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EDITED BY
Sunandan Kumar Sen

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Department of Linguistics
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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Editor's Note

The Department of Linguistics takes immense pleasure to publish the current volume (No 24) of the Departmental Bulletin. In this current issue the Research Fellows of the department, faculty members of our department and also from the other university have made their valuable contributions. Our department, which is the oldest one in Asia, has a long history of glowing tradition. It goes without saying that this issue is an outcome of the passion and commitment of the colleagues and the research fellows of the department. The dedication of the research fellows needs special mention. This is obvious from the content page of this issue. Out of the seven contributions four are from the research fellows. It also delights me to say that not only the Research Fellows but the faculty members from the other universities are also expressing their willingness to contribute in our bulletin. This is a very encouraging sign for the Department.

Prof M. J. Warsi in his paper investigates the nominal and verbal morphology of Maithili and Urdu, focusing on gender, number, case, and pronouns in the nominal domain. The study also explores the formation of adjectives, degrees of comparison, adverbs, possession, numerals, and postpositions. In the verbal domain, Maithili-Urdu verbs exhibit tense, aspect, mood, and transitivity distinctions, with various forms and derivations for verbal expression.

Prof Abhijit Majumdar in his valuable contribution studies on request as a politeness phenomenon in pragmatics. The paper attempts to identify some of the basic request strategies in reference to Bangla from a pragma-linguistic approach. This paper puts emphasis on the different strategies in order to understand relevance of them in Bangla. It also explores how different request strategies are contextually constructed in the fictional domain of Bangla novels.

Chitrangada Lahiri in her paper wants to analyze the fascist myth, a second order signifying system, in the famous Bengali film *Hirak Rajar Deshe* and its interpretation according to the semiotic reader of a disguised democracy.

Debdut Chakraborty in his paper attempts to explore Tagore's technique of representing speech and thoughts of fictional characters from various angles in some selected short stories from 'Galpaguccha'. He also explores the diachronic development in Tagore's style of writing.

Sayantani Pathak is working in the field of endangered and lesser-known languages. Her area of research is concentrated in the Dhimal language. Dhimal, a lesser-known Himalayan language and severely endangered language is spoken in West Bengal and Nepal. Her paper discusses the various factors contributing to the endangerment of the language.

Anindita Halder in her paper aims to analyze excerpts from "Indian Fairy Tales" by Maive Stokes by exploring the different features of narrative performance present in them.

Sunandan Kumar Sen in his paper discusses some interesting role of Bengali substantive verbs in syntax. The substantive verbs in fusional languages are the equivalent of 'be' verb. Their presence in the underlying form is obligatory though their presence in surface level is optional.

At the end I want to express my sincere thanks to Prof (Dr.) Santa Datta (De), Hon'ble Vice Chancellor, Prof Debasis Das, Registrar for their constant support. I also offer my sincere thanks to Mr. Ayan Ghosh and his dedicated staffs of the Unimage Printers and certainly to my two colleagues Prof Abhijit Majumdar and Prof Aditi Ghosh for extending all kinds of support to me.

Sunandan Kumar Sen

9th March 2024

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Maithili Urdu : A Study of Nominal and Verbal Morphology

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Abstract

Mithilanchal region is the name of an area in Bihar that comprises Dharbanga, Samastipur, Begusarai, Madhubani, Sitamarhi, Khagaria, and Muzzafarpur districts. Maithili Urdu does not have its own script or literature, yet it has maintained an oral history of over many centuries. The main languages spoken in Mithilanchal are Maithili, Hindi, Urdu and Bangla. Maithili Urdu has been frequently spoken by the residents (especially Muslims) of this region and has become an important part of their identity, however, the majority of educated Muslims formally speak Urdu. Maithili Urdu has contributed in enriching the Hindi, Urdu and Maithili language and literature very profoundly. The study investigates the nominal and verbal morphology of Maithili Urdu, focusing on gender, number, case, and pronouns in the nominal domain. Maithili Urdu exhibits a gender system with masculine and feminine nouns, marked by specific suffixes. Nouns also inflect for number and case, with three cases: nominative, oblique, and vocative. Pronouns, while inflected for number and case, do not distinguish gender. The study also explores the formation of adjectives, degrees of comparison, adverbs, possession, numerals, and postpositions. In the verbal domain, Maithili Urdu verbs exhibit tense, aspect, mood, and transitivity distinctions, with various forms and derivations for verbal expressions.

Introduction

Maithili Urdu has evolved over time to encompass a distinctive set of nominal and verbal morphological features, which reflect its unique heritage and the interplay of various linguistic elements. Maithili Urdu is a dialect of Maithili language. The language is spoken in the whole of the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Purnea, Monghyr, and Bhagalpur. (Jha, 1985)

This research paper delves into the intricate structure of Maithili Urdu, with a particular focus on its nominal and verbal morphology. As this paper explore the linguistic landscape of Maithili Urdu, we aim to unravel the nuances of its gender system, case relations, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, postpositions, and verb conjugation. Through an in-depth analysis of these linguistic elements, it focuses on the mechanisms that underlie the construction of meaning and the expression of ideas in this fascinating language.

Nominal morphology in Maithili Urdu is characterized by a gender system that encompasses masculine and feminine categories, each influencing the form and agreement of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. This gender system, along with the intricate interplay of singular and plural numbers, case relations, and postpositions, presents a unique linguistic landscape that deserves careful examination.

In the realm of pronouns, Maithili Urdu showcases a wealth of categories, including personal, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, indefinite, reciprocal, and relative pronouns. The paper explores the inflection of pronouns for number and case, shedding light on the intricate distinctions made within the third person pronoun system based on proximity and remoteness.

Adjectives in Maithili Urdu exhibit fascinating patterns of formation, with some ending in /-a/ and others in different vowels or consonants. These adjectives display agreement with gender and number in distinctive ways, contributing to the language's expressive richness. Degrees of comparison in adjectives provide further insight into how Maithili Urdu speakers convey variations in size, quality, and quantity.

The research also delves into adverbs, which play a crucial role in qualifying verb actions. Adverbs in Maithili Urdu cover various aspects of time, place, manner, location, direction, and cause. Through a

comprehensive examination of these adverbs, we gain a deeper understanding of how speakers situate actions within specific contexts.

Numerals are another essential component of language, enabling speakers to quantify and enumerate. Maithili Urdu's numeral system, including cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, fractions, and aggregatives, showcases unique characteristics and rules of formation. These numerals offer insights into how speakers count, measure, and categorize objects and quantities.

The paper also investigates postpositions, which serve as case markers in Maithili Urdu. These postpositions, used with oblique case nouns, provide a means of expressing various grammatical and semantic relations. We delve into their usage and patterns, shedding light on how Maithili Urdu speakers convey spatial, possessive, and other relationships.

Verbal morphology takes center stage in this research, as we explore Maithili Urdu's rich verb system. The language exhibits a sensitivity to number, person, and gender, with finite and non-finite forms that convey tense, aspect, mood, and voice. We delve into the intricate details of personal affixes, tense-aspect-mood systems, and the categorization of verbs as transitive or intransitive.

In the following sections of this paper, we embark on a detailed and rigorous analysis of the linguistic features in Maithili Urdu, aiming to provide a comprehensive understanding of its nominal and verbal morphology.

Existing Research

Though Maithili Urdu had contributed profoundly to Maithili, Hindi, and Urdu literature over many years, but serious extensive linguistic research work has not been carried out on it. Some native scholars have done research on its word lists and scanty work on phonology. Besides, sketches of its morphology and syntax are found in some texts and monographs.

Nominal Morphology

Noun

In Maithili Urdu, there are two genders--masculine and feminine; two numbers--singular and plural; three cases--

nominative, oblique, and vocative. Words derived direct from the Sanskrit, which were originally neuter, generally become masculine in Maithili. (Yadav, 1996)

The nouns are declined according to their gender class and the property of their final segment. The animate are either masculine or feminine, but, there are not any fixed rules for assigning grammatical gender to inanimate.

Gender : There are two genders in Maithili Urdu: masculine and feminine.

(A) Masculine Nouns : All the nouns ending in /-a/ are masculine:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------|
| (1) | lārka | 'boy' |
| | čāča | 'uncle' |
| | sinema | 'cinema' |
| | b ^h ət̪j̪a | 'nephew' |

Few nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine and these nouns denote nationality or profession:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------|
| (2) | bīhari | 'Bihari' |
| | pəñjābi | 'Punjabi' |
| | moči | 'cobbler' |
| | d ^h obi | 'washerman' |

Few nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine denoting personal identity or profession:

- | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------------|
| (3) | admi | 'man' |
| | kaḷi | 'Muslim priest' |
| | kəbayəli | 'tribal' |
| | təbəlči | 'drummer' |

(B) Feminine Nouns : The majority of nouns ending in /-i/ are feminine:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------|
| (4) | lārki | 'girl' |
| | g ^h əri | 'watch' |
| | gari | 'car' |
| | dəri | 'rug' |

Nouns ending in -ən are also feminine and these nouns denote nationality or profession:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------------------------|
| (5) | pəñjabən | 'Punjabi woman' |
| | biharən | 'Bihari woman' |
| | d ^h obən | 'washer woman' |
| | səperan | 'snake charmer's wife' |

There are no formal rules for identifying the gender of nouns with other than the above endings. In the case of animate nouns, grammatical gender corresponds to the biological gender (sex); in the case of inanimate nouns, it is quite uncertain:

- | | | |
|-----|--------|--------------|
| (6) | kagej | 'paper' (m) |
| | jəma't | 'group' (f) |
| | khun | 'blood' (m) |
| | dəwat | 'inkpot' (f) |

Number: The number-marking system of common nouns depends upon three features of the noun: its ending, its gender, and its case. (Kachru, 2006) In Maithili Urdu, two numbers are distinguished- singular and plural. (A) Masculine nouns ending in /-a/ are changed into /-e/ to form the plural number in nominative case:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------|---|-------|----------|
| (7) | lərka | 'boy' | ; | lərke | 'boys' |
| | g ^h ora | 'horse' | ; | ghore | 'horses' |
| | bəsta | 'bag' | ; | bəste | 'bags' |
| | rasta | 'path' | ; | raste | 'paths' |

Masculine nouns ending in a consonant or in any vowel except /-a/, remain unchanged to form the plural number in nominative case:

- | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------------|
| (8) | gaō | 'village/villages' |
| | raja | 'king/kings' |
| | admi | 'man/men' |
| | dhobi | 'washerman/washermen' |

(B) Feminine nouns, irrespective of their endings, form their plural numbers in nominative case by adding the ending /-iyā/:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------|----------|---|---------|---------|
| (9a) | lərki | 'girl' | ; | lərkiyā | 'girls' |
| | rani | 'queens' | ; | raniyā | 'queen' |

Few nouns ending with consonant take /ē/ in their plural form

(9b)	kıtab	'book'	;	kıtabē	'books'
	adət	'habit'	;	adətē	'habits'

Case: The syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are expressed by case-suffixes, postpositions and derivational processes. (Koul, 2008) Maithili Urdu has three cases-nominative, oblique, and vocative. The nominative case in Maithili is indicated by the absence of any case marker. The noun in the nominative case performs the grammatical function of a subject. (Yadav, 1996) It functions as the nominal part of the predicate or as the direct object, it does not take any postposition. The oblique case requires a postposition in order to express case relations. In case relations, Maithili Urdu employs analytic method that combines nouns in the oblique case with auxiliary postpositions.

Case	Noun		Postposition
	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	lərka	lərke	Ø
	Oblique	lərke lərko	ne, se, ko (ms), ka (mp), me, pər
Vocative	o lərke	o lərko	-

Masculine singular nouns ending in /-a/ change to /-e/ to form the oblique case singular:

(10)	kəmra	'room'	;	kəmre mē	'in the room'	(loc)
	lərka	'boy'	;	lərke ko	'to the boy'	(acc/dat)

Masculine singular nouns ending in other than /-a/ remain unchanged:

(11)	kagəj	'paper'	;	kagəj ko	'to the paper'	(acc/dat)
	wəkt	'time'	;	wəkt ka	'of the time'	(poss)
	səhər	'city'	;	səhər ko	'to the city'	(acc/dat)
	g ^h ər	'house'	;	g ^h ər mē	'in the house'	(loc)

Feminine singular nouns, irrespective of ending, remain unchanged in the oblique case singular:

(12)	lərki	'girl'	;	lərki ko	'to the girl'	(acc/dat)
	kıtab	'book'	;	kıtab mē	'in the book'	(loc)
	k ^h ırki	'window'	;	k ^h ırki ko	'to the window'	(acc/dat)
	təswir	'picture'	;	təswir mē	'in the picture'	(loc)

Both masculine and feminine nouns, irrespective of their ending, take the ending /-ō/ or /yō/ to form the oblique case plural:

- (13) lərke 'boys' ; lərķō ko 'to the boys' (acc/dat)
 k^hīrkīyā 'windows' ; k^hīrkīyō mē 'in the windows' (loc)
 g^hər 'house' ; g^hərō ko 'to the house' (acc/dat)
 kītabē 'books' ; kītabō mē 'in the picture' (loc)

The vocative case is the form used to address someone. Masculine singular nouns ending in /-a/ always take /-e/ in the vocative singular:

- (14) o lərke 'o boy'
 o b^hətīje 'o nephew'

Masculine singular nouns, ending in other than /-a/, remain unchanged:

- (15) o bhāi 'o brother'
 o dost 'o friend'

Feminine singular nouns, irrespective of ending, remain unchanged in vocative case singular:

- (16) o lərki 'o girl'
 o mai 'o mother'

Both masculine and feminine nouns take /-o/ or /yo/ to form vocative case plural:

- (17) əre lərko 'hey boys!'
 əre dosto 'hey friends!'
 əre lərkiyo 'hey girls!'
 əre kitabo 'hey books!'

Pronouns

Pronouns in Maithili Urdu, inflected for number and case; and, gender are not distinguished anywhere in pronouns. In Maithili Urdu, there are many classes of pronouns: nominative and oblique forms of personal, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, indefinite, reciprocal, and relative. The third person pronouns are distinguished on the basis of proximity and remoteness.

Personal pronouns: The personal pronouns are inflected for number and case. First and second person personal pronouns are not distinguished on proximity or remoteness. But, third person personal

pronouns are distinguished on the basis of proximity and remoteness. Third person personal pronouns are demonstrative pronouns, used also as personal pronouns. The following paradigm illustrates this:

(18) Person	Case	Number				
		Singular		Plural		
First	Nominative	mā	I'	hām	'we'	
	Oblique		me		hām	
Second	Nominative	tu	'you'	tu	'you'	
	Oblique		to		to	
Third	Proximate	Nominative	ɪ	's/he'	ɪ	'these'
		Oblique	ɪ		ɪ	
	Remoteness	Nominative	ʊ	's/he'	ʊ	
		Oblique	ʊ		ʊ	

Demonstrative pronouns: Demonstrative pronouns in Maithili Urdu are also used as personal pronouns. These are divided on the basis of proximity and remoteness. In third person, there is no gender distinction.

(19) Person	Gender	Number				
		Singular		Plural		
Third	Proximate	Masculine	ɪ	'this'	ɪ	'these'
	Proximate	Feminine	ɪ	'this'	ɪ	'these'
Third	Remote	Masculine	ʊ	'that'	ʊ	'those'
	Remote	Feminine	ʊ	'that'	ʊ	'those'

For showing proximity, in third person, there is only one form in Maithili Urdu: /ɪ/ for masculine and feminine. Likewise, /ʊ/ shows remoteness in both genders. Therefore, gender does not play any role.

Reflexive pronouns: Maithili Urdu has two types of reflexive pronouns: (i) agentive reflexive: *apne ap'self'* and (ii) possessive reflexive: *apna 'one's own.'* The agentive reflexive can be followed by a postposition and generally never occur in the subject position. *apneap* is not inflected and takes only the postposition to show reflexivity. But, the possessive reflexive *apna* is inflected according to the gender and number of the object of the verb. The agentive reflexive can normally never occur in the subject position.

(20a)* əpne ap ʊ pərho hæ
 refl. he read-prst. aux.
 'He reads by himself.'

(20b) ʊ apne ap pərho hai
 he refl. read-prst aux
 'He reads by himself.'

The agentive reflexive *əpneap* can be followed by a postposition.

(21) ʊ əpne ap ke aina mæ dekhəl-kæ
 he+erg. refl. acc./dat. mirror loc. see-pst.ms
 'He saw himself in the mirror.'

