTICLE

Acoustic Qualities of Vowels in Bangla English: an Empirical Study of L_1 Interference

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Paper received: April 17, 2022
Paper revised: April 28, 2022
Paper accepted: May 6, 2022

Abstract :

The article reports an empirical investigation into the ways acoustic structures of the monophthongs in Bangla English (BngE) vary from the vowel acoustics of the British English in RP. Speech data consisted of BngE vowel tokens collected from the subjects who speak Bangla as L_1. Data analysis led to significant findings like: (i) vowels tended to lose length contrasts; (ii) central vowels got lowered; and (iii) the vowel /o/ was introduced in BngE. It was also revealed that L_1 vowel acoustic structures being different from the RP vowels (especially of /ɜː/, /æ / and /ɑː / in Bangla English) induce considerable variations in most of the native SCB speakers' English vowels. The relative acoustic proximity or distance between any two vowels across these languages in terms of F_1 and F_2 configure the English vowels acoustically. But the speakers fail to realize the central vowels mostly, as the category is almost non-existent in their L_1. These findings support the view that the interference factor that has resulted in such deviations. Behind the L_1 induced alternations in the L_2 vowels, the motivating factors include interference of the first language, non-uniform inventories and structures of the segments, different prosodic requirements and language-specific phonotactics.

Keywords: Bangla English, ESL, vowel acoustics, L_1 interference, bilingualism;

Research problem: an introduction

Most of the earlier studies on the structure of vowel sounds in Bangla English[1] (henceforth BngE) are based on impressions gathered for different sources. They are not supported by any empirical research and their results. The present study concentrates on the acoustic structures of vowels in BngE, and intends to provide empirical supports to all the previous works that laid the foundation theoretically.

English in India and the bilingual situation

However, far greater number of speakers use 'English as the second language' (ESL) than the speakers speaking it as L_1. In the Indian context, far from being monolithic, ESL is characterized by diversities, being used in many regional variations. Each of these varieties of English in India has resulted from huge interferences of the dominant language (*i.e.* the mother tongue concerned). In the Indian state of West Bengal, it is typically a bilingual situation that necessitates some linguistic interactions between the dominant mother tongue (L_1) and the second language (L_2). When it concerns English as L_2 and any Indian language (like Bangla) as L_1, it often turns into a conflict, almost an uneven tussle between non-uniform inventories and structures of the segments, different prosodic requirements and language-specific phonotactics. In the bilingual situation (as Kolkata, our site for study affords one), mother tongue or the first language (Bangla as the L_1 here) is always supposed to dominate and to have a significant effect on the process of acquisition of English (as L_2). The present study is an enquiry into the effect of bilingualism on BngE, more specifically, into the extent of mother tongue interference at the phonetic level.

Scope, motivation and objective

The experimental study is restricted to the phonetic level, mapping of the first three formants and temporal duration of monophthongal vowels in two varieties of English and Standard Colloquial Bangla (henceforth SCB).

Except the fact that, both SCB and British English (BrtE) belong to the Indo-European family of languages, there are hardly any linguistic

similarity between them. Syntactically, Bangla is a SOV language, but English prefers the SVO pattern. At the level of phonetics and phonology, Dan (1992) and Ghosh (1996) considered the former to be a syllable-timed language[2], but the latter stress-timed. The stress system is very strong in one, but almost non-existent in the other. Again, Bangla is a vowel harmony language[3], but English is none.

In terms of vowel phonetics, English has a larger inventory (having twelve members) than Bangla (that has seven monophthongs only):

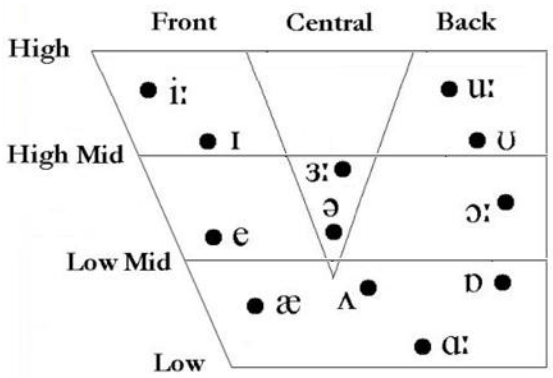
Table 1. Contrastive words exhibiting the monophthongal vowels[4] in the languages.

British English (RP)		
Vowel	Phoneme	Word
Front	iː	*'seat'*
	ɪ	*'sit'*
	e	*'set'*
	æ	*'sat'*
Back	uː	*'shoot'*
	ʊ	*'put'*
	ɔː	*'short'*
	ɒ	*'shot'*
	ɑː	*'sharp'*
Central	ɜː	*'shirt'*
	ə	*'shutter'**
	ʌ	*'shut'*

Standard Bangla			
Vowel	Phoneme	Word	Gloss
Front	i	[dik]	*'direction'*
		[til]	*'seasame'*
	e	[bet]	*'cane'*
	ɛ	[gɛn]	*'knowledge'*
		[d^hɛn]	*'meditation'*
Back	u	[b^hut]	*'ghost'*
		[suk^h]	*'happiness'*
	o	[gol]	*'round'*
	ɔ	[mɔd]	*'wine'*
		[c^hɔl]	*'pretension'*
Central	a	[mac^h]	*'fish'*
		[kan]	*'ear'*

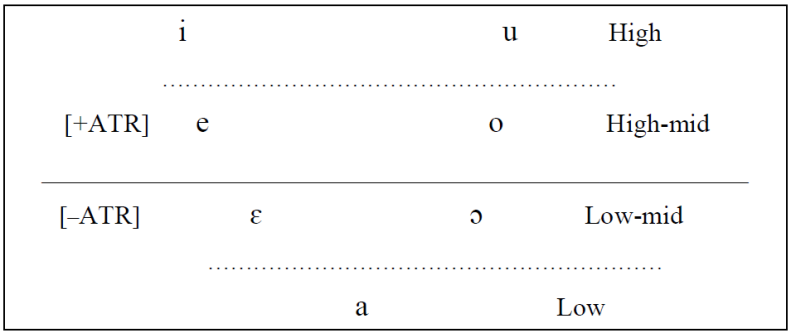
The uses of acoustic spaces are also different. The following figures show that, English plot is more crowded, leaving almost no empty space.

Figure 1: Acoustic vowel distribution in British English:



On the other hand, Bangla with a smaller inventory of 7 vowels has a wide open space in the centre:

Figure 2: Acoustic vowel distribution in Standard Bangla:



It determines the extent and direction of the vocalic shifts, horizontal vowel movement is to be found more than that in vertical direction (Lindblom, 1986, p 13). While talking about phonetic variations in BngE, Kostic & Das and Datta also talked about the effect of unique vowel inventory.

The study has been undertaken with an objective to make a comparative study of BngE, BrtE and the SCB in order to measure the extent and direction of sound changes in the first being impacted by the last; and the other one is to serve as a point of reference. Here, the data on monophthong vowels extracted from the conversation of six native Bangla speakers (3 female, 3 male) from Kolkata are measured and compared with the formant structures of the British English as reported in the previous acoustic studies. This study will show how differently from British English (BrtE) the Bangla English (BngE) realizes the English monophthongs in connected speech : how it distributes the acoustic vowel spaces among all the monophthong vowels. Empirical data are also going to substantiate the deviations in the forms of loss vowel contrasts, minimization of the vowel inventory, and random vowel substitutions in BngE.

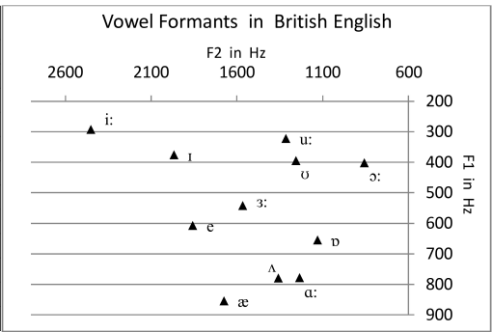
Literature review

A great number of studies have dealt with the acoustics of British English vowels. Works of Daniel Jones and Firth were canonical studies on acoustics of BrtE vowels, that served as the standard point of

references for many of the subsequent studies. Jones concentrated on the distinction between the comparative acoustics of English peripheral vowels (*cf.* the vowel plot in Appendix 1, figure 10) and central vowels. The formant structure of the 11 vowels in RP, as reported by Deterding, follows (values averaged from the original gender-specific formant matrix, as shown in Appendix I, table 8):

Table 2 & Figure 3: Structure of vowel formant (in Hz, Deterding, 1997, p 47)

Vowel Formants (in Hz)			
	F_1	F_2	F_3
i:	292	2452	2984
ɪ	376	1966	2759
e	607	1857	2772
æ	854	1676	2666
ʌ	779	1359	2691
ɑ:	778	1236	2666
ɒ	655	1131	2636
ɔ:	402	858	2708
ʊ	395	1257	2571
u:	322	1314	2541
ɜ:	542	1566	2664



Deterding did not include schwa in his study. However, we accepted the stance that English has 12 monophthongs in RP, as the Figure 1 shows. Of them, BrtE has temporally 7 short and 5 long vowels. Temporal duration of a vowel is phonemically contrastive in many languages like English (Durand 77). Compared to English, Bangla has much less number of vowels, since vowel length does not constitute a phonemic constrast in the latter. Bangla vowels are underlyingly short never having the phonemically contrastive long vowels, unlike the following binary pairs in English:

/ ɪ / vs. / i: /
/ u / vs. / u :/ or
/ ɔ / vs. / ɔ: /

Though vowel length in Bangla is not contrastive, depending upon the contexts often it undergoes alternations to lead to allophonic length contrasts (Tagore, 1936; Hai, 1964; Kostic & Das, 1972; Ghosh, 1996; Hossain *et al.* 2007; Alam *et al.* 2008; Bera 2012, p 54). For example, vowels are uniformly long in monosyllables. (Chatterjee, 1928; Ghosh, 1996). Such finding about the Bangla vowels lengths as the following have been reported:

Table 3: Comparative duration of Bangla Vowels[5]

	Vowel Duration (in msec.)		
	Hossain *et al.* (2007)	Alam *et al.* (2008)	Bera (2012)
i	75.20	68.99	75.00
u	72.75	68.30	76.50
e	75.37	75.45	84.25
o	72.48	75.74	81.25
ɛ	—	90.89	99.75
ɔ	72.15	74.65	93.50
a	68.38	98.02	88.75

They show the allophonic length contrast in different varieties of Bangla. The last two studies show that Bangla vowels are longer when they are lower on the acoustic vowel plane. The next table presents another aspect of their acoustic quality, the formants F_1, F_2 and F_3 (measurements have been done in Hertz[6]):

Table 4: Comparative formant values of Bangla Vowels (in Hz)[7]

	Savithri et al. (2005)			Alam *et al.* *(2008)*			Bera (2012)		
	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_1	F_2	F_3
i	298	2675		359	2318	2860	347		
u	339	1011		365	1024	2755	437		
e	450	2443		501	1750	2467	494		
o	443	902		446	1042	2688	504		
ɛ				694	1567	2285	617		
ɔ				664	1193	2488	635		
a	905	1417		766	1458	2341	786		

The studies (though only one study incorporates all the three formants[8] and all the seven vowels) show that, higher vowels have lower F_1, and back vowels are characterized by greater F_2, but the F_3 variances across vowels are comparatively less. However, none of these studies is going to be accepted in mapping the acoustic differences between SCB vowels and vowels in British English. Across these three studies informants, speech corpus, stimuli, samples were different and heterogeneous. But our study intends to compare empirically vowel acoustics in BngE and SCB with reference to the acoustics of BrtE vowel reported in other studies.

Test design

Two empirical experiments have been conducted, one with Bangla English (BngE) vowels and the other with the vowels in SCB. The same set of speakers have been recorded and analysed to detect the language-specific vowel acoustics.

In the first experiment with BngE (as L_2), the 12 monophthongal vowels have been tested for their formants and length that are compared with the formant structures of the vowels of BrtE in RP.

The second experiment with the 7 SCB (L_1) vowels aims at looking for the probable impact of the vowels in the mother tongue on their BrtE counterparts. This way our study is supposed to make the point as to how the L_2 vowels are realized— are they more under the impact of RP or of the mother tongue (*i.e.* L_1).

Methodology

Both the experiments follow the same methodology as mentioned below except the different data sets, one being the samples of BngE and the latter SCB vowels as samples.

Speakers

In order to find the phonological variables of Bangla harmonizing vowels, I would record 20 different native speakers of the languages from different geographical regions but with the similar educational background.

The set of 6 speakers (3 male and 3 female) were recorded from the central and southern parts of Kolkata (*cf.* Appendix II). The speakers should be young (in the range of 26-28 years), formally educated (at least graduates). They should be the people born and brought up in Kolkata so that they would be the natural speakers of Kolkata SCB.

Materials

For the first experiment 96 test words from English and for the second experiment 56 words from SCB have been used (*cf.* Appendix III) as stimuli to extract speech tokens. The monosyllabic carrier words were put medially in the sentence domain. The sentence templates were 'In English X is a word' (the target would occupied the 'X' slot), and [tara Y bollo] *'They told Y'* (monosyllabic test words to occupy the 'Y'

slot) respectively in the experiments. The test words were all monosyllabic with the structure CVC, where the coda was always a non-nasal unaspirated segment. Voiced coda was kept to the minimum, since vowels are longer before the voiced obstruents than before the unvoiced ones; the effect is very large in English, where the contrast is also phonemic: *e.g. 'bad'* vs. '*bat*' (Chen, 1970, p 129; Klatt, 1976, p 1208). As much as possible, the stop consonants /p/, /t/ and /k/ were preferred in both onset and coda positions. Nasal consonants and nasalized vowels were put aside fully for the experiments.

Recording

For recoding data digitally, the SCB speakers of Kolkata were given the scripted sentences carrying the test words and requested to reiterate them five times as normally as possible. These utterances (Experiment-1 : 96 words/sentences x 5 iterations x 6 subjects = 2,880 tokens & Experiment-2: 56 words/sentences x 5 iterations x 6 subjects = 1,680 tokens) yield 4560 speech tokens in total that constituted our primary data. Recording was done in a sound-proof room, in the investigator's own place in Kolkata. Sampling rate and recording attributes were 44,100 Hz, 24 bit, stereo. The utterances are to be directly recorded on the Tascam DR-100 MKII portable digital recorder connected to a Shure head-worn microphone, and then transferred on to a branded Laptop (Dell Inspiron N4030). Every care was taken so that no noise could creep in.

Statistical Documentation and Annotation Criteria

Using PRAAT Software (Boersma &Weenink, 2019), segmentation of the vowels was done. Running a PRAAT script acoustic values have been extracted, mainly the first three formants temporal duration (in msec.). Once the values were stored in the Microsoft Office Excel file, it was ready for producing the final results in the forms of Excel graphics or diagrams.

Results

Report on the Experiment-1

Using the values stored on Excel, the following acoustic configurations have been derived for all the twelve English vowels produced by the SCB speakers:

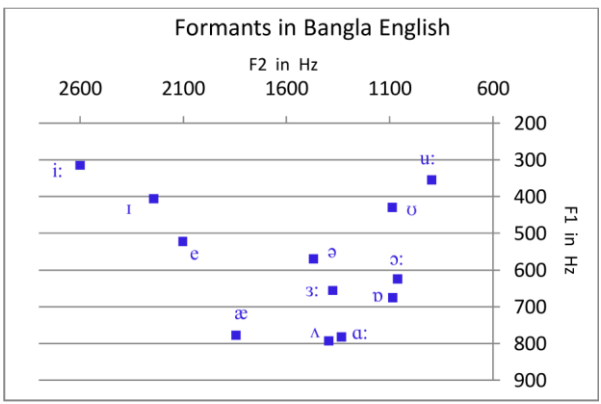
Table 5: Formant structures and duration of Bangla English vowels

	F_1 (Hz)	**F_2** (Hz)	**F_3** (Hz)	**Duration** (msec)
iː	314.3863	2601.278	3170.864	101.8057
ɪ	405.025	2245.766	2993.763	71.05367
e	521.298	2104.094	2669.689	90.58667
æ	777.2567	1847.073	2359.825	109.1583
ɜː	655.2257	1378.152	2338.108	151.8513
ə	569.4642	1470.414	2493.892	79.5035
ʌ	792.2183	1395.677	2259.386	104.1693
uː	354.382	898.3017	2817.684	95.789
ʊ	429.0707	1088.763	2760.843	76.83233
ɔː	623.4434	1062.773	2417.26	131.558
ɒ	675.0708	1085.857	2608.281	102.5586
ɑː	781.2673	1335.55	2367.315	157.093

At the formant level, it' s evident that (i) F_1 and F_2 variances across vowels are more consistent than the F_3 variances, and (ii) most of the vowels show different formant structures from that in BrtE. Regarding duration, they confirm that, (iii) high vowel are shorter, and (iv) in the short/long vocalic pairs, the length distinction has been maintained very consistently as a mark of phonetic contrast.

The formant structures (Table 5) are now shown with the help of a vowel plot below:

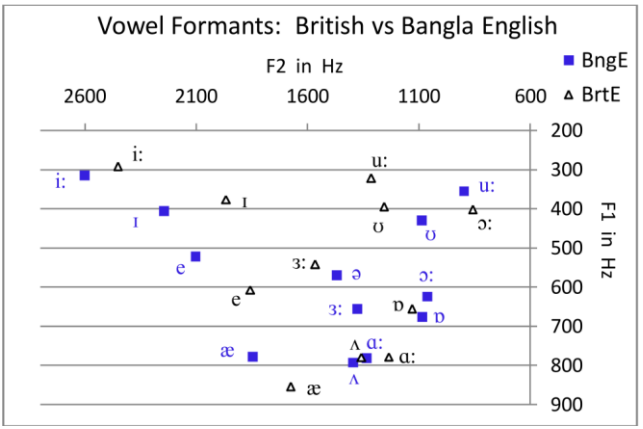
Figure 4: Vowel positions on the acoustics plane in Bangla English (BngE)



This finding invariably brings in a comparison between this and vowels in BrtE. It seems that the BngE vowels are more spread up here

using a wider acoustic area, compared to the area used by the BrtE vowels. This sprawling constellation of the BngE vowels is clear in the figure:

Figure 5: Comparative acoustic positions and spaces used by the vowels in BngE and BrtE



In BngE vowels tend to get lowered (/e/ is a big exception); the front vowels are far more fronted, but the back vowels don't show much deviation. In the lower part of the plot, due to the over-crowdedness the vowel distinctiveness tends to be minimized significantly, more so in the BngE. It goes to an extent when there remains hardly any acoustic distance

between /ɑ/ and /ʌ/, or

between /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/.

To find an answer to the question how far a native vowel is impacting the BngE vowels, it is necessary to look at the vowels concerned more closely, to make a direct comparison between the respective acoustic configurations of vowels in SCB and their English counterparts. First we need to conduct another empirical test where the same set of speakers would yield speech data from their L_1 variety.

Report on the Experiment-2

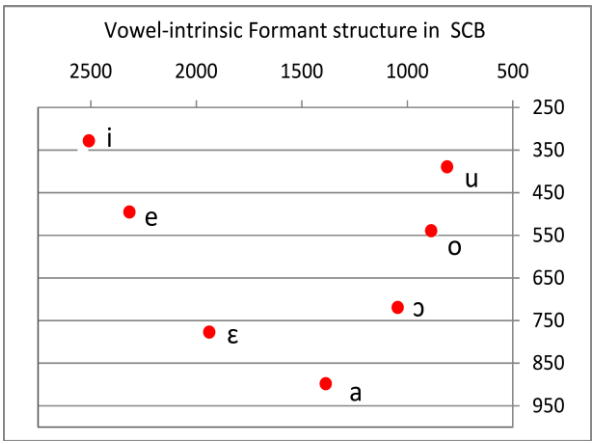
The next experiment tries to find out the acoustics of SCB vowels in monosyllables. Results about the first three formants and temporal duration are summarized below:

Table 6: Formant structures (standard deviation in parenthesis) and duration of vowels in Standard Bangla (SCB)

	Formants in Hz			Duration
	F_1	F_2	F_3	(in msec.)
i	327 *(43)*	2511 *(271)*	3088 *(293)*	76.7
u	391 *(77)*	813 *(113)*	2920 *(310)*	73.8
e	494 *(88)*	2321 *(266)*	2897 *(281)*	90.0
o	540 *(90)*	889 *(115)*	2903 *(336)*	90.5
ɛ	776 *(113)*	1941 *(238)*	2725 *(295)*	107.5
ɔ	718 *(101)*	1044 *(101)*	2841 *(318)*	100.1
a	895 *(119)*	1386 *(129)*	2788 *(291)*	102.7

It also reveals the same universal fact that vowel height and length (only allophonic) are inversely related. As regards the formants, except /a/, vowels are characterized by seconds formants that consistently increase with the growing heights. It indicates the vocalic inclination toward periphery, as clearly shown in the figure:

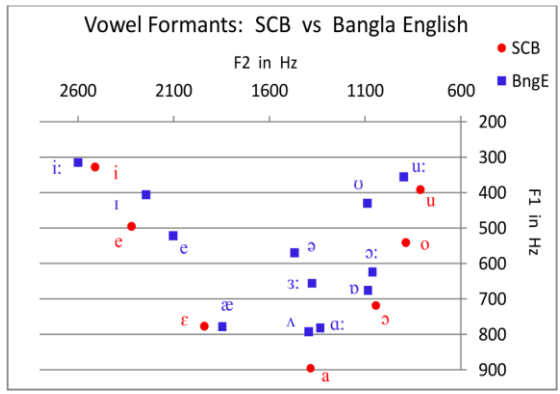
Figure 6: Acoustic vowel positions of the seven SCB monophthongs



The whole acoustic space has been utilized except the centre. Vertical axis is more densely crowded, this is even more for the back vowels. After ascertaining the acoustic vowel locations in SCB, it will be interesting to compare the positions of 12 English monophthongs as produced by the same set of SCB speakers. With the formant configurations already assigned to the BngE vowels (Table 5) and SCB

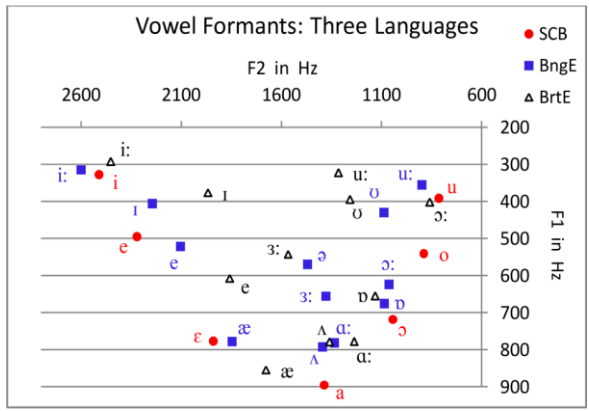
vowels (Table 6), we have drawn the following figure on Excel worksheet that shows the comparative locations of all the 19 vowels across two languages:

Figure 7: Comparative acoustic positions and spaces used by the vowels in BngE and SCB



It makes it more evident that, SCB vowels are using somewhat wider and lower vowel space. Except the English central vowels and the short high back vowels, BngE counterparts are not very far away from the SCB vowels. Thus, in the comparison made by the figure 5 and differences found between the vowels in the two varieties of English (BngE and BrtE) can be explained as an effect of the dominating mother tongue, *i.e.* SCB. Adding to this comparison, the following figure has given us another comparison among all the three languages under consideration:

Figure 8: Comparative acoustic positions and spaces for BrtE, BngE and SCB vowels



The lowering tendency of the BngE vowels, especially the high ones is clearly a manifestation of the speakers' SCB habits of vowel production. BngE /e/ is a big exception and here also we can see the SCB attraction that has pulled the BrtE vowel up. Compared to the BrtE counterparts, in BngE the front vowels are far more fronted, because the respective SCB [+Front] vowels are attracting them.

Analysis

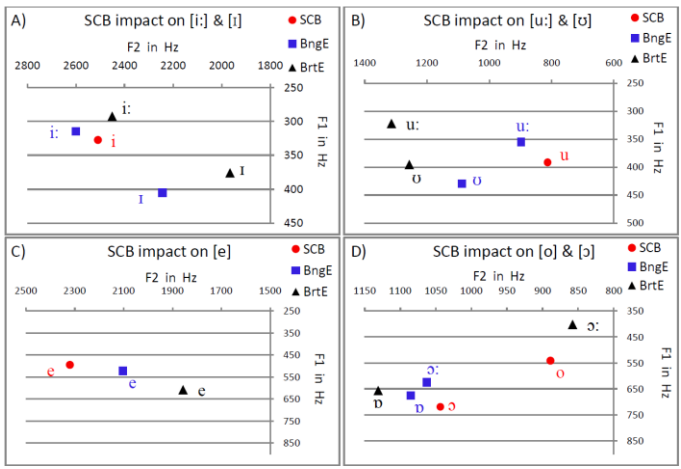
Now the following section has looked more closely at the impact of individual SCB vowel on their English counterparts. The table below narrates the schemata for this comparison:

Table 7: Comparative schemata for testing the impact of the SCB vowels

Sl.	SCB Vowels	Impact on English vowels	Figures & Vowel Plots	
			Figures	**Plots**
1	i	[iː] & [ɪ]	Figure 9a	A)
2	u	[uː] & [ʊ]	Figure 9a	B)
3	e	[e]	Figure 9a	C)
4	o & ɔ	[ɔː] & [ɒ]	Figure 9a	D)
5	ɛ	[æ]	Figure 9b	E)
6	a	[ɜː]	Figure 9b	F)
7	a	[ʌ] & [ə]	Figure 9b	G)
8	a	[ɑː]	Figure 9b	H)

Here the first four cases have been focused in the following figure, where the SCB [+ATR] vowels are exercising their power of attraction on the acoustically closer English vowels:

Figure 9a: Role of the L_1 [+ATR] vowels in the realization of L_2 (BngE) vowels



In the case of the first plot *i.e.* figure 9a.A), the SCB [+ATR] high vowel /i/ has attracted the close BrtE counterparts and makes them more fronted in the realization of BngE vowels.

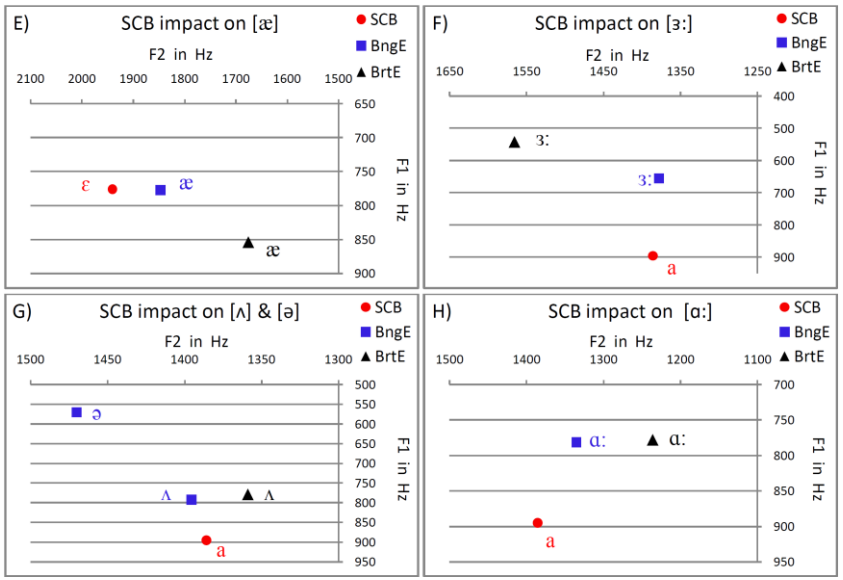
In the case of the second plot *i.e.* figure 9a.B), the SCB [+ATR] high vowel /u/ has attracted the close BrtE counterparts, and makes them more retracted in the realization of BngE vowels.

In the case of the next plot *i.e.* figure 9a.C), the SCB [+ATR] vowel /e/ has attracted the BrtE counterpart /e/ and makes it more fronted and slightly raised in the realization of BngE vowels.