In sentence (21), the postposition *ke* is in accusative/dative case. /ʊ/ 'he+erg' is the antecedent of *əpneap*'self.' *əpneap* is not inflected and only takes the postpositions to show reflexivity. On the other hand, the possessive reflexive *apna* is inflected according to the gender and number of the object of the verb in third person.

(22) həm əpna kam kərho hæ
 I own work.ms do-prst. aux.
 'I do my own work.'

In the sentence (22), *əpna* does not agree with number and gender of subject *mə'I* but with object *kam* 'work'. Likewise, in second and third person, it does not agree with the subject *tu* 'you' and *ʊ* 's/he' but with object *kam* 'work':

(23) tu əpna kam kərho hæ
 you own work.ms do-prst. aux.
 'You do your own work.'

(24) ʊ əpna kam kərho hæ
 s/he own work.ms do-prst. aux.
 'S/he does his/her own work.'

The possessive reflexive *əpna* does not agree with gender and number of the object of the verb:

(25) həm əpna kɪtab pərh-iyō hæ
 I own work.fs read-prst. aux.
 'I read my own book.'

(26) ʊ əpna kɪtab pərh-o hæ
 s/he own book.fs read-prst. aux.
 'S/he reads his/her own book.'

Interrogative pronouns: There are two interrogative pronouns in Maithili Urdu: (i) ke 'who', and (ii) ka 'what'. These are used for persons and objects. There is no difference between the singular and plural forms of these pronouns. The paradigm of the interrogative pronoun is similar in the oblique case:

(27)	Case	Number			
		<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	Nominative	ke	'who'	ke	'who'
	Oblique	ke		ke	

(28)	Case	Number			
		<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	Nominative	ka	'what'	ka	'what'
	Oblique	ke		ke	

Indefinite pronouns: The main indefinite pronouns in Maithili Urdu are: (i) koi 'someone' and (ii) kučh 'something.' Both can be used for persons and objects.

(29)	Case	Number			
		<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	Nominative	koi	'some one'	koi	'some one'
	Oblique	koi		koi	

(30)	Case	Number			
		<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	Nominative	kučh	'some thing'	kučh	'some thing'
	Oblique	kučh		kučh	

Relative pronouns: There exists a relative pronoun /je/ in Maithili Urdu.

(31)	Case	Number			
		<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	Nominative	je	'who/what'	je	'who/what'
	Oblique	je		je	

It is clear there is no overt difference in the shape of relative pronoun in both the numbers. The direct possessive relative pronoun, like other genitive pronominal forms, has only one form: *je* and its oblique counterparts is also *je*.

Adjectives

Formation of adjectives: Adjectives in Maithili Urdu can be divided into two classes: (i) ending in /-a/ and (ii) ending in a vowel (other than /-a/) or a consonant. Adjectives ending in /-a/ are masculine and agree with the following head noun in number and gender. Vowel /-a/ is changed into /-e/ in the nominative case plural; /-e/ in the singular oblique case and /-ō/ in the plural oblique case. Whereas, adjectives not ending in /-a/ do not agree with their noun in number and gender. Their endings remain unchanged in nominative case plural and oblique case singular and plural.

(32) Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nominative	əčč ^h a 'good'	əčč ^h e 'good'	əčč ^h i 'good'	əčč ^h i 'good'
Oblique	ačče	ačče	ačchi	ačchi

In Maithili Urdu, adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively.

Attributive:

(33a) kala bəsta həmra hæ
 black bag my is
 'The black bag is mine.'

(34a) o alsī lərka hæ
 that lazy boy is
 'That is a lazy boy.'

Predicative:

(33b) həmra bəsta kala hæ
 my bag black is
 'My bag is black.'

(34b) o ləkra alsī hæ
 that lazy boy is
 'That boy is lazy.'

Degrees of comparison: There are several ways to express the comparative degree of comparison in Maithili Urdu. The adjectives ending in /-a/ alone form a simple comparison by adding /-ka/(ms.), to the base for comparison in masculine singular:

- (35) moṭa 'fat' ; moṭka 'bigger'
 čhoṭa 'small' ; čhoṭka 'smaller'

Likewise, /-ki-(fs/p.) is also added to the base to get feminine singular and plural:

- (36) moṭi 'big' ; moṭki 'bigger'
 čhoṭi 'small' ; čhoṭki 'smaller'

A form of the comparative degree is made by means of the words *besi* 'much' and *kəm* 'less.'

- (37) yusəf həsən se besi khubsurət hæ
 yusuf hasan than more handsome is
 'Yusuf is more handsome than Hasan.'

- (38) rəjia imrana se kəm hoshiyar hæ
 rajia imrana from less intelligent is
 'Rajia is less intelligent than Imrana.'

In superlative constructions, the standard against which the comparison is made is *səb se* 'all', to which the postposition *se* 'than' is suffixed:

- (39) khørshid səb se hoshiyar hæ
 khurshid all than intelligent is
 'Khurshid is the most intelligent of all.'

Adverbs

An adverb is a word that occurs before the verbal form and qualifies the action denoted by the verb. Adverbs are the most difficult part of speech to define. There are very few items which are basically adverbs; most words are called adverbs because they function as such in sentences. (Kachru, 1980) Adverbs may be divided into adverbs of time, place, manner, location, direction, and purpose or cause. In Maithili Urdu, the adverbs formed on the pronominal bases are presented in a tabular form below:

(40) Adverbs of:	Proximate	Remote	Relative	Interrogative
Time	əb	təb	ĵeb	kəb
Place	hiyā	huā	ĵehā	kəhā
Direction	idhər	udhər	ĵidhər	kidhər
Manner	əise	wəise	ĵəise	kəise
Cause	əise	-	-	kəise

Adverbs of time: Under these will come words indicating different periods of time:

(41)	əb	'now'	kəb	'when'	ĵəb	'when'
	kəlhe	'tomorrow'	kəlhe	'yesterday'	aĵe	'today'

Adverbs of place: Under these will come words indicating different places:

(42)	hiyā	'here'	huā	'there'	kəhā	'where'
	ĵehā	'where'				

Adverbs of direction: The words indicating different directional aspects:

(43)	id ^h ər	'here'	huā	'there'	ĵidhər	'where'
	kəhā	'where'	dur	'far'	nəĵdik	'near'
	upər	'above'	niče	'below'		

Adverbs of manner: The words indicating different manner:

(44)	əise	'this way'	wəise	'that way'	ĵəise	'that way'
	kəise	'how'				

A reduplicated noun can also function as manner adverb in a sentence. (Warsi, 2023)

Adverbs of cause: The words indicating different causes:

(45)	əise	'this way'	kahe	'why'
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Possession

In Maithili Urdu possession is shown by one possessive marker /ra/. It changes as per number and gender of the possessed item (animate or inanimate):

(46)	Gender	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	Masculine	mera	‘my’	mere	‘my’
		həmra	‘our’	həmre	‘ours’
	Feminine	meri	meri	həmri	həmri
II	Masculine	tora	‘your’	tore	‘yours’
	Feminine	tori	tori	tori	tori
III	Masculine	ekra	‘of this’	ekre	‘of this’
	Feminine	ekri	ekri	ekri	ekri
IV	Masculine	okra	‘of that’	okre	‘of that’
	Feminine	okri	okri	okri	okri

Numerals

Numerals are adjectives that indicate number. The numerals in Maithili Urdu are: (i) cardinals, (ii) Ordinals, (iii) multiplicatives, (iv) fractions, and (v) aggregatives. Remarkably, *un-* is prefixed to all the numerals which designate decades less than one. These are given below:

ek	1	čhəbis	26	ikavən	51	čhihətər	76
do	2	səttais	27	bavən	52	səttətər	77
tin	3	əṭhais	28	tirepən	53	əṭhətər	78
čar	4	ontis	29	čopən	54	onryasi	79
Pāč	5	Tis	30	Pəčpən	55	əssi	80
Čhæ	6	iktis	31	čhəppən	56	ikyasi	81
Sat	7	Bəttis	32	səttavən	57	bəyasi	82
aṭh	8	Tetis	33	əṭhavən	58	Tirasi	83
Nə	9	Čōtis	34	unsəṭh	59	čorasi	84
Dəs	10	Pəttis	35	səṭh	60	pičyasi	85
gyarəh	11	Čhəttis	36	iksəṭh	61	čhiyasi	86
Barəh	12	Səttis	37	basəṭh	62	ṣitasi	87
Terəh	13	Ērtis	38	tiresəṭh	63	əṭhyasi	88
Čədah	14	uṇčalis	39	čōsəṭh	64	nevasi	89
Pədrəh	15	Čālis	40	pəsəṭh	65	Nəbbe	90
Sola	16	Iktalis	41	čhryasəṭh	66	ikkanəve	91

Sətrəh	17	Biyalis	42	sæsəṭh	67	banve	92
əṭharəh	18	Tiyalis	43	ərsəṭh	68	tranve	93
unnis	19	čəvalis	44	ʊnəhətar	69	čoranve	94
Bis	20	Pəetalis	45	səttər	70	Pičanve	95
ıkkis	21	čhiyalis	46	lketər	71	čhiyanve	96
Bais	22	səetalis	47	bahətar	72	Sətanve	97
Teis	23	Ərtalis	48	tıhetər	73	əṭhanve	98
Čobis	24	ʊnčas	49	čohətar	74	ninanve	99
Pačis	25	Pəčas	50	pičəhtər	75	so	100

(i) Cardinals: Cardinals are used for counting and answer the question /*kitna*/'how many.' The cardinals do not decline unless they refer to nouns in the oblique case then they take the ending/-*ō*/.

(47) dəsō kītab ka malik
 ten books poss owner
 "The owner of (all) ten books.'

(48) pāčō lərka ke.
 five boys poss.
 'To (all) five boys.'

(ii) Ordinals: The ordinal numerals answer the question /*kekra*/'which.' Ordinals are declinable adjectives which are formed from cardinals by the addition of the suffix /-*ma*/(m.) or /-*mi*/(f.), except in case of ordinals of *ek* 'one', *do* 'two', *tin* 'three', and *čar* 'four.' The ordinals of these cardinals are:

(49) pəhla 'first'
 dusra 'second'
 tisra 'third'
 čətha 'fourth'

Examples of other ordinals are:

(50) pačhman (ms) 'fifth' pāčmi (fs)
 dasman (ms) 'tenth' dəsmi (fs)
 du sə satma (ms) '207th' du sə satmi (fs)

(iii) **Multiplicatives** : Multiplicatives are formed by suffixing/ *gona*/(ms) 'multiplied/times' to the cardinal numerals:

(51)	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
	du gona	du gona	du gona	du gona
	tin gona	tin gona	tin goni	tin goni

The multiplicative suffix may also be added to a few of the fractional numerals:

(52)	səwagona	'1¼ times'
	derhgona	'1½ times'
	arhaigona	'2 ½ times'

(iv) **Fractions**: Maithili Urdu has special terms for the following fractions:

(53)	pao	=	¼ 'a quarter'
	sarhe	=	+ ½ 'half' (used with numerals 3 and above)
	pəne	=	¾ 'three fourth'
	tin pao	=	¾ 'three quarters'
	səwa	=	+ ¼ (used with numerals 1 and above)

All of the fractions listed above do not behave as adjectives. A few of them may combine with the genitival forms of the noun phrases (NPs) in which case they are more like nouns than adjectives, as exemplified in (54-57):

(54)	okre	adha	čahiye
	this	half	needed
	'Half of this is needed.'		

(55)	so	ke	kholla	lahu
	hundred	gen.	change	give-imp.
	'Give (me) change of one hundred (rupees).'			

However, most of the fractions are used as adjectives:

(56)	pao	bhər	dhud	dahu
	quarter	full	milk	give-imp.
	'Give (me) quarter (liter) milk.'			

(57)	adha	kilo	čini	dahu
	half	kilogram	sugar	give-imp.
	'Give (me) half kilogram of sugar.'			

(v) **Aggregatives** : All aggregative forms of cardinal numerals end on /-õ/:

(58)	donõ	'both'	čhãõ	'all six'
	Tinõ	'all three'	satõ	'all seven'
	čarõ	'all four'	aṭhõ	'all eight'
	pāčõ	'all five'	nãõ	'all nine'
	pəčasõ	'all fifty'	dəsõ	'all ten'
	sãõ	'all hundred'	saṭhõ	'all sixty'

Postpositions

In Maithili Urdu, postpositions are used as case markers and they are used with oblique case singular and plural in different situations. Examples of some of the postpositions are given below:

ka ke ki	Belonging to, related to X, of	ke hãwale se	With reference to X
ke age	Ahead of X, in front of X	ke hısab se	As per X, X-wise
ke ane tãk	Till X comes	ke huvã	Over here, at X
ke bad	After X	ke jane tãk	Till X goes
ke bager	Without X	ke k ^h laph	Against X
ke bahar	Outside of X	ke k ^h yal se	As per X's opinion
ke bare mẽ	About X	ke kinare	On the edge of X
ke bawjud	Despite of X	ke liye	For X
ke bãdle	In exchange of X	ke mamle mẽ	In the matter of X
ke b ^h ãrose	Depending on X	ke marphãt	Via/by X
ke bič mẽ	In the middle of	ke mutabik	According to X
ke bina	Without X	ke najdik	Near to X; close to X
ke đar se	Due to fear of X	ke niče	Under, below, beneath X
ke doran	During X-ing (action)	kepas	In the possession of X
ke əlawã	Besides/except X	ke pas	Near to X; close to X
ke əndar	Inside X	ke pič ^h e	Behind, in the back of X
ke hak mẽ	In favor of X	ke samne	In front of X, opposite of X
ke sath	(along)With X	mẽ	In, into, among X
ke səhare	With the support of X	mẽ se	Through X
ke sıway	Besides X/Except X	ne	Perfect tense agent marker
ke tãhãt	Under, as per rule X	pãr	At, on, upon X
ke upãr	On, upon, above X	se	From; with; by; than
ki bãjay	Instead of X	se dur	Far from X
ki mädãd se	With the help of X	se hokãr	Passing through X
ki tãrah	Like X (manner)	se lekãr	Starting from X
ki tãraph	Towards X	se pãhle	Before X
ki wajãh se	Because of X; Due to X	tãk	Until, till, up to, by
Ko	To X		

Nominal categorizers

Nominalizers: In Maithili Urdu, nouns are derived from various word classes such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs etc. by means of affixation.

(a) **Nouns from nouns:** The nouns are derived from various noun stems by adding the suffixes illustrated below:

(i) */-pəna/* is added to noun stem to form abstract noun:

(59)	mørk ^h	'fool'	mørk ^h pəna	'foolishness'
	bəčča	'child'	bəčəpəna	'childhood'
	lərka	'boy'	lərkəpəna	'boy-like'
	məjak	'joke'	məjakpəna	'joking condition'

(ii) */-elu/* is added to noun stem to form abstract noun:

(60)	ghər	'home'	ghərelu	'domestic'
------	------	--------	---------	------------

(iii) */-wa/* or */-wi/* is added to noun stem to form nouns of agency or occupation to form masculine and feminine:

(61)	bəčča	'kid' (m.)	bəčəwa/bəčəwi	'kid' (m & f)
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(iv) */-ryət/* is added to the noun to form abstract noun:

(62)	admiyət	'manliness'
	insanryət	'humanity'

(v) */-pən/* is added to noun to form abstract noun which indicates masculine gender:

(63)	bəčča	bəčəpən	'childhood'
	shəhər	shəripən	'city-like'

(vi) */-baĵ/* is added to the noun to form agent nouns that are masculine or feminine:

(64)	čal-baĵ	'conman'
	dhokhe-baĵ	'deceiver'

(vii) */i/* is added to noun (place name) to form nouns signifying residence:

- (65) bīhar-i 'a resident of Bihar'
jāpan-i 'a resident of Japan'

(viii) */-i/* is added to form noun of agency or occupation. These nouns are masculine:

- (66) čārās-i 'drug user'
tel-i 'oilman'

(ix) */-i/* is added to abstract noun to form the abstract noun. These are feminine:

- (67) ghām-i 'sorrowness'
bād-i 'evilness'

(x) */-ar/* is added to noun to form noun of occupation. These are masculine:

- (68) son-ar 'goldsmith'
loh-ar 'blacksmith'

(xi) */-dar/* is added to the noun stem to form noun of occupation:

- (69) čoki-dar 'watchman'
jāmin-dar 'landlord'
thane-dar 'head policeman'
iman-dar 'honest'

(xii) */-au/* is added to the noun stem to form noun of agency:

- (70) kām-au 'hard-working person'
čāl-au 'casual'

(xiii) */-ai/* is added to noun as well as adjectival stem to form the abstract feminine nouns:

- (71) kām-ai 'earning'
bhāl-ai 'welfare work'
rāhnōm-ai 'leadership'

(xiv) */-ən/* is added to masculine noun stem to form noun of location. These are feminine:

- (72) bīhar-ən 'a female resident of Bihar'
pānjāb-ən 'a female resident of Punjab'

(xv) */-ni/* is added to abstract noun to form abstract noun.