In the case of the last plot *i.e.* figure 9a.D), the SCB [+ATR] vowel /o/ does not exist in RP. But this Bangla vowel finds the long vowel /ɔː/ as the closest BrtE counterpart and realizes it almost as /o/.

Now the last four cases have been graphically presented in the following figures where the [–ATR] vowels in Standard Bangla are exercising their power of attraction on those English vowels that are acoustically closer:

Figure 9b: Role of the L_1 [–ATR] vowels in the realization of L_2 (BngE) vowels



In the case of the first plot *i.e.* figure 9b.E), the SCB [–ATR] front-mid vowel has attracted the BrtE counterpart, and makes it more fronted and raised in the realization of BngE vowels.

In the case of the second plot *i.e.* figure 9b.F), the SCB [–ATR] low vowel /a/ has attracted the BrtE counterpart, and makes it lowered in the realization of BngE vowels.

In the case of the next plot *i.e.* figure 9b.G), the SCB [–ATR] low vowel /a/ has attracted the BrtE counterparts and makes them more fronted in the realization of BngE vowels.

In the case of the last plot *i.e.* figure 9b.H), the SCB [–ATR] low vowel/a/ has attracted the BrtE counterparts and makes them more fronted in the realization of BngE vowels.

Thus, we have already had ample evidences of interference of the first language, when across the two languages there are non-uniform segmental inventories.

Conclusion

Our subjects being post-graduates are well aware of the way British English sounds are realized. As such, they tried best to make their own productions as close to RP as possible. However, L_1 effect is found here quite inescapable for certain vowel sounds, namely /ɜ:/, /æ / and /ɑ: /. Acoustic quality of these BngE vowels produced by the most of the native SCB speakers showed considerable variations. When a certain English vowel and a BngE vowel are acoustically close enough in terms of F_1 and F_2, their production is very close to the RP. But the speakers fail to realize the central vowels mostly, as the category in almost non-existent in their L_1. Even they find it difficult to distinguish

between /ɑ/ and /ʌ/, or

between /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/.

The subjects seem to have confusions over the distinctions between them.

However, the study is not all conclusive. Further investigations are needed to throw light on the areas not covered here, like inter-speaker variations, impact of prosodic strengths on vowel formants (as L_1 and L_2 have different prosodic requirements), other phonetic or phonological variables, such as different syllable structures, coda quality, nasality, as well as the effects of gender or age, Beside whatever revealed by the study here and the other factors mentioned, vowels may owe their

changes and shifts in acoustics to language-specific phonotactics, different prosodic requirements and non-uniform segmental structures across languages and varieties. Another dimension has been much emphasized by Labov, who talked about the possible impacts of geographical regions, socio-economic factors and socio-linguistic factors on segmental realizations and their acoustic invariances.

Notes:

1. It's a variety of English used by the native speakers of Bangla in typically a non-British way. As such, in every aspect, the English language is heavily dominated by the linguistic structures of their mother tongue.
2. A few linguists claim that Bangla is more a mora-timed language than syllable-timed (Faenhdrich 2005).
3. Phonologists often claim that Bangla is a semi-vowel harmony language, but never as harmonic as Assamese.
4. In the word 'shutter' the schwa is in the second syllable. A disyllabic minimality is required for the schwa to occur, as it can feature in an unaccented syllable only preceding or following a prosodically stronger syllable.
5. Alam *et al.* (2008) used the symbol /æ/ instead of /ɛ/. The present study has taken them as equivalents.
6. Formants may be measured in Hertz (that provides cues for physical properties of a sound in the production process), Bark and Mel (both provide the perceptual cues but with some difference).
7. Savithri et al. (2005) and Hossain *et al.* (2007) did not measure the formant values for the [+Front][-ATR] vowel /ɛ/, probably because the sound was included very late in the Bangla vowel inventory (Ghosh, 1996, Sanyal, 2010).
8. F_1 values stand for the respective vowel height or relative position up the vertical axis on the acoustic vowel plot. F_2 signifies the vowel position along the horizontal axis. F_3 shows the degree of lip rounding. Beside these three there are more formants, but these three are most dependable in configuring a vowel phonetically.

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Appendix I

The Formant Structures of English Vowels (Based on Previous studies)

Figure 10: Formant structure and acoustic spaces of British English vowels (Jones 1918)

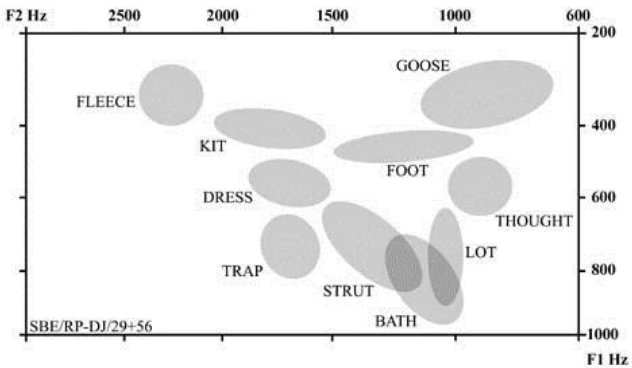

Table 8: Gender-specific formant structure of the monophthongs in Britsh English (Deterding 1997)

	Male			Female		
	F_1	F_2	F_3	F_1	F_2	F_3
iː	280	2249	2765	303	2654	3203
ɪ	367	1757	2556	384	2174	2962
e	494	1650	2547	719	2063	2997
æ	690	1550	2463	1018	1799	2869
ʌ	644	1259	2551	914	1459	2831
ɑː	646	1155	2490	910	1316	2841
ɒ	558	1047	2481	751	1215	2790
ɔː	415	828	2619	389	888	2796
ʊ	379	1173	2445	410	1340	2697
uː	316	1191	2408	328	1437	2674
ɜː	478	1436	2488	606	1695	2839

Appendix II

(The Bangla Informants from Kolkata, WB)

*** names and addresses redacted by editor for maintaining confidentiality of informants**

Sl	Names	Age	Qualification	Postal Address
		FEMALE		
1		26	MA (CU)	
			Ph.D. (cont.)	
2		28	MSc (CU)	
			Ph.D. (IIT-BHU)	
3		27	MA (CU) B.Ed.	
		MALE		
4		27	MA (CU) B.Ed.	
5		28	MA (RBU)	
			M.Phil.	
6.		26	MA (CU) B.Ed.	

Appendix III

The Stimuli used in Studies on Bangla English and Standard Bangla

(used sentence-medially)

Table 9: The English study words used sentence medially for Experiment ONE (with Bangla English)

iː	*'deep'*	*'peep'*	*'sheep'*	*'beat'*	*'cheat'*	*'teak'*	*'seek'*	*'peak'*
ɪ	*'dip'*	*'pip'*	*'ship'*	*'bit'*	*'chit'*	*'tick'*	*'sick'*	*'pick'*
e	*'cep'*	*'pep'*	*'zep'*	*'pet'*	*'bet'*	*'deck'*	*'peck'*	*'check'*
æ	*'tap'*	*'gap'*	*'cap'*	*'bat'*	*'cat'*	*'back'*	*'tax'*	*'pack'*
ɜː	*'chirp'*	*'perp'*	*'stirp'*	*'dirt'*	*'curt'*	*'jerk'*	*'shirk'*	*'perk'*
ə	*'**a**part'*	*'**a**far'*	*'**a**broad'*	*'**a**top'*	*'**co**ntain'*	*'**per**tain'*	*'**bitt**er'*	*'**litr**e'*
ʌ	*'sup'*	*'cup'*	*'pup'*	*'shut'*	*'cut'*	*'duck'*	*'suck'*	*'puck'*
uː	*'soup'*	*'stoop'*	*'group'*	*'boot'*	*'suit'*	*'spook'*	*'shook'*	*'duke'*
ʊ	*'bush'*	*'pull'*	*'could'*	*'put'*	*'soot'*	*'took'*	*'book'*	*'cook'*
ɔː	*'paup'*	*'corp'*	*'jaup'*	*'caught'*	*'short'*	*'cork'*	*'chalk'*	*'talk'*
ɒ	*'pop'*	*'cop'*	*'chop'*	*'cot'*	*'shot'*	*'cock'*	*'shock'*	*'dock'*
ɑː	*'sharp'*	*'carp'*	*'harp'*	*'dart'*	*'cart'*	*'dark'*	*'shark'*	*'park'*

Table 10: The Bangla study words used sentence medially for the Experiment TWO (with Standard Bangla)

i	[dik] *'direction'*	[dip] *'island'*	[tʰik] *'right'*	[tip] *'mark'*	[bʰit] *'base'*	[git] *'song'*	[kiʈ] *'insect'*	[cit] *'supine'*
u	[bʰut] *'ghost'*	[cʰuʈ] *'run'*	[kuʈ] *'trickster'*	[book] *'chest'*	[dut] *'envoy'*	[tuk] *'magic'*	[kup] *'well'*	[cup] *'dumb'*
e	[lep] *'quilt'*	[kʰep] *'part'*	[bet] *'cane'*	[peʈ] *'belly'*	[bʰeʈ] *'gift'*	[kʰet] *'land'*	[bʰek] *'disguise'*	[tʰek] *'site'*
o	[lop] *'end'*	[kop] *'axe'*	[bʰoʈ] *'vote'*	[ɟoʈ] *'group'*	[ɟot] *'land'*	[pot] *'port'*	[lok] *'man'*	[ʃok] *'grief'*
ɛ	[tɛp] *'tap'*	[gɛp] *'gap'*	[pɛk] *'pack'*	[bɛʈ] *'bat'*	[kɛʈ] *'cat'*	[tɛks] *'tax'*	[cɛʈ] *'chat'*	[bʰɛʈ] *'vat'*
ɔ	[bɔk] *'crane'*	[ʈɔk] *'sour'*	[bɔʈ] *'banyan'*	[cɔʈ] *'jute'*	[cɔp] *'chaap'*	[sɔt] *'true'*	[gɔt] *'pattern'*	[dɔp] *'gust'*
a	[bʰat] *'rice'*	[sat] *'seven'*	[kʰaʈ] *'cot'*	[paʈ] *'jute'*	[dak] *'post'*	[ʈak] *'bald'*	[tap] *'heat'*	[pap] *'sin'*

ARTICLE

Study of Attitude and Use of Nepali Language among a Section of Young Nepali Speakers

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Paper received: October 31, 2021
Paper revised: March 27, 2022
Paper accepted: May 4, 2022

Abstract :

North Bengal offers a multilingual scenario in which Nepali is one of the official languages. This paper investigates the language attitude and use of Nepali by Nepali speakers between eighteen to twenty-five years of age. This paper will draw attention to whether the present-day Nepali speakers between the age limit of eighteen to twenty-five years from Darjeeling and Kalimpong districts of West Bengal retain a positive attitude towards the language, what is the motivation and ideology behind it, whether they have acquired a negative attitude towards their language and moved on to use a second language that will help them in the educational, political and social field. A structured questionnaire was made for the respondents to report their language attitude and language use. The collected data are then explored and analysed. Finally, the result is established, thus setting an understanding of the language attitude or use of the native speakers.

Keywords : *language attitude, language use, Nepali, Darjeeling, Kalimpong*

Introduction

The study on language attitude and use has been established as a useful tool to explain various language-related social trends in many studies. This paper aims to study the language attitude and use of the Nepali language by the Nepali speakers in the Darjeeling and Kalimpong districts of West Bengal. This paper will try to explore the language attitude and proficiency of a selected group of Nepali speakers between eighteen to twenty-five years of age towards the Nepali language, in the Darjeeling and Kalimpong districts of North Bengal.

The Language

The Nepali language originated from the group of Pahari languages and belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family. The Nepali language is written in the Devanagari script. The language is rich in cultural history and is also commonly known as Nepalese or the language of the Gorkhas. The language is also described as Khas Kura, which was the language of the Khasa kingdom. It has developed in proximity to several Indo Aryan languages especially the other Pahari languages and Maithili. The language shows Sanskrit influence and due to its location, it is influenced by Tibeto-Burman languages also.

Nepali is spoken by 17 million people worldwide. It is the lingua franca of Nepal and holds the official status in Sikkim, Darjeeling and Kalimpong district of West Bengal. It has a significant number of speakers in the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram and Uttarakhand. Smaller speech communities of this language exist in Bhutan, Brunei and Myanmar. In Ethnologue (Campbell 2008), there are 12 dialects of Nepali and not all of them are mutually intelligible. There is also a distinct dialect used by the members of the royal family and the upper classes. This language has its own remarkable literary collection which includes Adhyatma Ramayana by Sundarananda Bara (1833); Birsikka, a small collection of folk stories and a version of the Ramayana by Bhanubhakta Acharya (1868). The trio-laureates LekhnathPaudyal, Laxmi Prasad Devkota and Balkrishna Sama took Nepali to the level of other world languages. (Nepali Language nd Wikipedia1)

Linguistic Position of the Locality

Darjeeling district located in the foothills of the Himalayas is the northernmost district of the state of West Bengal. Darjeeling is the districts headquarter. Three other major towns in the district are Kurseong, Mirik and Siliguri, which are the sub-divisional headquarters of the district. Geographically, the district can be divided into two broad divisions: the hills and the plains. The entire hilly region of the district comes under the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration, a semi-autonomous administrative body under the state government of West Bengal. The plains which come under the Siliguri subdivision are known as the Terai. The district is bounded on the north by Sikkim, on the south by Kishanganj district of Bihar state, on the southeast by Panchgarh district of Bangladesh, on the east by Kalimpong and Jalpaiguri districts and on the west by Nepal.

Darjeeling district has a length from north to south of 29km and a breadth from east to west of 26km. As of the 2011 census, Darjeeling district has a population of 1,846,823. Darjeeling has a sex ratio of 970 females for every 1000 males, and a literacy rate of 79.56%. After Kalimpong district was separated its population was 1,595,181. At the time of the 2011 census, 39.88% of the population spoke Nepali, 26.51% Bengali, 10.95% Hindi, 6.18% Rajbongshi, 5.38% Sadri, 2.53% Kurukh, 1.5% Bhojpuri and 1.16% Santhali as their first language. Bengali is the official language of the district population with Nepali declared as co-official only in Darjeeling and Kurseong subdivisions. The medium of instruction at various levels of education in the Terai region is Bengali, Hindi and English while in the hilly region it is Nepali and English.

Kalimpong district was formed on 14 February 2017, after splitting from Darjeeling district as the 21st district of West Bengal. The district has its headquarters at Kalimpong. It is surrounded by East Sikkim district in the north and northeast, Bhutan in the east, Darjeeling district in the west and south-west, South Sikkim district in the north-west and Jalpaiguri district in the south and south-east. Kalimpong has an area of 1,053.60 sq km and a population of around 251,642 as per the 2011

census report. According to the 2011 census, 51.25% speaks Nepali, 1.24% speaks Hindi, 2.42% speaks Lepcha, and 44.94% speaks other indigenous tribal languages such as Bhutia, Kharia, Limbu, Sherpa, Rai, Tamang etc. Bengali and Nepali are the official languages of the district. English and Nepali language are the medium of instruction at various levels of education.

Methodology

Agheyisi and Joshua (1970:141) noted the following:

"The studies and reports which pertain to language attitudes in current sociolinguistic literature fall into three major categories:

1. Those dealing with language-oriented, or language directed attitudes.
2. Those dealing with community-wide stereotyped impressions toward particular languages or language varieties (and, in some cases, their speakers, functions etc.), and
3. Those concerned with the implementation of different types of language attitudes."

The current study falls under the third category, that is language attitude (cf Ghosh 2017) because this report is dealing with the behaviour toward the language resulting in language attitude and usage.

To execute this research during the current pandemic situation that does not permit to employ of a face-to-face direct interview method, a structured questionnaire has been made for the respondents to report their language attitude and language use. The questionnaire consists of both open-ended questions as well as close-ended questions. The collected data is then carefully arranged, explored and analysed. Following Ghosh, Bhadra, Dan (2009), the analysis is done and the chief findings are presented along with the necessary explanation and justification. This research questionnaire is divided into three parts: background information, language attitude part and language use part.

Due to the ongoing situation and lockdown when face to face interviews or recording the responses of the respondents are not possible, the online platform is considered as the best option to collect data. The questionnaire is made with the help of Google Form and sent to the respondents through email or WhatsApp. The respondents for this

research are thirty-four Nepali speakers between the age limit of eighteen to twenty-five years. Twenty-four of these respondents are female while ten are male and most of them are students. They mainly reside in the Darjeeling and Kalimpong districts of West Bengal.

The Quantitative Analysis

In this paper quantitative analysis is done on the data received from the respondents which are used for the analysis of language attitude and use of the Nepali speakers towards the Nepali language.

The data are divided into three parts: (a) Background information of the respondent, (b) Language Attitude of the respondent and (c) Language Use of the respondent. As discussed earlier, the primary purpose of this study is to find the language attitude and language choice of the Nepali speakers which affect their patterns of use of Nepali language in various domains. The number or percentage of respondents in each category has been analysed.

Background Information

The background information consists of six questions. The information of the respondents are as follows:

i. According to the result their place of birth or growing up is in Darjeeling or Kalimpong district of North Bengal.

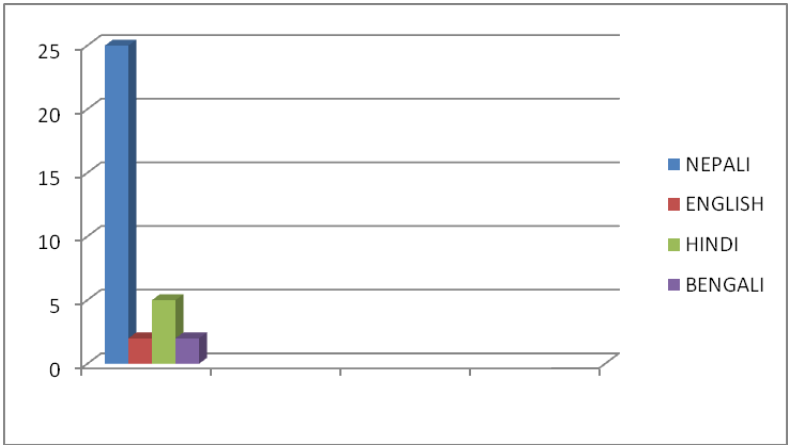
ii. Out of 34 respondents 70.6% are female respondents while 29.4% are male respondents.\

iii. 67.6% of the respondents are students; 14.7% are doing part-time employment; 11.8% are in full-time employment; 2.9% is research scholar and 2.9% of the respondent is self-employed.

iv. 47.1% of the respondents have completed their Bachelor's degree; 38.2% have completed their Master's degree; 11.8% are still pursuing their Bachelor's degree, and the rest are employed.

v. 47.1% of the respondents have completed their Bachelor's degree; 38.2% have completed their Master's degree; 11.8% are still pursuing their Bachelor's degree, and the rest are employed.

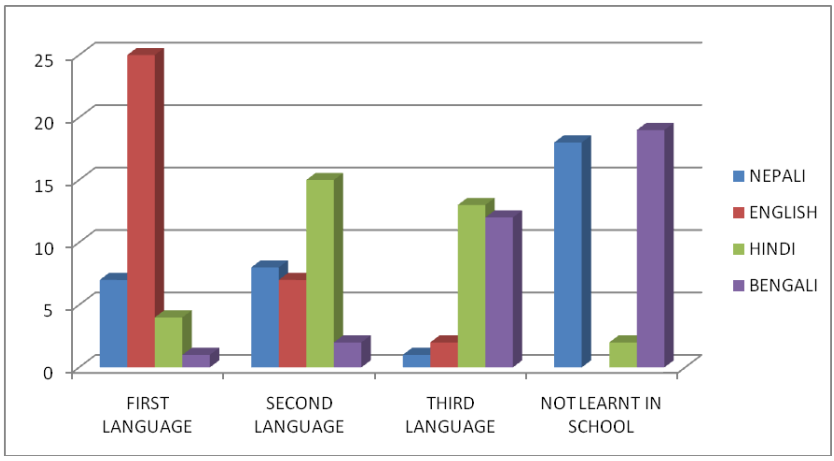
Table 1: Languages systematically learnt in development years, before going to school



vi. Languages learnt in school (Table 2):

- First Language- 7 learnt Nepali, 25 learnt English, 4 learnt Hindi and 1 learnt Bengali.
- Second Language- 8 learnt Nepali, 7 learnt English, 15 learnt Hindi, 2 learnt Bengali.
- Third Language- 1 learnt Nepali, 2 learnt English, 13 learnt Hindi, 12 learnt Bengali.
- Not Learnt- 18 did not learn Nepali in school, 2 did not learn Hindi in school and 19 did not learn Bengali in school.

Table 2: Languages learnt in school

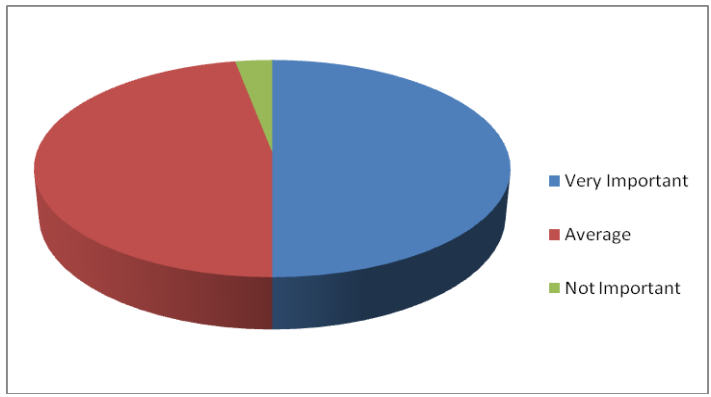


Language Attitude of the respondent

The language attitude part consists of 7 questions. The following are the responses:

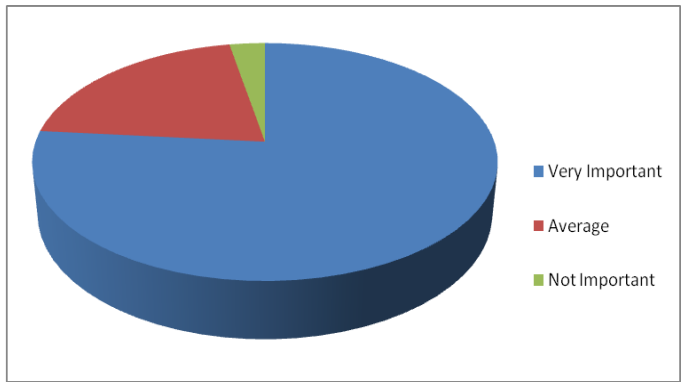
i. According to the analysis, 50% of the respondents have considered it very important to speak fluently and correctly in Nepali while 47.1% have considered speaking fluently in Nepali as average while 2.9% have considered it not important.

Table 3: Importance of speaking correctly and fluently in Nepali



ii. 76.5% of the respondents have considered it very important to speak fluently and correctly in English while 20.6% considered speaking correctly in English as average and only 2.9% have considered it as not important.

Table 4: Importance of speaking correctly and fluently in English



iii. 44.1% of the Nepali respondents considered speaking in fluent and correct Hindi as important while the rest of the remaining 55.9% have considered it as average.

iv. 58.8% of the Nepali respondents have considered speaking in fluent and correct Bengali as not important while 20.6% have considered it as average and the remaining only 20.6% believes that it is important.

v. Out of 34 respondents, 33 of them are proud of their linguistic heritage.

vi. All of the Nepali respondents have supported the idea of a multilingual society.

vii. Although they would prefer their children to study in an English medium school.

Language Use of the respondent

The language use part consists of 7 questions. The following are the responses:

i. Most preferred language for communicating with-

- Father- 28 respondents communicate in Nepali, 2 respondents communicate in Hindi while 1 communicates in Bengali and the remaining 1 communicates in Assamese.
- Mother- 32 respondents communicate in Nepali, 1 respondent communicate in Hindi while 1 communicates in Bengali.
- Siblings- 25 respondents communicate in Nepali, 4 respondents communicate in Hindi, 3 respondents communicate in English while 1 communicates in Bengali and the remaining communicates in other language.
- Servants- 16 respondents communicate in Nepali, 16 respondents communicate in Hindi while the remaining 2 communicates in Bengali.
- Classmate/Colleague- 8 respondents communicate in Nepali, 11 respondents communicate in Hindi while 14 communicate in English and the remaining communicates in another language.
- Boss/Authority- 2 respondents communicate in Nepali, 5 respondents communicate in Hindi while 26 communicate in English and the remaining communicates in other language.
- Friends- 13 respondents communicate in Nepali, 13 respondents communicate in Hindi while 6 communicate in English and the remaining communicates in other language.

- Government Offices- 9 respondents communicate in Nepali, 10 respondents communicate in Hindi, 10 respondents communicate in English while 4 communicate in Bengali and the remaining communicates in other languages.
- Hospitals- 9 respondents communicate in Nepali, 17 respondents communicate in Hindi while 1 communicates in Bengali and the remaining 7 communicate in English.
- Local Market- 11 respondents communicate in Nepali, 17 respondents communicate in Hindi while 5 communicate in Bengali and the remaining 1 communicates in English.

i. While interacting with Bengalis 14 respondents use English, 14 respondents use Hindi and 6 of them use Bengali.

ii. While interacting with Hindi speakers 28 respondents use Hindi and 6 respondents use English.

iii. 30 respondents have mentioned that their native language community uses the Nepali language to interact with them while only 4 speakers have mentioned that their native language community uses English or Hindi to interact with them.

iv. 21 respondents have mentioned that speakers of other languages use the English language to interact with them while 10 respondents mentioned that speakers of other languages use the Hindi language to interact with them and 3 respondents mentioned that speakers of other languages use Bengali or Nepali language to interact with them.

v. The languages that the respondents use in other spheres-

- Newspaper- 28 of them reads English newspaper while 4 of them reads Hindi newspaper and the remaining 2 of them reads Nepali newspaper.
- Books- 33 of them read books in English while 1 respondent reads in Hindi.
- Films- 31 of them watch films in both Hindi and English while the remaining 3 of them watch films in English, Hindi and Nepali.
- TV programmes- 25 of them watch English and Hindi TV programmes while 5 of them watch programmes in English and other languages and 4 of them watch in Hindi and Nepali.

- Songs- 28 respondents listen to Hindi and English songs, 5 of them listen to Korean songs and the remaining 1 listens to Nepali and Hindi songs.

vi. Most of them use "Neplish" [Nepali mixed with English] but they think that it is not a good thing because they believe that it hampers the originality of both languages.

To conclude from the above analysis it is clear that the present-day Nepali speakers in North Bengal between the age limit of 18-25 years retain a mixed attitude towards their native language but they are proud of their linguistic heritage. Due to political, social and educational factors, they have moved on to use English as a second language. They believe that speaking correctly and fluently in English is very important and so they prefer that their children go to English medium school. They mainly communicate with speakers of other languages in English and most importantly a maximum number of respondents read newspapers and books in English, watch films and TV programmes in English and even listen to English songs instead of Nepali which is their native language. Most of them don't support the idea of code-switching because they believe that this will "reduce the originality of both the languages". But they have a positive attitude towards bilingualism.

Conclusion

According to Baker (1988), attitudes are learned predispositions and are not inherited. They are relatively stable and affected by experiences. There are many factors that affect the attitude towards a language- motivation, prestige, identity, language loyalty etc. Language and language attitude are connected with each other. In fact, language attitude plays a crucial role in language growth or decay, restoration or destruction. So language attitude has a very important function in sociolinguistics.

Based on the explanation in the above paragraph, it can be concluded that language attitude of the Nepali speakers towards their native language, Nepali, is very neutral because out of 34 respondents 17 respondents have a positive attitude towards their native language while 16 of them have an average attitude and remaining 1 has a negative attitude towards Nepali. But all of them are proud of their linguistic

heritage. They have moved on to use English as a second language due to political, social, traditional and educational influence and so they want that their children must go to English medium school. They mainly communicate in English with speakers of other languages. Most importantly the maximum number of respondents read newspapers and books in English, watch films and TV programmes in English and even listens to English songs instead of Nepali which is their native language. They support bilingualism but most of them don't support the idea of code-switching.

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Appendix: Questionnaire

Background Information

1. To which gender identity do you identify yourself?
   Male
   Female
   Others

2. What is the highest degree you have received?
   Less than high school
   High school degree
   Bachelor degree
   Masters degree
   Others

3. What is your current occupation?
   Student
   Part time employment
   Self-employed
   Full time employment
   Others
4. Languages learnt in developmental years, before going to school.
   (a)
   (b)
   (c)
5. Languages systematically learnt in developmental years.
   First Language-
   Second Language-
   Third Language-
6. Place of birth/ Growing up

Language Attitude

Please choose the correct option.

7. How important is it to be able to speak Nepali fluently and correctly?
   Very important
   Average
   Not important
8. How important is it to be able to speak English fluently and correctly?
   Very important
   Average
   Not important
9. How important is it to be able to speak Hindi fluently and correctly?(even for those whose mother tongue is not Hindi)
   Very important
   Average
   Not important
10. How important is it to be able to speak Bengali fluently and correctly? (even for those whose mother tongue is not Bengali)
    Very important
    Average
    Not important
11. Are you proud of your linguistic heritage?
    Yes
    No
    May be
12. Existence of too many languages a good thing or bad thing?
13. Which medium of education will you prefer for your children?

Language Use

Answer the following.

14. Most preferred language for communicating with –

	English	Nepali	Hindi	Bengali	Others
(a) Father					
(b) Mother					
(c) Siblings					
(d) Servants					
(e) Classmate/Colleague					
(f) Boss/Authority					
(g) Friends					
(h) Government Offices					
(i) Hospitals					
(j) Local Market					

15. Language you use mostly when interacting with Bengalis.
16. Language you use mostly when interacting with Hindi speakers.
17. Languages most other members of your language community use when interacting with you.
18. Language speakers of other languages use to interact with you.
19. Newspapers you read are mostly in _____
20. Books you read are mostly in _____
21. Films you watch are mostly in _____
22. TV programs you watch are mostly in _____
23. Songs you hear are mostly in ____
24. Do you often use "Neplish" [Nepali + English] while communicating? Is it a good thing?

ARTICLE

Vowel Harmony in Hazaragi Persian in Afghanistan

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Paper received: February 28, 2022
Paper revised: May 25, 2022
Paper accepted: July 8, 2022

Abstract :

The purpose of this paper is to describe vowel harmony in Hazaragi Persian in Afghanistan. Hazaragi, as a variety of Persian, is spoken by Hazaras (ethnic group) mainly in Afghanistan. Vowel harmony is a major factor that discriminates between Persian and Hazaragi Persian in Afghanistan. Theoretically, vowel harmony is a long-distance assimilatory process in which vowels share certain phonetic features within a harmonic island (Crystal, 2008). This study yields the result that vowel harmony takes place both in simple and complex words, and generalizes that Hazaragi vowel harmony, in terms of direction, is regressive and, in terms of sharing the number of phonetic features, is total. It also produces the result that vowel harmony in monomorphemic words seems to be more restricted than in complex words. In monomorphemic words, the target vowels [/e/ and /o/] undergo merely height harmony; however, in complex words the target vowels [/ɪ/ and /e/] undergo both height and place harmony. It also shows that the low vowels [/æ/ and /aː/] never participate in phonological operations in Hazaragi Persian. Utterances of Hazaragi native speakers are closely observed in naturally occurring environs and the conclusion is drawn within the principles of descriptive studies. A descriptive investigation relies on observing huge amount of data to predict recurring of affairs under the same circumstances (Mouton & H.C, 1996; Walliman, 2011).

Keywords : Hazaragi, Vowel Harmony, Persian, Afghanistan

Introduction

Hazaragi, as a major variety of Persian, is basically spoken by Hazaras (ethnic group) in Afghanistan (Windfuhr, 2009). Hazaras are considered the third major ethnic group settled originally in central Afghanistan; however, a great number of Hazaras, as a consequence of political conflict, have undergone forced displacement migrating to Iran and Pakistan (Sahar, 2016).

Generally, Persian subsumes three major varieties—Farsi spoken in Iran, Dari spoken in Afghanistan and Tajiki spoken in Tajikistan (Toosarvandani, 2004; Windfuhr, 2009). To distinguish among varieties of Persian, the Persian variety spoken in Afghanistan is often called *Dari* and the variety used in Iran is called *Farsi*. From now on, Dari is used to mean Persian variety spoken in Afghanistan and 'Hazaragi Persian (HP)' a variety of *Dari* spoken by Hazaras in Afghanistan. Undoubtedly, the emanation of language variation is closely tied up with social phenomena; Hazaragi native speakers employ certain types of vowel harmony to claim or construct particular social relations associated with their group identity (see Labov 1963, 1966, 1972, 2006; Bell 1984 on social identity and linguistic variation).

Vowel harmony, which subtends the rubric of phonological processes, serves as an essential source of linguistic variation in Hazaragi Persian. Linguists maintain that applying the phonological processes is something natural that contributes to the ease of articulation, among which, of course, some could be automatic and some optional (Spencer, 1996; Gussenhoven & Jacobs, 2011). Hazaragi Persian native speakers optionally apply or disapply vowel harmony in their daily utterances. According to (Simaki, et al., 2017), utilizing particular linguistic variants and patterns is driven by the speakers' beliefs and attitudes towards objects, events, and the prior speakers' viewpoints. Thus, the choice of exercising a phonological process (e.g., vowel harmony) in actual fact, is subject to the speakers' perception in connection to the relationship between them, the situations they are talking in, the subject matter, and the purpose of the talk, which all impact the way a native speaker develop and deploy a linguistic pattern (Pridham, 2001).

Vowel harmony is a sub-category of phonological assimilation that usually occurs distantly within an assimilatory island. By and large, assimilation, in terms of sharing phonetic features, is basically of three types: (1) total/complete—by sharing all features becoming identical; (2) partial—by sharing one or some features becoming similar; and (3) coalescent—two sounds as a result of reciprocal influence changing into a third one. Furthermore, assimilation, in terms of directionality, can be progressive (the trigger precedes the target), regressive (the trigger follows the target) and reciprocal (segments affecting and affected mutually). (Crystal, 2008; Gussenhoven & Jacobs, 2011)

This study is of double importance: (1) to my knowledge, no such work hitherto has been done on Hazaragi vowel harmony; and (2) it would serve as a substructure for further heuristic studies of its phonological system and sociolinguistic investigations. Hazaragi Persian does not have any written form yet, and no systematic work has been done on the sound inventory of this variety. It possesses perceptually specific phonemes, e.g., the retroflex sounds [ʈ] and [ɖ], which are not present in Dari variety. Identifying the number of vowels perceived and describing them could ease up the task of future researchers to simply adopt them and examine their functional (phonological) and physical (phonetic) properties. In addition, vowel harmony as a phonological process serves as a source of linguistic variation in Hazaragi. Choosing one linguistic form or pattern over another is socially grounded (Kiesling, 2009). This study facilitates the ground for future functional researchers wishing to investigate the social implication of vowel harmony in Hazaragi since it identifies and characterizes the common domains of harmony.

Literature review

No systematic linguistic studies as yet have been carried out on HP, particularly on its vowel system. As HP is a major variety of *Dari*, its vowel system obviously shares a lot with *Dari*. Overall, Khawari (2015) holds that Hazaragi has preserved several linguistic features of Middle Persian. Analogously, Khawari (2012), among several other features preserved in Hazaragi, points out retention of the lax near high vowels

/ɪ/ and /ʊ/ which, in contemporary Persian, they have merged with their high counterparts /ɪː/ and /uː/ correspondingly (Toosarvandani, 2004; Rahbar, 2008; Windfuhr, 2009).

Shari (2012), with main focus on linguistic features of HP and their relation to Middle Persian, too, states that Hazaragi is a rich resource for linguistic studies since it has preserved a lot of linguistic features existed in middle Persian. Among other features, Shari (2012), too, points out preservation of the high front lax vowel /ɪ/ and high back lax vowel /ʊ/ which were exercised in Middle Persian.

Theoretical framework

Utterances of Hazaragi native speakers are closely observed in their naturally occurring environs, analyzed within the framework of descriptive study, and ultimately the conclusion was drawn. A descriptive investigation is mainly focused on observing huge amount of data in an attempt to predict recurrence of phenomena under the same circumstances (Mouton & H.C, 1996; Walliman, 2011).

Method

The data obtained through observation from different sources: daily casual interactions among friends and family members, interviews, social and religious gatherings in Afghanistan. The entire cases of vowel harmony were examined in the utterances of HP native speakers in their naturally occurring environment. Finally, based on the analysis of the obtained data within the descriptive framework, the conclusion was drawn.

Vowel harmony in Hazaragi Persian

Vowel harmony is generally evidenced in two areas in Hazaragi Persian: in verbal prefixes (complex) as in (5.1 and 5.2) and in monomorphemic words (simple) as in (5.3).

Assimilation of /e/ to [o, u, uː, ɪ, ɪː] in verbal prefix

In verbal prefix, the vowels undergoing harmony include /e/ of the prefixes *be-* 'IMP/SBJV-' and /ɪ/ of the prefix *mɪ-* 'IPFV-' in HP. The following data in Table (1) shed light on facets of vowel alternation in the prefix *be-* 'IMP’/SBJV-.

Table 1: Verbal prefix *be— 'IMP/SUBJ—'*

(a) e → [uː, u, o]/ — +C[uː, u, o]	(b) e → [ɪː, ɪ] / — +C [ɪː, ɪ]
be-muːr ~ buː-muːr 'IMP-die'	*be-ʧɪː ~ bɪː-ʧɪː* 'IMP-pick'
be-kuːʃ ~ buː kuːʃ 'IMP-kill'	*be-ʃɪː ~ bɪː ʃɪː* 'IMP-sit'
be-gu ~ buguj 'IMP-say'	*be-gɪːr ~ bɪː gɪːr* 'IMP-take'
be-buːr ~ buː buːr 'IMP take'	*be-rɪz ~ bɪ-rɪz* 'IMP pour'
be-xur ~ buxur 'IMP-eat'	*be-xɪz ~ bɪxɪz* 'IMP pour'
be-duz ~ buduz 'IMP sew'	
be-koʃbo-koʃ 'IMP try'	

Based on the above data (Table 1), it is observed that there is phonological alternation between /e/ of the prefix *be- 'IMP/SBJV-*' and [uː], [u], [o], [ɪː], [ɪ] of the following adjacent syllables in the stems, e.g. *be-muːr ~ buː muːr* 'IMP-die' *be xur ~ buxur* 'IMP-eat'; be koʃ-bo-koʃ 'IMP try'; *be ʃɪː ~ bɪː ʃɪː*' IMP-sit'; and *be-rɪz ~ bɪ-rɪz'* IMP pour'.

Given the underlying vowel in (Table 1), let us have a panoramic look at the distributional patterns of the vowels participated in the harmony process in HP.

Table 2: systematic data on alternation of /e/

be-bɪːn	~	*bɪː-bɪː*	'IMP-see'
be-ʃɪː	~	*bɪː ʃɪː*	'IMP-sit'
be-rɪz	~	*bɪrɪz*	'IMP-pour'
be-xɪz	~	*bɪxɪz*	'IMP-rise'
be-muːr	~	*buː-muːr*	'IMP-die'
be-kuːʃ	~	*buː-kuːʃ*	'IMP-try'
be-xur	~	*buxur*	'IMP-eat'
be-duʃ	~	*buduʃ*	'IMP milk'
be-foroʃ	~	*bo-foroʃ*	'IMP-sell'
be-bor	~	*bo-bor*	'IMP-take'
be-kæʃ	~	*be-kæʃ*	'IMP-pull'
be-zæn	~	*be-zæn*	'IMP-hit'
be-xæn	~	*be-xæn*	'IMP-laugh'
be-daːn	~	*be-daːn*	'IMP-know'
be-xaːn	~	*be-xaːn*	'IMP-read'
be-dæw	~	*be-dæw/bodo*	'IMP-run'
be-dʒæw	~	*be-dʒæw*	'IMP-chew'

As observed in table (2), the high front tense vowel [ɪː] occurs before adjacent syllable containing the same high front vowel [ɪː], e.g. *be-bɪː ~*

bɪː-bɪː 'IMP-see'; and the near high front lax vowel [ɪ] occurs where the following syllable contains the same vowel, e.g. *be-rɪz ~ bɪ-rɪz'* IMP-pour'. In a similar vein, the high back tense vowel [uː] precedes syllables containing the same vowel [ɪ], e.g. *be-kuːʃ ~ buː-kuːʃ* 'IMP-try', and the near high back lax vowel also precedes the syllables containing the near high back lax vowel, e.g. *be-xur ~ bu-xur* 'IMP-eat'. Analogously, the middle back vowel [o] occurs in a syllable followed by the syllable containing the same vowel [o], e.g. *be-foroʃ ~ bo-foroʃ* 'IMP-sell'. However, the middle front vowel [e] occurs elsewhere; that is, in syllables followed by other syllables containing low vowels [æ] and [ɑː], e.g. *be-xæn ~ be-xæn* 'IMP-laugh'; *be-daːn ~ be-daːn* 'IMP-know'. According to Spencer (1996), the allophone which occurs in greater varieties of context being cogent for generalization, may be a good choice for underlying form. The middle front vowel [e] seems to be less restricted contextually than the back vowels [*uː, u,* o] and the front vowels [ɪː, ɪ]. The vowel [e] is, therefore, the underlying form which undergoes phonological rules changing into the pertinent vowels. The following phonological rules recapitulate the phonological alternations of [e] to [uː, u, o, ɪː, ɪ] in HP.

(1)

a. /e/→ { uː / — Cuː ; u / — Cu ; o / — Co ; ɪː / — Cɪː ; ɪ / — Cɪ }

The rules, in (1a), indicate that the middle front vowel /e/ gets completely harmonized to the vowels ([o], [u], [uː], [ɪ], [ɪː]) in HP. To state it differently, the middle front vowel /e/ gets harmonized with the following vowels ([o], [u], [uː], [ɪ], [ɪː] as a result of which, the middle front vowel /e/ acquires the entire phonetic features of the following vowels.

Assimilation of /ɪ/ to [uː, u, o, ɪː, e] in verbal prefix

Another example of vowel harmony in complex word is assimilation of the near high front vowel /ɪ/ of the imperfect marker prefix mɪ- 'IPFV-' with the vowels of the pertinent verbal stems.

Table 3: Verbal prefix *mɪ-* 'IPFV-'

(a) ɪ → [uː, u, o] / — C[uː, u, o]

mɪ-muːr-æ ~ muː-muːr-æ 'IPFV-die-3SG'

mɪ-guːj-æ ~ muː guːj-æ 'IPFV-say-EP-3SG'

mɪ-xur-æ ~ mu- xur-æ 'IPFV-eat-3SG'

mɪ-bor-æ ~ mo-bor-æ 'IPFV take 3SG'

mɪ-ʃoj-æ ~ mo-ʃoj-æ 'IPFV wash 3SG'

(b) ɪ → ɪː / — Cɪː

mɪ-ʃiːn-æ ~ mɪː- ʃiːn-æ 'IPFV-sit-3SG'

mɪ-tʃiːn-æ~mɪː-tʃiːn-æ 'IPFV-pick-3SG'

mɪ-ber æ ~ me-ber æ 'IPFV cut 3SG'

mɪ-zɪb-æ ~ mɪ-zɪb-æ 'IPFV-suit-3SG'

In the same token, the above data in Table (3) represent alternation between [ɪ] of the prefix *mɪ- 'IPFV'* and ([uː], [u], [o], [ɪː], [e]) of the pertinent stems respectively, e.g. *mɪ-muːr-æ ~ muː-muːr-æ* 'IPFV-die-3SG'; *mɪ-xur-æ ~ mu xur-æ* 'IPFV eat 3SG'; *mɪ-bor-æ ~ mo-bor-æ* 'IPFV take 3SG'; *mɪ-ʃiːn-æ ~ mɪː ʃiːn-æ* 'IPFV-sit-3SG'; and *mɪ-ber æ~me-ber æ* 'IPFV cut 3SG'.

To further ensure that the near high front vowel /ɪ/ of the imperfective marker mɪ is the underlying form, the following data are provided to further throw light on the distribution of the respective vowels.

Table 4: more data on alternation of /ɪ/

mɪ-muːr-æ	~	*muː-muːr-æ*	'IPFV-die-3SG'
mɪ-xur-æ	~	*mu-xur-æ*	'Ipfv-eat-3SG'
mɪ-duz-æ	~	*mu-duz-æ*	'IPFV-sew-3SG'
mɪ-bor-æ	~	*mo-bor-æ*	'IPFV take 3SG'
mɪ-ʃoj-æ	~	*mo-ʃoj-æ*	'IPFV wash 3SG'
mɪ-ʃiːn-æ	~	*mɪː-ʃiːn-æ*	'IPFV-sit-3SG'
mɪ-gɪːr-æ	~	*mɪː-gɪːr-æ*	'IPFV-take-3SG'
mɪ-zɪb-æ	~	*mɪ-zɪb-æ*	'IPFV-suit-3SG'
mɪ-xɪz-æ	~	*mɪ-xɪz-æ*	'IPFV-rise-3SG'
mɪ-ber-æ	~	*me-ber-æ*	'IPFV cut 3SG'
mɪ-dæn-æ	~	*mɪ-dæn-æ*	'IPFV know 3SG'
mɪ-xaːn-æ	~	*mɪ-xaːn-æ*	'IPFV read 3SG'

In table (4), the back vowels /uː/, /u/ and /o/ occur where they are pursued by syllables containing the same back vowels /uː/, /u/ and /o/ respectively. By the same token, the front vowels /ɪː/ and /e/ precede the syllables containing the same front vowels respectively; whereas, the near high front vowel /ɪ/ occurs elsewhere—before syllables containing /ɪ/, /ɑː/ and /æ/. The near high front vowel /ɪ/ occurs in a greater number

of phonological environments and is capable of accounting for phonological generalization; therefore, it serves as the underlying vowel which subsequently undergoes phonological alternation surfacing as different vowels.

Vowel alternations in Tables (1- 4) have taken place within complex words (prefix + verb). Complex words, as opposed to simple, contain more than one constituent morpheme in their structures (Crystal, 2008; Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011). Vowels in complex words get completely harmonized either in terms of place (Table 5, a) or height (Table 5, b) as exhibited below.

Table 5: place and height harmony

a. Place harmony:	b. Height harmony
be-kon ~ boko 'IMP do'	*be-ʃiː ~ bɪː-ʃiː* 'IMP-sit'
be-xur ~ bu-xur 'IMP-eat'	*be-rɪz ~ bɪ-rɪz* 'IMP-pour'
mɪ-kon-æ~mo-kon-æ 'IPFV-do-3SG'	*ħozuːr ~ ħuːzuːr* 'presence'
be-kuːʃ~ buː-kuːʃ 'IMP-try'	*ʃoru ~ ʃuru* 'start'

By and large, the target vowels, in complex words, are the front vowels; the middle front vowel /e/ of the prefix *be-* 'IMP/SBJV-', and the near high front vowel /ɪ/ of the prefix *mɪ-* 'IPFV-'. They get totally assimilated to the vowels in the following syllables in stems, saving the low vowels [æ] and [ɑː]. The front vowels /e/ and /ɪ/, in complex words, undergo both place and height harmony. Either they undergo height or place harmony is decided by the type of following vowels extending their phonetic features to them regressively. For example, in (a) above the vowel /e/ in *be-kon ~ bo-ko* has undergone place assimilation—a shift from front to back— whereas, in (b) the same vowel in *be-ʃiː ~ bɪː ʃiː* has undergone height harmony—the middle front vowel /e/ rose to high front vowel [ɪː].

Vowel harmony in monomorphemic words

Vowel harmony is also evidenced in monomorphemic words of any lexical category in HP. In monomorphemic words, only the middle vowels /e/ and /o/ get assimilated to their corresponding high tense vowels [ɪː] and [uː]; that is, they merely undergo height harmony as exhibited in Table (6). There is no further interaction between front and middle vowels at all, in monomorphemic words.

Table 6: alternation of /o/ and /e/

(a) /o/ uː/ — Cuː	(b) /e/ ɪː/ — (+) Cɪː
doruːd ~ duːruːd ‘hello’	*dehɪːd ~ dɪːhɪːd* ‘IMP;give’
ħozuːr ~ ħuːzuːr ‘presence’	*kellɪː ~ kɪːllɪː* ‘key’
doruːɣ ~ duːruːɣ ‘lie’	*sellɪː ~ sɪːllɪː* ‘slap’
ʃoʕuːr ~ ʃuːʕuːr ‘sense’	*mellɪː ~ mɪːllɪː* ‘national’

It is observed in (a) that there is an alternation between the middle back vowel [o] and high back vowel [uː], e.g., *ʃoʕuːr ~ ʃuːʕuːr* 'sense'; *wofuːr~ wuːfuːr* 'abundance'. Similarly, in (b) there is an alternation between the middle front vowel [e] and the high front vowel [ɪː], e.g. *dehɪːd ~ dɪːhɪːd* 'IMP; give' ; *kellɪː ~ kɪːllɪ ː '* key'.

Given the distributional specification of the aforementioned vowels, the following data are presented to shed light on the status of the underlying vowels undergoing phonological alternation.

Table 7: more data on alternation of [o] and [e]

(a) Alternation of /o/	(b) Alternation of /e/
doruːd ~ duːruːd ‘hello’	*gelɪː ~ gɪːlɪː* ‘of mud’
ħozuːr ~ ħuːzuːr ‘presence’	*dehɪːd ~ dɪːhɪːd* ‘IMP;give’
ʃoru ~ ʃoru ‘start’	*kenu ~ kenu* ‘tangerine’
koʃtu ~ koʃtu ‘kill:INF’	*qeru~ qeru* ‘coin’
goʃaːd ~ goʃaːd ‘broad’	*dehaːd ~ dehaːd* ‘village;PL’
wotaːq ~ wotaːq ‘room’	*beraːr ~ beraːr* ‘brother’
dombæ ~ dombæ ‘dock (sheep)’	*meræk ~ meræk* ‘male nickname’
tobræ ~ tobræ ‘sack’	*peʃæk ~ peʃæk* ‘cat’
poʒdɪː ~ poʒdɪː ‘removing weeds’	*beduːn ~ beduːn* ‘without’
borɪw ~ borɪw ‘young cow’	*berɪtaːnja ~ berɪtaːnja* ‘Britain’
mokɪt ~ mokɪt ‘a kind of carpet’	*belɪt ~ belɪt* ‘ticket’
mojeb ~ mojeb ‘PR (male)’	*feʃordæ ~ feʃordæ* ‘short’

As observed in table (6, a), the high back vowel [uː] occurs where it is followed by syllables containing the same vowel [uː], e.g., *doruːd ~ duːruːd* 'hello'; *ħozuːr ~ ħuːzuːr* 'presence'. However, the middle back vowel [o] occurs in greater phonological environments; that is, before syllables containing [u, ɑː, æ, ɪː, u, ɪ, e], e.g., *ʃoru ~ ʃoru* ‘start’; *wotaːq ~ wotaːq* ‘room’; *tobræ ~ tobræ* ‘sack’; *poʒdɪː ~ poʒdɪː* ‘removing weeds’; *ʃoru ~ ʃoru* ‘start’; *borɪw ~ borɪw* ‘young cow’; *mojeb ~ mojeb* ‘PR (male)’. Based on the distributional criteria, therefore, the middle

back vowel [o] is confirmed as the basic form since it occurs in greater verities of phonetic environments; and it is both easy to state and is potent to generalize the phonological alternation in the grammar of Hazaragi (Spencer, 1996). The middle back vowel /o/, therefore, undergoes a phonological rule changing into high back vowel [uː] in while occurring before high back vowel [uː], e.g. *moruːr ~ muːruːr* 'looking over', *doruːd ~ duːruːd* 'hello'.

In a similar vein, the high front vowel [ɪː] occurs where it is followed by the same high front vowel [ɪː] in the forthcoming syllables, e.g., *dehɪːd ~ dɪːhɪːd* 'IMP;give'; *gelɪː ~ gɪːlɪː* ' key'. However, the middle front vowel [e] occurs elsewhere; that is, before syllables containing [u, ɑː, æ, uː, ɪ, o], e.g., *kenu ~ kenu* ‘tangerine’; *beraːr ~ beraːr* ‘brother’; *peʃæk ~ peʃæk* ‘cat’; *beduːn ~ beduːn* ‘without’; *belɪt ~ belɪt* ‘ticket’; *feʃordæ ~ feʃordæ* ‘short’ respectively. The middle front vowel [e] occurs in more phonological environments and is capable of functioning as the underlying form. Therefore, the middle front vowel /e/, while occurring in a syllable followed by the high front vowel [ɪː], undergoes total assimilation.

The following rules exhibit vowel alternation in monomorphemic words. The phonological rule (a) exhibits the alternation between middle back vowel /o/ and high back vowel [uː]; and analogously, rule (b) represents alternation between the middle front vowel /e/ and its corresponding high vowel [ɪː] in HP.

(2) (a) /o/→ uː / —— Cuː

(b) /e/→ ɪː / —— Cɪː

After all, the following phonological rules recap vowel alternation in HP both in monomorphemic and complex words. Rules (a and b) exhibit vowel harmony in complex words and rules (b and c) represent vowel harmony in monomorphemic words.

(3)

a. /e/ → { o / —— Co ; u / —— Cu ; uː / —— Cuː ; ɪ / —— Cɪ ; ɪː / —— Cɪː }

b. /e/ → ɪː / — (+) C[ɪː]

b. /ɪ/ → { o / —— Co ; u / —— Cu ; uː / —— Cuː ; e / —— Ce ; ɪː / —— Cɪː }

c. /o/ → [uː] / — C[uː]

Conclusion

This study examined vowel harmony in Hazaragi Persian in Afghanistan. By and large, it identified that vowel harmony, in HP, takes place in two different domains—in simple and in complex words. In monomorphemic words, the target vowels merely undergo height harmony; whereas in complex words, targets would undergo either height or place harmony. Therefore, the same vowel occurring in different structural categories—simple or complex—is functionally discriminated in each case. In simple structure, the target vowels (/e/ and /o/) merely undergo height harmony; that is, each rises to its corresponding high vowel [ɪː] and [uː] respectively. Contrariwise, the targets, in complex words, are the middle front vowel [e] in be- 'IMP/SBJV-' and the near high front vowel [ɪ] in mɪ- 'IPFV-', which each would harmonize in terms of height or place depending upon the type of vowels in the stems to which they are assimilated. Moreover, this study also looks at vowel harmony with an insight to generalize productivity of vowel assimilation in simple and compound words, and yields the result that vowel harmony in monomorphemic words seems to be more restricted than in complex words since there is only a front-to-front, or a back-to-back interaction particularly between tense vowels, e.g. [e] interacts with [ɪː], and [o] interacts with [uː]; however, no instance of interaction between /e/ and /o/ is evidenced. On the contrary, in complex words there is no such restriction on the interaction between tense and lax, or front and back vowels. For example, the tense vowel [e] can undergo height harmony rising to near high front lax vowel [ɪ], or to the high front tense vowel [ɪː]. In a similar vein, the near high front lax vowel [ɪ] undergoing height harmony, may lower to the middle front tense vowel [e] or rise to the high front tense vowel [ɪː]; moreover, it may undergo place harmony shifting to [o], [u] and [uː].

By and large, this study concludes that the type of vowel harmony takes place, from the standpoint of direction, is regressive; the targets always precede the triggers in HP. With regard to the number of phonetic features, the target vowels acquire the entire phonetic features of the triggers; therefore, it is called total assimilation (Spencer, 1996; Crystal, 2008; Gussenhoven & Jacobs, 2011). Furthermore, this study maintains that vowels in HP are functionally of two categories: vowels participating in harmony (middle, near high and high vowels); and vowels not participating in harmony processes (low vowels).