(73)	bat	batu-ni	'talkative' (m/f)
	shætān	shæta-ni	'mischievous' (f)

(xvi) */-wal/* is added to the noun to form noun of possession. If suffix */-wal/* is followed by */-a/*, it will be a masculine noun and if it is followed by */-i/*, it will be a feminine noun:

(74)	dukan-wala	'shop keeper'	(m.)
	dukan-wali	'shop keeper'	(f.)
	čaj-wala	'tea seller'	(m.)
	čaj-wali	'tea seller'	(f.)
	ghər-wala	'landlord'	
	ghər-wali	'landlady'	

(xvii) */-ana/* is added to the noun to form abstract noun that is masculine:

(75)	yar-ana	'friendship'
	nəjər-ana	'gift'

(b) Nouns from adjectives: Maithili Urdu employs certain suffixes that are added to adjective stems to form nouns. The suffixes used for this purpose are given below.

(i) */-k/* is added to adjectival stem to form noun. If the suffix */-k/* is followed by */-a/*, it will be a masculine noun and if it is followed by */-i/*, it will be a feminine noun:

(76)	bərka	'big one'	(m)
	bərki	'big one'	(f)
	č ^h oṭka	'younger one'	(m)
	čoṭki	'younger one'	(f)
	pətərka	'thin one'	(m)
	pətərki	'thin one'	(f)

(ii) */-pa/* is added to adjectival stem to form noun that is masculine:

(77)	bərha-pa	'oldness'
	moṭa-pa	'obesity'
	sara-pa	'completeness'
	č ^h oṭa-pa	'smallness'

(iii) /-pən/ is added to form abstract nouns:

(78)	tikha-pən	'bitterness'
	miṭha-pən	'sweetness'
	kala-pən	'blackness'
	āc̣c̣ha-pən	'goodness'

(iv) /-ai/ is added to adjectival stem to form abstract noun of quality.
Noun thus formed is feminine:

(79)	gəhr-ai	'depth'
	unč-ai	'height'
	bhəl-ai	'welfare'
	behay-ai	'shamelessness'

(v) /-i/ is added to adjectival stems to form abstract feminine noun:

(80)	səwal-i	'help seeker'
	bədhāl-i	'misery'

(c) Nouns from verbs: Suffixes in Maithili Urdu which are added to verbal nouns to form nouns are following:

(i) /-wala/ is added to the infinite verb to form masculine nouns:

(81)	kərne-wala	'worker'
	lene-wala	'taker'
	dene-wala	'giver'
	likhne-wala	'writer'

(ii) /-ri/ is added only to some stems to form masculine nouns of agency:

(82)	ḷōwa-ri	'gambler'
	khīla-ri	'player'

(iii) /-wəṭ/ is added to verbal stems, generally to causal verbal stems, to form nouns:

(83)	bəna-wəṭ	'manufacture'
	dikha-wəṭ	'showing'
	mīla-wəṭ	'mixing'
	gra-wəṭ	'falling'

(iv) /-ən/ is added to the verbal stem to form abstract feminine nouns:

- | | | |
|------|--------|------------|
| (84) | jəl-ən | 'burning' |
| | mīl-ən | 'meeting' |
| | čəl-ən | 'trending' |
| | pal-ən | 'raising' |

(v) /-i/ is added to form abstract nouns:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------|
| (85) | həns-i | 'laughter' |
| | k ^h ans-i | 'cough' |
| | p ^h ans-i | 'hanging' |

(vii) /-ai/ is added to the infinitive to form feminine noun:

- | | | |
|------|---------|------------|
| (86) | lər-ai | 'fighting' |
| | līkh-ai | 'writing' |
| | sīkh-ai | 'learning' |
| | dīkh-ai | 'watching' |

(d) Nouns from adverbs: Maithili Urdu nouns can be derived from adverbs by means of the suffixes.

(i) /-hi/ is added to the adverbial stem to form nouns:

- | | | |
|------|----------|-----------------|
| (87) | bəhūt-hi | 'excessiveness' |
| | hīyā-hi | 'right here' |
| | əbhi-hi | 'right now' |

(ii) /-iyət/ is added to form feminine nouns:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|---------------|
| (88) | insan-iyət | 'humanity' |
| | mīlk-iyət | 'ownership' |
| | kāp ^h -iyət | 'condition' |
| | ruman-iyət | 'romanticism' |

(iii) /-pən/ is added to the adverbial stem to form abstract noun:

- | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|
| (89) | utawəla-pən | 'impatience' |
| | əkela-pən | 'loneliness' |

(e) **Other means:** The nominal prefixes are added to some noun stems to form nouns having some common semantic basis, i.e. attribution, negation etc.:

Attribution:

(i) /-bəd/ is added to form noun:

(90)	bəd-čələn	'bad person'
	bəd-təmij	'ill-mannered'
	bəd-surət	'ugly'
	bəd-niyət	'ill-intentioned'

(ii) /khūs-/ is added to form noun:

(91)	khūs-mijāḡ	'lively'
	khūs-nāsib	'fortunate'
	khūs-nōma	'soothing'
	khūs-gəwar	'elated'

Negation:

(i) /be-/ is added to form noun:

(92)	be-iman	'dishonest'
	be-kar	'useless'
	be-swad	'tasteless'
	be-nam	'nameless'

(ii) /na-/ is added to form noun:

(93)	na-waqīḡ	'ignorant'
	na-raḡ	'unhappy'
	na-malum	'unknown'
	na-səmāḡ	'innocent'

Augmentatives and diminutives : Maithili Urdu is very rich in augmentatives and diminutives. Majority of nouns show the distinction of largeness and smallness in size. Masculine and feminine nouns in Maithili Urdu usually express largeness and smallness of size, respectively. Examples are given below:

(94)	jhōpra	'a big hut' (m)	jhōpri	'a small hut' (f)
	bora	'a big sack' (m)	bori	'a small sack' (f)
	ḡuta	'a big shoe' (m)	ḡuti	'a small shoe' (f)
	kəṡora	'a big bowl' (m)	kəṡori	'a small bowl' (f)

(a) **Augmentatives** : There are suffixes that are used as augmentative markers. An augmentative suffix, when added with a feminine noun, makes it larger whereas when the same is added with a masculine noun makes it very larger in size. The augmentative suffixes in Maithili Urdu are given below:

(i) /-a/ is added to the nouns to form masculine augmentatives:

(95)	bhāēs	'buffalo' (f)	bhāēsa	'buffalo' (m)
	həthori	'hammer' (f)	həthora	'hammer' (m)

(ii) /-or/ is added to the noun to form masculine augmentatives:

(96)	bhāēs	'buffalo' (f)	bhāēs-or	'a big buffalo' (m)
	billi	'cat' (f)	bill-or	'a big cat' (m)
	gədhi	'donkey' (f)	gədh-or	'a very big donkey'(m)

(iii) /-ar/ is added to the feminine noun to form feminine augmentative:

(97)	rāḍ	'widow' (f)	rəḍ-ar	'nasty widow' (f)
	k ^h irki	'window' (f)	k ^h irk-ar	'big window'(f)

(b) **Diminutives**: There are also suffixes that denote diminutives. The suffix /-či/, added with masculine noun, shows smallness of size and the noun so formed is also masculine:

(98)	sənduk	'box' (m)	sənduk-či	'small box' (m.)
	čhīlam	'pipe'		
	čhīləm-či	'pipe smoker'		
	silap	'water bowl'	silap-či	'water bowler'

Verbal Morphology

Verb

Maithili Urdu verb is sensitive to number, person, and gender and there exists a clear distinction between finite and non-finite forms of the verb. Finite forms can be used independently in matrix and subordinate clauses. The non-finite verbal forms are the derived nominals and participles. The non-finite forms are not sensitive to tense, aspect, mood, and voice. Only the present and past participial forms maintain their aspectual reference.

Personal affixes : Personal affixes in Maithili Urdu are same in first, second, and third person. These follow a fixed pattern: /-ilai/ for masculine singular and plural and also, /-i/ for feminine singular and plural.

Person	Gender	Number	
		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First	Masculine	-ilai	-ilai
	Feminine	-ilai	-ilai
Second	Masculine	-ili	-ilu
	Feminine	-ili	-ilu
Third	Masculine	-ilai	-ilai
	Feminine	-ilai	-ilai

Tense-Aspect-Mood system

Tense: Maithili Urdu verbs conjugate for three tenses: present, past, and future. Inflected forms of /hæ/ in optative mood express present tense and inflected forms of /-ræhe/ express past tense. These are used as auxiliaries with other verbs to denote present and past tense, respectively.

(a) **Present tense:** In the present simple tense the auxiliary /hæ/ is used that is not inflected (except in first person singular, second person singular honorific, and second person plural) according to the number, gender, and person. Examples are given below to illustrate this:

- (99) a. həm lərka ho-iye
 I boy.ms am
 'I am a boy.'
- b. tu admi ha-hu
 you man.ms are
 'You (honorific) a man.'
- c. tu səb sagırd ha-hi
 you.plural all student.p are
 'You are all students.'
- d. ɔ ləhar hæ
 he blacksmith is
 'He is a blacksmith.'

The progressive marker /rəhle/ is used in the **present** continuous tense. It is not inflected according to the number, person, and gender. It is placed before auxiliary verb.

- (100) a. həm likh rəha-liye hæ
 I write prog.ms aux.
 'I am writing.'
- b. həm likh rəha-liye hæ
 I write prog.fs aux.
 'I am writing.'
- c. həm likh rəha-liye hæ
 we write prog.mp aux.
 'We are writing.'
- d. həm likh rəha-liye hæ
 we write prog.fp aux.
 'We are writing.'

(b) Past tense: The auxiliary /liai/ is used in past tense and is not inflected according to the number, person, and gender of the subject. In the past simple tense, however, auxiliary /rəhai/ is used but not inflected according to the number, person, and gender of the subject.

- (101) a. həm ghər ge-lie
 I home go-pst. Ims
 'I went home.'
- b. həm ghər ge-lie
 I home go-pst. Ifs
 'I went home.'
- c. tu ghər ge-li
 you home go-pst. 2ms
 'You (sg.) went home.'
- d. tu ghər ge-li
 you home go-pst. 2fs
 'You (sg.) went home.'

- e. o ghər ge-le
 he home go-pst.3ms
 'He went home.'
- f. o ghər ge-le
 she home go-pst.3fs
 'She went home.'

Like the present tense, the progressive marker /rəhə-liye/ is also used in the past continuous tense. It is not inflected according to the number, person, and gender. It is placed before auxiliary verb.

- (102) a. həm ghər jate rəhə-liye hə
 I home go prog.1 aux.
 'I was going home.'
- b. həm ghər jate rəhə-liye hə
 I home go prog.1 aux.
 'I was going home.'
- c. həm čɪʈʰi likhte rəhə-iyē hə
 I letter write prog.2 aux.
 'I was writing a letter.'
- d. tu čɪʈʰi likh rəhə-ilu hə
 you letter write prog.2 aux.
 'You (pl.) were writing a letter.'
- e. o čɪʈʰi likhte rə-hə
 We/they letter write prog.1mp
 'We/they were writing a letter.'

(c) Future tense : Future tense in Maithili Urdu does not require any auxiliary verb to express the person of the subject. Agreement of verb with subject is by number, person, and gender. To form the future tense in Maithili Urdu, the following person-number-gender suffixes are added with a verb stem:

Pronoun	Singular		Plural	
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
First person	-ibe	-ibe	-ibe	-ibe
Second person	-ibi	-ibi	-ibu	-ibu
Third person	-ihe	-ihe	-ihe	-ihe

The examples of future tense in Maithili Urdu are given below:

- (103) a. həm gaon ʃa-ibe
 I village go-fut.1 ms
 'I will go to the village.'
- b. həm gaon ʃa-ibe
 I village go-fut.1 fs
 'I will go to the village.'
- c. ham gaon ʃa-ibe
 we village go-fut.1mp
 'We will go to the village.'
- d. ham gaon ʃa-ibe
 we village go-fut. 1fp
 'We will go to the village.'
- e. tu gaon ʃa-ibe
 you village go-fut.2ms
 'You (sg.) will go to the village.'
- f. tu gaon ʃa-ibi
 you village go-fut.2 fs
 'You (sg.) will go to the village.'
- g. tu gaon ʃa-ibu
 you village go-fut.2mp
 'You (pl.) will go to the village.'
- h. tu gaon ʃa-ibu
 you village go-fut.2fp
 'You (pl.) will go to the village.'
- i. ʊ gaon ʃa-ihe
 he village go-fut.3ms
 'He will go to the village.'
- j. ʊ gaon ʃa-ihe
 she village go-fut.3fs
 'She will go to the village.'
- k. ʊ gaon ʃa-ihe
 they village go-fut.3mp
 'They will go to the village.'

1. o gaon jā-ihe
 they village go-fut.3fp
 'They will go to the village.'

Aspect: In Maithili Urdu, like in many languages, the expression of aspect is intimately bound up with the expression of tense. There is a separate perfect aspect which is formed by the addition of the auxiliary verb /hona/ 'to be' to the past participle of the verb. The perfect aspect occurs in three tenses-plu. perfect, present perfect, and future perfect marked by past, present, and future copular forms, as in (104-110) respectively.

- (104). lərka iskul gele hæ
 boy school go-pst.ms aux
 'The boy has gone to the school.'

- (105). hēm kītab pərh-liye hæ
 we+erg. book.fs read-pst.fs aux.
 'We have read the book.'

- (106). subəh tək pōlis čor ke pəkər li-hæ
 morning till pulis thief acc. catch-pst.ms be-fut.3 fs
 'The police will have caught the thief by the morning.'

The present perfect aspect can be used to indicate a number of situations, such as: (a) a situation completed a short time ago:

- (107). o əbhi ai-le hæ
 he. now come-pst.ms aux
 'He has just arrived.'

(b) a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present:

- (108) tu əb tək bəhōt gaon dekh-lu hæ
 You now till many villages see-pst.3mp are
 'You have seen many villages till now.'

(c) a situation that began in the past and is still continuing:

- (109). yusuf du dīm se ī kītab pərh rəh-le hæ
 yusuf two days from this book read prog. is
 'Yusuf has been studying this book for two days.'

(d) a situation that will shortly be completed:

- (110) kəl-he həmra imtīhan khətəm ho jāi- hæ
 tomorrow our exam finish to be go-fut.3fs
 'Our examination will be over by tomorrow.'

Mood: Mood is a grammatical category that expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition as perceived by the speaker. A six-way distinction is made in terms of mood in Maithili Urdu: imperative, indicative, obligative, subjunctive, presumptive, and contingent. These are exemplified below:

(a) *Imperative mood*

- (111) jō
 go
 '(you) Go.'

(b) *Indicative mood*

- (112) ō ge-lai
 he go-pst.3ms
 'He went.'

(c) *Obligative mood*

- (113) okre roṭī khai-ka hæ
 he-acc. bread.fs eat-prst.fs is
 'He has to eat the bread.'

(d) *Subjunctive mood*

- (114) həm čahīyo hæ ke ō a-bai
 I want am that he come
 'I want that he should come.'

(e) *Presumptive mood*

- (115) ō roṭī khail-ke ho-iye
 he-nom bread.fs eat-pst be-pst.3fs
 'He may have eaten bread.'

(f) *Contingent mood*

- (116) əgər həmra bhāi hīyā rəh-tai təb tu aisa nāi kəhti
 If my brother here be than you like this neg. say
 'If my brother were here, you would not have said so.'

Negation: Negation is expressed by three negative particles in Maithili Urdu. These are /nāi/, /nə/, and /mət/. Out of these, /nāi/ represents the unmarked negative particle that is equivalent to English 'not' whereas /nə/ and /mət/ are used in subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither...nor construction, and infinitive phrases. /mət/ is used for strongernegation. Some distributive properties of negative particles in Maithili Urdu are exemplified below:

/nāi/

- (117) hām kṛtab nāi pərh-liye hæ
 I book.fs neg. read-pst.fs aux
 'I did not read the book.'

/nə/

- (118a) tu philm nə dekh
 you film neg. see-imp.
 '(you) Do not watch the film.'