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ARTICLE

Desiderative predicates itʃtʃʰe kɔre and itʃtʃʰe kore in Bangla: semantic and pragmatic interface

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Paper received: April 25, 2022
Paper revised: May 29, 2022
Paper accepted: July 8, 2022

Abstract :

The paper explores the intricacies of the predicates ***itʃtʃʰe kɔre****'to wish' and* ***itʃtʃʰe kore*** *'intentionally/willingly doing something' in Bangla a.k.a Bengali; an Indo Aryan language). The work revolving around these two predicates is majorly discussed under two viewpoints; morpho-semantic and the pragmatic aspect. The morpho-semantic perspective deals with the form of the predicates, concentrating on the meaning bearing potentials of kore in itʃtʃʰe kore and how that is different from the desire predicate itʃtʃʰe kɔre. The morpho-semantic domain shows the contrastive feature between the two. The pragmatic sphere on the other hand revolves around a 'desiderative' commonality between the two. This feature of commonality is shown by incorporating some machinery of 'modal logic'.*

Keywords : Subject-Oriented adverbs, Neo-Davidsonian semantics, Speech Act Theory, Modal base, Bouletic modals.

Introduction and Research Objectives

A comprehensive investigation of the desire predicates in Bangla (a.k.a Bengali; an Indo Aryan language) demands exploring the distribution of the predicates throughout the language. Among those predicates, this paper particularly aims in exploring the intricacies of ***itʃtʃʰe kɔre*** 'to wish' (the root form is *itʃtʃʰe kɔra*), which is one of the most widely used desire predicates in Bangla. While investigating its distributive patterns, one major avenue of interest which motivated this initiative is the existence of ***itʃtʃʰe kore*** 'intentionally/willingly doing something'; employed as an adverb conveying the intentional attitude of the subject. The analysis of the current work gathers around two sections; the morpho-semantic domain followed by the pragmatic interlude. The work shows that the two predicate deviates not only in terms of usage but in their morpho-semantic domain as well. The morpho semantic domain concentrates on the form and meaning and shows a conflict in the meaning construing capacities, arguing how *itʃtʃʰe kore* stands out to be a unique feature. Lastly, the pragmatic domain tells that despite the morpho semantic contrast between *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore,* they share a commonality in the semantic notion of desire. These two major sections unfold as the work proceeds. The two sentences from Bangla comprising the predicates *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore*, which act as major instruments in the analysis, are observed in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1)	*ram-er*	*dardʒiliŋ*	*dʒe-te*	***itʃtʃʰe***	***kɔr-e***
	ram-GEN	Darjeeling.LOC	go-INF	wish	do.PRS-3
	'Ram wishes to go to Darjeeling.'				

(2)	*ram*	***itʃtʃʰe kore***	*kʰœla-ʈa*	*her-e*	
	ram.NOM	intentionally	match-CLF	lost-PRT	
	gœ-l-o				
	go-PST-3				
	'Ram intentionally lost the match.'				

The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* (an N V complex predicate) as observed in (1), as arguments take an experiencer subject (*ram-er*) and an infinitival complement (*dardʒiliŋ dʒe-te*). Whereas in (2) the predicate *itʃtʃʰe kore* acts as an adverbial; conveying the intentional attitude of the subject

towards the event. The primary interest of the work starts with the 'form' of the two predicates. The {-ɔ} and {-o} distinction observed in *kɔre* and *kore* has primarily been identified in Bangla as the finite and non-finite distinction, though according to the extensive literature the nature of *kore* is polysemous in Bangla. Interestingly, we see a different picture here, i.e. *it/ʈ/ʰe kore* is not a non-finite of *it/ʈ/ʰe kɔre* and rather it is a one-word construction securing its very own independent meaning. The morpho semantic domain argues about this exception in Bangla under the shade of the different meaning-bearing potentials of *kore*. At this point it is important to articulate two major research objectives of this work:

a) What exception does the predicate *it/ʈ/ʰe kore* retains in its property under the periphery of *kore* with its polysemous nature?

b) Under the shell of the pragmatic perspective, how well can we explain the common desiderative thread between the two predicates?

Methodology

In our current work, 'context' plays a crucial and significant role, which we will unwrap as the work proceeds. Therefore, as a matter of fact the challenge of exploring the questions discussed in the above section is to acquire data which are rich in contextual information. This is the very reason for which we should talk about the sources of the data.

Sources:	
	a. Digital Sources (i) Bichitra Corpus
	b. Books and journals.

Table – (1)

Representation of Data

We expressed the data, gathered from digital sources, in a schema that is divided into three layers: (i) Source, (ii) Object language, and (iii) Gloss. The source indicates the title of the book, as well as the author's name and the year of publication from which the data is gathered. The linguistic expressions are transcribed using the International

Phonological Association's standard convention. The Leipzig convention for word by word glossing rules is borrowed. Consider the following figure:

(18) (*Source:*Tagore, R. (1945).Poritran, *ibid*)

bʰɔgobɔ t̪	*ha t̪-pa*	***itʃtʃʰe kore***
bhogobot.NOM	hands and legs	intentionally

bad^{ʰ}*-i-et̪ʃʰ-ɸ-e*

tie-CAUS-PRF-PRS-3

'Bhogobot$_i$ has **intentionally** caused (someone) to tie his$_i$ hands and legs.'

Fig: (1)

Structural innards of desire predicates in Bangla

It is of utmost importance to understand the general structural framework of desire predicates in Bangla and their distribution throughout the language. A close study of Bangla will ensure that 'desire' is primarily expressed with the lexical predicate *itʃtʃʰe*'wish' in combination with the light verbs, like, *kɔr*-'do'*, hɔ*- 'happen' *and atʃʰ*- 'have'. The following sentences below show how these predicates are employed in the language itself.

(3) *ram-er* *itʃtʃʰe* *ɔnil* *dardʒiliŋ* *dʒa-k*
ram- GEN wish anil.NOM Darjeeling.LOC go-SUBJN
'It is Ram's desire (that) Anil goes to Darjeeling.'

(4) *ɔniʃ-er* *pahar* *dek*^{h}*- te* *dʒe-te* *itʃtʃʰe*
ɔniʃ - GEN mountains.ACC see –INF go-INF wish
kɔr-e
do.PRS-3
'Anish wishes to see the mountains.'

(5) *amar* *dardʒiliŋ* *dʒe-te* *itʃtʃʰe* *hɔy-e*
ami.GEN Darjeeling.LOC go-INF wish happen.PRS-3
'I wish to go to Darjeeling.'

(6) *onu-r* *sikim* *dʒa-wa-r* *itʃtʃʰe* *atʃʰ-e*
anu-GEN sikkim.LOC go-GEN-GER wish have.PRS-3
'Anu has a wish towards visiting Sikkim.'

(7)	*onu-r*	*sikim*	*dʒa-wa-r*	*itʃtʃʰe*	*hɔy-e*
	anu-GEN	sikkim.LOC	go-GEN-GER	wish	happen.PRS-3

'Anu wishes to go to Darjeeling.'

The above sentences represent all the occurrences of *itʃtʃʰe* functioning independently and with the light verbs. In (3) the lexical predicate *itʃtʃʰe* takes the subjunctive as its complement. The lexical predicate *itʃtʃʰe* acts as a subjunctive trigger (Bhattacharya, 2013). In (4) and (5) *itʃtʃʰe* with the light verbs, *kɔra* and *hɔwa* take the infinitival complements respectively. A strident syntactic difference between *itʃtʃʰe kɔra* and *itʃtʃʰe hɔwa* revolves around the clausal complement dependency. The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔra* shows its alliance always with the infinitival complement. On the contrary *itʃtʃʰe hɔwa* can occur with an infinitival complement and a genitive gerundive complement, as seen in (7). The light verb *atʃʰ-e* with the nominal host *itʃtʃʰe* occurs with a genitive gerundive [i]complement, evident in (6).

The relevance of 'Impersonal Structure'

It is a general concern to talk about the structural innards of *itʃtʃʰe* (with the light verbs). In the light of the above examples, it is important to bring up the matter of 'impersonal structure'[ii] in Bangla. The occurrences of *itʃtʃʰe* (along with the light verbs) in Bangla demand an 'Impersonal Structure', i.e. the subject will always be genitive and the verb in the third person.

This behaviour is not observable in other conjunct verbs (N V complex predicates) majorly. Other NV complex predicates like *bʰɔy kɔra* 'to fear', *rag kɔra* 'to get angry', *biʃʃaʃ kɔra* 'to believe', *lɔdʒdʒa kɔra* 'to shy' etc incorporates their active counterpart. Observe the examples below,

(8a)	*onu*	*skul-er*	*principəl-ke*	*bʰiʃon*
	anu.NOM	school-GEN	principal-ACC	very
	bʰɔy	*kɔr-e*		
	scare	do.PRS-3		

'Anu is very much scared of her school's principal.'

(8b) *onu-r* *bʰut-e* *bʰiʃon* *bʰɔy* *hɔy-e*
anu-GEN ghost-ABL very scare happen.PRS-3
'Anu is very much scared of ghosts.'

(9a) *ma* *ɖeri* *kor-e* *bari* *dʰukle*
mother.NOM late do-PRT home enter
rag *kɔr-e*
anger do.PRS-3
'Mother gets angry when I enter home late.'

(9b) *onu-r* *rag* *ho-l-o* *ɔnil-er*
anu-GEN anger happen-PST-3 anil-GEN
kɔtʰa *ʃune*
talk ʃune
'Anu got angry after hearing Anil.'

(10a) *ami* *onu-ke* *ar* *biʃʃaʃ*
I.NOM anu-ACC anymore believe
kɔr-i *na*
do.PRS-1 no
'I don't believe Anu anymore.'

(10b) *amar* *biʃʃaʃ* *hɔy-e* *na* *dʒe*
I.GEN believe happen.PRS-3 no that
tumi *nei*
you no more
'I can't believe that you are no more.'

The above examples show precisely the incorporations of the light verbs with both *kɔra* 'to do' and *hɔwa* 'happen'.

A possible semantic explanation for *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish' not having an agentive counterpart relies on the fact that a mental attitude like the above can only be experienced. The attitude predicates *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish' cannot substantiate meanings that convey 'to do' 'to give' 'to take'. (S)he can only undergo the feeling of desire. The attitude holder or the subject cannot 'do' desire.

The genitive subject is a mandate for all the uses of *itʃtʃʰe* throughout the language, as observed below.

(11) *amar* *itʃtʃʰe (kɔre / hɔye /atʃʰ-e)* ✓ **GEN**
I.GEN wish
**ami* *itʃtʃʰe (kɔre/hɔye / atʃʰ-e)*
I-NOM wish

(12)	*tomar*	*itʃtʃʰe (kɔre / hɔye /atʃʰ-e)*	✓ **GEN**
	you.GEN	wish	
	*tumi	itʃtʃʰe (kɔre/hɔye / atʃʰ-e)	
	you.NOM	wish	
(13)	*ram-er*	*itʃtʃʰe (kɔre /hɔye / atʃʰ-e)*	✓ **GEN**
	ram-GEN	wish	
	**ram*	*itʃtʃʰe (kɔre /hɔye /atʃʰ-e)*	
	ram.NOM	wish	

One important aspect which needs to be addressed here is the semantic role of *kɔra* 'to do' in the case of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre*. The semantic contribution of the verb *kɔra* in the predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is a matter of question and demands some understanding. The semantic sense of *kɔra* raises a concern, as we cannot 'do' desire we can only undergo the feeling of desire. Desire can only 'happen' to the subject of the attitude holder. A mental attitude like *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish' can only be experienced. Hindi (Indo Aryan language) also delivers extensive use of light verbs and complex predicates. They do not incorporate the conjunct form ****itʃtʃʰa karna*** 'wish do'; they always employ ***itʃtʃʰa hona*** 'wish happen'. Observe examples below, (15) conveys the Hindi counterpart of (14). Example (16) shows another example with the incorporation of ***itʃtʃʰa hona***.

(14)	*ɔniʃ-er*	*pahar*	*dekʰ-te*	*dʒe-te*
	ɔniʃ - GEN	mountains.ACC	see –INF	go-INF
	itʃtʃʰe	*kɔr-e*		
	wish	do.PRS-3		
	'Anish wishes to go and see the mountains.'			

Hindi counterpart:

(15)	*aniʃ-ko*	*pahar*	*dekʰ-ne-ki*	***itʃtʃʰa***
	anish-DAT	mountains-ACC	see-GEN-GER	wish
	ho-t-i	hai		
	happen-Hab-F	be.PRS		
	'Anish wishes to see the mountains.'			

(16)	*mudʒʰe*	*dardʒiliŋ*	*dʒa-ne-ki*	***itʃtʃʰa***	*ho-t-i*
	I.NOM	Darjeeling	see-GEN-GER	wish	happen-Hab-F
	hai				
	be.PRS				
	'I wish to go to Darjeeling.'				

The three generalizations that can be derived based on these observations are as follows:

i) The desire predicates in Bangla demands an 'impersonal structure' throughout the discourse.
ii) One of the major predicates in this work i.e. *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* shows its syntactic dependency only with an infinitival complement.
iii) We have raised a concern on the semantic contribution of the verb *kɔra* in the conjunct predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre*.

At this point after understanding the generic structure of *itʃtʃʰe* (along with the light verbs), it is crucial to approach a syntactic representation of the predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* which is one of the primary predicates concerning this particular work. The syntax semantic compositional representation of sentence (1), repeated here in (17) can be observed below in figure-2. The formalization below is taken care of by the Neo-Davidsonian semantics, especially followed by the model of Coppock and Champollion (2020).

The Neo-Davidsonian semantics mainly initiated by Higginbotham (1985) and Parson (1990) is a turn from the Davidsonian Semantics. Davidson (1967) in his seminal work argued that events are spatiotemporal things i.e. concrete particulars with a location in space and time. The Davidsonian work has been a breakthrough in the space of verb semantics and several verbal modifications. In the course of the Davidsonian paradigm, one influential school of thought which redefined and gave a whole new direction to this overall approach is the 'Neo-Davidsonian Semantics' and it is considered as a standard logical form in event semantics. The Davidsonian semantics initiated event arguments as additional arguments of (some) verbs, while the 'Neo-Davidsonian' approach considers the event arguments as the only argument of a verbal predicate. According to the 'Neo-Davidsonian' paradigm, it is not only the action verbs that introduce event arguments but also adjectives, nouns and prepositions. This approach also shows a broader perspective in the account of the 'thematic roles' i.e. the relation between events and their participants is accounted for by the use of thematic roles. In our current work, we have borrowed the 'Neo-Davidsonian' convention because we have tried to represent these sentences from the perspective of 'eventuality' and 'participants' involved in a particular event.

(17) *ram-er* *dardʒiliŋ* *dʒe-te* ***itʃtʃʰe*** ***kɔr-e***
ram-GEN Darjeeling.LOC go-INF wish do.PRS-3
'Ram wishes to go to Darjeeling.'

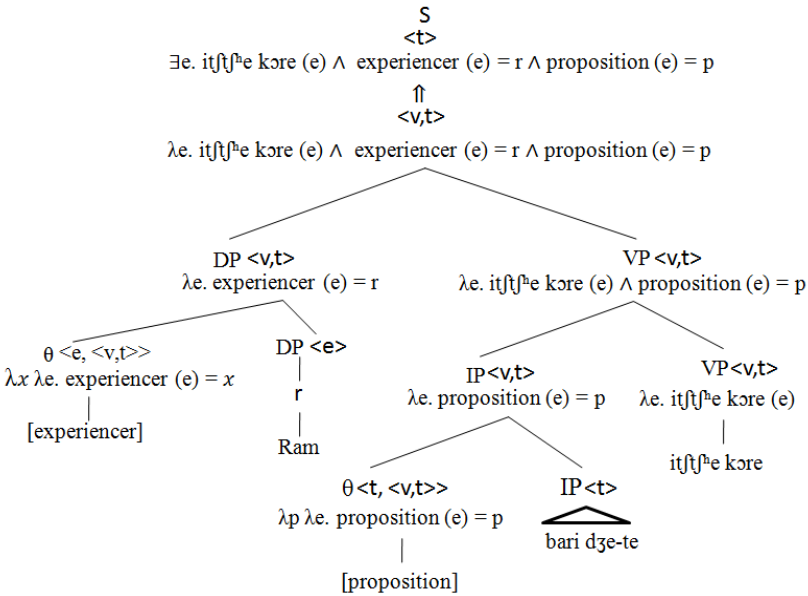

Figure-(2)

The functions of *kore* in Bangla and *itʃtʃʰe kore* explicating the exception

The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kore* in Bangla acts as an adverbial, conveying the sense of 'intentionally/willingly doing something. Observe examples (18) and (19), example (19) is the same as (2)

(18) (*Source:* Tagore, R. (1945).Poritran, *ibid*)
bʰɔgobɔ ʈ *ha ʈ-pa* ***itʃtʃʰe kore***
bhogobot.NOM hands and legs intentionally
badʰ-i-etʃʰ-ɸ-e
tie-CAUS-PRF-PRS-3
'Bhogobot$_i$ has **intentionally** caused (someone) to tie his$_i$ hands and legs.'

(19) *ram* ***itʃtʃʰe kore*** *kʰœla-ʈa*
ram.NOM intentionally match-CLF
her-e *gœ-l-o*
lost-PRT go-PST-3
'Ram intentionally lost the match.'

In both the above examples (18) and (19) *itʃtʃʰe kore* is behaving as an adverbial and implies the intentional attitude of the subject towards the event of tying (hands and legs) and losing (the match) respectively. Now the work delves into the morpho semantic domain which deals with a conflict between the form and meaning. According to Thompson (2004) and Ghosh (2018) the *kore* in Bangla is polysemous. Let us gather some knowledge about the various meaning potentialities of *kore* from the discourse**.** The very first vital incorporation of *kore* brings the topic of non-finite constructions in Bangla. The examples below show the functions of *kore* signifying non- finites in Bangla.

(20) *ram* *kadʒ* ***kor-e*** *bari* *gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM work do-PRT home go-PST-3
'After doing his$_i$ work Ram$_i$ went home.'

(21) *parul* *ɔnko-ʈa* ***kor-e*** *kʰel-te* *gæ-l-o*
parul.NOM maths-CLF do-PRT play-INF go-PST-3
'Parul went to play after doing the maths (homework).'

In Bangla *kore* also marks its presence in the matter of postpositions. Observe the examples below.

(22) *megʰna* ***bas-e*** ***kore*** *skul-e* *gæ-l-o*
meghna.NOM bus-INS postposition school-LOC go-PST-3
'Meghna went to school by bus.'

(23) *ɔnil* ***balti*** ***kore*** *am* *an-l-o*
anil.NOM bucket postposition mango.PL.ACC bring-PST-3
'Anil brought the mangoes in a bucket.'

(24) *onu* ***kol-e*** ***kore*** *bat/tʃa-ta-ke* *ni-e*
anu.NOM lap-LOC postposition child-CLF-ACC take
an-l-o
bring-PST-3
'Anu brought the child in her lap.'

(25) *batʃtʃa-ta* ***ʧamotʃ-e*** ***kore*** *pakʰi-ʈa-ke*
child-CLS spoon-INS postposition bird-CLF-ACC
jɔl *kʰa-wa-tʃtʃʰ-e*
water.ACC eat-CAUS-CONT-3
'The child is feeding the bird water with a spoon.'

Sentences (22) – (25) show the instances of *kore* used as a postposition in Bangla. Finally, the adverbial functions of *kore* can be observed below,

(26) *rohim* ***ɔlpo ɔlpo kore*** *kʰabar-ʈa* *kʰe-l-o*
rohim.NOM bit by bit food- CLF eat-PST-3
'Rohim ate the food **bit by bit / gradually**.'

(27) *batʃtʃʰa-ra* ***ækdʒon ækdʒon kore*** *gʰɔr-e* *dʰuk-l-o*
kid-PL one by one room-LOC enter-PST-3
'The kids entered the room **one by one.'**

(28) *ram* ***biʃeʃ kore*** *onu-ke-i* *kɔtʰa- ʈa* *bol-l-o*
ram.NOM especially anu-ACC-EMPH words-CLF say-PST-3
'Ram **especially** said the words to Anu.'

(29) *nobin* ***aste kore*** *gʰɔr-e* *uNki* *mar-l-o*
nobin.NOM softly/gently room-LOC peep bit-PST-3
'Nobin gently peeped inside the room.'

Examples (26) - (29) show some adverbial (expressing manners) uses of *kore* in Bangla.

Revisiting the literature would tell us that *kore* in Bangla is polysemous; functions as a perfective participle (with the {-e} morpheme) in a non finite construction observed in (20) and (21), as postpositions seen in (22) – (25) and lastly as adverbials particularly as 'manner adverbials' shown in (26) – (29). At this point, we want to articulate and address the significance of *itʃtʃʰe kore*. The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kore* differs from the other adverbials in terms of its core sense. Observe example (19) repeated here as (30) for the convenience of discussion.

(30) *ram* ***itʃtʃʰe kore*** *kʰæla-ʈa* *her-e* *gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM intentionally match-CLF lost-PRT go-PST-3
'Ram intentionally lost the match.'

The other adverbials from (26) – (29) describe the manner of the event. For example in (26) *ɔlpo ɔlpo kore* 'bit by bit' conveys the manner of eating. In (27) *ækdʒon ækdʒon kore* describes the manner of entering inside the room or say for (28) *biʃeʃ kore* implies the way of saying. Lastly, in example (29) *aste kore* implies the manner of peeping

inside the room. Now, if we notice minutely itʃtʃʰe kore is subject centred, it tells the mental attitude of the subject towards the event. The literature on adverbs majorly observed in the works of Jackendoff(1972), Cinque (1999) and Ernst (2001) tells that adverbs like 'intentionally', 'willingly', 'reluctantly', 'foolishly' 'angrily' etc should be classified and made distinct as 'Subject-oriented adverbs' and from this class, adverbs like 'intentionally', 'willingly', 'reluctantly' are narrowed down as 'Mental attitude adverbs'. Here we want to bring the exception that kore not only signifies a manner of reading, it can also explicate the mental attitude of the subject towards the event and itʃtʃʰe kore plays a shred of very strident evidence for this argument. The semantics of itʃtʃʰe kore in (30) is formalized with the help of the Neo-Davidsonian Semantics which can be observed below in (31).

31. ∃e. here_ gælo (e) ∧ agent (e) = r ∧ theme (e) = k ∧ itʃtʃʰe kore (e)

The syntactic-semantic composition of (30) is shown below in figure (3).

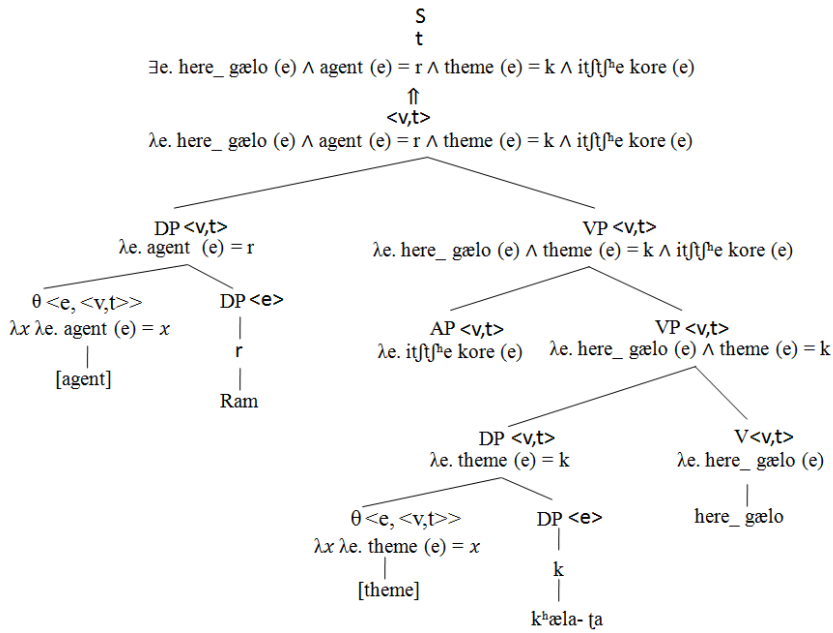

Figure – (3)

Let us sum up the avenues we have argued in the morpho-semantic section regarding the predicates *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore*:

i. We started with the contrasting pair of the verb in the conjunct i.e. *kɔre* and *kore* and argued that *itʃtʃʰe kore* is not the non-finite of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre*.
ii. The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kore* is a one-word construction in Bangla implicating the meaning of 'intentionally doing something'.
iii. All the uses of *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish' (along with the light verbs) in Bangla select an 'impersonal structure'; there is no active counterpart that prevails. Moreover, we have argued that the light verb *kɔra* in *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* shows some syntactic dependency with a particular clausal structure (i.e. the infinitival complement) but the semantic contribution of *kɔra* in matters of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is a space of concern. Examples from another IA language (Hindi) are shown where they don't have the incorporation of *kɔra* with *itʃtʃʰe*.
iv. The functionalities of *kore* have been discussed while revisiting the literature and the major avenue of interest that revolved around *itʃtʃʰe kore* is dealt with in this work considering the existing meaning potentials of *kore.*
v. Previously, it was said that *kore* is used signifying non-finite, as postpositions and manner adverbials.
vi. We here showed another meaning potential i.e. *kore* not only conveys the sense of a manner adverbial explaining the manner of an event but in *itʃtʃʰe kore* it can also be used as a subject centric adverb implying the attitude of the subject towards the event.

The pragmatic interaction between the predicates

The second section of the analysis brings forward a pragmatic interlude. If we look at the two predicates minutely, we tend to observe that both the predicates are composed of the word *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish'. At this point, the aspect that bothered us is the 'desiderative' viewpoint. The pragmatic domain tells that despite the morpho semantic contrast between *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore,* they share a commonality on the semantic notion of desire. This line of thought is analysed under the concept of **'modal base'** accounted by Kratzer (1981)(1991).

Before delving into the technicalities of 'modal base' and the concepts of 'modality' and 'possible world semantics, we will first try to understand the 'context-driven factor of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore.* Now *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is one of the desire predicates used in Bangla, quite naturally it will bear out of the context of desire. Observe the example below where a context is injected.

(32) **Background scenario:** Ram has spent his childhood in Darjeeling. He had his boarding school there. A fair share of nostalgia is attached to that place. Now whenever he gets piled up with his work, he immensely longs for a visit to Darjeeling.

ram-er	*dardʒiliŋ*	*dʒe-te*	***itʃtʃʰe***	***kɔr-e***
ram-GEN	Darjeeling.LOC	go-INF	wish	do.PRS-3

'Ram wishes to go to Darjeeling'

In the above example, the desire towards going to Darjeeling appears from a longing. So, it can be said that under the context of how much the subject loves that place and have a desire to visit, a sentence like (32) is said.

Before, getting the context restricted factor of *itʃtʃʰe kore* we need to understand why this predicate selects a restrictive context. Observe the minimal pairs below,

(33)

ram	*kʰœla-ʈa*	*her-e*	*gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM	match-CLF	lost-PRT	go-PST-3

'Ram lost the match.'

(34) **Context (for losing):** There is a match between Ram and his childhood friend Anil. Ram loves him a lot and he knows that winning something always makes Anil happy. Hence Ram wants Anil to win the match.

ram	***itʃtʃʰe kore***	*kʰœla-ʈa*	*her-e*	*gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM	intentionally	match-CLF	lost-PRT	go-PST-3

'Ram intentionally lost the match.'