/nə/

- (118b) nə thənḍa nə gərəm
 neg cold neg. hot
 'Neither hot nor cold'

/mət/

- (119) hīyā mət a
 here neg. come
 'Do not come here.'

In terms of position, the negative particles are closely associated with the verb or the verb phrase. Note that in sentences (117-119) the negative particle immediately precedes the verbal group. The constraint of pre-verbal position for negation is violated under two conditions: (i) contrastive negation, and (ii) disjunctive structures. In the post-verbal position, the scope of negation is limited either to the verb or the aspect only.

- (120) hām čit̪hi n̄i l̪kh-l̪ye hæ lek̪m l̪kh-bai
 I letter neg. write-pst.ms aux but write-fut.1ms
 'I did not write a letter but will write.'

The major difference between the three negative particles is that only the /n̄i/ can be placed in post-verbal position, whereas /n̄ə/ and /m̄ət/ are always placed pre-verbally:

- *(121)a. hām čit̪hi l̪kh-l̪ye n̄i lek̪m l̪kh-bai
 I letter write.pst.ms neg. but write-fut.1ms
 'I did not write a letter but will write.'

Negative disjunction is expressed by means of in̄ə/ or /n̄i/:

- (122) n̄ə k̪ɪtab p̄ərh-l̪ye n̄ə čit̪hi l̪kh-l̪ye
 neg. book.fs read-pst.fs neg. letter write-pst.1ms
 'Neither did read the book nor wrote the letter.'

Verbal categorizers

Transitivity: It is possible to classify Maithili Urdu verbs as transitive or intransitive on the basis of whether they occur with objects. The transitive-intransitive distinction is also motivated by other grammatical distinctions. This is explained:

Verbalizers: All verbs in Maithili Urdu may be derived from nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs by means of verbalization. These are given below:

Verbs from nouns

(i) Conjunct verbs: Conjunct verbs are formed by adding verbs such as /k̪ərna/ 'to do', /hona/ 'to be', /ana/ 'to come', /jana/ 'to go', /dena/ 'to give', /lena/ 'to take' to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs.

The following list shows the process of deriving conjunct verbs:

(123) Noun	Action	Stative	Inchoative
p̄əsənd	p̄əsənd k̪ərna	p̄əsənd hona	p̄əsənd ana
'liking'	'to like'	'to like'	'to like'
yad	yad k̪ərna	yad hona	yad ana
'remembrance'	'to remember'	'to remember'	'to remember'
ḡussa	ḡussa k̪ərna	ḡussa hona	ḡussa ana
'anger'	'to express anger'	'to be angry'	'to become angry'

(ii) **/-na/**: is the infinitive marker and is suffixed to a noun to form verbs from nouns:

(134)	Noun		Verb	
	bəkhān	'description'	bəkhān-na	'to explain'
	bōl	'speech'	bōl-na	'to speak'
	sərm	'shame'	sərmā-na	'to shy'
	dəphān	'burial'	dəphāna-na	'to burry'
	kām	'job'	kāma-na	'to earn'
	čəkkər	'circle'	čəkkəra-na	'to spin'

Verbs from verbs

(i) Transitive/Causative verbs:

In Maithili Urdu, the two transitive/causative suffixes */-a/* and */-wa/* represent one of the most productive ways of forming verbs from verbs. The two suffixes */-a/* (called the 'first causative' suffix), and */-wa/* (called the 'second causative' suffix) are attached to the root of a verb, and are placed before the infinitive marker */-na/*, as given below:

Stem		Causative-I		Causative-II
bərh	'be increased'	bərha	'increase'	bərhwa 'cause x to increase'
həṭ	'be removed'	həṭa	'remove'	əṭwa 'cause x to remove'
pərh	'study'	pərha	'teach'	pərhwa 'cause x to study'
de	'give'	dila	'give'	dilwa 'cause x to give'

It is clear from above examples that intransitive verbs (bərh), transitive verbs (pərh) and double transitive verbs (de) can be causativized morphologically.

(ii) Compound verbs:

The productive device to form verbs from verbs is juxtaposing verbs to form a compound. Compound verbs involve primarily a sequence of two verbs (V_1+V_2). The first verb is called 'main verb' and the second is referred as explicator. The explicator verbs add specific abstract meaning to the meaning of the main verb. The primary meaning of the sentence is determined by the lexical meaning of the main verb. The explicator receives tense-aspectual marking. The following are the examples of compound verb:

(135) u a ge-lai
 he come go-past.ms
 'He has come.'

(136) yusuf kəh bæṭh-lai
 yusuf say sit-pst.ms
 'Yusuf spoke inappropriately.'

In the above examples (135-136), the main verbs are /a/ 'come' and /kəh/ 'speak', respectively, and determine the primary meaning of the verb phrase. The explicators /jana/ 'to go', in (135) and /bæṭhna/ 'to sit' in (136) add some abstract meaning of termination and inappropriateness, respectively, to the main verb. The abstract meaning is the direct result of the lexical meaning of the verb in question. Only a dozen or so verbs are permitted as explicators in Maithili Urdu.

Verbs from adjectives

Adjectives	Action	Stative	Inchoative
əčča	əčča kərna	əčča hona	--
'good'	'to fix'	'to recover'	--

Verbs from Adverbs

Adverb	Action	Stative	Inchoative
ḷaldi	ḷaldi kərna	ḷaldi hona	--
'quickly'	'to hurry'	'to be in a hurry'	--

From the above list, it is clear that with the exception of /kərna/ 'to do' and /hona/ 'to be', the other members of the class of conjunct verb forming verbs do not always generate conjunct verbs. The case in point is the verb, /ana/ 'to come', the symbol [--] denotes a gap.

Verbs from others

(i) Verbs from pronouns:

Pronoun	Action	Stative	Inchoative
əpna	əpna kərna	əpna hona	--
'self'	'to adopt'	'to become one's own'	--

(ii) Verbs from adjectives and pronouns:

Adjective/Pronouns		Verb	
lōngra	'lame'	lōngra-na	'to limp'
totra	'stutterer'	totra-na	'to stutter'
əpna	'self'	əpna-na	'to adopt'

Voice: The passive voice in Maithili Urdu is formed in this way: (i) the subject of the active sentence is followed by the instrumental postposition /se/; (ii) the past participial form of the main verb is used with the passive auxiliary *ja* 'go.'

- (137) okre čit̪̪hi nəi lɪkha ge-lai
 he-obl letter.ms neg write-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms
 'The letter was not written by him.'
- (138) fatima se nəi sota ge-lai
 fatima inst:pp neg sleep-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms
 'Fatima could not sleep.'

Sentence (137) and (138) indicate that both transitive and intransitive verbs can be passivized in Maithili Urdu. Passive sentences are ambiguous. Transitive passives express passive as well as capability (external not internal) reading as in (138). Intransitive passives convey only the capability reading and generally occur in the construction. Transitive agents can be dropped and the agentless construction thus obtained favors the passive reading over the capability reading as in (138a):

- (138)a. čit̪̪hⁱ nəi lɪkha ge-lai
 letter.ms neg write-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms
 'The letter was not written.'

The main verb in passive verb in Maithili Urdu does not agree with any constituent (here okre 'he' in sentence (137) with a postposition. Therefore, the explicator element (the second verbal element /*jana*/ 'to go') of the passive verb agrees with the object, i.e. /čit̪̪hⁱ/in (138) and (138a) and receives the past tense conjugation. The main verb on the other hand agrees with the object in terms of number only. In the case of intransitive passive the verb takes the masculine singular form that is default agreement.

Verbal modifiers

Participles

(i) Present/Imperfective participle: The present participial marker is /-t/ which immediately follows the verbal stem and is, in turn, followed by number, as shown in example (139):

(139)	Masculine		Feminine	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
	stem-te	stem-te	stem-te	stem-te

The present participle may be used as either adjective or adverb. The optional past participial forms of the verb /hona/ 'to be' may immediately follow the present participial form:

(140)	pərh-te jana	lərka
	read-prst.ppl/go-prst.ppl	boy.ms
	pərh-tejate	lərke
	read-prst.ppl.mp/go-prst.ppl.mp	boy.mp
	pərh-tijati	lərkiyā
	read-prst.ppl.fsp/go-prst.ppl.fsp	girl.fsp
	'The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are reading/going.'	

The present participial form and the optional 'to be' form agree in number of the following head noun. The retention of the optional form may or may not agree with their subject.

(ii) Past/Perfective Participle: Adding the following suffixes, inflected for number to the verbal stem, derive the participial form. Like the present participle, the optional past participial forms of the verb /hona/ 'to be' may immediately follow the past participial form:

(141)	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	stem-a	stem-a	stem-a	stem-a

The optional past participial forms of the verb 'to be' are as:

(142)	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	hōa	hōa	hōa	hōa

The past participle may be used either as an adjective or as an adverb. The examples follow:

(143)	pərha	hōa	lərka
	read-pst.ppl.ms	be-pst.ppl.ms	boy.ms
	pərha	hōa	lərke
	read-pst.ppl.mp	be-pst.ppl.mp	boy.mp
	pərha	hōa	lərki
	read-pst.ppl.fs	be-pst.ppl.fsp	girl.fs
	pərha	hōa	lərkiyā
	read-pst.ppl.fp	be-pst.ppl.fsp	girl.fp

'The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are read.'

The past participial form and the optional 'to be' form agree in number of the following head noun. The retention of the optional form makes the participial phrase emphatic in nature.

Converbs: A productive way of forming verbs from nouns is by means of a conjunct verb (converbs). Conjunct verbs are formed by adding verbs such as /kərna/ 'to do', /hōna/ 'to be', /ana/ 'to come', /jana/ 'to go', /dena/ 'to give', /lena/ 'to take' to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following list shows the process of deriving conjunct verbs:

(144)	Noun	Action	Stative	Inchoative
	pəsənd	pəsənd kərna	pəsənd hōna	pəsənd an
	'choice'	'to like'	'to like'	'to like'
	gōssa	gōssa kərna	gōssa hōna	'ōssa na
	'anger'	'to express anger'	'to be angry'	'to become angry'
	Yad	yad kərna	yad hōna	yad ana
	'memory'	'to remember'	'to remember'	'to remember'

Sometimes noun phrases can be used to form nouns, as in:

(145)	bəra	bat	kərna
	big	talk	do.inf

"To boast.' (lit., to do big talks)

The following sentences (146-151) can exemplify the use of conjunct verbs:

pəsənd karna 'to like'

- (146) həm kɪtab pəsənd kər-liye
 I.erg book like do-pst
 'I liked the book.'(action)

pəsənd hona 'to like'

- (147) həmre kɪtab pəsənd hæ
 I-dat.pp book.fs like be-prst.s
 'I like the book.'(Stative)

pəsənd ana 'to like'

- (148) həmre kɪtab pəsənd ai-lai
 I-dat.pp book.fs like come-pst.fs
 'I liked the book.'(Non-stative)

gəssa kərna 'to express anger'

- (149) ʊ khurshid per gəssa kail-kai
 he-erg khurshid on anger.ms do-pst.ms
 'He was angry at Khurshid.'

gəssa hona 'to be angry'

- (150) ʊ ədnan pər gəssa ho-lai
 he-dat.pp adnan on anger.ms be-prst.s
 'He is angry with Adnan.'

gəssa ana 'to become angry'

- (151) okre asif pər gəssa ai-lai
 he-dat.pp asif on anger.ms come-pst.ms
 'He became angry with Asif.'

Verbs with /hona/ and /ana/ form stative and inchoative verbs in conjunction with non-verbal categories. They take dative subjects, whereas their active counterparts select nominative subjects.

Conclusion

The findings of the study provide important insights on the nominal and verbal morphology of Matihili Urdu. The study summarizes that

Matihili Urdu exhibits gender system with masculine and feminine nouns marked by specific suffixes. Nouns in Matihili Urdu inflect for numbers; singular and plural, and cases; nominative, oblique and vocative, while the pronouns in Matihili Urdu inflect for number and case only and do not distinguish gender. Maithili Urdu's numeral system showcases unique characteristics and rules of formation. These numerals offer insights into how speakers count, measure, and categorize objects and quantities. Other important categories like formation of adjectives, degrees of comparison, different type of adverbs such as adverbs of time, adverbs of place etc. have also been discussed in detail. With the help of sufficient examples the study concludes that the verbs of Matihili Urdu exhibit tense, aspect, mood and transitivity distinctions, with various forms and derivations of verbal expressions.

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A Pragma-linguistic Observation on Request Strategies in Bangla

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Abstract

The study on request as a politeness phenomenon represents one of the central subfields of pragmatics. This paper attempts to identify some of the basic request strategies in reference to Bangla from a pragma-linguistic approach. Truly, request as a speech act satisfies the basic socio-psychological need of a society. It is frequent in social interactions and as a consequence gained an important dimension of research in the study of conversation, specially from a sociolinguistic and pragmatic perspective. This paper establishes request as a speech act, as suggested by Austin (1962) and Searle (1965,1969), and brings to the fore a brief sketch for theoretical understanding of the phenomenon, incorporating various viewpoints such as adopted by Brown and Levinson (1978,1987), Lakoff (1973) and specifically Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) made a serious effort to explore politeness strategies related to request universals on the basis of data from at least eight different languages. This paper puts emphasis on their strategies in order to understand relevance of them in Bangla. It also explores how different request strategies are contextually constructed in the fictional domain of Bangla novels. Such an attempt not only highlights the mood and attitudes of the characters, but also reveals the inbuilt variant stylistic design of the text expressing the conversational pattern developing in request activity.

Keyword : address term, adjunct, downgrader, face, face-threatening act, head-act, performatives, variability.

1.0 Introduction

This paper intends to explore politeness strategies in requesting in Bangla, specifically in reference to its standard variety. The study takes the view that request is a speech act, being crucially significant for communicative interaction in a varied socio-cultural set up (Searle 1965).

In recent time, the study of pragmatics has become increasingly relevant in the research of request strategies, as it accounts for the rules governing the use of language in a specific social context (Levinson 1983). It has precisely been identified by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) in the backdrop of cross-cultural pragmatic researches, that 'the basic challenges for study in pragmatics is the issue of universality'. The question of universality is challenging from two aspects: first of all, what we need is to find out the degree to which the rules governing language use vary in the inter-cultural and inter-language domain. Secondly, a researcher should also specify, to what extent it is possible to recognize the pragmatic rules of usage for a given language (*ibid*, 196).

It is worth noting that the diversity in realizing request as speech acts in different contexts depends mostly on three types of variability (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984).

- **Intracultural variability:** Within a given culture, social constraints may be functional in determining the request pattern as a speech act. For instance, in the Indian context, usually requests addressed to the persons in more powered position, to the superiors or to the female members belonging to opposite sex, may be less direct in contrast to the addressee, socially inferior or belonging to the same gender.
- **Intercultural variability:** It often happens that the members of one culture, being within the same set of social limitations, may express a request less directly than the members belonging to other culture.
- **Individual variability:** Even within the same social set up, request as a speech act might differ depending on number of social parameters like age, sex, level of education, nature of occupation etc.

Some experimental observations also suggest two other variables, very much effective in influencing the choice of request strategy: (a) the goals of request, (b) the degree of imposition involved. An experimental study on the language of request in Israel showed that the request for permission tends to be less direct in contrast to request for action (Blum-Kulka, Danet and Gerson, 1983). On the other hand, degree of imposition is difficult to be decided cross-culturally. The same request may be understood to be more an imposition in one culture in comparison to the other.

2.0 Theoretical background in brief

The study on request may rightly be pursued within the theoretical framework of speech act theory. J.L. Austin first declared utterance as a speech act with a remark ‘the uttering of the sentence is, or is part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as saying something’ (1962:5). For example,

1. a. *apnar chataTa ekTu deben¹?* “Will you give your umbrella, please ?” [Request]
- b. *Eto bORo bhul kOrar jonno map caychi.* “I am begging excuse for such a great mistake.” [Apology]
- c. *Emon kaj ar kOkhono korbo na.* “I will not perform such a work again.” [Promise]

Austin (1962) also categorizes explicit performative verbs for maintaining three broad classes of doing something in favour of speaking something, which he terms as (i) locutionary (act of saying something), (ii) illocutionary (act performed in saying something such as asking a question, greeting, requesting etc.), (iii) perlocutionary (act of causing certain effects on the recipients) (cf. Majumdar 2014 : 20).

The basic notion of speech act theory presented by Austin was further refined and modified by Searle (1969). It is also noteworthy that the six general felicity conditions offered by Austin (1962), for speech acts to be properly operative, were further revised and improved by Fasold (1990 :140).