In (33) we need to understand under what potential contexts the event of losing happened. Ram's losing the match can be considered as a single event. Moreover, the contexts for the reason of losing are underspecified in (33), there can be situations where Ram got an injury so he failed to play well and lost the match or situation where the opponent player played well and defeated Ram, therefore he lost the match and several other contexts where the event of losing can be

completely accidental. Contrarily, example (34) summons a particular context mentioned above. The semantic interpretation of *itʃtʃʰe kore* is only compatible with the context mentioned where the agent is motivated by some prior desire (Ram wants Anil to win the match). The sense of the predicate *itʃtʃʰe kore* will seem irrelevant where the contexts are purely accidental. Implying *itʃtʃʰe kore* in a sentence demands a restricted context i.e. the desiderative viewpoint. So the sentence in (33) will not necessarily imply the sentence in (34) because in (33) there can be multiple reasons for the event of losing as mentioned above. But on the contrary, (34) will always entail (33). Let us observe another example incorporating the predicate *itʃtʃʰe kore.*

(35)	*ʃoumo*	*gari-ʈa*	*ni-e*	*onno*	*rasta-e*
	soumyo.NOM	car-CLF	take-PRT	another	road-LOC
	dʰuk-e	*g æ -l-o*			
	enter-PRT	go-PST-3			
	'Soumya got into another road with his car.'				
(36)	*ʃoumo*	***itʃtʃʰe kore***	*gari-ʈa*	*ni-e*	*onno*
	soumyo.NOM	intentionally	car-CLF	take-PRT	another
	rasta-e	*dʰuk-e*	*gæ -l-o*		
	road-LOC	enter-PRT	go-PST-3		
	'Soumya intentionally got into another road with his car.'				

A similar distinction between the contexts can also be observed regarding the above examples. In (35) there can be situations like he was on a call and he didn't notice or somehow missed out the road which he was supposed to take and got into another road, or he might just have lost the direction to his destination and thereby he drove his car into another road mistakenly. But example (36) shows the context-changing situation where he is intentionally acting in a certain situation. Soumya actually wants to reach his destination early and there is unreasonable traffic around, so he intentionally enters another road (assuming to have less traffic) to reach early.

We have argued that this context restricting phenomena of *itʃtʃʰe kore* can be analysed with the help of a speech act schema. The existing speech act schemas are contributed by Searle (1969) and Bach and Harnish (1979). We here followed the speech act schema of Searle (1969) to argue the implications of *itʃtʃʰe kore* in an utterance. It is vital to understand that, by uttering the expression *itʃtʃʰe kore* in a sentence

what kind of conversational implications will generate between participants.

(37) Speech Act Schema (*it/t/ʰe kore*)

[S = Speaker/ Subject[iii]; A = Action; H = Hearer; e = Linguistic expression]

Propositional Content: Act A of S

Preparatory Conditions: (i) S's doing A is motivated by some prior desire D. (ii) S believes S can do A for D. (iii) S's doing A will put S in a more desirable condition than S's not doing A. (iv) S wants H to recognize (i), (ii) and (iii).

Sincerity Condition: S intends to perform A.

Essential Condition: The utterance of e is considered as an undertaking to do A.

The point of prior desire which is mentioned as one of the preparatory conditions above is the factor that we are going to consider strongly. We will analyze the pragmatic perspective which holds the 'desiderative commonality' between the two predicates with the machinery of 'modal base' developed by Kratzer(1981)(1991) . Before delving into that, it is customary to revise the literature and understand the basic tenets of modal logic.

Some basic facets of modal logic

As said in the previous section, before delving into the analysis, we need to revise some basic tenets of 'modal logic'. So going by the definition of Fintel (2006) 'modality' is in its most central and true sense is concerned with possibility, necessity and gradability and these in the modal literature are termed as **'modal force'**. The concept of modality follows the concept of 'displacement' as a design feature of a language proposed by Hockett (1960). So a sentence like 'John might be in the library' conveys that there is a possibility that John is in the library; whereas a sentence like 'John must be in the library' means that in all possibilities John is in the library. Several expressions imply a modal meaning; like modal auxiliaries (38), Semimodal verbs (39), adverbs (40), modal nouns (41), propositional attitude verbs [iv] (42), and (43). This list is not exhaustive consider Portner (2009) for an exhaustive one.

(38) John *might/ must/ should/ may/ could* be in the library

(39) Mary *has to/ ought to/ needs to/*be with her mother

(40) *Perhaps/ Probably/ Possibly/ Certainly* Ana is at home.

(41) There is a *possibility* that Ana is at home.

(42) John *knows/ believes* that Mary took the keys.

(43) I *want* John to be dead.

The modal sentences are judged under the tenet of 'possible world semantics. The most dominant work on this is accommodated in the works of Kratzer (1981)(1991). The modal expressions basically quantify over 'possible worlds'. Modality is defined concerning the 'possible worlds'. The language of modality is judged with reference to the possible world semantics and the accessible worlds (Fintel, 2006). The concept of 'possible world' imposes the existence of the alternate worlds telling about events that might be or might have been. The elementary matter is that the meaning of a sentence specifies what the world requires to be for a modal sentence to be true (or false). Let us quickly see how this concept works with the help of an example which is taken from Kearns (2011).

(44) Napoleon might have won at Waterloo.

The contained proposition is not necessarily false. The logic of the possible world semantics allows it to be true. Whether or not the contained proposition is true in fact varies. According to the possible world semantics, the modal statement in (44) is true, as Napoleon could have won at Waterloo if reality had developed differently.

In the modal logic, there are **'modal frame'** and **'modal flavours** (types). The concept of the possible worlds opens the concept of the modal frame. The modal frame contains worlds (W) and relational value (R) that denotes the relations between the worlds. The relationship between the worlds is determined by the modal expression. The modal frame discussed below is borrowed from Portner (2009).

(45) **Modal Frame** <W, R>
W= set of possible worlds
R= relation between them.

The example observed below will clear the concept of the modal frame and the way it works.

(46) **(In the view of what I know)**, Mary stole the books from the library.

With an understanding of the possible worlds and the concept of accessibility relation (R), (46) can be interpreted in terms of an accessibility relation (R) holding between the world of knowledge (w) and the accessible world (w') iff everything that some individual i knows in w is true in w'

Suppose (46) is said by Ann, in that case the epistemic relation between the worlds can be defined as shown below in (47)

(47) R_{Ann} (w, w') iff everything Ann knows in w is true in w'.

Different modal flavours are explained with their respective modal frame and accessibility relation, a detailed understanding can be gathered from the extensive work of Portner (2009).

Establishing the desiderative commonality under the periphery of modality

The main important aspect to address the desiderative commonality in this particular initiative will be the machinery named the 'modal base', and we have considered this particular tool to demonstrate the desiderative understanding of the predicates. We have followed Kratzer's (1981)(1991) model of 'Relative Modality' the principle of which conveys that the contexts are the **'conversation backgrounds'.** Furthermore, modals are dependent on the assumptions of conversational background; hence, non-ambiguous, as argued by Kratzer (1991). **'Context'** according to Kratzer plays the central role and in our work also it is the major tool through which we need to establish our argument. She termed this factor of **'contextual dependency'** as the **'modal base'.** She introduces the modal base with the **'in the view of'** phrase that delivers the modal flavour, like in (46) the phrase tells about the epistemic flavour.

It is time to slide into the desiderative approach. All desire predicates are considered as modal expressions; typically known as 'bouletic modals'. The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is a bouletic modal and hence before delving into the desiderative flavour of *itʃtʃʰe kore*, it is customary to define the modal base of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* 'to wish' from example (32) repeated here as (48). The modal base of (48) can be formalized as shown in (49).

(48) **Background scenario:** Ram has spent his childhood in Darjeeling. He had his boarding school there. A fair share of nostalgia is attached to that place. Now whenever he gets piled up with his work, he immensely longs for a visit in Darjeeling.

ram-er	*dardʒiliŋ*	*dʒe-te*	***itʃtʃʰe***	***kɔr-e***
ram-GEN	Darjeeling.LOC	go-INF	wish	do.PRS-3

'Ram wishes to go to Darjeeling'.

(49) **Bouletic Paraphrase:** Given how Ram loves Darjeeling and longs to pay a visit [[*ram-er dArdʒiling dʒe-te itʃtʃʰe kɔre*]] $^{w, m}$ = 1, iff ram's desire in w is satisfied in every bouletically accessible worlds w'.

According to Stalnaker (1999), an interpreted sentence corresponds to a function from contexts into propositions, and propositions then draw function from possible worlds into truth values. Contexts and possible worlds contribute to the truth value of a given proposition. The formalization in (49) will read as Ram's desire to go to Darjeeling expressed in a world (w) is true if and only if Ram goes to Darjeeling in all the bouletically accessible worlds (w').

The work now shifts toward formalizing the modal base for *itʃtʃʰe kore* and conveying how it also gets a bouletic flavour. For better convenience, we will repeat the sentence (34) as (50) below.

(50) **Context (for losing):** There is a match between Ram and his childhood friend Anil. Ram loves him a lot and he knows that winning always makes Anil happy. Hence Ram wants Anil to win the match.

ram	***itʃtʃʰe kore***	*kʰæla- ʈa*	*her-e*	*gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM	intentionally	match-CLF	lost-PRT	go-PST-3

'Ram intentionally lost the match.'

As argued previously *itʃtʃʰe kore* is restricted to the context of desire, so the formalization of this is taken care of below in (51); where *itʃtʃʰe kore* is the modal and represented as 'Mod' and 'P' is the proposition (i.e. *ram kʰæla- ʈa her-e gæ-l-o*).

(51) [[Mod P]] is true with respect to a context C_{desire} in a world w, iff w ∈ [[Mod P]] and [[Mod P]] $^{w, c}{}_{desire}$= 1

Interestingly, it seems that in the case of *itʃtʃʰe kore* the modal base can appear overtly in the sentence (52) and (53) below, in the form of a 'purpose clause' or a 'causal' clause respectively.

(52) **Context (for losing):** There is a match between Ram and his childhood friend Anil. Ram loves him a lot and he knows that winning something always makes Anil happy. Hence Ram wants Anil to win the match.

ram	***itʃtʃʰe kore***	*kʰæla-ʈa*	*her-e*	*gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM	intentionally	match-CLF	lost-PRT	go-PST-3
dʒate	***ɔnil***	***dʒit –te***	***pare***	
so that	anil.NOM	win-INF	can	

'Ram lost the match intentionally **so that Anil could win.'**

(53) **Context (for losing):** There is a match between Ram and his childhood friend Anil. Ram loves him a lot and he knows that winning something always makes Anil happy. Hence Ram wants Anil to win the match

ram$_i$	***itʃtʃʰe kore***	*kʰœla-ʈa*	*her-e*	*gæ-l-o*
ram.NOM	intentionally	match-CLF	lost-PRT	go-PST-3
karon	***ʃe$_i$***	***tʃae***	***ɔnil***	
because	he.NOM	want	anil.NOM	
kʰœla-ʈa	***dʒit-uk***			
match-CLF	win-SUBJN			

'Ram$_i$ lost the match intentionally **because he$_i$ wants Anil to win the match.'**

It is tempting to consider that the modal base of *itʃtʃʰe kore* (i.e. the 'conversational background' where the bouletic interpretation of *itʃtʃʰe kore* is formulated) is initiated overtly in the embedded structures.

(54) [^{S} *ram itʃtʃʰe kore kʰɛla- ʈa her-e gɛ-l-o* **[**$^{S'}$ ***dʒate ɔnil dʒi -te par-e*****]]**

(55) [^{S} *ram itʃtʃʰe kore kʰɛla- ʈa her-e gɛ-l-o* **[**$^{S'}$ ***karon ʃe$_i$ tʃae ɔnil kʰœla-ʈa dʒit-uk*****]]**

In constructing the modal claim we will introduce these embedded structures as the context where *itʃtʃʰe kore* will be interpreted.

(56) Bouletic paraphrase: Given how Ram wants his childhood friend Anil to win the match,
[[*ram itʃtʃʰe kore kʰɛla-ʈa her-e gɛ-l-o*]] $^{w,\ m}$ =1 iff ram loses the match in the bouletically accessible worlds w' where his desires in w are satisfied.

The paraphrase in (56) will read as (50) will be true if and only if Ram loses the match in every bouletically accessible world (w') where his desire i.e. the want for his friend to win (expressed in w) is satisfied. In all worlds which are bouletically accessible, Ram's desires are satisfied and in those worlds, he loses the match. Hence, the modal base we conversed about earlier signifies the desiderative flavour for the occurrence of *itʃtʃʰe kore* in a sentence.

At this point, it is important, to sum up, the vital aspect discussed under the pragmatic interlude concerning the predicates.

i. Our major avenue of interest in the domain of pragmatics was the 'desiderative understanding' regarding the two predicates.

ii. If we go by the composition of both the predicates *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* 'to wish' and *itʃtʃʰe kore* 'intentionally doing something' have one common thread; i.e. the word *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish'.

iii. Thereby, we aimed to find how *itʃtʃʰe kore* conveying a different meaning accommodates a semantic relatedness towards the sense of desire.

iv. We have initially tried to understand the desiderative context of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre;* desire predicate in Bangla. Then the context for *itʃtʃʰe kore* is shown and how it demands a restrictive context.

v. We chose the concept of 'modal base' to establish the desiderative viewpoint of *itʃtʃʰe kore.* Primarily the bouletic modal base for *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is delivered and then the work concentrated on *itʃtʃʰe kore.*

vi. While gathering an understanding of the desiderative flavour of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* we observed that the modal base can be embedded as a 'purpose clause' or in the form of a 'causal' clause. Later these embedded clauses are used as the context where *itʃtʃʰe kore* will be interpreted.

Conclusion

The present work deals with the intricacies of the Bangla predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* 'to wish' and *itʃtʃʰe kore* 'intentionally doing something'. The analysis clusters around two major sections; the morpho-semantic aspect and the pragmatic interlude. The morpho semantic domain concentrates on the exception that *itʃtʃʰe kore* conveys about the polysemous nature of *kore* in Bangla. While moving towards that perspective the work discusses the function of the two predicates in Bangla with their occurrences. The general structure of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is discussed with its clausal dependencies along with the light verbs. A cross-linguistic perspective is shared about that. Then the work delves into the complicacies of *itʃtʃʰe kore* and while doing that the work tells that *itʃtʃʰe kore* is not a non-finite of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and it has an independent meaning of its own. The functionalities of *kore* have been discussed while revisiting the literature. Previously, it was said that *kore* is used in signifying non-finite, postpositions, and manner adverbials.

Here we added another major meaning construing capacity of *kore* i.e. it can also be used as a subject-centric adverb implying the attitude of the subject towards the event. Another major section i.e. the pragmatic viewpoint starts by concentrating on the composition of the two predicates. Both the predicates are composed of the word *itʃtʃʰe* 'wish'. At this point, the aspect that bothered us is the 'desiderative' aspect. The pragmatic domain tells that despite the morpho semantic contrast between *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore,* they share a commonality on the semantic notion of desire. This line of thought is analysed under the concept of 'modal base'. Before concentrating on the technicalities of modals, we tried to explain the 'contextual dependency' of both the predicates. The predicate *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is a desire predicate in Bangla and quite naturally it is born out of a desiderative context, but here we have particularly argued about how *itʃtʃʰe kore* which conveys a different meaning accommodates a semantic relatedness towards the sense of desire. We have initially tried to understand the desiderative context of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre*; desire predicate in Bangla. Then the context for *itʃtʃʰe kore* is shown and how it demands a restrictive context (a context of prior desire). We chose the concept of 'modal base' to establish the desiderative viewpoint of *itʃtʃʰe kore.* Primarily the bouletic modal base for *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* is delivered and then the work concentrated on *itʃtʃʰe kore.* While gathering an understanding on the desiderative flavour of *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* we observed that the modal base can be embedded as a 'purpose clause' or in the form of a 'causal' clause. Later these embedded clauses are used as the context where *itʃtʃʰe kore* will be interpreted

Scope for Further Research

The pragmatic view that we have shown grasps the desiderative common thread between the two predicates. We could just scratch the surface of this motivation, but our interest also revolves around the pragmatics that will also bring down the semantic differences between the predicates *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* and *itʃtʃʰe kore.* We have shown that 'desire' plays a central part between the two i.e. not only *itʃtʃʰe kɔre* but *itʃtʃʰe kore* also triggers a desiderative context. So at this stage, two major questions that drag our attention are as follows,

i) If they both appear from a context of desire, then are they interchangeable?

- No! Both the predicates incorporate different meanings.

ii) So how are we going to establish this difference keeping in mind the 'desiderative' commonality?

If we go by the true sense, then by incorporating the predicate *it/t/^{h}e kɔre* the attitude holder expresses his/her desire towards something which (s)he wants to happen, but the sense will not convey whether that desire is fulfilled or not. Anyone can desire 'p', but that 'p' will happen or not is not contributed by the sense of the predicate. On the contrary, our hunch is that the predicate *it/t/^{h}e kore* not only triggers a prior desire of the attitude holder, but it also brings something more to the plate and demands an additional context.

We think of formalizing this line of thought (towards *it/t/^{h}e kore*) with the same model of 'Relative Modality' by Kratzer (1981,1991) initiating an intersection between the two modal bases; where the intersection world will be the one where the truth-conditional semantics for *it/t/^{h}e kore* will be revised.

Abbreviations: NOM = Nominative; ACC = Accusative; INS = Instrumental; ABL = Ablative; PRT= Participle; LOC = Locative; CLF = Classifier; GEN = Genitive; GER = Gerund

Endnotes:

[i] Thompson (2004) discussed about constructions on Gerunds and she particularly calls these kinds of constructions as verbal nouns with genitive endings. Bhadra and Banerjee (2021) argues about these constructions under the shell of 'Deontic necessity modals' and termed them as 'Genitive Gerunds' or 'Gen gerunds'.

[ii] The 'impersonal structure' defines any sentence which is devoid of the active counterpart (Thompson, 2004). In the impersonal structure 'the verb remains in third person and the logical subject when present, is always in genitive (Smith, 2009)

[iii] We have argued here that, when the speaker speaks about himself/herself then the 'S' quite naturally will consider the speaker's implication of *it/t/^{h}e kore* in a conversation. When the speaker talks about any other person i.e. the subject (the scenario in our case) the 'S' will imply the subject's mental attitude and also the speaker then will expect the hearer to realize the subject's implication of *it/t/^{h}e kore.*

[iv] Propositional attitude verbs the term first introduced by Hintikka (1969) like believe/hope/know/ wish/want/remember/certain are modals as well. Verbs like believe, want, hope are mental attitude verbs and say, promise, claim are

communication verbs and they fall under the cover term of 'attitude verbs' said by Pearson (2020)

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ARTICLE

Non-canonical nominative case assignment

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Paper received: April 30, 2022
Paper revised: May 10, 2022
Paper accepted: July 8, 2022

Abstract :

Eastern Indo-Aryan languages such as Bangla and Assamese, among others form a major linguistic area in North-Eastern India. This paper studies the curious phenomenon of the assignment of the non-canonical nominative case by IP (non-finite phrase) in such languages. In other words, prima facie there are some constructions where the nominative case looks like to be assigned in the absence of Tense Phrase/TP in these languages. Such non-canonical nominative assignment is a rare and an indigenous feature of some of these Indo-Aryan languages including Bangla. For empirical evidence, see examples below:

1. *ami bero-te jhor e-l-o*
   I. NOM go-NONFIN storm.NOM come-PST-3P
   When I went out, storm came.'
2. *she ghum theke uth-te chitkar shuru kor-l-o*
   3P.NOM sleep from wake-NONFIN shouting.NOMstart do-PST-3P
   'When he/she wake up, shouting started.' [Standard Bangla]
3. *moi ulao-te dhumaha ahi-l-e*
   I.NOM go.NONFIN-IMP storm come-PST-3P
   'When I went out, storm came.' [Assamese]
4. **I tried John to leave. [English]*

Examples (1) and (2) have case marked overt lexical DPs with infinitivals in a clause in Bangla. Similar phenomenon is seen in (3) in Assamese. However, English does not allow such constructions and renders (4) ungrammatical. This entails a discussion because a large part of generative literature, for example, both in Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981) and Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1998, 2000, 2002), the nominative case is related to the finiteness of the verb or T, not to non-finiteness or I. This phenomenon poses a problem for the minimalist perspective of case where case assignment is an epiphenomenon of operation Agree and nominative case is assigned via operation Agree with finite probe T and goal DP. I explain the problem in hand vis-à-vis split-TP (2016) theory where syntactically active split T-heads inside each phase are responsible for such variation.

Keywords : *nominative case, Eastern-Indo Aryan languages, Bangla, finiteness, aspect*

Introduction

Case in generative syntax is itself a problematic concept, and it cannot be easily defined as a feature in the lexicon or pre-lexical category or entity. The Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981) introduces abstract case as a part of the Case filter (Chomsky, 1981) which operates on lexical DPs in the specific positions in the structure. The contemporary minimalist perspectives (Chomsky, 1998, 2000, 2002) rejects the Case module and reintroduces case as an epiphenomenon of operation Agree. The morpho-phonological component assigns the case markings (or lack of it) on the already abstract case marked DPs. In other words, these morphological markings are optional after-effects of the obligatory abstract case assignment. Taking this as the point of departure, I probe into the phenomenon of assignment of nominative case in some non-finite clauses in Bangla imperfectives which is not seen in the non-finite perfective clauses in Bangla or any non-finite languages other than some Indo-Aryan languages. I analyse such structures via Sigurðsson's Split-TP analysis (2016). I characterise this split-TP type of nominative case as a parameter. This split-TP is active only in some Indo-Aryan languages such as Bangla and is therefore an indigenous characteristic of such languages.

The next section of the study attempts a brief literature survey on the treatment of case, especially on the assignment process of nominative case in generative syntax. The later section describes the theoretical background on which the analysis of this paper stands on followed by the problem in hand regarding the behaviour of the non-finite imperfectives in Bangla and compares them with the perfective ones. Then, the paper talks about how can such anomaly be explained via minimalist syntactic operations and its implications in the system. The last section concludes my study.

Case in Generative Literature

Case in Government and Binding era

Jean Vergnaud, in a letter to Chomsky and Lasnik, argued for the presence of the positional/structural case in 1977. Vergnaud claimed that all overt nouns must be licensed in specific positions irrespective of their case morphology. All the nouns must get structural or abstract case

in all languages. Nevertheless, languages may or may not choose to express that via a morphological form. Let us look at some examples.

1. He saw a bird.
2. John saw him.
3. *John saw he. English

The DPs in (1), (2) and (3) do not have morphological case markers on surface. There are no overt markers for nominative or accusative case(s) attached to both the DPs 'he' and 'bird' in (1) and 'John' in (2). However, following Vergnaud's proposal, as described above, all NPs must have an abstract or structural case, i.e. they are licensed in the specific positions even if they have null markings on the surface. This explains why 'he' makes (3) ungrammatical. The proof of case (as residue) in English comes in the accusative pronominal 'he', which surfaces as 'him' in (2) because of the accusative case assignment in third person objects in transitive constructions. This does not happen in case of nominatives in English as Modern English has lost all its morphological case markings unlike Old English.[i] Chomsky and Lasnik introduced a module, called Case Module in Government and Binding Theory/GB (Chomsky, 1981), which regulates the assignments of the structural case in a language as Vergnaud explained. The Case Filter or Case Module proposes:

a. Every lexical NP must be assigned Case (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1977), and
b. If a DP is unable to get case in its present position, either it should be moved to a case position or be a PRO.

According to the Case Filter, the overt DP 'John' in (3) makes it a bad structure as it is not case licensed. In (3), 'John' is unable to receive a structural case because it is placed in the subject position of an infinitival clause whose head cannot assign a nominative case. However, an infinitival head in (5) can license a phonetically null PRO by assigning it a null case.

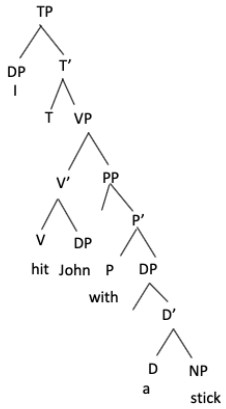
4. *I tried John to leave
5. I tried [$PRO_k$to leave] English

In GB syntax, there are three specific positions in the structure which assigns abstract case. The nominative is assigned to the subject DP in

the specifier of the tense phrase/TP of the finite clause, accusative is assigned to the object DP in the complement position of the verb phrase/VP, and the oblique case/dative case is assigned in the complement of the prepositional phrase/PP. The exact positions involved in assigning different abstract cases in the structure are illustrated in (7) of the sentence in (6).

6. I hit John with a stick.

7.



We see in (7) that the nominative case is assigned to DP 'I' at [Spec, TP]. Similarly, in (8) below, the morphologically unmarked nominative case is assigned to the DP *tara* at the [Spec, TP]. However, the same DP loses its nominative case in the passive sentence (9) when it is not at the desired position to be assigned with the nominative case, i.e. [Spec, TP]. Instead of *tara*, DP *boita* is licensed with the nominative case with the null marker because it is at [Spec,TP] now. This is the required position for nominative licensing in GB.

8. *tara* *shonali-ke* *boita* *pherot* *di-l-o*
They.NOM shonali-DAT book.SG return give-PST-3P
'They returned the book to Shonali.'

9. *boita* *tader* *dwara* *shonali-ke dewa* *ho-l-o*
book.SG.NOM them by shonali-DAT given
become-PST-3P
'The book was returned to Shonali by them.' Standard Bangla

Now, I talk about how case is assigned under minimalist construct (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2002 a.o.) in the next sub-section.

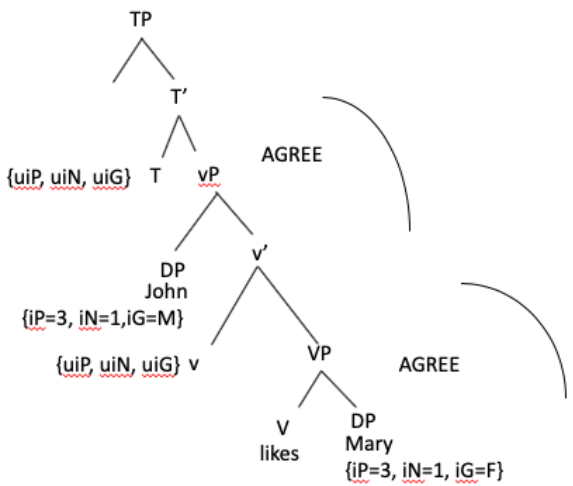
Case in Minimalism

Minimalism (Chomsky 2000, 2002) disassociates Case from the specifier position. Chomsky (1995) connected case assignment to movements to the specifier positions of respective AGR heads. But in later Minimalism, case is an epiphenomenon of operation Agree. The operation behind the valuation of uninterpretable features is called Agree (10), as given in Chomsky (2000, 2001).

10. α can agree with β iff:
    a. α carries at least one unvalued and uninterpre table feature and β carries a matching interpretable and valued feature.
    b. α c-commands β.
    c. β is the closest goal to α.
    d. β bears an unvalued uninterpretable feature.

Therefore, Agree fulfils the matching and valuation requirement between the interpretable phi features on a DP (β) with the uninterpretable phi features on a functional head α. Case valuation on the participating DP is an essential by-product of Agree. The DP must have an unvalued Case feature to keep it active to Agree with the functional head. For a sentence such as 'John likes Mary', after operation Agree, the structure looks like (11)

11.



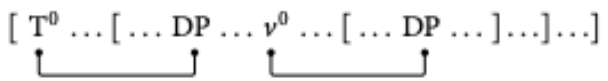
Agree operates on the functional heads or probes 'T' and 'v' and goal DPs 'John' and 'Mary' respectively as seen in (11). The probe v agrees with the object, which is a goal. As a side effect v values the case feature of the object as accusative. Similarly, the probe T agrees with its goal 'John' and imparts a nominative case to it as a secondary process of the Agree mechanism. Both probes find the closest goal in their c-command domains in the structure. Agree takes place, and the uninterpretable features of v and T are removed from the derivation. According to this mechanism, case is not a feature. Case just piggybacks on operation Agree. Once the DP gets a case, it cannot participate in any further syntax internal processes or get any other case (Activity condition). These are some of the major explanations for nominative case in generative syntax. To summarise, nominative case can be assigned in respect to the position of the concerned DP in GB Theory, or vis-à-vis operation Agree in minimalist construct.