In the research area of politeness and request strategies Robin Lakoff (1973) plays a significant role in claiming that the society should adopt

rules ensuring social interaction to continue smoothly without any undue friction. He devised three rules of politeness.

- (i) Formality (distance) : Do not impose on others, be sufficiently aloof.
- (ii) Hesitancy (deference) : Allow the addressee options about whether or not to respond and about how to respond.
- (iii) Equality (Camaraderie, which refers to mutual trust and friendship among people) : Act as if you and the addressee are equal: make the addressee feel good.(cf. Majumdar 2014).

Lakoff was further refined and reshaped by Brown & Levinson (henceforth, B-L)(1978) playing a leading role in the study of speech act and request strategies. B-L (1978) defined request as a Face Threatening Act (FTA). A speaker, while performing a request act, impinges on the hearer's claim to freedom of action and freedom from imposition. The key concept of B-L's theory is the idea of 'face'; the interpretation of the term being derived from Ervin Goffman (1955). The 'face' as described by Goffman represents the self-image, which the speaker/hearer would like to maintain in the process of interaction. B-L describes: '[the] notion of 'face'... consists of two specific kinds of desires ('face wants') attributed by interactants to one another: the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face) and the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face).' (1987:13).

A request being an FTA threatens the hearer's negative face (i.e. right to freedom of action and freedom from imposition) as 'it means the recipient of request is being impeded in pursuing what the speaker wants to do.' (Mahanta 2002:95). The process of requesting puts a pressure on the addressee to do or refrain from doing a specific act. In fact, in request there exists a tacit maxim which either maximizes the benefit or minimizes the cost to the recipient.

For example,

2.a. *Ek glaS jOl daW* 'Give (me) a glass of water.'

b. *tomake ki EkTa boy upohar dite pari?* 'May I present a book to you?'

The utterance (2a) puts cost to the recipient, while (2b) gives benefit to him/her. They are obviously inversely proportionate in term of politeness. A request from the speaker succeeds when the receiver uses the act of utterance towards a positive outcome. It restricts the hearer's scope for saying 'no'. Certainly, the perlocutionary effect on the recipient varies considerably depending on culture, society and individual (Stubbs 1983 :152).

The theoretical approaches were further modified and refined by the scholars like Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984). They approached an exhaustive field study on request universals on the basis of the data from at least eight European languages/ language varieties like Australian, American English, French, Danish etc. The collected data from these languages were further categorised and classified in reference to certain parameters such as address terms, request strategies, downgraders, upgraders, adjuncts to the Head-act etc.

Blum-Kulka adopted following working hypotheses regarding universal features : (a) so far request is concerned it is relevant to discriminate among central phenomenon such as strategy types from internal and external modifications ; (b) a speaker in performing request makes a choice from different options ranging from direct to indirect ones; (c) the scale of indirectness incorporates at least three main types of options (direct, conventionally indirect and non-conventionally indirect) (cf. Mahanta 2002 : 95).

This paper will consider above line of thinking in treating the Bengali data on the basis of the strategic framework adopted by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984).

3.0 Request Segments in Bangla

The request expressions in Bangla as like other European languages like English, French (Canadian), German etc. may be analysed into three discrete segments(the terms *Head act* and *Adjunct* were introduced by Ervin Tripp and David Gordon; cf note 6; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 2014, p.211). Let us consider the following examples :

3.a. Bina /amake kichu Taka dhar daWna/nahole khajnar Taka meTate parchina.

Address term

Head act

Adjuncts to Head act

‘Bina please lend me some money otherwise I would not be able to pay the tax.’

The above sequence has following three parts :

- (i) Address term/ Attention getter: The term itself attracts the attention of the recipient. Here, the personal name ‘Bina’ serves the function. Sometimes, even the kinship terms like ‘bhay’ “brother” / ‘dada’ “elder brother” / ‘bon’ “sister” etc. are used as address term in order to invite the recipient in the process of interaction. The vocative terms like ‘ogo/ore’ are also employed as an attention getter. The basic motivation may be also strategic to mitigate the possible imposition on the recipient by establishing an intimacy and friendship even with an unknown person.
- (ii) Head act/ Request proper: It represents the core of the request expression. This part being the nucleus of the speech act, serves to realize the act independently of other elements.
- (iii) Adjuncts to the Head act / Supportive move: Generally, this part of the sequence occurs before or after the Head act.

3.1. Problems in segmentation

Analyzing request into sequence brings a problem in deciding whether all parts of the expression serve equal functions in executing the speech act of request or not. The process of segmentation becomes truly helpful for analysis; but from the recipient’s point of view all of the components as a whole bring a total perlocutionary effect on the addressee him/her-self.

A crucial issue appears while separating Head act from the adjunct. Let us consider the following examples:

(a)

(b)

4.a. A : *ghOrTa ekTu guchie rakhte paro to; kOekdin dhorey ghOrTa Ogochalo hoe poRe ache.*

‘Will you set this room in proper order?The room is in disorderly state for some days.’

B: *Thik ache, ami ThikThak kore rakhbo.*

‘Okay, I will set it in order.’

b. A : *kOekdin dhorey ghOrTa Ogochalo hoe poRe ache.*

‘The room is in disorderly state for some days.’

B : *Thik ache, ami ThikThak kore rakhbo.*

‘Okay, I will set it in order.’

(A) and (B) represent two room-mates in a hostel. (A) in (4a) performs the request act, in which (a) may be considered as the request act and (b) as the adjunct. The function of (b) in (4a) is to strengthen or support the main act performed by the speaker (A).

In contrast to (4a), what we observe in (4b) is that the utterance by speaker (A), considered as an adjunct in (4a), constitutes itself the request act in (4b). The recipient (B) in (4b), gives the same response as in (4a), taking (A)'s comment granted as a request head act.

Interestingly, the utterance part (b) seems to be redundant in (4a) from the strict illocutionary point of view. But in (4b) the same utterance is functioning as the Head act. So, certainly the segmentation between the Head act and Adjunct is not only sequential, but at the same contextual and functional as well.

4.0 Request perspective

Request realizations generally include reference to the requestor (the speaker 'ami' "I"), the recipient of the request (the listener, 'tumi/tomra' "you(sg)" / "you (pl)" and/or the action to be performed (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989). The speaker has the option to refer to any of these elements. S/he can manipulate requests by his/her choice of the perspective which s/he wishes the request to take:

- a. Speaker-oriented (emphasis on the requestor) :
tomar boyTa ki ami duEk diner jonne poRte nite pari.
'May I get your book for reading for a few days?'
- b. Hearer-oriented (emphasis on the recipient) :
ghOrTa ki tumi ekTu poriSkar kore dite paro.
'Will you be able to clean the room a little bit, please ?'
- c. Impersonal: *ghOrTa ekTu poriSkar kore nite parle mondo hOYna.*
'It is not a bad (idea) to clean the room a little bit.'

The speaker may also adopt an inclusive strategy by incorporating the addressee too in the process of request action. The strategy is well-accepted for mitigating the face threat of the recipient, whose freedom gets constrained by the request imposed. So, the fourth option is as follows:

- d. Speaker-hearer oriented:*amra ki ghOrTa ekTu guchie nite pari?*
'May we arrange the room a little bit in order ?'

From the examples, it becomes clearly evident that a contrast of perspective appears between (b) and (d) (reflected in the pronominal use ‘tumi’ “you(sg)” : ‘amra’ “we (including ‘you’)”). In the second instance (d), the stress is on the speaker. So, the avoidance in pointing towards the recipient softens the impact on the addressee in the first sentence (b), where s/he is under threat.

The choice of perspective is obviously language-specific. The most accepted and popular approach is addressee-oriented. The study by Blum-Kulka *et al* (1984,1989) on different languages reveals that in Australian English, Canadian French etc. it is generally speaker-oriented requests. However, Hebrew shows a conventionalized impersonal construction. Blum-Kulka *et al* note that speaker-oriented requests are more polite as these minimize or avoid the controlling or imposing on the receiver. It is mostly a request for permission implying that the listener of the request has a control over a speaker.

5.0 Request strategies

Requests are described as FTAs as the speaker while performing the act infringes on the freedom of the recipients. The best solution for the speaker is to minimize the imposition with a preference to the indirect strategies rather than the direct one (discussed below). So, a speaker usually activates his/her choice on the scale of directness.

It is quite certain that the directness of the strategy means a less burden on the listener in interpreting the request. In contrast, indirectness opts for requestive hints lacking indeed transparency and clarity. The listener faces complexity in deciphering the purpose or intention of the speaker. S/he therefore requires more pragmatic and contextual knowledge for interpreting the intended message.

Opacity arising due to a gap existing between literal and intended meaning makes the addressee uncertain as to the speaker’s intention. This lack of transparency leads to a both way possibilities. A speaker, using the advantage of this opacity, gets a space to deny the requestive attempt s/he actually put forward. At the same time, the addressee has the potential to opt out; s/he may deny the interpretation that the speaker actually has made a request (Blum-Kulka *et al* 1989: 73).

On theoretical grounds, there exist at least three cross-linguistically valid scale of directness for the classification of request strategies. Those are as follows (Blum-Kulka *et al* 1984):

Direct strategies : The most direct and explicit level is marked syntactically by imperatives [in Bengali also by verbs in precative mood; *kOro* ‘you (sg/pl) do’ [imperative] (sense of present) : *koro* ‘you do (sg/pl) [precative] (sense of future)]. Some other verbal means representing request act are performatives (Austin 1962), ‘hedged performatives’ (Fraser 1975) etc.

Conventionally indirect strategies : It refers to ‘contextual preconditions necessary for its performance, as conventionalized in a given language.’ These strategies are commonly referred as *indirect speech act* in the speech act theory. (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984:201). For example, ‘*janlaTa bOndho kore dite paro ki?*’ “Would you close the window, please?”

Non-conventional indirect strategies: These open-ended indirect strategies (hints) refer to the object depending on contextual clues. Sometimes the request may be realized by partial reference to the object (as in ‘*dOrjaTa khola ache kEno ?*’ “Why is the door open?”) or by dependence on the contextual hints (as in ‘*jholTa khub gOrom.*’ “The soup is too warm.”; the inherent hint is to serve it not too hot.)

These three levels have again been sub-divided into at least nine distinct sub-levels by the scholars depending on the empirical work on requests in different languages (House and Kasper 1981; Blum-Kulka, Danet and Gerson 1983). These sub-levels (arranged in a slightly different way) are explained here in reference to Bangla.

a. Performative :

- (i) Explicit performative: The speaker explicitly names the illocutionary force of the utterance :

ekhane aborjona na phelar jonne onurodh korchi.
‘I am requesting you not to throw garbage here.’

- (ii) Hedged performative: The naming of the illocutionary force is not explicit, but embedded in the utterances.

tumi amar barite ele bhalo lagbe.

‘(I) would feel good if you come to my home.’

b. Hints :

- (i) Strong hints: Utterances partially refer to objects or to elements required for the implementation of the act.

ghOrTa bicchiri noNra kore rekhecho.

‘You have put this room awkwardly dirty.’

- (ii) Mild hints: In this situation, utterance makes no reference to the request proper; but these are interpretable through the contextual clue.

cokhe bhalo dekhte pay na. ‘I cannot see well.’ (a speaker reports a traffic police while crossing a road; inherent hint is to help him/her crossing the road.)

- c. Scope setting: The utterance reflects the speaker’s desire and intention in relation to the fact that the recipient performs an action.

tumi citkar kOra bOndho korle ami khuSi hObo.

‘I will be glad if you stop shouting.’

- d. Language-specific suggestive formula: An utterance by the speaker puts a suggestion to the recipient.

baRi bikri kOrar kOthaTa ekTu bhebe dekhben.

‘Please do think about selling the house.’

- e. Reference to preparatory conditions: Utterance here indicates the preparatory conditions, i.e. willingness or ability of the act being performed. For example,

onugroho kore amake ekTu barite powMche deben?

‘Will you kindly drop me at home?’

- f. Locution derivable: Meaning of the locution straightway derives the illocutionary sense.

Sir, apnake gaRiTa SOrate hObe.

‘Sir you should move your car.’

- g. Mood derivable : The illocutionary sense of the request may be estimated from the grammatical mood of the utterance.

boyTa anar kOtha bhule jeWna.

‘Do not forget bringing the book, please.’

6.0 Modification of the Request expression as a speech act

A speaker while performing the act of request may activate choice on the scale of indirectness in order to minimize the imposition on the recipient. However, in addition to that s/he has a variety of other available verbal means through which it is possible to manipulate the degree of imposition with the act itself.

Faerch and Kasper (1984) suggest that such operations may be executed either through internal/external modification. Internal modifications are confined within the 'head-act' itself, while the external one is centred within the immediate context. However, such modification does not change the propositional content of the utterance (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984:201).

A. Internal modification :

Request mitigators/upgraders: The speech act of request may be mitigated by purely syntactic means such as use of interrogatives, passive construction, negation, conditional construction, past tense of the verb etc.

- a. Use of interrogative: Direct questions are usually downgraded by the use of modal verb in Bengali like 'par' "to be able" or sometimes by employing the wh-marker 'ki' (yes-no question marker) for indirect question (with obligatory intonational support).

tumi gan gayte parbe (ki) ? 'Will you be able to sing?'

- b. Negation: The negative marker may also induce politeness in question-sentence or in other context. Obviously, tonal pattern is significant in producing the desired effect.

(i) *tumi gan gaybe na ?* 'Will you not sing?'

(ii) *aSa kori, kichu mone korbe na.* 'Hope, you would not mind.'

- c. Change of voice : The sentence used in passive construction may introduce the sense of indirectness.

amar jonne kajTa kOra jaY?

'Is it possible to do the work for me?'

(instead of direct request question : *amar jonne kajTa korbe?*

'Will you do the work for me?').

- d. Conditional construction: This type of construction indirectly reflects the response or reaction of the addresser in anticipation.

(i) *tumi barite ele bhalo hOY*. ‘It would be fine if you come at home.’

(ii) *jodi gan gaW bhalo lagbe*. ‘It would be a pleasure if you sing.’

- e. Past tense: The use of distancing element (as overtly marked past marker in verb form) may also impose some kind of mitigation on the request expression.

ami caychilam, tumi Ekbar ekhane eSo. ‘I want you to come here once.’

Syntactic downgrading may reflect different shades of attitude of the speaker to the recipient. S/he might intend to show his/her pessimistic attitude regarding the outcome of the request performed (use of negative); or s/he may show some kind of hesitation while performing the request, as in case of use of modal ‘par; or in conditional construction used as hedging device.

6.1. Some other softening downgraders

Some non-syntactic downgraders may also be employed in achieving different effects of softening in the request act. The pragma-linguistic classification based on House and Kasper (1981), Edmondson (1981), Blum-Kulka (1984) may be incorporated here in explaining Bangla database. The classification attempts to capture the pragmatic functions performed by various linguistic elements in the discourse (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984 : 203-04).

- a. Suggestion: Impersonal statements with a kind of suggestion may be effective for mitigating the imposition on the recipient (cf. Majumdar 2014 : 39-40)

tumi kajTar daytto nile bhalo hOY. ‘It would be fine if you take responsibility of the work.’

- b. Consultative devices: These are the optional devices by which a speaker attempts to involve the recipient in the process of activity and seeks his/her cooperation.

tomar ki mone hOYna tumi kajTa kore dile SOmoSSa mite jabe. ‘Do you not think that the problem would be solved if you perform the work ?’

c. Understaters: The addresser minimizes parts of the request proposition by using specific elements.

i) *amake ektu SomOY debe?* ‘Will you wait a bit for me?’

ii) *apnar kOlomTa Ek miniter jonne nebo?* ‘May I take your pen for a short while?’

d. Hedges: Hedges are ‘the elements which help the speakers to avoid specification in making a commitment to the illocutionary points of the utterance.’ (Blum-Kulka 1984:204). It avoids specification regarding description of the manner for performing the action, naming of the required action or reference to other contextual aspects related to its performance (*ibid*,204).

OSustho manuSTAR jonne kichu EkTa kOro.

‘Do something for this diseased man.’

e. Downtoners: The elements used as downtoners help the speaker to modulate his/her impact on the recipient. The devices used for modulation signal the possibility of non-compliance.

tomar pokkhe ekhane aSa ki SOmbhOb hObe?

‘Would it be possible for you to come here?’

f. Politeness markers: Bangla uses some specific forms to mitigate the imposition on the speaker. Such forms are usually indeclinable with a restricted distribution being defined within a specific range of syntactic contexts (Majumdar 2014).

i) *apni ekhane aSben kintu.* ‘You are requested to come here.’

ii) *kichu mone koro na jEno.* ‘please, don’t mind.’

iii) *tumi bhat khabe to?* ‘Will you take rice?’

iv) *tumi arekTa gan gaW na.* ‘please, sing another song.’

The underlined elements are the markers used for mitigating the request as a speech act. It is notable that ‘na’ used in (iv) is not a negative marker as in (ii). Here, ‘na’ is a politeness marker used to soften the imposition on the addressee.

Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984 :204) argue that even upgraders may be used by the speaker ‘to increase the compelling force’ of the request. Internal modifications such as use of expletives or intensifiers may intensify the force of the request. For example,

Ekhono ey OSobbho baje lokTake bidaY kOroni!

‘Still, you could not expel this *uncultured worthless* person!’

B. External modifications

Internal modification operates within the ‘head-act’; but on the contrary external one is chosen by the speaker to support or intensify the speech act. It is worth noting that this type of modification does not affect at all the utterance realizing the speech act performing request. But it brings an effect on the embedded context of the utterance and as a consequence modifies the illocutionary force rather in an indirect way (Faerch & Kasper 1984). External modifications done on the adjuncts to the Head-act may be classified following Edmondson and House (1981) and House and Kasper (1981). Some of the categories may be discussed in reference to Bangla context. The underlined part in the examples following indicates external modifications.

- a. Sweetener: The speaker attempts to lessen the imposition on the recipient by ‘exaggerated appreciation’ of the listeners’ ability for compliance with the request.

apnar lekhar bORo bhOkto ami, apnar lekha boyTa ekTu poRte nebo?

‘I am an extreme fan of your writing, may I take the book written by you for a few days?’

- b. Grounder : The speaker in his/her utterance specifies the definite logic or ground for the request. The reason given may precede or follow the head- act.

i) *ghoRiTā ani ni, kOTā baje ekTu bolben ?*

‘I have not brought the watch, will you mention the time?’

ii) *tomar phonTa ekTu debe, amar phone carj ney?*

‘Will you give your cell-phone, I have no charge in my phone?’

- c. Disarmer: The speaker attempts to anticipate the possible refusal from the recipient and s/he frames the adjunct part in such a way as if s/he is quite aware about the potential offence performed through the head-act.

map korben, apni hOYto rag korben, kintu kOekdin ki ekhane thakte pari ?

‘Excuse me, you may possibly be angry, but can I stay here for a few days?’

- d. Checking an availability: An utterance precedes the head act which is motivated to check if the prior conditions necessary for performing the request holds true.

tumi ki kolkataY colle? jodi jaW amar jonne EkTa boy kine anbe ki?

‘Are you going to Kolkata? If you go, will you bring a book for me?’

- e. Getting a commitment: The head- act is preceded by an utterance considered to be an effort to obtain a prior commitment.

amar EkTa upokar korbe? kichu Taka kOekdiner jonne dhar dite parbe?

‘Will you do me a favour? Will you be able to lend me some money for a few days?’

- f. Cost minimizer: The speaker considers the cost to the recipient involved in performing the request made by him-/her-self.

map korben, jodi amake apnar gaRite ekTu egie dEn, amar baRi kachey.

‘Pardon me, if I can accompany you in your car, my home is nearby.’

7.0 A Case study on literary texts:

In this section, we have selected some of the important novels by two eminent Bangla writers, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838-94) and Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay (1876-1938), representing the social scenario of Bengal during nineteenth and twentieth century. The basic motivation is to find out how the request strategies have been framed consciously or unconsciously by the significant characters of the novels in the process of dialogic exchanges. The characters taking part in the process of communication belong to different age, sex, religion, social class and status. Such an observation is no doubt stylistically significant, as it reflects not only the motivation and attitude of the addressors, but also highlights worth-noting stylistic designs built up by the authors in constructing the real-life situation of request event through the world of fiction.

The examples in the database mostly consist of two parts: statement and dialogue. Both parts often give a verbal clue about the supportive non-verbal gesture and paralinguistic modulation involved with the request act performed by the character functioning as an addressor.

It is also worth mentioning here that in this analysis we have put emphasis only on the source-communicator (equivalent to a speaker), but not to the target-communicator (equivalent to a listener). Although the performance of the request act is mostly speaker-based, but it is true to admit that in a communicative context the reaction of the recipient is also essential (whether he/she accepts or denies) for understanding and interpreting the success or failure of the strategies adopted. However, such an attempt has been ignored here just for the sake of simplicity and ease of analysis.

Here, in this database we are limited to sixteen examples from novels of both the writers; the examples have been selected from seven novels : (i) *Biṣṣṛkṣa*; (ii) *Indirā*; (iii) *Kṛṣṇakānter uil*(all three written by Bankim Chandra) and (iv) *Birājbau*; (v) *Pallīsamāj*; (vi) *Paṇḍitmaśāi*; (vii) *Mejdidi* (all four composed by Sarat Chandra). In the following examples, modified IPA scripts have been used to represent the actual data. Literal translation for each of the examples is given just below each data. The examples represent both Sadhu and Calit Bangla.

The name of the novels in abbreviation is given within the bracket; figures indicate the page number of the novel and the references by the two side of the sign ‘>’ represent respectively the speaker and the recipient. The significant portions in the utterance relevant for understanding the request event and their corresponding literal translation are underlined.

[Abbreviation used : BB : *Biṣṣṛkṣa*; IN : *Indirā* ; KK : *Kṛṣṇakānter uil* ; BIRB : *Birājbau*; PS : *Pallīsamāj*; PM : *Paṇḍitmaśāi*; MD : *Mejdidi*.]

1. *rOhomOt Molla SOYoN bolilo je “hujur... nowka hoyte namile bhalo hoyto.”*
‘Rahamat Molla himself said, ‘Sir, it would be good to get down from the boat
(BB ; rOhomOt>nagendro :210)

Features :

- (i) The request act is hearer-oriented. The address term ‘hujur’ in the dialogue representing head act reflects the superiority of power of the recipient in contrast to the speaker himself.
- (ii) Request act is framed as indirect being quite justified in power-asymmetric relationship. Request comes here in the form of suggestive formula.

(iii) Embedded ‘if’ clause operates as an internal modification of the head act. The expression echoes the anticipatory reaction and anticipation of the addressor.

2. *tObe Ekhon eSOB sthogit rakhile bhalo hOYna ?*

‘Then is it not well to postpone these things now?’

(BB ; surendro>debendro: 225)

Features :

- (i) The use of politeness marker ‘na’ (not a negative marker) and the interrogative frame are employed as downgraders.
- (ii) The embedded conditional construction used in the form of suggestion brings the effect of indirectness in the request act.

3. *Ekdin Surjomukhi, NOgendrer duyTi cOrone hat dia...*

Onek onunOY korilen; bolilen “kebol amar onurodhe iha tEg kOro.”

‘One day Suryamukhi, touching her hands on two feet of Nagendra, requested very much; (and) said, please leave it only on my request.’
(BB ; surjomukhi>nOgendro : 228)

Features:

- (i) Requesting pattern is supported by the overt use of the performative verb ‘onunOY kOra’ ‘to request’ in the statement preceding the dialogue (may be considered as an adjunct of the head-act). The dialogue part also uses the synonymous nominal form ‘onurodh’ ‘request’ which intensifies the appeal of the addressor.
- (ii) The statement part gives a verbal cue (‘cOrone hat dia’ “touching the feet”) of the non-verbal gesture (quite parallel pattern as expected in apology situation in Bangla community) aggravates the requesting tone. Moreover, such a submission to the addressee reflects the recipient as a representative of the male dominated society. The age factor is also countable as an ‘individual variation’; because the recipient is senior in comparison to the woman-addressor.
- (iii) The illocutionary act of request may rightly be estimated on the basis of the imperative mood (‘tEg kOro’ “leave (it)”) of the utterance in the dialogue part. The dialogue is direct and speaker-oriented request.

4. *ami kohilam“ tomader paY poRi, amake SONge loia cOlo.”*
'I said, 'I am submitting on your feet, take me away with you.'
(IN; indira >doSSu: 293)

Features :

- (i) The dialogue shows, it is a speaker-oriented request with a suggestive tone. The addressee is not a single person.
- (ii) In the dialogue portion, adjunct of the head-act shows a verbal mention of the non-verbal gesture ('pae pORa' "to submit on feet"). This is in contrast with the preceding example, because the non-verbal gesture is just mentioned beforehand, but not performed here. Moreover, unlike (3), here the reference is not in the statement, but in the dialogue part. Notably, the same gesture is also relevant in case of apology.
- (iii) The submission of the speaker to the recipient is also reflecting the superiority of the power of the listeners (who are dacoits).
- (iv) The head-act shows an imperative mood in the verb, which is also applicable in case of an order. But the preceding utterance functioning as an adjunct, interprets the head-act only as a request.

5. "*peTer daYe tomar assrOY cahitechI—dibena ki ?*"
'Being impelled by the sting of hunger, I am asking your shelter—will you not give?'
(KK ; gobindolal>bhromor : 548)

Features :

- (i) This is a direct speaker-oriented request representing submissive attitude of the speaker to the recipient. Here, we observe the female character is dominating the male in this particular context.
- (ii) The interrogative pattern in the adjunct part represents the strategy of 'disarmer', which anticipates the possibility of refusal from the recipient.
- (iii) Grounder (i.e. reason or ground for the request) is also present ('peTer daYe' 'impelled by the sting of hunger')

6. *tini hatjoR korja Dakilen, “ amar kOtha rakho, jaiio na.”*

‘He called her with folded hands, ‘keep my words, do not go.’

(IN; rOmon> indira : 320)

Features :

- (i) It is a direct hearer-oriented request. The non-verbal gesture (‘hatjoR kOra’ “folding hands”) mentioned in the verbal statement gives an anticipatory cue of the following request expression. The gesture pattern is same as in case of apologizing.
- (ii) The use of the phrase ‘kOtha rakha’ “to keep words” in the adjunct part is functioning as a precommitment. This phrase is also supporting the mention of the non-verbal gesture in the statement part.
- (iii) Requesting act is also performed by the precative mood of the verb in the head-act (‘jaiio’ “let you go”).

7. *biraj... bolilo, matha khaW uTho na.*

‘Biraj said, eat my head (used as oath), do not get up.’

(BIRB ; biraj>nilambOr: 552)

Features :

- (i) It represents a direct hearer-oriented request.
 - (ii) In the adjunct part stated in dialogue a typical Bangla oath (‘matha khaWa’ “to eat head”) is used, which is basically a strategy (generally used in literary variety) used by the women in aggravating the request act. This is a kind of putting pressure on the recipient at the cost of threatening the life of the speaker him-/herself. Obviously, this appears not to be a serious issue to the recipient, as s/he knows very well from his/her cultural knowledge that it is simply an oath.
 - (iii) Imperative mood and the use of negation induce politeness to the head-act.
8. *nilambOr...bolilo, lokkhi didi amar, ekTi kaj korbi?*

‘Nilambar said, Oh! My good-natured elder sister, will you do a work?’ (BIRB; nilambOr>horimoti: 554)

Features:

- (i) In this direct hearer-oriented request, the part of the address term ('lokkhi'; originally a Hindu Goddess, but may be used in the sense of 'good-natured, decent') in the request expression of the dialogue acts as a sweetener, which causes reduction of the imposition on the recipient by appreciating her.
- (ii) The direct question is downgraded by the use of interrogative.

9. *biraj kohilo, caTTi cal de!*

'Biraj said, give me a few amount of rice.'

(BIRB; biraj>tulsi: 590)

Features :

- (i) The form caTTi (< Bangla carTi 'four in number') is used here as 'downgrader'. The form is actually an understater minimizing the part of request proposition.
- (ii) The verbal cue is really lacking in the head-act to distinguish it not as an order, but as a request expression. The embedded contextual clue only suggests that it is a kind of begging (so a request situation naturally prevails), quite unexpectedly by the speaker belonging to the higher social status from the recipient comparatively having a low graded status.

10. *biraj bolilo ... dohay tomar, ami bhikkhe cayci—tomar duTi paY dhorchi, ey bEla ja hOY EkTa pOth kOro.*

'Biraj said, (I) swear to you, I am praying to you, (I am) touching your two feet, now you find a way out.' (BIRB : biraj>nilambOr : 560)

Features:

- (i) The example represents a direct hearer-oriented request. The statement part does not show a clue for the following request act performed by the speaker.
- (ii) The head-act 'ey bEla ... pOth kOro' "now you find a way out" is preceded by a series of adjuncts reflecting the submissive and apologetic behaviour of the speaker who is a woman. Such a request act is somehow depicting a male-dominated social context.

The dialogue part also gives a verbal clue of the non-verbal performance ('duTipaYdhorchi' "touching the feet"). Thus, here request is getting mixed up as if with the apologizing tone.

11. *rajendro bolillo, aj Ekbar okhane aste paro ?*

'Rajendra said, can you come there today just for once?'

(BIRB :rajendro>tulsi: 563)

Features:

- (i) The example represents indirect hearer-oriented request.
- (ii) The request expression in the dialogue part gets downgraded by the use of modal verb 'par' "to be able". The use of interrogative tone makes the request act more indirect.
- (iii) The form 'Ekbar' "just for once" is employed as an understater.

The context tells that the power and position of the speaker is much higher than the recipient. However, this induced politeness adopted by the speaker is strategic, calculated and goal-directed.

12. *rOmeS ... SOhoj-binito kOnThe bolilo, bORda, Ekbar paer dhulo jodi dite paren...*

'Rames said in an easy and polite tone, elder brother, if once you can offer your legdust.' (PS; rOmeS>beni :183)

Features :

- (i) The statement part overtly specifies ('SOhoj-binito kOnThe' "easy and polite tone") the politeness involved with the following request expression. The address term ('bORda' "elder brother") is present in the head-act.
- (ii) The conditional construction in the head-act and the modal verb 'par' "to be able" operate as request mitigators.
- (iii) The common phrase 'paer dhulo deWa' "to offer leg dust" in Bangla community usually shows a respect to the addressee. Such a strategy of showing respect to the elder person obviously softens the imposition on the recipient. 'Ekbar' "once" is used as an 'understater' to minimize or downgrade the imposition.

13. *rOma kohilo, amar ar ekTi kOthā tomake rakhte hObe. bOlo rakhbe.*
'Rama said, you should keep only one of my words, promise me to keep.'

(PS; rOma>rOmeS: 237)

Features:

- (i) It is a hearer-oriented indirect request.
 - (ii) Interestingly, the tone of request is not overtly present in the head-act 'amar... rakhte hObe.' It appears to be an order. Only the adjunct part, following the head-act, 'bOlo rakhbe' "promise me to keep" reflects the tone of request. It is an attempt by the speaker to attain a precommitment from the recipient.
 - (iii) The use of 'arekTi' "only one" simply functions as an understater to minimize the effort to be done for performing the request
14. *mridukOnThe bolia boSilo... duTo khee jaona !*
'(Kusum) suddenly said in a polite tone, please take some meal before going.'
(PM; kusum>kunjo: 291)

Features :

- (i) It represents a hearer-oriented indirect request.
 - (ii) The statement part overtly ('mridukOnThe' "in a polite tone") specifying the paralinguistic feature associated with the tone, shows the politeness involved with the following request.
 - (iii) The use of politeness marker 'na' and the imperative mood of the verb in dialogue part reflect the request act.
 - (iv) The form 'duTo' (signifying small amount) is used as a kind of understater.
15. *...Daktarer pa jORaia dhoria minoti korite lagilo—ghaT manci, paer dhulo mathaY nicci Daktarbabu, Ekbar colun !*
'(Brindaban), embracing the feet of the doctor, was requesting--
Oh! Doctor! I am acknowledging my fault and taking (your) leg dust on my head, let you come once with me.'
(PM; brindabon>gopal :317)

Features :

- (i) The request is direct and hearer-oriented.
- (ii) The statement part gives a verbal clue ('pa jORaia dhoria' "embracing the feet") of the non-verbal gesture reflecting apology involved with the request. The verb ('minati kOra' "to request") of the statement also reflects the requesting tone in anticipation.
- (iii) The adjunct part of the head-act amplifies the intensity of the request by the adjuncts reflecting apology act performed by the speaker: 'ghat mana' "to acknowledge fault"; 'paer dhulo neWa' "to bow for showing respect".
- (iv) The address term 'Daktarbabu' occurs being postposed in the adjunct part. 'Ekbar' "once" is used as understater.