Morphological case in GB and Minimalism was reduced to representation/ non-representation of the abstract case. But Marantz (1991), Bobaljik (2008), McFadden (2004) a.o. abolish the concept of abstract case and claim that case assignment happens only in the form of morphological case. They disassociate the connection between phi-feature based agreement and case in the narrow syntax. Instead, they push the case component to the post syntax or morpho-phonological unit. Case is said to be assigned via a hierarchy which is known as Case Realization Disjunctive Hierarchy as seen in (12) from (a) to (d).

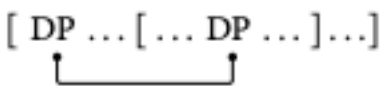
12. Case Realization Disjunctive Hierarchy
    a. Lexically governed
    b. 'Dependent' case (accusative and ergative)
    c. Unmarked case (environment sensitive)
    d. Default case

In GB and Minimalism, the functional items played a crucial role in case assignment as seen in (13). In contrary, the case realization disjunctive hierarchy is described as the 'dependency theory of case' (hereby DTC). The case assignment in DTC is dependent on the DPs involved in the construction. The case of the DP in (12.b) is decided by the case of the other DP in the v+T complex, as seen in (14)

13.



14.



Levin and Preminger (2014) push the dependent theory of case as a narrow syntactic phenomenon where dependent case is assigned via "case competition". Kornfilt and Preminger (2014), with empirical evidence from raising to accusative constructions in Sakha, claim that nominative case is not a case. Such instances also talk against the connection of agreement and case. This theory additionally claims that all the caseless DPs are marked nominative. There are also hybrid versions such as Baker and Atlamaz (2014) which pushes Agree based case system inside DTC. Therefore, the treatment of case in the generative literature is broadly divided into two: one occurs in the narrow syntx as the abstract case and the other is morphological case. Morphological case may or may not happen inside the narrow syntax.

Now, in the next section, I introduce the theoretical premise of this paper. It compares the concept of case from the lens of minimalist and dependent theory in relation to my paper.

Theoretical Premise

The previous section compares two school of 'thought' regarding case under generative enterprise. One of them is abstract case. Abstract case is not contingent on grammatical relations or thematic role and may or may not correlate to morphological marker. Unlike abstract case, morphological case in contrary always have a phonetic form and therefore is easily detectable. Though the Indo-Aryan languages are case rich languages, almost none of the Indo-Aryan languages have a morphologically marked nominative. Bangla and other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages are no exception. Standard Bangla presently has eight cases which I list down briefly below in table 1:

Table 1: Morphological Case system of Standard Bangla

Case	**Morphological marker**
Nominative	Null
Accusative	*-ke* (in animates) / Null(in inanimates)
Dative	*-ke*
Locative	*-e/-te*
Genitive	*-er/-r (*Sg*)/ -der* (Pl)
Instrumental	*dara*/ *diye* (free morpheme)

We can see in table 1 that Bangla has nominative, accusative, dative, locative, genitive and instrumental cases with different case markers. The nominative case is unmarked. Some instances of the canonical nominative with null markers are:

15. *ram* *bhat* *kha-ye*
ram.NOM rice.ACC eat-PRES.HAB.3P
'Ram eats rice.' Standard Bangla

In (15), we see that the DP *ram* is assigned with null marked nominative case. According to the minimalist premise, this happens via Agree between T of the finite clause and *ram*. This correlates to the tree structure given in (11). The probe T agrees with the DP *ram*, which is the goal. As the side effect, this operation of Agree values the case feature of the DP *ram* as nominative. According to DTC of Marantz (1991) a.o., the v+T complex of Bangla is parametrised to look downward to the DP *bhat*, and assigns it accusative morphological case (dependent case). The remaining DP *ram*, with no case assigned till now, gets the morphologically unmarked nominative case. According to Bobaljik (2008), the DP with the nominative case agrees with the verb[ii].

Sheehan (2016) surveys some six diagnostics[iii] to test the presence or absence of abstract case in languages. Bangla seems to support the presence of abstract case by affirming all the five diagnostics; however it does not affirm to the first one: presence of overt DPs in non-finite clauses. This problem forms the crux of this paper as overt nominative DPs are only seen in some specific kinds of non-finite clauses. Additionally, DTC does not differentiate between the finite and non-finite properties of T. This is because more than T head, DTC compares two DPs to assign case. DTC also makes no reference to the aspectual information of the construction. We see in the later sections that the

aspectual information forms an important part of the data regarding non-canonical nominative case. The importance of (non)finiteness in respect to nominative assignment has been documented throughout the minimalist program (Chomsky 2000 a.o.). Therefore, this paper takes minimalist assumptions as its theoretical premise, i.e. analyses the problem in hand via minimalist operation of Agree. Now, the next section introduces empirical evidence vis-à-vis non-canonical nominative case assignment.

Empirical Exception

The Case theory claims that all phonetic or lexical DPs must have abstract case. PRO (Nonlexical DPs) is assigned with null or no case (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, Martin 2001). Abstract case in minimalism is assigned in relation to the uninterpretable features of the functional head. Assignment of nominative case takes place vis-à-vis Agree relation between the uninterpretable features of functional head T and interpretable features of the DP involved in the nearest C-command relation. But some constructions in Eastern Indo-Aryan languages such as Bangla present a curious instances that prima facie, opposes this generalization. Interestingly, nominative case in Bangla has a separate non-canonical usage as seen in (16-18) below. Though it maintains its null marker in (15-18), the location of the DP in (16-18) is apparently no more related to T (contra (15)). This is because *bero-te*, *bero-tei* and *mar-te* in (16-18) are non-finite counterparts of the verb. For some instances, see below:

16. ami bero-te jhor e-l-o
    I.NOM go-NONFIN.IMP storm come-PST-3P
    'When I went out, storm came.'

17. ami bero-te-i pheSad-e por-la-m
    I.nom go-nonfin.imp-emp problem-loc get-pstperf-1p
    'When I went out, I got into a problem.'

18. tara raja-ke mar-te police e-l-o
    they.NOM raja-ACC hit-NONFIN.IMP police.NOM come-PST-3P
    'When they hit Raja, the police came.' Standard Bangla

The sentences (16) and (17) have DPs *ami* as the subject of non-finite clauses with non-finite verb *bero-te*. But both (16) and (17) are well formed (contra (19) below) and the DPs *ami* in both the sentences

are assigned with morphologically unmarked nominative case. Similarly, the DP *tara* is assigned nominative case in (18) in the context of the non-finite clause. This goes against the predictions of the established the Case Filter where the non-finite clause (hereby, IP) cannot assign nominative case like a tense phrase (TP). Therefore, non-finite clauses cannot have overt DPs, but PRO. However, these occurrences are not found in English. For examples, see below:

19. *Kerry attempted Bill to study physics (Martin 2001, pp.144)

20. Kerry attempted to study physics English

(19) is rejected as DP 'Bill' cannot be case assigned in [Spec, IP], but Kerry in (20) gets nominative case in the context of TP. But Bangla constructions like (16-18) does not act like these examples in English and are assigned with the nominative case in non-finite clauses. So the question arises that are such structures such as (16-18) in Bangla violating the Case Filter?

Before I elaborate on the above question, I now briefly describe about the '*-te*' marker in Bangla. These markers are seen as the morphological markings for the non-finite nature of the verb in (16-18). Following Zbavitel (1970), Modern Bangla has three types of non-finite verbal participials. The morpho-phonological forms of these three non-finite bound forms are *-te*, *-le* and *-e*. The *-te* form is the imperfective non-finite participle and the *-e* form is the perfective participle. This information plays a big role in my analysis to explain the anomalies in the above mentioned constructions. The *-le* is a non-finite conditional participle. Some more examples of different non-finite forms are seen in (16-18) above and (21) below.

21. *ami beri-ye pheSad-e por-l-am*
I.NOM go-NONFIN.PERF problem-LOC get-PST-1P
'After I went out, I got into a problem.'

22. **ami beri-ye jhor e-l-o*
I. NOM go-NONFIN.PERF storm come-PST-3P
'When I have gone out, storm came.'

23 *ami bero-le tumi ash-b-e*
I.NOM go-NONFIN.COND you.NOM come-PST-3P
'If I go, you will come.' Standard Bangla

In (21), there is a non-finite perfective verb *beriye* and the DP *ami* is assigned with nominative case by the finite verb *porlam*. (23) bears non-

finite conditional *berole* with the finite verb *ashbe* and two morphologically unmarked DPs assigned with nominative case.[iv]If (22) and (16) are compared, we can see that (22) is ungrammatical and (16) is not, though prima facie the structures of both the sentences look similar. The only dissimilarity is the aspectual information of the non-finite verb involved. (16) has a non-finite imperfective verb and (22) has a non-finite perfective verb. Thus departing from this data set, this paper essentially talks about the non-finite imperfective verbs and how differently they behave when compared with the non-finite perfective verbs as seen above. The research question I ask here is that how is nominative case assigned in some non-finite clauses in Bangla vis-à-vis minimalist framework.The next section looks into a probable analysis to this non-canonical data set found in Bangla.

Proposal

The Bangla non-finite participials are discussed in some prior literature. Wurff (1988) and Klaiman (1981) are two of such early works where they talk about the co-referentiality of the DPs present in the clauses and the relation between the two events in the sentence. Ghosh (2015) gives an extensive description of such constructions from syntax-pragmatics interface lens. For her, the volitionality and type of the verb category selection become a point of importance in such constructions. Though the prior works do not talk about process of the curious nominative case assignment in such structures, Ghosh (2015) mentions that 'I take it that T along with the Comp is responsible for the nominative case. Hence, in imperfective construction, the nominative case of the participial subject is checked against the T of the matrix clause…'. She also adds '…an adjoined clause with an imperfective has a defective T, not capable of assigning nominative'. She makes no commitment to how functional heads in T and 'defective' T, the centre of uninterpretable features in minimalist system, participate in such process of case assignment in imperfective and perfective non-finites differently from each other. She also does not mentioned how one T head can render nominative case to two DPs (contra Chomsky 2000 a.o.). This is another important centre of analysis for the paper. Case assignment in minimalism is an epiphenomenon of operation Agree between functional head and T. Post successful operation of Agree, neither the functional head nor the participating DP can involve

themselves to anymore Agree operations. This is known as the Activity Condition. Therefore, the functional head T cannot agree with two DPs and impart nominative case to both the DPs in the same structure, contradicting the process of Agree in the minimalist framework.

The non-canonical structures which are seen above in Bangla are not an absolute rare phenomena in world languages. Such instances are also seen by Szabolcsi (2009) in Hungarian, Italian etc where overt lexical DPs appear in non-finite clauses. These are also noticed by McFadden and Sundaresan (2011) in Tamil. For example, see below in (24) the adjunct embedded clauses in Tamil (Dravidian language).

24. [vasu poori porikk-a] raman maavu
vasu.NOM poori.ACC fry.NONFIN raman.NOM floor.ACC
vaangi-n-aan
buy-pst-m.3sg
'Raman bought flour for Vasu to fry pooris.' Tamil

They explain the phenomena by rejecting the connection between nominative case and finiteness. They further claim that the DPs do not need licensing via case and the caseless DPs do not crash at the LF, therefore going against some of the main tenants of minimalist framework. However, Amritavalli (2014) evaluates finiteness in Dravidian differently than other languages. She claims that finiteness and tense do not go hand in hand in Dravidian languages. Rather anchoring in Dravidian happens via mood. In Bangla, the relation between anchoring and tense is direct unlike Tamil. In connection to this, Kornfilt and Preminger (2014) claims that nominative is no case. It means that DP with nominative case does not value its uninterpretable case features. Their system lacks the necessary Case Filter of GB and as a consequence, this unvalued case or nominative case does not crash at LF and gives rise to ungrammaticality. The empirical evidence for their argument comes from raising-to-accusative constructions in Sakha as seen in (25) below.

25. min ehigi-ni [bugun kyaj-yax-xyt dien] erem-mit-im
I you-ACC today win-FUT-2PL.SUBJ that hope-PST-1SG.SUBJ
'I hoped you would win today.' Sakha

In (25), the embedded subject agrees with the verb in the embedded clause. But it receives an accusative case when it is raised to the main clause. According to Kornfilt and Preminger, the embedded subject can

receive an accusative case because case that the said DP received in the embedded clause was nominative. Therefore, Kornfilt and Preminger claim that this is so since nominative is no case. But Sakha does not behave likewise in standard relative clauses in the language. Ibid does not discuss raising to accusative vis-a-vis relative clause constructions in Sakha. Therefore, dismissing nominative case as no case is premature. This analysis also does not fit my empirical domain because the nominative case does not behave dissimilarly in the perfective and the imperfective constructions. As seen above examples in case of Bangla, the imperfectives allow a DP inside the infinitival phrase, but the perfectives do not. If nominative is no case, as seen above, it would have behaved the same in all the constructions.

To explain the process of case assignment in such constructions, I claim in this study that argument licensing vis-à-vis case is an absolute necessary for the system for interpretability at the interfaces. I attempt to solve the apparent violation seen above in Bangla non-canonical nominative assignment is by following Sigurðsson's Split-TP analysis (2016). Sigurðsson (2016, pp. 82) claims that finite clauses usually has 'three syntactically active T heads' which are:

a. Speech T, Ts, in the C-domain
b. Speech T, Tr/ T in the T-domain
c. Event T, Te, in the v-domain

Therefore, the new structure with these three active T heads looks like (26):

26. [CP…Ts… [TP… Tr…[vP… Te…[VP]]]]

Therefore, the finite T is split inside the phases in the structure. They are Ts inside CP phase, Tr inside TP phase and Te inside vP phase.

Now I contend that such elaborate split T structure is also active in the non-finite imperfectives in subordinate clauses, unlike the perfectives. To elaborate, the split T structure, which is found in the finite clauses, is also found in imperfective non-finite clauses. However, this T in imperfective non-finite is defective. As a consequence, this defective T does not participate in person agreement, but imparts nominative case to the lexical DP if it is present in the clause.

The Te in the vP is activated in the first merge when the imperfective non-finite verb appears from the numeration. The Te in the vP is non-defective and paves way for operation Agree if the numeration selects

the finite verb. Otherwise, the imperfective verb selection renders it defective. The selection of the perfective verb renders the Te inactive. The Te carries the information to Tr in the T domain which participate or does not participate in Agree, according to the information of the nature of verb passed by the initial Te of vP domain.

Now, in the next section, I talk about some more evidence on how imperfective-perfective structures behave differently, other than having different types of split Ts.

Perfective-Imperfective Distinction: More crosslinguistic evidence

Typologically, there are many evidence where the imperfective clauses behave differently than the perfective clauses in the system. For example, in case of Hindi-Urdu, the subject DP of imperfective non-unaccusative verbs (like unergatives, transitives and ditransitives) take nominative case, but the subject DPs of the perfective non-accusative clauses take ergative case. For example, see below

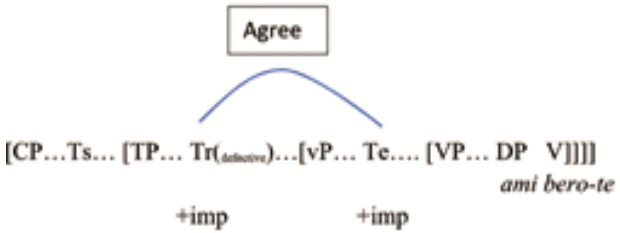
27.	*mary*	*kitab*	*part-i*	*hai*
	mary.NOM	book.ACC	read-F	be
	'Mary reads the book.'			
28.	*mary-ne*	*kitab*	*para*	
	mary-ERG	book. ACC	read.PERF	
	'Mary has read the book.'			Hindi-Urdu

In (27), the imperfective verb takes the morphologically unmarked nominative subject DP, unlike the ones in perfective construction in (28), which is assigned with the ergative case. Chandra, Kaur and Udaar (2017) while explaining optional ergativity, proposes that the ergatives are stranded inside the vP in perfective clauses and are assigned ergative case instead of nominative. Amritavalli (2004) also talks about such differences in imperfective and perfective clauses in Kannada. Middle Indo-Aryan also makes contrast between perfective and imperfective constructions (Deo, 2012). Such imperfective and perfective distinctions are also seen in other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages like Oriya, Assamese etc. one of such examples are given below.

29.	moi	ulao-te	dhumaha	ahi-l-e
	I.nom	go-nonfin.imp	storm	come-pst-3p
	'When I went out, storm came.'			Assamese

In (29), we can see that the DP *moi* is taking nominative case inside an IP. Therefore, such overt distinction in the behaviour of imperfectives and perfectives in some Indo-Aryan languages open up new corners in the discussion of structure descriptions and system internal mechanisms in perfectives and imperfectives. To summarise, the above discussion and data set, the non-finite imperfective structure which takes nominative cases in Bangla and other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages looks like (30):

30.



According to Sigurðsson's (2016) proposal, here Te is valued or agreed as [+IMP] in relation to Tr. As a bottom up structure building machine, when the Te finds the non-finite imperfective counterpart of the verb, it becomes defective and act neither as a full T (like the finite clauses) or full I (in case of non-finite perfectives). The evidence of this come from that these type of defective T does not participate in person agreement, but imparts nominative case. The active T participates in person agreement in Bangla. For example:

31. *ami* *bero-te* *jhor* *e-l-o*
I.NOM go-NONFIN.IMP storm come-PST-3P
'When I went out, storm came.'

32. *tumi* *bero-te* *jhor* *e-l-o*
you.NOM go-NONFIN.IMP storm come-PST-3P
'When you went out, storm came.'

33. *she* *bero-te* *jhor* *e-l-o*
3P.NOM go-NONFIN.IMP storm come-PST-3P
'When he/she went out, storm came.'

The example (16) is repeated in (31), where we see the imperfective non-finite verb with the first person pronominal is assigned with the non-canonical nominative. Like-wise (32) and (33) also have

imperfective non-finite verbs with second and third person respectively. But neither of the pronominals in (31-33) agrees or undergoes person agreement (as seen in *bero-te*) while being assigned with the non-canonical nominative case. I attribute this condition to the presence of the defective T in the clause. This T does not participate in complete agreement and assigns the nominative case to the pronominals. In case of non-finite perfective verbs, there is no full or defective T. It has full I or non-finite phrase instead of full and defective T in finite and non-finite imperfective clauses respectively. This IP imparts sentence like (22) ungrammaticality.

In Germanic languages, such as English, the non-finite clauses do not assign nominative case to DP at any circumstances as seen in (4) above. However English does have these three syntactic split T heads. The only difference is the T inside the TP clause is active and others are disabled. Therefore, the 'split-TP' acts as a parameter. Languages can choose the split-TP layers inside the vP and the CP to be either set as active or inactive (yes or no). Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla, Assamese etc. choose syntactically active split-TP in finites and imperfective non-finites. Germanic languages choose a completely disabled split TP. Therefore, split-TP is parametrised in languages. Additionally, Germanic languages also do not differentiate non-finites aspectually, i.e. perfective or imperfective, unlike Bangla or other Eastern Indo-Aryan languages. This version can be applied to the Tamil example (24). The split-TP seems like to be active in Tamil too, like the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages. This assignment of nominative case through split-TP forces the variation vis-à-vis nominative case assignment in non-finite clauses in different languages.

Conclusion

This study establishes the close relationship between TP and nominative case under minimalist construct. Prima facie, some sets of data may appear to violate this connection between TP and nominative. However, close study concludes the importance of non-finite aspectual information, i.e. perfective and imperfective. The difference is that imperfectives have syntactically active 'split-TP' heads in languages like Bangla, unlike the perfective ones. The defective T in the non-finite imperfective constructions imparts the non-canonical nominative case.

To summarise, the nominative case in some of the Bangla non-finite constructions occurs through split-TP analysis where in imperfective non-finite clauses, the defective T imparts nominative case without person agreement. However, in case of perfective non-finite clauses, the IP is unable to give nominative case to the DP.Therefore, no overt/ lexical DPs are allowed in such constructions, contra the imperfective non-finite constructions. Such indigenous patterns of non-canonical nominative case are regularly and productively seen in some Indo-Aryan languages. This is typologically a rare phenomenon and is particular to some small group of Indo-Aryan languages. Such indigenous patterns are of great importance in multilingual setting, especially in Indian subcontinent where different language families reside.

[i]Old English was a case rich language.

[ii]Bobaljik (2008) highlights for a post-syntactic correlation between case assignment and agreement in the following way: Unmarked case> Dependent case> lexical/ oblique case

[iii]The diagnostics are non-finite clauses, agreement, hyperactivity, nominative subject anaphors, by phrases in passives and case-based asymmetries.

[iv]I am keeping sentences like (23) with non-finite conditionals outside the present study.

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Appendix

Abbreviations used in this paper are-

1P: First Person, 2P: Second Person, 3P: Third Person, ACC: Accusative case, COMP: Complementizer, COND: Conditional, DAT: Dative case, EMP: Emphatic, ERG: Ergative case, F: Feminine gender, HAB: Habitual, IMP: Imperfective, LOC: Locative case, M: Masculine gender, NOM: Nominative case, NONFIN: Non-finite, PERF: Perfective, PRES: Present, PST: Past, SG: Singular

ARTICLE

Thematic Structures in Tagore's Short Stories: An Application of Greimassian Semiotic Square

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Paper received: April 29, 2022
Paper revised: May 13, 2022
Paper accepted: July 8, 2022

Abstract :

The present paper involves the application of Greimas's semiotic square in the analysis of oppositional thematic structures in selected short-stories of Tagore. Greimas's so-called 'semiotic square' is considered the supreme achievement of Greimassian semiotics. Greimas introduced the'semiotic square' for the analysis of the deep structure of narrative. The model juxtaposes fundamental semantics and fundamental syntax which represent static semantic categories and dynamic syntactic operations respectively. According to this model, if different semantic oppositions are given a sensible interpretation, then it will be possible to show the transformation of content within the narrative text. By applying this model thematic structures of 14 short-stories from Tagore's 'Galpaguccha' have been analysed. Finally, research findings have been interpreted from both comparative and diachronic point of view. On the comparative scale, this paper explores underlying thematic similarities and contrasts among the stories written in different periods of Tagore's writing. On the diachronic scale, this paper explores two broad thematic divisions representing two broad stages in Tagore's writing. The paper also represents most recurrent thematic oppositions in Tagore's short-stories.

Keywords: *semiotic square, fundamental semantics, fundamental syntax, elementary structure of signification*

Introduction

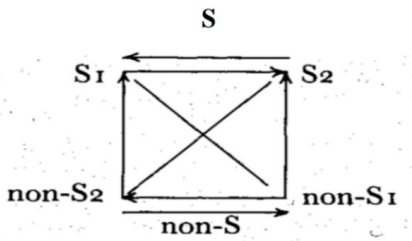
The noted Bengali critic, linguist and literary historian Acharya Sukumar Sen (1960: 310) opined that Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) is the first writer of the true short story in Bengali and he has remained the best. Tagore's short-stories reflect a contrastive and parallel thematic arrangement like innocence and childhood, love and loss, the city and the village, the natural and the supernatural and so on (Radice, 2000). Similarly, we find that the semiotic square represents different semic[i]oppositions and their combinations. So, we can hypothesise that Greimas's semiotic square[ii] can be applied in the analysis of oppositional thematic structures in Tagore's short-stories.

Theoretical framework

Drawing from structural linguistics, A.J. Greimas had introduced the semiotic methodology of text analysis. His famous 'semiotic square' is considered the supreme achievement of Greimassian semiotics. This square represents "fundamental thematic structure which underlies narrative and reflects universal verbal structures of human thought" (Holst, 1984:17). Actually, semiotic square forms the deep structure of narrative analysis (Greimas, 1971:797). Greimas (1982:132-134) in his 'Generative Trajectory' describes this structure as a level of fundamental semantics and fundamental syntax. "The fundamental semantics contains the necessary semantic categories that form the elementary structures of signification and the fundamental syntax consists of the relations and transformations which derive and constitute those structures" (Trifonas, 2015:1102).

One of the fundamental semiological propositions is that signification emerges through oppositions among signs as they are used and interpreted in society (Hawkes, 2004:69). Thus, 'dark' is characterized by our sense of its opposition to 'light', and 'up' by our sense of its opposition to 'down'. Contrastive orderings of this sort form the basis of what Levi-Strauss has termed the 'socio-logic' of the human mind and in Greimassian term it is called the 'elementary structure of signification' (*ibid*).

Greimas has explained the elementary structure of meaning through the 'semiotic square', the representation of which is as follows:



(Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:12)

The semiotic square involves two types of semantic relation:

The first one is the hyponymic relation which is established between S1, S2, and S; another between non-S1, non-S2, and non-S.

The second one is categorical which is of three types: contradiction, contrariety and complementarity.

(a) A relation of contradiction is established when two semes are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Here this kind of relation is established between S1 and non-S1 on the one hand and between S2 and non-S2 on the other hand.

(b) A relation of contrariety is established when two semes are mutually exclusive but not exhaustive. Here this kind of relation is established between S1 and S2 on the one hand and non-S1 and non-S2 on the other.

(c) A relation of complementarity is established when two semes assert each other. Here this relation is found between S1 and non-S2 on the one hand, and S2 and non-S1 on the other: S2 implies non-S1; S1 implies non-S2, or the inverse.

Greimas's semiotic square is not just confined to representing static semantic relations, it has also a dynamic aspect. Actually, this model "establishes a network of equivalences between the fundamental constitutive relations of the taxonomic model and the projections of those relations or operations which constitute syntax" (Greimas, 1977:27).

Thus, within the framework of any given taxonomic schema, there will be two syntactic operations and two possible transformations of content:

Schema 1: either S1→ non-S1, or non-S1→ S1
Schema 2: either S2→ non-S2, or non-S2→ S2

These give rise to a first combinatory arrangement of syntactic operations.

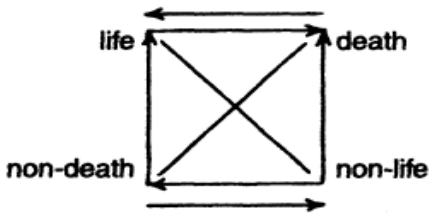
Next, the contradiction operation, by negating the terms S1 and S2, posits another two terms—non-S1 and non-S2. Finally, the contradiction operation is followed by a new presupposition operation that gives rise to the second combinatory arrangement by joining S2 to non-S1 and S1 to non-S2.

Thus, syntactic operations carried out on the defined terms of a taxonomic structure bring out two facts: firstly, syntactic operations are oriented, and secondly, those operations are organized in logical series (Greimas, 1977:28).

Now, based on Greimas's view (1987:51), his model can be represented through the following chart:

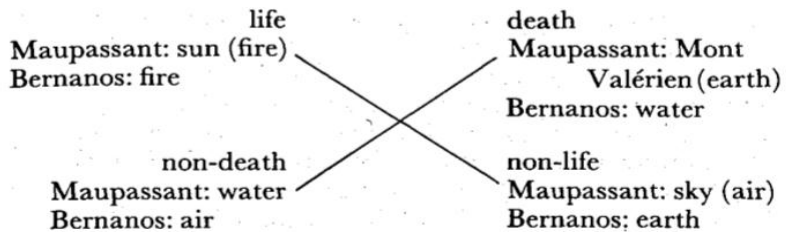
Semantic relations	Syntactic operations	Combinatory arrangement
Contrariety	Presupposition	S1 + S2 non-S1 + non-S2
Contradiction	Negation	S1 + non-S1 S2 + non-S2
Complementarity	Implication	S1 + non-S2 S2 + non-S1

Rimmon-Kenan (2005:12-13) has pointed out an important fact that the semic terms in semiotic square are manifested differently in different texts. For example, in the universe of the French novelist Bernanos[iii], S1 and S2 are 'life' and 'death', and the square takes the following form:



(Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:12)

Again, Greimas juxtaposes the 'life'/ 'death' opposition in Bernanos to the same opposition in Maupassant to show how different semic terms can be homologous:



(Rimmon-Kenan, 2005:13)

Here the term 'life' is made homologous by Bernanos with 'fire' and by Maupassant with 'sun'. Similarly, the term 'death' is made homologous by Bernanos with 'water' and by Maupassant with 'earth'.

Analysis

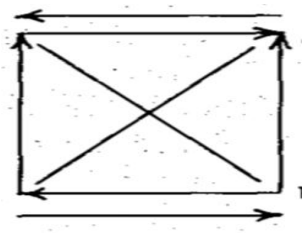
Tagore's 'Galpaguccha' is one of the most popular fictional books in Bengali literature. The stories of 'Galpaguccha' were written between 1877 and 1941. This long period of time has been divided into several stages, though this type of classification is non-linguistic and represents arbitrary time division. However, based on Tapobrata Ghosh's classification (2016: 15-16), 14 short-stories selected for analysis from different periods of Tagore's writing can be represented as follows:

- Initiation Period (1877-1885) : Ghater Katha,
- Hitabadi Period (1891) : Denapaona,
- Sadhana-Bharati Period (1891-1900) : Khokababur Pratyabartan, Daliya, Kankal, Jibita o Mrita, Jay Parajay, Manbhanjan, Manihara
- Transition Period (1903-1911) : Guptadhan
- Sabujpatra Period (1914-1917) : Haldar Goshthi, Strir Patra
- Conclusion Period (1925-1941) : Rabibar, Pragati Samhar

Now, Greimas's model of semiotic square which involves 'the transformation of content within the narrative text' will be applied in the analysis of Tagore's short-stories (Herman, Jahn & Ryan, 2010:524).

1. Ghater Katha (1886)

Life Death

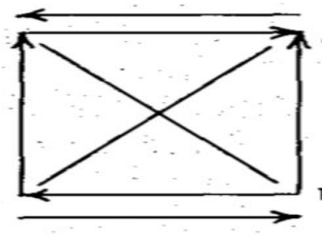


Fulfilment of love Failure in love

The semiotic square presents two sets of contrary opposition— ‘life’ vs. ‘death’ and ‘fulfilment of love’ vs. ‘failure in love’. In the other oppositional relation, ‘life’ and ‘failure in love’ are in direct contradiction. Similar is the case between ‘death’ and ‘fulfilment of love’. In this story we find that the central character Kusum falls in love with a monk, reveals her love for him and is rejected by the monk. Now, to Kusum, ‘fulfilment of love’ implies ‘life’ and ‘failure in love’ implies ‘death’. As Kusum faces failure in love, she accepts death.

2. Dena Paona (1891)

Sustainment of dignity Violation of dignity



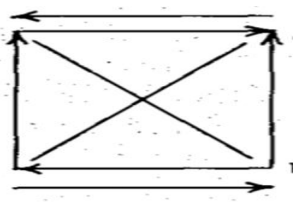
Not giving dowry Giving dowry

The semiotic square shows how violation or sustainment of dignity depends upon giving or not giving dowry. Here the contrary opposition has been presented between ‘sustainment of dignity’ and ‘violation of dignity’ on the one hand and ‘not giving dowry’ and ‘giving dowry’ on the other hand. But the contradictory relation has been established between ‘sustainment of dignity’ and ‘giving dowry’ on the one hand and ‘violation of dignity’ and ‘not giving dowry’ on the other hand. In

the story Nirupama, the heroine, tells her father Ramsundar that if he gives dowry to her father-in-law, it will violate her dignity. Her dignity can be sustained only if her father does not give any dowry to her father-in-law. That is why she desperately restraints her father from giving dowry to her father-in-law. Thus, 'not giving dowry' implies 'sustainment of dignity' and 'giving dowry' implies 'violation of dignity' in the story.

3. Khokababur pratyabartan (1891)

Sacrifice Selfishness

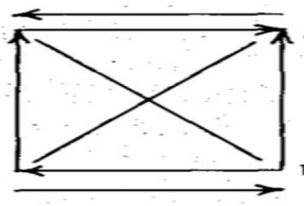


Non-selfishness Non-sacrifice

In the semiotic square, the conflict has been shown between sacrifice and selfishness on the one hand and 'non-selfishness' and 'non-sacrifice' on the other hand which shows contrary relation. However, the contradictory relation shows that 'sacrifice' and 'non-sacrifice' cannot co-occur. Similar relation is found between 'selfishness' and 'non-selfishness'. In the story Raicharan thinks that as he has committed a mistake, he should sacrifice for his master's family; otherwise, he will be considered as selfish. So, to prove that he is not selfish he sacrifices by giving his own son to his master. So, 'non-selfishness' implies 'sacrifice' and 'non-sacrifice' implies 'selfishness' in the story.

4. Daliya (1892)

Forgiveness Revenge

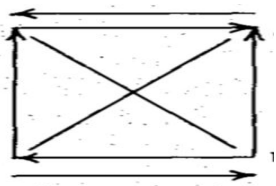


Love Hate

The square presents contrary relation between ‘forgiveness’ and ‘revenge’, ‘love’ and ‘hate’. Next contradictory relation shows that ‘forgiveness’ and ‘hate’ on the one hand and ‘revenge’ and ‘love’ on the other hand cannot co-occur. In the story we find that Amina, the heroine, has hatred for the new king of Arakan as his father killed Amina’s father. Her hatred for the new king leads her to decide to take revenge of her father’s death by killing the king. But when she finds that the new king is none other than her loved person Daliya, she forgives the king. Here her love for Daliya leads her to forgive him. Thus, ‘love’ implies ‘forgiveness’ and ‘hate’ implies ‘revenge’ in the story.

5. Kankal (1892)

Life Death

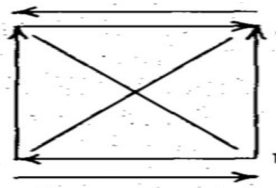


Fulfilment of love Failure in love

Here ‘life’ and ‘death’ on the one hand and ‘fulfilment of love’ and ‘failure in love’ on the other hand are in contrary relation. Here ‘life’ and ‘failure in love’ are in direct contradiction. Similar relation is found between ‘death’ and ‘fulfilment of love’. The heroine of the story thinks that life has significance if her love is fulfilled. But if her love is not fulfilled then neither she nor her lover has the right to live. As she faces failure in love, she kills her lover and herself commits suicide. Thus ‘fulfilment of love’ implies ‘life’ and ‘failure in love’ implies ‘death’ in the story.

6. Jibita o Mrita (1892)

Living Dead

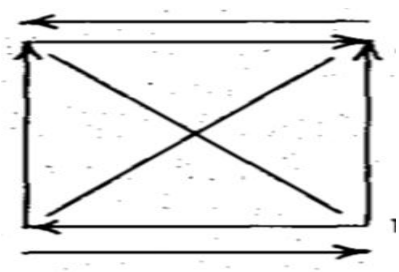


Consciousness of being dead Consciousness of being alive

The semiotic square represents 'living' and 'dead' on the one hand and 'consciousness of being dead' and 'consciousness of being alive' on the other hand as contrary opposition. In this story, 'living' and at the same time 'consciousness of being alive' cannot happen together. Same contradiction is found between 'death' and 'consciousness of being dead'. In the story we find that Kadambini is living until she is thinking that she is already dead. But when she finds that she is still alive, no one is ready to believe that. So, in order to prove that she is not dead she commits suicide. Here her 'consciousness of being alive' leads to her death. So, it can be said that 'consciousness of being dead' implies 'living' and 'consciousness of being alive' implies 'death' in the story.

7. Jay Parajay (1892)

Life Death

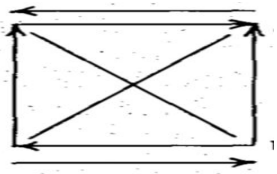


Winning Losing

Here 'life' and 'death' on the one hand and 'winning' and 'losing' on the other hand are in contrary relation. However, 'life' and 'losing' are contradictory to each other. Similar relation is found between 'death' and 'winning'. In the story, the central character Shekhar wants to keep up the dignity of the king by winning against Pundarik. But he loses miserably before Pundarik. Then he thinks that his life had had significance if he could win for the king. Without winning for the king, life is meaningless. So, after losing before Pundarik, he accepts death. So, 'winning' implies 'life' and 'losing' implies 'death' in the story.

8. Manbhanjan (1895)

Forgiveness Revenge

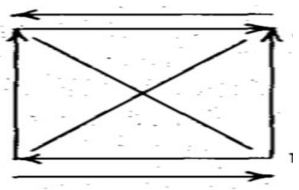


Faithfulness Betrayal

The square shows that the relation between 'forgiveness' and 'revenge' on the one hand and 'faithfulness' and 'betrayal' on the other hand is based on contrariness. The square also shows that 'forgiveness' and 'betrayal' are contradictory terms. Similar is the relation between 'revenge' and 'faithfulness'. In the story we find that Giribala, the heroine, could forgive her husband if he remained faithful to his wife in spite of all his faults. But when Giribala experiences that her husband has betrayed her by making an extramarital affair with an actress, she takes revenge on him by joining as an actress in a theatre. Thus, 'faithfulness' implies 'forgiveness' and 'betrayal' implies 'revenge' in the story.

9. Manihara (1898)

Life Death



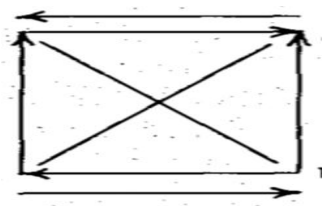
Belief Suspicion

The square presents contrary opposition between 'life' and 'death' on the one hand and 'belief' and 'suspicion' on the other hand. In the other oppositional relation, we find that 'life' and 'suspicion' on the one hand and 'death' and 'belief' on the other hand are contradictory to each other. In the story, Manimala suspects that her husband Phanibhushan will take away all of her ornaments as he is in need of money. So, to save her ornaments she leaves her husband's house and this brings her

death. Here her suspicious nature leads her to death. If she could believe her husband, she could survive. Thus, 'belief' implies 'life' and 'suspicion' implies 'death' in the story.

10. Guptadhan (1907)

Life Death

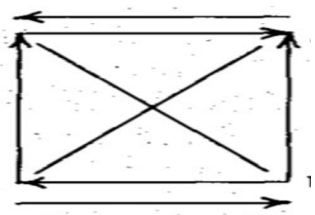


Detestation with wealth Obsession with wealth

The first combinatory arrangement in the square shows that 'life' and 'death' on the one hand and 'detestation with wealth' and 'obsession with wealth' are contrary terms. The second combinatory arrangement presents the contradictory relation between 'life' and 'obsession with wealth' in one side and 'death' and 'detestation with wealth' on the other. In the story we find that Mrityunjay being obsessed for getting wealth, proceeds to kill the monk without knowing that the monk is his own uncle. Later staying in the midst of wealth under the ground, he realises that worldly wealth is valueless to natural wealth. He realises that obsession with worldly wealth just brings death. Ultimately his detestation for wealth gives him freedom of mind and soul and he gets a new life. Thus, in the third combinatory arrangement we find that 'detestation with wealth' has the implication for 'life, and 'obsession with wealth' has the implication for 'death' in the story.

11. Haldargoshthi (1914)

Winning Losing

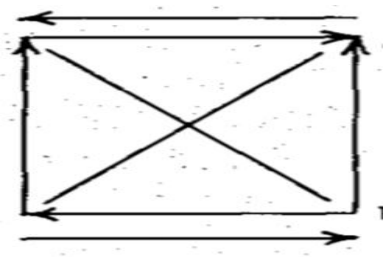


Collectivity Individuality

The square presents contrary relation between ‘winning’ and ‘losing’ on the one hand and ‘collectivity’ and ‘individuality’ on the other hand. In other relation, ‘winning’ and ‘individuality’ on the one hand and ‘losing’ and ‘collectivity’ on the other hand are contradictory terms. However, the conflict in the story has been shown between Banoyari and Nilkanta who represent individuality and collectivity respectively. Banoyari tries to win everything by his individual force. But he fails in every aspect. Due to his individuality, he loses his familial property, familial support and finally fidelity of his wife. On the other, Nilkanta who belongs to the collective force wins in every aspect. Here, ‘collectivity’ implies ‘winning’ and ‘individuality’ implies ‘losing’.

12. Strir Patra (1914)

Sustainment of dignity Violation of dignity

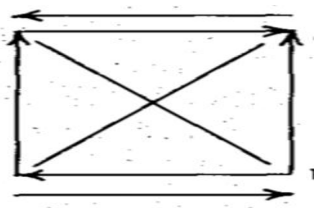


Respect for women Disrespect for women

In the square we find that ‘sustainment of dignity’ and ‘violation of dignity’ on the one hand and ‘respect for women’ and ‘disrespect for women’ are contrary terms. In the other relation, ‘sustainment of dignity’ and ‘disrespect for women’ on the one hand and ‘violation of dignity’ and ‘respect for women’ are in contradiction. Actually, the semiotic square shows that sustainment of women’s dignity depends upon whether people give respect to woman or not. To Mrinal, the heroine of the story, dignity of women is sustained when there is respect for women in the society. On the other hand, displaying disrespect for women implies the violation of women’s dignity. As Mrinal faces the second one, she leaves her husband’s family and decides to live independently.

13. Rabibar (1941)

Togetherness Separation

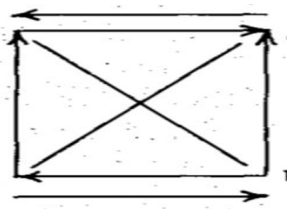


Theism Atheism

The semiotic square presents the contrary opposition between 'togetherness' and 'separation', 'theism' and 'atheism'. Another combinatory arrangement shows that 'togetherness' and 'atheism' in one hand and 'separation' and 'theism' on the other hand are contradictory terms. In the present text, Abhik, the hero of the story, is an atheist, but his family members are theist. Due to this conflict he has to be separated from his family. Similarly, we find that Bibha, the heroine, is religious minded and Abhik is contrary to that. This also causes their separation (Ghosh, 2016:369). If Abhik were a theist, he needed not to be separated either from his family or from Bibha. Thus, 'theism' implies 'togetherness' and 'atheism' implies 'separation' in the context of the story.

14. Pragati Samhar (1941)

Life Death



Selfishness Sacrifice

The square presents two sets of contrary opposition— 'life' vs. 'death' and 'selfishness' vs. 'sacrifice'. The square also shows that 'life' and 'sacrifice' in one hand and 'death' and 'selfishness' on the other hand are contradictory to each other. In the story Nihar and Suriti are the embodiments of selfishness and sacrifice respectively. Nihar thinks

that there is no fault in extracting money from women for his survival. By his selfish attitude he was able to survive. On the other hand, Suriti sacrifices her study, her wishes, her earnings and ultimately her life just for the survival of Nihar. Thus, 'selfishness' implies 'life' and 'sacrifice' implies 'death' in the context of the story.

Findings

A comprehensive analysis of the thematic oppositions in Tagore's short-stories brings out some significant facts both on the diachronic and comparative scale.

- Thematic opposition between life and death recurs in most of the stories. It includes 'Ghater Katha', 'Kankal', 'Jibita o Mrita', 'Jay Parajay', 'Guptadhan', 'Manihara', and 'Pragati Samhar'. Except 'Guptadhan', all the stories of this group represent death. In 'Ghater Katha' and 'Kankal', the cause of death of the heroines is their failure in the matter of love. Interestingly, 'consciousness of being alive' is the cause of Kadambini's death in 'Jibita o Mrita'. In case of 'Jay Parajay' the cause of Shekhar's death is his failure in a competition. In 'Manihara' suspicion brings death of Manimalika. Finally, in 'Pragati Samhar', Suriti's wish for sacrifice is responsible for her death. Apparently, we find so many causes of death of the characters in these stories. But if we think deeply, we will be able to understand that the single cause of death underlying all the stories is human complexity. In fact, it is their complexity of mind which brings death of all characters. Now, if we look at the story of 'Guptadhan' we will find its sharp contrast with the other stories of this group. In this story Mrityunjay does not die because he has been able to rise above human complexity being influenced by Shankar.
- Next, we find that 'Denapaona' and 'Strir Patra' represent identical thematic opposition— 'sustainment of dignity vs. violation of dignity'. However, we find different causes for the violation of women's dignity in these two stories. In 'Denapaona' the cause is giving dowry for a woman's marriage and in 'Strir Patra' the cause is displaying disrespect to woman. But actually

we know that giving dowry for a woman's marriage is also a form of displaying disrespect to woman. So, we can say that both the causes represent the same thing. However, as a consequence we find that in 'Strir Patra' woman's dignity was violated, whereas in 'Denapaona' woman's dignity was sustained.

- Identical thematic opposition is also available in 'Daliya' and 'Manbhanjan'. Here the opposition present in these stories is between forgiveness and revenge. But causes of these are different. In 'Daliya' love and hate are the causes of forgiveness and revenge respectively but in 'Manbhanjan' faithfulness and betrayal are the causes of the same opposition. Actually, love and faithfulness, on the one hand, and hate and betrayal, on the other hand, can be correlated to some extent because another story 'Shasti' represents that faithfulness leads to love and betrayal leads to hate. However, if we compare consequences of the present two stories, we will find that in 'Manbhanjan' revenge was taken and in 'Daliya' the accused person was forgiven.
- Thematically 'Khokababur Pratyabartan' and 'Pragati Samhar' represents the opposition between sacrifice and selfishness. Raicharan and Suriti both sacrifices just to prove that they are not selfish. Raicharan as a sacrifice gives his own son to his master but Suriti sacrifices her own life.
- The three stories 'Haldar Goshthi', 'Strir Patra' and 'Rabibar' thematically represent the opposition between 'sustainment of dignity and violation of dignity', 'collectivity and individuality' and 'theism and atheism' respectively. In 'Haldar Goshthi' we find that Banoyari is different from his family members in thinking and attitude to life. Due to individuality, he becomes involved in the conflict with his family members. Similarly, Mrinal in 'Strir Patra' is in conflict with her husband's family with a view to sustain her dignity as a woman. Again, in 'Rabibar' we find that Abhik is the only atheist in his theist family. Now we can say that the underlying thematic opposition in these three stories is the conflict between individuality and collectivity and

thus they are correlated. Again, as a similarity we find that all the three characters leave their family just to sustain their individuality.

Conclusion

Analysis of a limited number of short-stories from 'Galpaguccha' brings out the fact that Tagore has presented different thematic oppositions and the common of which are life and death, forgiveness and revenge, sacrifice and selfishness, collectivity and individuality. If we look at the diachronic scale of Tagore's writing, we find that generally Tagore's earlier stories deal with the theme of unfolding of human mind, whereas his later stories deal with the theme of sociological conflict. This trend can be more practically realized if more stories are analysed and thus the present research leaves the scope for further investigation.

[i] **Seme** commonly designates the "minimal unit" of signification and **semic** categories mean semantic categories (Greimas & Courtés,1982: 278).

[ii] By **semiotic square** is meant the visual representation of the logical articulation of any semantic category (Greimas &Courtés,1982: 308).

[iii] Georges Bernanos (1888 – 1948) was a French author. A Catholic with monarchist leanings, he was critical of elitist thought and was opposed to what he identified as defeatism. His two major novels are "Sous le soleil de Satan" (1926) and the "Journal d'un curé de campagne" (1936). His novels deal with the theme of conflict between the forces of good and evil for the soul of man (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges_Bernanos).

Source Text:

Tagore, R. (2017). *Galpaguccha (Integrated Version)*. Kolkata: Visva-Bharati.

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Research Communication

Multi-Strategic Framework of Apology in Bangla

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Abstract *:*

The study on apology as a communicative speech event has added a new perspective in the socio-pragmatic analysis of face-to-face social interaction. The principal focus of the present paper is to investigate the multi-strategic framework of apology in Bangla speech community. The paper also explores how different strategies of apology are contextually constructed in the fictional domain of Bangla and how the crisis of offence gets resolved through the dialogic interaction between the characters of the novels.

Keywords: face-saving act, pos- & neg-politeness, negative & positive face,remedial strategies,speech event

Introduction

The study on apology has added an innovative dimension to the contemporary research on socio-pragmatic analysis and interpretation in linguistics. Apology being tied up with social convention and attitude often expresses the socio-psychological demand of every individual in a society. Presently, it has been investigated within numerous theoretical disciplines such as sociology, cultural anthropology, psycholinguistics, information processing, and also in the domain of socio-pragmatic analysis as reflected in the present study (Wagner, 2004).

The present article, first of all, explores the significant features of apology as a speech act and identifies the event within a broader spectrum of politeness framework. However, the central focus of this paper is to investigate the strategic framework of apology in reference to Bangla speech community.

Moreover, two important Bangla novels belonging to the span of the twentieth-century have also been identified for collecting different types of database directly related to the incident of apology. This is simply to explore how the strategies of apology have been contextually framed and the crisis of offence has been resolved in the process of dialogic exchanges, mostly between the central characters of a fiction. Such an effort is stylistically significant as well. Because it not only highlights the mood and attitude of the characters but also brings to the fore variations of the stylistic design contextually built up by the author in expressing the central theme of the apologetic event.

Apology as a speech act

Language not only conveys concepts but also expresses different actions that speakers of a community perform or require them to be performed by others (Austin, 1962). The concept took its shape in the form of the *speech act theory*. The idea of speech act was first defined by Austin (1962), though he did not actually use the term 'speech act'. Later on, the term itself was coined by Searle, who claimed that 'talking is performative acts according to rules' (1969, p.22). Searle defined speech act as the basic minimal unit of linguistic communication (*ibid*,16). Allan (1998), on the other hand, has classified speech acts in two ways—one is simply a lexical classification differentiating speech

acts based on the illocutionary verbs they express. The second one classifies speech acts considering the act they express, such as *promising, greeting, requesting, apologizing* etc.

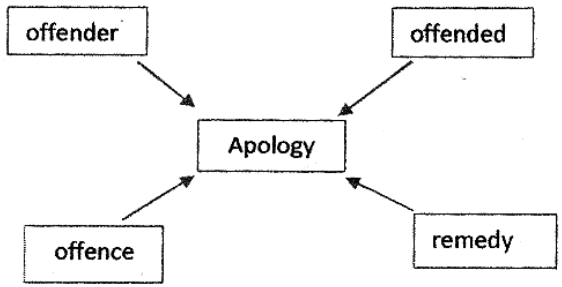
Recent researches define speech more as conversational (Wee, 2004) as well as socially and culturally oriented (Capone, 2005; Cutting, 2001). Thus, speech act being an integrated part of conversation theory, comes under the purview of 'dynamic speech act theory' (Geis, 1995, p.9). Therefore, speech act should not be viewed as uttering of single expressions or sentences, but it should be defined as '*multiturn interactions'* which perform the request, apologies, greeting, invitations and so on.

Leech (2014, p.115) considered the complex phenomena of request and apology in context, as *speech events*, rather than as *speech acts*. Because speech act has typically been used in the study of single utterances and needless to say, it was a basic limitation of Searle's speech act theory (1969, 1975).

Defining apology and its significant features

The scholars have argued in favour of multiple and varied definitions of apology considering it as a speech act. Apology is an *expression of regret* by the addresser to the addressee in a situation when the speaker as a performer commits an offence. Goffman (1971) defined it as a *remedial act* that specifically functions to restore the social harmony and concord among the communicators in a society. On the other hand, it has been considered as a strategy by Leech (1983). When an imbalance occurs between a speaker and a listener due to an offence committed by the speaker, an apology becomes a successful strategy if the listener forgives the speaker to reestablish the balance. Olshtain and Cohen (1983, p.20) define an apology as a *verbal redressing act* to repair actual or probable offence due to violation of the social norms of a specific culture. Blum-Kulka *et al* (1989, p.12) described an apology as an acknowledgment by the speaker that violence has been committed and at the same, it is an acceptance of the fact that the speaker is at least partially involved in its cause (Wagner, 2004). Significantly, the event of apology has been represented in term of 'Semantic Frame Components' by Deutschmann (2003, p. 46; cf. Leech, 2014, p.118).

Deutschmann (2003) offers a prototype view in which apology consists of four components: (i) *The offender* taking the responsibility for the fault or offence, though s/he may not be the real cause of the offending event; (ii) *The offended*, who is considered to be the sufferer as a result of the offence; (iii) *The offence*—'real, potential, or perceived as such by the offender or the offended' (Alahmad and Alkasassbeh, 2020,p. 171); and (iv) *The remedy*, covering three parts : recognition of the offence by the speaker and his/ her acknowledgment of responsibility and finally the offer of regret or apology.



[based on Figure in Deutschmann (2003:46)]

Apology as a speech act is generally associated with the most common event of offence. But it is worth noting that in some specific situations, it may be performed without making an offence. For instance, when an addresser promises to buy a specific gift for the addressee, but fails to keep it due to lack of availability of that specific item in the store, s/he, in fact, apologizes not for repairing any offence.

Second significant point to note here is that, apology may be described as acts, *verbal/ non-verbal* or both in combination, which make compensation for an offence or inconvenience (Rahman, 1998, p.11). For instance, as a *face-saving act* it may include verbal acts such as *'I am sorry'* (cp. Bangla *ami dukkhito*) or '*I apologise'* (cp. Bangla *ami map caychi*) and in addition to that non-verbal acts as well, such as facial expressions, kinesics and proxemics (Hassan, 2014).

It is also worth noting that an *apology* is an expressive illocutionary act like a *request*, but it deviates fundamentally from it. This is because apologies are usually *post-event* acts, while requests are always *pre-event* acts. Requests are made in advance to cause or change an event.

But apologies signify that a certain type of event has already taken place (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984, p. 206).

When a speaker apologizes s/he rightly recognizes that s/he has violated the social norm and admits that at least partially s/he was responsible for this offence. Thus 'apologies involve loss of face for the speaker and support for the hearer, while requests might involve loss of face for both interlocutors.' (*ibid*, 206).

Trosberg truly noted that apology as an expressive act is basically 'convivial' in nature (1995, p.373). But the remedial function it serves differentiates it from other convivial acts like greeting, thanking, congratulating, etc.

Apology as a politeness phenomenon

Apology as a politeness phenomenon plays a significant part in our day-to-day communication. It appears that speech act theory has an intimate connection to the concept of politeness. The perception of 'face' is strongly grounded in Brown & Levinson's politeness model (1978). The idea was also conceptualized by Goffman (1971), and Grice (1962) in his proposed 'conversational logic'. *Face* according to them is an image, which members of a society tend to keep.

Brown & Levinson (1987) had an argument that people while apologizing do a *Face Threatening Act* (FTA). FTA inherently damages the face of the addressee/speaker as it acts in opposition to the action and desire of the other. However, Leech in contradiction has considered an apology as a *face-enhancing act*: 'an apology is meant to be face-enhancing to H rather than face threatening' (2014, p.12). It's main target is to redeem the speaker's loss of face and the intended effect is definitely on (H)earer. Lubecka (2000) makes a compromise while claiming that the act of apologizing is at the same time *face-threatening* as well as *face-saving*. It is face-threatening in the sense that an apology is an indirect commitment of the speaker about his/her wrong-doing. But at the other side it is face-saving as well by being a repairing strategy to ease the offence of the speaker himself/herself.

Leech (2014) identifies two aspects of linguistic politeness, namely *pos-politeness* and *neg-politeness*. As apology adds positive value to the addressee's face, Leech considered this event under pos-politeness. So,

apologies as well as invitations, congratulation, thank-giving etc. should be treated under pos-politeness. A positive politeness strategy attempts to minimize a threat to the addressee's positive face and makes the addressee feel- good about him/herself (2014, p.11-12). A speaker while apologizing generally uses this strategy to reduce the offence by making an apology to become more genuine and regret more reflective (this tendency is confirmed by the use of the intensifier as in English: *I am really very very sorry*). Brown & Levinson's politeness model (1978), on the contrary, considered apologies as 'negative politeness strategies', because 'they convey respect, deference, and distance rather than friendliness and involvement.' (Wagner, 2004, p.23).

Needless to say, the apology like other politeness phenomenon is basically multi-strategic in nature (see *next section*). The use of the strategies depends on various factors like social status and social distance between the interlocutors, nature of the offence, the situation or context, power, gender and age of the communicators etc. (Hassan, 2014, p. 3). Moreover, the application of the strategies depends on the offender's assessment of the typical circumstances. An apology may be *implicit (i.e.* indirect) or *explicit* (*i.e*. direct) depending on the situation. When the volume of the offence is large, multiple strategies are usually employed for repairing. But in case of a minor offence committed, a single strategy like using formulaic expressions (such as *I am sorry, I apologize* etc.) is workable.