16. *bipin nOmroSOre bolilen, map kOro mejobow, baRi cOlo.*

'Bipin politely said, please forgive me 'next to senior most' wife, come at home.' (MD; bipin > hemaNcini:704)

Features :

- (i) The statement part with a paralinguistic cue gives an anticipatory indication of the following request expression in dialogue.
- (ii) Interestingly, the dialogue part shows a combination of both apology and request expression. The request head-act follows the apologizing expression. The address term (mejobow "next to senior most wife") being postposed occur in the dialogue part.
- (iii) Imperative mood of the verb in the dialogue reflects the requesting tone.

7.1. Important observations

[The relevant examples from the above database have been put in parentheses here.]

1. The database suggests that the requesting act may be speaker-(4,5) as well as hearer-oriented (1,10); it may also be direct (3,7) or indirect (1,2) in nature.

2. Requesting tone in the utterance may be estimated by the mood of the verb in head-act (3,6,16) or sometimes by the modal auxiliaries indicating the sense of illocutionary force (11,12).

3. Understaters are frequently employed as a strategy to mitigate the imposition on the recipient (9,12,13,14).

4. Some of the specific strategies like grounder, precommitment etc. (5,6,13) are also used as adjuncts to the head-act for modifying the illocutionary force rather in an indirect way.

5. Sometimes oath is also taken as a strategy (commonly used by the women community) in aggravating the request by putting pressure on the addressee (7).

6. The interrogative (2,8) and negative constructions (7) may be employed as syntactic downgraders.

7. Embedded conditional constructions often create suggestive effects (1,2,12) and echo the anticipatory reaction of the addressor.

8. The social parameters like age, power, gender etc. may control the request pattern or supporting non-verbal gesture (1,3,4).

9. Politeness marker like 'na' (not a negative marker) also serves as a downgrader (2).

10. Paralinguistic features overtly specified in the statement part gives a supportive clue about the following dialogue with a requesting speech act (12,14,16).

11. Address terms in the head-act may reflect the nature of relationship between the communicators (1). The use of the terms may also be strategic to reduce the pressure on the recipients (8).

12. Sometimes the tone of the request can be estimated from the contextual clue embedded (9).

13. Showing respect to a recipient may often serve as a politeness strategy to minimize the imposition on the recipient (12).

14. The statement part preceding the dialogue often gives a clue about the following request act either by the use of the request verb (as like *onunOY kOra* ; *minoti kOra* 'to request') or by an overt reference to the non-verbal gestures (3,6,15).

15. The verbal cue to the non-verbal gesture either present in the dialogue or statement part or in both may intensify the requesting tone (3,6,10).

16. The non-verbal gestural pattern as reflected in verbal mentions often parallels the act of apologizing (4,10,15). Occasionally, the act of apology and request may simultaneously occur (16).

17. Verbal cues present in the statement or dialogue part may be of two types. Either it may directly describe the non-verbal gestural pattern performed (3,6) or it may simply mention the non-verbal gesture not performed (4,10).

Conclusion

This paper presents a brief account of requesting strategies in Bangla with special reference to the theoretical perspective of Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984), who approached request as a speech act through a cross-cultural investigation. This paper identifies that request segments may be analyzed into three parts in Bangla as like other eight languages explored by Blum-Kulka *et al* (1984). However, these segments do not come in sequence; but often they occur with a flexible distribution within the utterance. Adjuncts and address terms may certainly change their position in reference to the head-act. It has also been noted that address terms play a significant role in estimating the nature of social relationship between the communicators as well as the attitude of the speaker. The paper also puts emphasis on the problem of segmentation in separating head-act and adjunct in the context of Bangla. The choice of request perspective plays an important role. The most accepted and popular approach is no doubt hearer-oriented, but Bangla also shows the speaker-oriented and impersonal approach in presenting the request to the listener.

Requests are described as Face threatening act, as while performing request act speakers usually infringe on the freedom of the recipients. One viable option for the speaker is to mitigate this imposition with an adoption of different direct/indirect strategies. This paper verifies different strategies suggested by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) in reference to Bangla context and identifies that request expression in Bangla may be externally as well as internally modified in order to

minimize the imposition on the recipient. Finally, the paper focuses on the database of Bangla to explore how the request strategies are framed and designed within the text itself. Such an observation also establishes the role of non-verbal gesture and paralinguistic features in intensifying the request act.

Notes :

¹Here, modified IPA is used to represent phonetic transcription. For example, O, E are applied for low-mid back and low-mid front vowels respectively. S is used for palato-alveolar sibilant and T, D, R represent retroflex segments. N is used for velar nasal and M for nasalization of a segment.

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A Semiotic Interpretation of the Fascist Myth in HIRAK RAJAR DESHE

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Abstract

The film HIRAK RAJAR DESHE (1980) written and directed by Satyajit Ray, is a Bengali dystopian musical fantasy film, was cleverly disguised as a children's film as an impeachment after The Emergency of Indira Gandhi in the late 1970 and the authoritarian rule witnessed in India during that period. The film is a political myth showing India during the 20th century and is a satire based on the tyrannical regime prevailing at that time. This article analyses the fascist myth, a second order signifying system, in the film and its interpretation according to the semiotic reader of a disguised democracy.

Keywords : *myth, fascism, fascist myth, disguised democracy*

Introduction

This paper analyses the myth of fascism in the film *HIRAK RAJAR DESHE* which is a satire based on the socio-politico-cultural situation of India during the 20th century. The fascist myth is interpreted keeping in mind the semiotic reader of a disguised democracy and using Roland Barthes' theory of myth as a semiological system.

Barthes' theory of myth as a second-order signifying system

Ferdinand de Saussure, the Swiss linguist whose ideas about the structure of language laid the foundation for the progress of linguistic

sciences in the 20th century, treated language as a system of signs and gave the concepts and methods that semioticians applied to sign systems other than language. One of these semiotic concepts is Saussure's distinction between the two inseparable components of a sign: the signifier, which in language is a set of sounds or speech marks on a page, and the signified, which is the concept or the idea behind the sign (Saussure, 1959, p 66).

This concept was taken up and developed by Roland Barthes, a key figure in structuralist linguistics, who wanted to explore the meaning and culture associated with an image. According to Barthes, the whole world is a system of signs. The sign is everything that carries meaning. The sign can be divided into two components: the signifier which is what is seen (visual), heard, written, or the thing that can be felt in the senses, and the signified which is the conceptual concept that comes to mind, the concept behind the signifier. The signified also includes two components and these are the denotation (the direct, literal dictionary meaning of the sign and the first that comes to mind) which is concrete and the connotation (the sociocultural association of the sign) which is more complex and abstract (Barthes, 1957/1972, p 111).

According to Roland Barthes, "Myth is a type of speech. It is a system of communication, that it is a message" (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 1). Myths are created through signs but it has formal limits not substantial ones. Every object can pass from a closed state to a state open to appropriation by the society. These may be modes of writing or of representations; not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, sport, shows, publicity, advertising, all of this can serve as a support for mythical discourse.

Myth is a mode of signification, a form. It is a particular system, because it is built from a semiological chain which existed before it. The signifier of the myth presents itself in an ambiguous form; it is at the same time signifying and form. The form does not suppress the meaning, it keeps the meaning available.

Barthes considered language modelled on Saussure's theory of the sign as the basis for understanding the structure of social and cultural

life. He said that the connection between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary and that this connection, which is an act of signification, is the result of a collective contract and with time the connection becomes naturalized.

Barthes saw myth as a mode of signification, a language that takes precedence over reality. The structure of the myth repeats the three-dimensional model, in that the myth is a second-order signifying system with the sign of the first-order signifying system as its signifier.



Source: Barthes Semiotics Model (Barthes, 1991, p. 113). |

Download Scientific Diagram (researchgate.net)

Barthes formulates a theory of myth which serves as a basis for the writings of Mythologies. “Myth Today”, says Barthes, is a message – not a concept, an idea or an object. More precisely, the myth is defined “by the way in which it states its message”; it is therefore a product of “speech”, rather than “language” (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 1). With ideology, what is said is crucial, and it is hidden. With myth, how it says what it says is crucial, and it distorts (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 7). Indeed, the myth “is neither a lie nor an admission: it is an inflection” (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 10).

Barthes says that because the myth hides nothing, its effectiveness is assured and its power lies in the means of distortion. To be a reader of myth is to accept the message as it is. The message of the myth is that there is no distinction between the signifier and the signified and that it has no need to be deciphered or interpreted.

Barthes explains that to read an image as a transparent symbol is to renounce its image reality. If the ideology of the myth is obvious then it does not work as a myth, for the myth to work as a myth it must seem completely natural.

The fascist myth

Fascism is a political ideology, perceived through a relationship of domination and repression; a regime of dictatorship where subjects are controlled by methods of violence and brute force. A hierarchy exists in such a regime, where the dictator is placed at the top of the hierarchy and people considered inferior at the bottom. There is a fear of the growing power of the working classes and so the dictator as the sole representator of the nation, promotes his authoritarian methods. Leaders use all kinds of techniques to restrict the rights of the people and achieve their goal.

Politics associated with fascism promotes the fascist myth with the aid of images and narratives. The myth of the fascist leader as a totalitarian is constructed for the consumption of the people or the public. It is the force which is real and it changes the course of the lives of the people associated with this myth.

Hirak Rajar Deshe

The first film of the series *Goopy Gyne Bagha Byne* (1969) based on the story by Upendrakishore Ray Chowdhury, introduces the protagonists Goopy and Bagha, a terrible singer and a horrible drum (dholak) player respectively, who were banished from their villages due to their abominable sense of tune and melody. They meet each other in a forest during their exile and form a team to scare away a tiger with their music. Their singing attracts the king of ghosts (*Bhooter Raja*) who grants them three boons as a pair (by clapping each other's hands): to eat food and wear clothes anytime they needed, to travel anywhere with the help of magical slippers and to mesmerise people with their melodious music.

In the second film *Hirak Rajar Deshe*, the musicians Goopy and Bagha, who had received magical powers and are now crown princes of fictional kingdoms saved from war by them, embark on an adventure in the kingdom of the Diamond King (Hirak raja) to perform at their anniversary celebrations. Upon entering the kingdom, they find that the people of the kingdom live in complete misery due to the king's tyranny. Their voice is silenced and any kind of protest against injustice results in punishment, by brainwashing (*magajdholai*) them in the laboratory and rewriting their thoughts with rhyming slogans. With the help of Udayan Pandit, a teacher of values and moral integrity and hence an enemy of the autocratic king, they fight the unjust and tyrannical ruler Hirak Raja.

The fascist regime of *Hirak Rajar Deshe*

Hirak Raja is a tyrant who forces his domination on the people of his kingdom by suppressing and violating the basic human rights. He imposes restriction on the working classes by curbing their right to adequate food, money and education. The ministers and the advisors exist in the namesake as their suggestions are always nullified and they are treated as mere pawns in the hands of the king. Any protest or rebellion is curbed by means of force and violence as the innocent people are either imprisoned or brainwashed in the laboratory. The king wants every subject to obey him blindly without thinking about his agenda or questioning his motives. He instills fear in the minds of the people and is intolerant towards those who defies him or challenges his autocratic regime.

This entire situation of a fascist regime is explained with the song "*Katai Ranga Dekhi Duniyay*" or 'the world is full of wonders'¹, which describes that the world is a surprising place where the masses live in abject poverty and reside in broken huts while the evil tyrant sits on the throne. The farmers do not have access to food and the diamond miners are penniless. The song narrates the exploitation of Hirak Raja who denies the people their fundamental rights by promoting fascism and yet the commoners are afraid to raise their voice as they fear the tyrant ruler.

The mythical fascism in the film *Hirak Rajar Deshe*

The fascist myth in the film is created with the help of images (visual myth), slogans (oral myth) and by exploiting the material and technological resources. According to Roland Barthes (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 19), the oppressor has an exclusive right to meta-language whereas the oppressed has only the language of emancipation. This section tries to identify the mythopoeia and the signification of the myth as a second order semiological system.

The statue of HIRAK RAJA

The film shows how the power-hungry king HIRAK RAJA is obsessed with promoting himself as the monarch of HIRAK. He wants to install a giant statue of himself as a sign of his dominance and autocracy over his kingdom. In the film, the meaning associated with the statue has the power to create the myth aimed at distorting the mindset of the common people by promoting fascism. The pompous statue, as a speech itself constructs the fascist myth of a totalitarian leader obeyed by the people. The statue is an image-concept of the first order Saussurean sign (meaning) but in the plane of myth, it is the form of the second order associated with the meaning of the first order. Fascism is the concept or the signified of myth, the correlation of the form and concept or the signification helps in understanding and imposing the myth of fascism.

The chamber “jantar-mantar”

The brainwashing of the protestors (*magajdholaai*) in the chamber *jantar-mantar* (sci-drome) shows the exploitation of science and technology against public freedom. The *jantar-mantar* (object) instills fear in the mind of the people whose freedom of thoughts are already restricted and controlled by HIRAK RAJA. *Jantar-mantar* in the mythology of science and technology is consumed by the public as an instrument of ultimate control which will wipe away the residual free thoughts of the masses. The chamber helps in constructing the fascist myth by promoting the fear of punishment among the common people. No one dares to challenge or defy the myth of the fascist king who will resort to using every sort of resources and technology for his fascist rule.

The burning books

The scene where the books of Udayan Pandit, the teacher who defies the tyranny of Hiralak Raja, are burnt signifies the curbing of the right to education which is a supreme deprivation for the people. The power of education is feared by the fascist Hiralak Raja, who knows that to gain complete control over his subjects, he has to restrict the means of education. The famous dialogue of Hiralak Raja:

1. “*Era jata beshi pare, tata beshi jaane, tata kam maane*”

‘The more they (the people) study, the more they will know and the less they will obey’ⁱⁱ

is a proof of the fascist thought of denying education to the masses.

The burning of the books is a visual myth related to knowledge and education with the ultimate aim of creating the fascist myth related to Hiralak Raja. Although the signified in the mythical plane refers to curbing the right to education, the signification notifies about the restriction on education and imposes the fascist regime of Hiralak. Ultimately it is the mythopoeia of fascism which is promoted.

The slogans propagated

The slogans (myths) are speech which is initially political and finally natural (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 18) which tends towards proverbs (Barthes, 1957/1984, p 21). The slogans in the fascist regime of Hiralak deprive the people from their basic human rights of adequate access to food and access to education.

Food is the basic need for survival of any living being. This basic need is controlled with the slogan propagated in the kingdom of Hiralak

2. “*Anaahaare naahi khed, beshi khele baare medh.*”
‘Starvation is preferable to two proper meals a day.’ⁱⁱⁱ

This message adds to the constructing of the fascist myth as it represses the people by controlling their body and denying them their basic right. The second slogan,

3. “*Bharpet naao khaai, raajkar deoyaa chaai*”
‘Taxes are to be paid in spite of empty stomach’^{iv}

is another example which emphasises the importance of taxes over hunger. These statements are directed towards the petit-bourgeois who are responsible for producing fascism and the myths associated with fascism which works better in that particular stratum of the social hierarchy.

The access to education is denied by creating the fascist myth with the slogans

4. “*Lekhaaparaa kare je, anaahaare mare se*”
‘The one who studies will die of starvation’^v

and

5. “*Bidyaa laabhe lakshaan, naahi artha, naahi maan.*”
‘Education leads to loss as it gives neither money nor respect.’^{vi}

This myth is propagated till it becomes a reality for the people who believe that education will be harmful for them as it will lead to death by starvation and it is useless to be educated as it provides neither money nor respect. Hence the fascist myth is created with the help of the oral myth of the slogans.

Children as prisoners

Children are always considered and treated as innocent, but in the film, there is a scene where the children, students of Udayan Pandit who has imparted them with value-based education, are captured by the king’s guards and taken to the laboratory to undergo brain washing (*magajdholaai*) in the chamber (*jantarmantar*). The children with their mouths covered and their hands tied behind their backs with the guards standing behind them waiting to enter the room becomes for the reader of the myth an image of the presence of tyranny in the dystopian country of Hirak.

In this image, the message is clear that Hirak Raja punishes and controls his subjects by putting them in *jantarmantar* and brainwashing them. The ideology of naturalizing oppression as common sense becomes the myth of Hirak. The second-order meaning helps in creating the myth that Hirak is a fascist regime and a tyrannical empire and that every person, regardless of gender or age, is treated with the same

cruelty if they revolt against the king. Even the thought of freedom and values are prohibited in the country of the fascist HIRAK.