Strategies of apology

The classification of apologies depends mostly on the way they are defined… 'the diversity in definitions of apologies… brings about diversity in classification.' (Demeter, 2000, p.19).Thus the strategies framed to apologize, often work as a flexible criterion for exploring apology as a socio-pragmatic phenomenon in the cross-cultural contexts.

Goffman (1971) at the macro-level identified two types of remedial strategies: (i) ritualistic apologies which are mostly a habit or routine in the form of a fixed formulaic expression; (ii) substantive apologies which represent a serious and sincere attempt by the speaker to redress

the offence s/he has committed. It is generally represented by the detailed expressions communicating the responsibility for the damage caused.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984, p. 207) classified apology strategies basically into five types : (a) Head-act (commonly known as IFID); (b) acknowledgment of responsibility; (c) explanation for the offence; (d) an offer of repair or compensation; (e) promise of forbearance. Olshtain and Cohen (1990) considered the first two strategies as general across the contextual variables and the rest of the strategies as 'situation-specific' reflecting the content of the situation (p.47). These five basic strategies have rightly been modified or extended by other scholars. For instance, Bergman and Kasper (1993) distinguished seven different strategies which in addition include intensified IFID (as in Bengali *khub dukkhito* 'extremely sorry'), minimizing the effect and severity of the action (Bengali *matro pãc miniT deri hoeche* 'It is only five minutes late' in case of failing appointment), verbal redress which is very close to the minimization category (Bengali *ar kOkhono Emon hObe na* 'It will not be done again').

It is also significant to note in this context that the strategies and their types may vary across cultures (Hassan, 2014). For instance, Nureddenn (2008) distinguished twelve strategies about Sudanese Arabic. The Chinese on the other hand uses non-linguistic strategies to restore a social relationship (Hassan, 2014, p.17) .

Currently, apology strategies have also been distinguished into three basic types (Park, 2011, p.33):

(i) Main apology strategies, which consist of five main types as discussed above.
(ii) Intensification of apology
(iii) Downgrading of offence

Intensification of apology makes the process of repairing stronger and it becomes more *face-threatening* for the speaker. However, the listener gets more benefits from it. Intensification may be done by using conventional intensifiers (such as *khub, proconDo, bhiSon, bhari* etc. in the sense of 'very much' in Bengali) or it may be performed by external modifications such as a concern for the listener (as in Bengali *tumi kichu mone kOroni to '* Did you mind anything ?'). *Downgrading* on the

other hand may be done by external modification such as a comment minimizing the offence. The apology strategies are discussed below with typical real-life examples from Bengali (Park, 2011; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984).

Main apology strategies

(i) Expressions of apology:

It is the apology itself (Head-act) which is commonly known as IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device). Basically, these are routinized formulaic expressions conveying the apology of the speaker explicitly. Leech (2014, p. 125) points out that these may further be semantically divided into three strategies[1]:

a. Expression of regret: *dukkhito bhul hoe gEche* 'Sorry, a mistake has been done.' (cp. English *Sorry, excuse me*).
b. Offers of apology (using a performative utterance) : *ami bhul Sikar korchi* 'I am admitting my mistake', *map caychi* 'I am begging excuse' (cp. *I apologize*).
c. Asking for hearer's pardon/ forgiveness: *khOma korben, map korben, marjona korben 'begging excuse*' (cp. forgive me).

(ii) Explanation for the offence/ Cause of regret:

The speaker gives an explanation for why and how the offence/ mistake was committed.

Non-specific: *Onekgulo SOmoSSar karone deri hoe gElo* 'I am late due to number of problems'.

Specific : *TrEphic jamer jonno ey Obostha* 'This situation arises due to traffic jam.' / *EkTa joruri miTiŋe thakte hoechilo* 'I had to attend an emergency meeting'.

(iii) Acknowledgement of responsibility:

The speaker admits his/her responsibility for the offence. In this situation the expression uses first person representing the speaker. The confession reflects the speaker's degree of attitude and willingness for admitting the offence. This strategy may be classified into five subcategories.

a. Expressing self-blame: *amar-i doSe khoti hoe gElo* 'The damage has been done because of my fault.'

b. Expressing self-deficiency: *ami Ekebare bhule gechilam* 'I completely forgot'/ *kOto Ogochalo ami !* 'What a careless I am!'.
c. Justifying the addressee: *ami bujhte parchi, tumi khub rege gEcho* 'I understand that you have become angry.'/ *tomar bhul bojhar-i kOtha* 'Your confusion is justified'.
d. Expressing lack of intent: *ami Sotti-i Emon kaj korte cayni* 'I did not want to perform this type of work.'/ *Emon khoti kOrar icche chilo na amar* ' I had no intention to do this type of damage.'
e. Expressing feeling of embarrassment: *amar khub kharap lagche* 'I am feeling very much distressed.'/ *ami khub-i OSoSti bodh korchi* 'I am feeling very uneasy.'

(iv) Offer of repair:

The speaker assumes that the mistake should be corrected and remedy should be applied. The speaker chooses to offer a compensation for the offence committed. The repairing process may be performed *specifically* or *non-specifically*.

Non-specific repairing: *tomar kono Sahajje ki lagte pari ?* 'May I help you?'/ *bEparTa OboSSoy miTie phelbo* ' I will certainly settle up the matter.'

Specific repairing: *gaRir jonno ja lage khotipuron die debo*' I will compensate for the car'.

(v) Promise of forbearance:

The speaker promises to do better in future occasion and assures that the same wrong-doing would never happen again in future (*ar kOkhono Emon hObe na*).

(vi) Denial of responsibility:

The speaker denies his/her responsibility for the offence/fault (as in *eTa amar kono doS nOY* 'This is not my fault'). S/he may blame someone for the offence. Sometimes the addresser may even pretend to be offended.

a. Blaming the hearer: *eTa puropuri tomar doS* 'This is completely your fault'.
b. Pretending to be offended: *khub-i Opomanito mone hocche nijeke* 'I am feeling very much insulted'.

Modification of apology

(i) Intensification of apology:

These may be of different types :

a. Intensification by using adverbial :ami *khub* dukkhito ‘ I am very much sorry’/ *bhiSon* kOSTo pacchi ‘I am feeling very much distressed’.
b. Emotional expression: *haY* bhOgoban !‘ Oh! God!’; *aha*! kOto kOSTo dilam ‘ Oh! I have put (you) into lot of troubles’.
c. Repetition of intensifying adverbials: ami *bhiSon bhiSon* kOSTo pacchi‘ I am feeling very much distressed’.
d. Use of the term ‘please’ : *pliz* map kore daW ‘ Please excuse me’.
e. Use of emphatic marker : *khOma-i Sudhu caybo* ‘I should beg excuse only’.

(ii) Comments:

The speaker may comment about others or self and the situation. This is simply for expressing his/her concern about the listener. The comments are often helpful in downgrading the offence or in some cases it may even intensify the apology.

a) About self: *kibhabe e bhul ami korte parlam* ‘How could I make such a mistake!’
b) About others: tumi kichu mone kOroni to ‘(Hope) you did not mind’.
c) About the situation: *iSSOrke dhonnobad je khub EkTa bORo Oporadh kore phelini* ‘Thanks to the God, that I have not done a big blunder’.

(iii) Downgrading offence:

Some specific strategic moves may be applied by the speaker for diverting the hearer’s attention from the speaker’s responsibility in committing the offence. These strategies may have several subcategories:

a) Query precondition: This is used in a situation when the speaker attempts to put doubts for a previous plan or settlement which s/he broke (Blum-Kulka 1989). For example, *tomader SOŋge ki SOkalbElate dekha kOrar kOtha chilo* ‘Was the meeting settled with you at the morning?’

b) Future task oriented remark *: ja khoti hoeche bhule gie ebar notun kore kaj Suru korte hObe* 'Let us start the work a fresh forgetting whatever damage has been done' .
c) Pretending not to notice the offence : *Sotti-i ki aSbo bolechilam* 'Did I really promise to come?' / *deri kore phellam ki* 'Am I late?'
d) Humour: Sob *kichu bhule geleW nijer nam je bhulini ey jOtheSTo* 'It is enough that I have lost all memories except my name.'
e) Syntactic downgraders : *ami Obak hocchi…*'I am feeling stunned'/ *ami kOSTo pacchi* 'I am feeling distressed'

A Case study on literary texts

We have selected here two of the important twentieth-century novels ('Caritrahīn' [1917] & Gṛhadāha' [1920]) by the renowned Bengali writer Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay [1876-1938]. The primary motivation here in this section is to explore how the strategies of apology have been framed and the crisis of the offence has been resolved in the process of dialogic exchanges occurring mostly between the central characters of a fiction. Such an attempt is stylistically significant as well. Because it not only highlights the mood and attitude of the characters but also brings to the fore variations of the stylistic design built by the writer in expressing the common theme of an apologetic event. The characters taking part in the process of communication in most of the cases are of opposite sexes. Each of the examples in the database consists of *statements*, often giving a clue about the non-verbal features in the process of communicative exchange, with a following/ preceding *dialogue* incorporating an overt/ covert apologetic expression.

We are limited to only 14 examples here, selected from the two novels[2]as mentioned above. These are significant as well as relevant for our present analysis. However, the examples in both fictions associated with apologetic exchanges are about 44 (Gṛhadāha : 21 and Caritrahīn : 23). In most cases, the interactions take place between the central male and female characters. Usually, the masculine characters apologize for the offence committed, and the women playing the role of the offended express their forgiving attitude through verbal/non-verbal expressions. Here, in this paper, we have also attempted to study the response of the

offended, to comprehend the success/failure of the apologetic strategies framed by the source-communicator (i.e. a speaker in the actual speech event). It is worth noting that the apology strategies discussed in the earlier section were mostly speaker-centered. However, in this analysis, we have put stress both on the source-communicator as well as the target-communicator (equivalent to a listener) for understanding the whole communicative process.

The significant portions relevant for understanding the event of apology have been underlined in the examples and their corresponding literal translation.

1. *[Ocola] tahar hatkhani nijer hater moddhe Tania loia Snigdho kOnThe kohilo, nijer bEboharer jonno ami ottonto lojjito. amake apni map korun.*

   .... meYTi haSilo, kintu SOhoSa uttor dite parilo na. [**G** :Ocola→Binapani] (p.101)

   [Acala] pulling her hand into her hands said softly, I feel very much embarrassed for my behaviour. Forgive me. … The girl smiled, but could not answer instantly.

Features :

a. Presence of the Head act *map kOra* 'begging excuse' which follows the *Explanation of the situation.*

b. The explanation is *unspecified*. The speaker admits her responsibility and expresses self-blame.

c. Use of *non-verbal gesture* and *paralinguistic features* support the apologetic behaviour. The description of the tone (*Snigdho kOnThe* 'in polite voice') shows that the politeness is involved with apology.

d. The addressee is *non-responsive*. Her smiling as a non-verbal gesture proves that she did not take this offence seriously.

2. *SureS bolillo, ami je kOto dukkhito, kOto lojjito hoYci, ta bole janate parine.*

   ... Ocola Odhomukhe nirObe boSia rohilo.[**G:**SureS→Acola] (p. 82)

Suresh commented, I feel too much ashamed and grieved to express it. … Acala sat down silently with her face lowered.

Features :

a. Expression of apology is *explicit* and intensified by the *quantifier* kOTo 'so much'. However, expression of apology is not represented through any performative act like *ami map caychi* 'I beg your excuse'.
b. The listener is *non-responsive* and her gesture does not confirm her forgiving attitude.
c. The explanation for the regret is *overt.*

3. *Ocola duy kane oŋguli dia bolia uThilo, e-Somosto alocona apni map korben.*
… SureS… bolilo, na map ami kortey parine, tomake Suntey hObe.

[**G:**Acola→SureS](p. 59)

Acala touched her two ears with fingers and said, please forgive me for this type of discussion. … Suresh said, I cannot forgive you, you should listen it.

a. Presence of the *non-verbal gesture* and the *Head-act*.
b. An Apology is expressed through *performative act*.
c. The denial of the addressee confirms the *unsuccess* of the addresser.
d. Explanation for the excuse is *covert*.
e. Interestingly, here an offence is committed by the *addressee*, but the speaker raises her strong objection using apologetic expression.

4. *SureS kohite lagilo, ami nije tomake Onek koTu kOtha bolechi, Onek dukkho dieci…amar jonne tomake ar dukkho na pete hOY, …amake eyTuku Sujog bhikkhe die jaW Acola.*

….OkoSSat tOpto-oSrute Ocolar duy cokkhu bhaSia gElo.

[**G:**SureS→Acola] (p.109).

Suresh started saying, I have uttered too much harsh words towards you, I have caused many sufferings for you. You need not be distressed

again due to me… Acala,this little chance I request from you. … Suddenly Acala's eyes became flooded with deep tears.

a. The *Head-act* is represented by 'beg your excuse' (*bhikkhe deoa*) expression.
b. The cause or explanation for the offence is *elaborate*. The fault or offence refers not to immediate present but to the past action.
c. The speaker indirectly expresses the *promise of for bearance* (*tomake ar dukkho na pete hOY*).
d. The non-verbal response of the listener expressed through emotional outburst indirectly confirms the *forgiving attitude* of the listener.

5. *SureS onutOpto kOnThe kohilo, …amar nijer dose tãke tomake dujonke aj ami Opoman korechi. Seyjonno-i tomar kache biSeS kore khOma prarthona korci Ocola.*

   … (Ocola)… amar kache apnake map cayte hObe, Eto bORo OmanuS ami noy..ja korechen, beS korechen.

   [**G**:SureS→Ocola](p.63)

Suresh with a regretful voice said… it was my fault that I insulted today both of you.

Acala for this very reason I specially beg your excuse… (Acala).. I am not such an inhuman being that you need an excuse from me… whatever you have done is proper indeed.

a. An anticipatory description of the *non-verbal paralinguistic modulation* (*onutOpto kOnThe*), which supports the apologetic behaviour of the addresser.
b. The cause of offence has *elaborately been explained*.
c. The Head-act is represented by the verbally expressed *performative act* (*khOma prarthona korci*).
d. The addressee totally *ignores the offence* and strongly *supports the offender* for the offence he has committed *(ja korechen, beS korechen*).

6. *Tomar moner kOtha nibhrite janbar, jiggeS kore janbar ObokaS ami pelum na—Sejonno ami map cacci.*

   [G:Mohim→Acola] (p.32).

I did not get any scope to know,by asking you or questioning you confidentially, about your mind—for this reason I beg your excuse

a. The apology is expressed through the description of the performative act.
b. An explanation for the regret is overtly present.
c. The offence committed is not at all serious. Notably, any response from the addressee is absent in the text.

7. *SureS kohilo, tar kache khOma cayte pelum na, kintu apnar kache cayci, amaY map korun, bolia Se hOThat duy hat jukto korilo. …. chi chi o ki kOren (Acola)* [**G:**SureS→Ocola] (p.10)

Suresh said, I could not beg excuse to him, but I beg your excuse, forgive me, saying this he suddenly folded his hands…. (Acala) (reproaching) what are you doing !

a. The Head-act is present (map kOra) . The *non-verbal gesture* (duy hat jukto kOra) follows the apologetic expression.
b. The statement shows that there exists *more than one offended person*. The speaker selects only one in place of the other.
c. The regret form (chi chi !) uttered, and the *resistance* shown by the addressee reflects that she has not at all accepted the offence seriously.

8. *SureS bolia uThilo… kintu tumi amake ki kore map korle Ocola ? Ocolar oSThadhOre… haSir abha dEkha dilo. kohilo, Se proYojon-i amar hOYni.* [**G:**SureS→Ocola] (p.39)

Suresh instantly asked… but how could you forgive me Acala ?
… The shades of smile appeared on the lips of Acala, I did not feel such necessity.

a. No direct apology-related head-act is present. It has been *presupposed* by the addresser, as if he has already been forgiven by the addressee.
b. It is an indirect way of accepting guilt. But the *explanation for the regret* is not overtly present.
c. The *non-verbal expression* and the *negative statement* from the listener reflect that the listener has not expected any apology from the addresser.

d. The statement related to apology is presented in the *form of a question*.

9. *(SureS) ami kono OnnEY korini. bOronco amar SOhoSSro-koTi OnnEYer moddhe jodi kono Thik kaj hoe thake to Se ey. Apni khOma korley amar moner Somosto khobh dhue muche jabe.*
... Ocola kator hoia kohilo, apni Omon kOtha kichu bolben na.
[G:SureS→Ocola] (p.10)

(Suresh) I have not done any injustice, rather if I have done any right thing among the hundred or crores of my wrong deeds, that is this only. … all my distress would be wiped out if only you forgive me. … Acala spoke in a doleful voice, don't speak such type of words.

a. A *contradiction* appears in the statement of the speaker. The speaker *denies his responsibility* and argues *in favour of self*. But at the same time he approaches to the listener for an apology.

b. *No Head-act* is overtly present.

c. The negative statement of the addressee and her emotion as an affected one (*kator hoia*) reflect her *forgiving attitude*.

10. *Se Etodin tomake likhte pareni bole amar ciThir moddhey jæmon OSoŋkho map ceeche temni OSoŋkho pronamo korece. Take tumi marjona kOro.*
[G: Rambabu→Ocola; about Binapani] (p.131)

As she could not write you for a long period of time, she begged excuse in the letter and also expressed her deep respect. You please forgive her.

a. The *Head-act is present*, i.e. 'begging excuse' (*marjona kOra*), but the speaker himself is not the offender. *The actual offender is not present* in the actual context. Because she begs excuse through the letter. The speaker here is the *indirect apologizer*.

b. The explanation for the offence is also present, but the *offence is not at all serious*.

c. Use of *intensifier* is also notable (*OSoŋkho* 'number of times').

d. *No response* is mentioned in the text about the addressee.

11. *SureS obhinOYer bhoŋgite hat-duTo baRaia dia bolilo na-na e bhuler marjona ney.amar OntorOŋgo Suhrid aj plege mritokOlpo, ar ami kina SomoSto bhule gie, ekhane boSe britha SomOY nOSTo korci.*

[**G:**SureS→ No specific addressee] (p. 32)

Suresh with a theatrical style stretched his hands and said that there is no excuse for this mistake. My intimate friend is almost dying of plague, (in spite of that) I am uselessly wasting my time forgetting everything.

a. The speaker in fact does not beg excuse to any specific addressee. The *Head- act* is *not overtly present*. The expression of apology is *impersonal*. The apology is expressed in the form of a *negative statement*.

b. The explanation for regret follows the apologetic expression (*britha SomOY nOSTo korci*). Interestingly, the offence has not been committed in the past, but it refers to the *present action.*

c. A supporting *non-verbal gesture* is present. But such a gesture is an over-reaction being apparent in the preceding adjunct *(obhinOYer bhoŋgite*) . Notably, mentioning of the term 'drama' suggests a kind of *pretention* of the speaker which is reflected in the text following.

12. *SotiS aSte aSte bolilo, kichu mone koro na Sabitri.*
... Sabitri biSSOYer SOre proSno korilo, ki mone korbo na?

[**C:**SotiS→Sabitri] (p. 362)

Satish gently said, don't mind Sabitri …Sabitri with a surprised voice asked, what shall I not mind?

a. The Head-act is *overtly present*: *kichu mone koro na*'Don't mind'. The *Non-verbal paralinguistic feature* (*aSte aSte* 'gently') is also supporting the apology statement.

b. The addressee's response is a question reflecting as if she is totally *ignorant* about *the offence* and the context (actually this is *a pretention*).

13. (*SotiS)… onutOpto-kOnThe bolilo, kintu tomake ki Opoman korini?*
… Sabitri Odhir hoia bolilo… EkSobar hajarbar bolci, ote amar moto meemanuSer kono Opoman hOYni.
[**C:**SotiS→Sabitri] (p. 365)

(Satish)… with a regretful voice asked, but did I not insult you?
Sabitri losing her patience said, I am declaring hundred-thousand times that such (incident) could not cause any disgrace to a woman like me.

a. The expression of regret is *covertly present* being reflected in the form of a *question*. The *non-verbal* indication (*onutOpto-kOnThe*) in the statement supports the possibility of the offence committed.
b. The addressee strongly refutes the possibility of being offended.

14. *(SotiS)… binitobhabe kohilo, apni dekci amake Ekhono map kOrenni.*
… Kironmoy kohilo, na tumi to map caWni. caybar agey gae poRe dile mani loker OmOrjada kOra hOY.
[**C :**SotiS→KirOn] (p.425)

(Satish)… politely said, I think that you are yet to excuse me. … Kiranmayi commented, no, you have not begged any excuse, I believe that it is a show of disrespect to some person if s/he is excused before s/he begs it.

a. The speaker does not directly apologize but presupposes in anticipation that he has already been excused. The cause of regret is absent. The apology statement appears as a negative statement.
b. The addressee denies to excuse and asks for a direct apology. Interestingly, she gives a logical explanation in favour of her denial.

There is a contrast in this example. No explanation for regret is present from the addresser, but the explanation for denial has been expressed by the addressee.

Important observations

1. The verbal expressions of apology are frequently getting support of the non-verbal gestures and paralinguistic features (examples 1, 3, 5, 12). In some situations, both of the features combine (as in 1) in the statement before/after the dialogic part.

2. The Head -acts are generally overt being expressed by the phrases like *map kOra, marjona kOra, khOma prarthona kOra, mone na kOra* etc (examples 1, 3,4,5,6,7,10, 12). However, head-acts may also be covert being not directly articulated (2,11,13).
3. The modification of apology by the use of an intensifier (like *ottonto, kOto, Onek* etc.) is also notable (1, 2, 4, 10). Interestingly, numeral expressions are also employed by the addresser/ addressee to intensify the attitude of compassion (9,13).
4. The explanation for the offence committed is often elaborated (4, 5, 6, 10, 11) and sometimes even non-specified (1,3) or covert (2,7,12) being not expressed in the dialogic interaction between the characters. The explanation is given usually in the form of a statement. But in a specific situation it may be represented in the form of a question (13).
5. Nature and time of the offence: The offence may be serious (4, 5) or it may not be at all a serious issue (6, 10). The time-span of the offence committed appears to be 'past' (4,5) as also as 'present' (3,11).
6. The speaker acknowledges his/her responsibility for the offence done (1, 4, 5, 13), which is expressed in most of the cases as self-blame. In one marked instance, the denial of an offence by the speaker and the apologetic expression by him, both parallelly co-exist (9).
7. In at least two instances, the tolerance and forgiveness from the addressee have been presupposed by the addresser (8,14). The response of the listener suggests that in one case such a strategy is successful (8), but in the other example, the addressee strongly reacts with a statement of refusal, logically grounded (14).
8. In the process of communication generally both offender and offended are present. But in the literary context,we often observe real offender (10) or offended (7, 11) are not in face-to- face interaction, being not at all present in the actual spot. These are the instances of indirect apology. It is also noteworthy that an offended person may be more than one. The speaker selects one of them for expressing regrets (5, 7).

9. Promise of forbearance is not available in the limited set of data collected. Only one example reflects such strategy (4).

10. Only in one instance the apologetic strategy has cleverly been manipulated. The speaker pretends to be apologetic by using expressions in the form of a self-blame (11).

11. The response of the addressee is also very significant. But it has not been particularly reflected in the theoretical framework discussed earlier. The selected database from the texts reveals some of the typical responses of the addressee :

    (i) Non-verbal gesture showing a forgiving attitude (1, 4).

    (ii) No response situation (as in 2).

    (iii) Denial of the apology (3).

    (iv) The offence committed gets ignored by the listener and often s/he strongly resists or reacts against the apologetic attitude of the addresser (7, 8, 9, 12, 13). It shows that the apology strategy gets success as the listener shows her forgiving attitude.

    (v) The examples (5, 14) present two conflicting situations. In the first instance, quite unexpectedly the listener supports the offence committed by the addresser. On the contrary in (14), the addressee shows a strong reaction against the apologetic attitude of the speaker. As a consequence, the apology strategy turns out to be unsuccessful with the offence becoming more amplified.

12. The limited database presented here reflects a significant feature inherent in the dialogic exchange between two male and female characters, playing central roles in the texts. Notably, men show a more apologetic attitude in comparison to the women, contrary to the experience of Lakoff (1975). They seem to be more emotional and sensitive in a fiction in comparison to the female characters who are balanced and rational in nature. It has often been observed that the male characters, basically being emotional, frequently commit offence and mistakes. On the other hand, the women are sympathetic showing a forgiving attitude in general. It

is interesting to note that in most of the cases the apology strategies designed by the offender gain success and as a consequence the problem gets resolved. The denial of the offence by women, as illustrated in the examples, confirms the statement.

Conclusion

The present paper was an attempt to present a socio-pragmatic description and analysis of specifically the verbal modes of apology with special reference to Bangla speech community. An Apology is a skilled social behaviour and being a strong 'verbal lubricant', it provides a bridge between the individuals in a social community. As a *verbal redressing act*, the event of apology employs some specific linguistic strategies for an essential repair of the actual or probable offence arising often due to violation of the social norms of a specific culture. This paper not only investigates the multi-strategic framework of apology in *face- to-face* interaction in Bangla speech community, but also focuses on how the strategies of apology are framed and the crisis of offence gets resolved in the process of dialogic exchanges often between the central characters of the fictions.

Notes

[1] Here the modified IPA for phonetic transcription is used for the examples. O, E are applied for low-mid back and low-mid front vowels respectively. T, D, R denote retroflex sounds and S is used for denoting palato-alveolar sibilant. η and ˜ represent velar nasal and nasalization of a segment respectively.

[2] The abbreviation G is used for 'Gṛhadāha' and C for 'Caritrahīn'

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4. Add an abstract within 150 to 200 words and 4 to 5 key words.
5. Write your name and designation right aligned; use Times New Roman (TNR) with font size 14.
6. Main body format guidelines—
   a. The main body should be typed on one side of the sheet with 1.5 line spacing throughout, font TNR, font size 12.
   b. Title at the top of the article in TNR, centred with font size 16.
   c. Headings left aligned in TNR boldfaced
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   e. Leave margins of 3 cm on all four sides.
   f. Page number at the bottom of the page with alignment in the right side.
7. Examples: They should be numbered consecutively. Use tabs (not the space bar) to align examples and glosses. Use italics for the example. Please explain used abbreviations or acronyms in the abbreviation list at the end of the article:

   (1) Example in italics

   Word-for-word gloss in roman type, use small capitals (not capitals) for the acronyms

   'Idiomatic translation in single quotation marks'

   (2a) Kumar naakaali-y-il utkaar-ntu iru-kkir-aan Kumar table-(y)-LOK sit-KONV be-PRS-3.SG.M

   'Kumar is sitting at the table.'

   (2b) The boat does travel south.

8. For in-text reference use only the surname of the author, year of publication and the page number within first bracket. For example,
   a. One author (Chatterji 1926: 63)
   b. Two authors (Stolz & Urdze 2004: 367)
   c. Three authors ((Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2005: 39)
   d. Four authors and more: (Smith et al. 1980: 45ff.)

9. For the style of end-text referencing kindly follow the APA style. Examples of end text references for books use —Author last name, First name Middle name. (Year of publication). Title of work: Capital letter also for subtitle. Location: Publisher. Examples of end- text referencing in books edited books and articles are as follows.
    a. Books— Chatterji, Suniti Kumar. (1926). The Origin and Development of Bengali Language. Calcutta. Calcutta University Press.
    b. Edited Books — Shopen, Timothy (ed.) (1985): Language typology and syntactic description – vol. III. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
    c. Article in an edited work — Ehrich, Veronika (1982): Da and the system of spatial deixis in German, in: Weissenborn, J. & Klein, Wolfgang (eds.), Here and there. Cross-linguistic studies on deixis and demonstration. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 43–63.
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