The interpretation of myth for the semiotic reader of a disguised democracy

The word democracy is formed by two Greek words *demos* meaning people and *kratos* meaning power. It can be defined as the people who hold power of governance. In a democracy every person is free to express his ideas, opinions and will; and enjoy his fundamental and human rights. But when the power is taken away from the people and a false impression of democratic freedom is given then it is no longer a democracy but a disguised democracy.

The semiotic reader as receiver of a disguised democracy will not perceive the myth in the same manner as that of a semiotic reader in a democracy because a disguised democracy doesn't deal with democratic values. Such type of government may be a dictatorship, a fascist, an autocratic, an authoritarian, a totalitarian or any other non-democratic state of governance disguised as a democracy. The environment which influences the creation and functioning of the myth will be different in the two cases because the mindset of the people will vary in the different forms of governance.

The mythopoeia of fascism created during the emergence of the fascist movements during the First World War rose to prominence in early 20th century Europe. But if one looks at India during The Emergency of Indira Gandhi, one cannot deny the fascist rule during the late 1970. Satyajit Ray in his film *Hirak Rajar Deshe* wanted to make the people aware of the fascist rule in the country which had shunned its democratic values. The country was functioning as a disguised democracy and the filmmaker wanted to make the people (semiotic reader) aware of the signs of fascism and the myths associated with it through his film.

The signs of fascism and the myths exist even now, not only in India but in many countries throughout the world. But many a times the people who are the semiotic readers fail to observe the fascist

signification due to their belief in freedom and independence and hence the myths become naturalised. If one takes the example of our country India, the statue of a living political leader (like HiraK raja) installed in a public place will function as a myth of a leader who is a common person working for the welfare of the common people. But in reality, it is that of a totalitarian politician who is feared and obeyed by the people and who wants to show his dominance over the people. It is a fascist myth but the people in their minds are democratic and hence will ignore the signs related to fascism and associate it with welfare. This myth associated with the statue functions only if the democracy is a disguised democracy where people are free only in their mind but not in their life.

Nowadays, with the advancement of science and technology and the emergence of the social media, the masses have easy access to smart phones and internet. The messages appearing in the phones both in the audio and visual formats, the advertisements in social media, and in television, radio and newspapers like old times are used in the world today to promote fascism and it has a similar effect like that of the chamber *jantarantar*. The thoughts are influenced and controlled by autocratic, totalitarian and fascist leaders who are brainwashing the masses by calling them free people of a democratic nation. These messages control the minds and hence the power of thinking becomes distorted and the people fail to understand that they exist in a disguised democracy where the governance is non-democratic. These messages create the myth of democracy but democracy does not prevail in reality for these people who are absorbed in the myth of democracy.

The policies which are implemented in a disguised democracy are based on political interest rather than the interest of the people. For example, the policies related to academics are implemented to restrict academic expansion rather than enhancing it. But the myth associated with these policies function as policies made for the benefit of the people and for their better future. In reality the future of the people is jeopardised by means of limited access to academics. Satyajit Ray tried to show this with the help of the burning books that educational progress is curbed in a fascist regime as education acts as a hindrance for a fascist leader.

Slogans of political nature are not uncommon to people. HiraK Raja also propagates such types of slogans. If we search the pages of history,

Louis XIV (1643-1715) the king of France and Navarre, is famous for saying “L’État, c’est moi” translated as “I am the state” which denotes absolute monarchy. We come across political slogans in our everyday life like “the next time is also my rule” or “the state will be saved by our party” by existing political leaders. But these slogans are a reflection of the mindset of an authoritarian leader and not a democratic leader. These slogans function as myth and the political parties keep on getting re-elected as the people fail to see the relationship of dominance and suppression as they are under the illusion of democratic governance. But with the help of such slogans, fascism prevails in the nation which is under the myth of a free independent nation.

The future of a nation is the children, but their future is distorted by means incorrect and partial education which is their fundamental right. So, the future of progression is halted by barricading the fundamental right by promoting the myth of education is for all. But no country in the world has been able to provide education to each and every one of its children. But the children of a disguised democracy are one of the worst sufferers as their rights are challenged by the myth which promises them a better future in a democratic setup. Whereas in reality the setup is non-democratic in nature, with an existing social hierarchy where the bottom layer is deprived from getting proper education. Such deprivation of children was shown by Satyajit Ray in his film and it exists in many nations of the world even today.

Conclusion

The semiotic application of Barthes’ myth in the film *Hirak Rajar Deshe* deals with the visual and oral messages of communication to create the fascist myth. It involves the signifier and the signified as main components and the reader of the second-order semiological system (myth) plays an important role in constructing meanings and giving interpretations according to their own experiences, understanding and socio-cultural background. The myth helps to understand the signs which are expressed by two messages, the first which is denoted and the second which is connoted in the process of signification.

The fact that the film based on a fascist regime, it shows the fascist ideology and the creation of fascist myth. The film represents the fascist

regime in 20th century India which absorbed the people into its authoritarian rule. They (the people who are cruelly tortured and brainwashed) are the representation of the terms of Hirak (a fascist ruler) who resorts to exploitation of resources and human rights, so that it does not threaten the fascist myth that is created and propagated in the kingdom. This representation serves the purpose of mythopoeia and the role played by the people is absorbed into the myth of a fascist regime.

Similarly, if we look around the nations of the world, we will come across many such representations which help in creating the myth. This film although a fascist one, represented the regime of India which is a democracy but where fascism prevailed during the 1970s. So, the country functioned as a disguised democracy where people loved to believe that they are free and democratic. But it is their mindset which told them they are free and democratic with the help of the myth created and propagated. Fascism prevailed in the country which the people ultimately absorbed as democratic because the myth made them believe they have the freedom to live life freely. Nobody in a democracy is completely free like they are made to believe, as it is the myth of democracy which is propagated under a non-democratic governance which is addicted to power and money. It promotes social hierarchy for its own benefit and is far from a governance with democratic values and morals.

The attraction of democracy is always more than that of real democracy. The false impression and the illusion of democracy is propagated with the help of myth created to make a person believe that he is ultimately free to enjoy his fundamental and human rights. It is this attraction which absorbs the people into the myth. A disguised democracy creates the myth of a democracy whereas in reality it is a regime of hierarchy, domination and restriction and ultimately it falls under the category of a non-democratic state of governance.

Fascism as a political tool used since the Second World War discards democracy and promotes autocracy. Modern day fascism exists and the signs of such type of fascism is prevalent everywhere. Only the nature and manner of force and violence is modified to suit the modern generation of people. Like the symbols of the fascists developed from the ancient Roman symbol of a bundle of rods tied to an axe to a Falange symbol of five arrows joined by a yoke. Similarly modern-day fascism has also developed its methods of control.

Fascists control the mind and the body by depriving the people from basic human rights and many places in the world shows signs of such deprivation. When Satyajit Ray constructed the slogan “Hirak er raja bhagaban” or ‘Hirak Raja is God’, he wanted to tell the people about the mind control implemented by the fascists by formulating such myth. He created the myth of Hirak who controlled the mind and the body of the people. Such control exists even now in the bottom layer of the social hierarchy where mind and body control take place. It is often projected as supreme poverty whereas in reality it is the ultimate control of a human being in the hands of the autocratic leaders.

Everything which is politicised is ultimately not in favour of the public. No form of governance is free from fascism which restricts the right to speech and expression and promotes hierarchy and control. It is ultimately the semiotic reader who interprets the myth as per their understanding and socio-cultural environment. The democratic myth is propagated in a nation which is autocratic and fascist. So ultimately democracy does not prevail as it should and it is only the myth of democracy naturalised with time which exists in the world today.

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Representation of Speech and Thought in Tagore's Short-stories

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Abstract

The present research attempts to explore Tagore's technique of representing speech and thoughts of fictional characters. In this respect 12 short stories from his 'Galpaguccha' have been selected from different phases of his writing. From theoretical perspective, Leech and Short's model has been followed for analysis of stories. The parameters used for analysis include Direct Discourse, Indirect Discourse, Free Direct Discourse, Free Indirect Discourse and Pure Narrative which can be further divided into the subcategories of speech and thought. Then interpretation has been done on several grounds. Firstly, the present research explores the relation of speech and thought representation with plot progression. Secondly, it explores the correlation of speech and thought representation with the non-verbal aspects such as gestures, postures, facial expressions, timbre of voice and so on. Thirdly, it exhibits different patterns used in the graphological representation of discourse. Fourthly, it explores different contexts of discourse presentation. Finally, it attempts to capture the diachronic development in Tagore's style of writing.

Keywords: *Inquit clause, Pure Narrative, Free Direct Discourse, Free Indirect Discourse, Stream of consciousness, Monologue*

Introduction

The writers of modern fiction are significantly preoccupied with the techniques of representing speech and thought of different characters. Tagore is not an exception to that orientation. In fact, Tagore's skillful representation of speech and thought of fictional characters enhances his degree of artistry. It is generally found that the writers often insert characters' speech and thought in their writings with a view to avoiding monotony and adding diversity in their writing. But Tagore has used the art of stylistic distancingⁱ in such a way that the represented speech and thought of fictional characters have become their natural and spontaneous expression.

Theoretical Framework

Though speech and thought representation is a part of narrative technique, some stylisticians like Paul Simpson (2004: 30), Richard Bradford (1997: 65), Elizabeth Black (2006: 66), Geoffrey Leech and Mick Short (2007: 255) etc. have included the categories of speech and thought in the field of stylistics. Actually, if we take the concept of stylistic variation in broad sense, then different modes of speech and thought presentation may be regarded as stylistic variants (Leech & Short, 2007:257). For example, the norm or baseline for the presentation of thought is Indirect Thought, whereas the norm for speech representation is Direct Speech (Leech and Short, 2007: 276). So other modes of speech and thought representation are deviations from the standard norm.

The first well-known model for the analysis of speech and thought representation in narrative fiction was given by Brian McHaleⁱⁱ (1978). However, the most popular framework is undoubtedly that which has been developed by Geoffrey Leech and Mick Short (1981). Leech and Short (2007: 255-279) have classified both speech and thought presentation in fiction into five categories. They are as follows:

1. Direct Speech/ Direct Thought (DS/ DT)
2. Free Direct Speech/ Free Direct Thought (FDS/ FDT)
3. Indirect Speech/ Indirect Thought (IS/ IT)
4. Free Indirect Speech/ Free Indirect Thought (FIS/ FIT)
5. Narrative Report of Speech Act/ Narrative Report of Thought Act (NRSA/ NRTA)

Following Toolan (2001: 122), the ten distinct modes can be subsumed under five categories: Direct Discourse (DS and DT), Free Direct Discourse (FDS and FDT), Indirect Discourse (IS and IT), Free Indirect Discourse (FIS and FIT) and Pure Narrative or PN in short (NRTA and NRSA).

● **Direct discourse**

In direct discourse, the author faithfully reports not only what was stated or thought by a character, but also reproduce the exact form of words which were used in that character's speech or thought. Moreover, it involves character's tense, character's pronouns, character's deixis, character's lexis. In DD, narrating clause (also known as framing clause or *inquit* clauseⁱⁱⁱ) and narrated clause remain graphologically set apart as they are not connected by any complementizer. In general, the writers use direct discourse for what they consider to be the more significant utterances (Black, 2006: 66). Example of this mode are the followings:

She said, "I'm going home." (IS)

"I need a change," he thought. (IT)

● **Free Direct Discourse**

Like Direct Discourse, Free Direct Discourse purportedly represents exactly what the character said or thought (Black, 2006: 65). Direct discourse is characterised by two features namely the quotation marks and the introductory reporting clause. But in Free Direct Discourse either one or both of these features can be removed. In this way, Free direct discourse (FDD) denies any overt trace of the narrator's presence and appears as a more direct form than Direct Discourse (Leech & Short, 2007: 258). Examples of Free Direct Discourse include the followings:

"Polly! Polly!" (FDS)

"Yes, mamma?" (FDS)

I need a change. (FDT)

● **Indirect Discourse**

In indirect discourse, the author faithfully reports just what was stated or thought by a character. It does not represent the exact form of words of the character (Misra, 2009: 41). Moreover, it involves narrator's tense, narrator's pronouns, narrator's deixis, narrator's lexis. In Indirect Discourse, the narrating clause and the narrated clause are

connected by complementizer and thus they are not graphologically set apart. In Indirect Speech, the speech is presented from the point of view of the narrator as the narrator intervenes as an interpreter between the readers and the person whose report s/he reports (Misra, 2009: 41). For example, we can put the following sentences:

She said she would go home. (IS)

He thought that he needed a change. (IT)

● **Free Indirect Discourse**

Free Indirect Discourse is usually considered as a freer version of an apparently indirect form. It contains features of both the Direct Discourse and the Indirect Discourse. In Free Indirect Discourse, like Direct Discourse, the narrating clause is omitted and this indicates its formal freeness. Again, like Indirect Discourse, it uses past tense and third-person pronouns and this indicates its indirectness (Leech & Short, 2007: 260-261). In Free Indirect Discourse, authorial point of view fuses with character's point of view so that the character's voice is preserved without losing the narrator's objective interpretation of events (Misra, 2009: 41-42). Examples of this kind of discourse include the followings:

He stopped. Was that the car he had seen yesterday? (FIS)

What should she do now? (FIT)

● **Pure Narrative**

Pure Narrative sentences tend to be metadiscoursal commentaries on how the character was thinking or speaking, rather than reports on how they thought or said (Toolan, 2001, 119-120). It includes both NRSA and NRTA. Actually, it is more indirect than Indirect Discourse. Here the narrator reports the speech made by a person or the person's thought process from his/her own perspective. It is useful for summarising relatively unimportant stretches of discourse (Leech & Short, 2007: 260). For example,

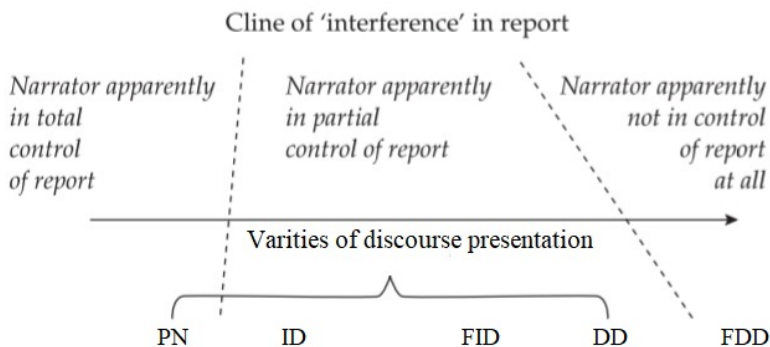
He promised his return. (NRSA)

He longed for a change. (NRTA)

Here it is notable that the principal categories of speech and thought presentation appear to be formally similar. But there lies significant

difference between the two modes with regard to their effectiveness. Speech is external and when the writers use characters' speech in the text (specially, direct speech and free direct speech), the readers have the impression that the characters are speaking in front of them. On the other hand, thought is internal speech where a character talks to himself or herself and this results in a kind of *monologue*^{iv} (Leech & Short, 2007: 274). This kind of presentation of the flow of thoughts in a character's mind is inextricably a part of *stream of consciousness writing*^v (Leech & Short, 2007: 270).

Another notable thing is that in the representation of speech and thought of characters, a writer always maintains distance from the readers. In this respect an author can opt for a more narratorial variant or a more character-proximate variant one. Based on Leech and Short's (2007:260) diagram, different degrees of discourse representation can be drawn as follows:



The diagram shows that FDD is apparently free from narrator's involvement in the report and in PN the writer is in full control of the report. In between there are ID, FID and DD which are partially influenced by the narrator. Here the arrow from left to right indicates movement from a more narratorial variant to a more character-proximate variant.

Analysis

The present research concentrates on analysing and interpreting 12 stories of Tagore's 'Galpaguccha'. The stories selected for analysis represent different periods of Tagore's writing. Following Tapobrata Ghosh (2016: 15-16), they can be arranged as follows:

- Initiation Period (1877-1885) : Bhikhāriṅī, Ghāter Kathā,
- Hitabadi Period (1891) : Denāpāonā, Poṣṭ māṣṭār
- Sadhana-Bharati Period (1891-1900) : Ekrātri, Jibita o Mṛta
- Transition Period (1903-1911) : Mālyadān, Guptadhan
- Sabujpatra Period (1914-1917) : Hāldārgoṣṭhī, Strīr Patra
- Conclusion Period (1925-1941) : Rabibār, Lyābareṭari (Laboratory)

In the analysis of the stories, a lot of examples of speech and thought presentation are found. But considering the limitation of the research article, here attempt has been done to point out those specific examples which carry interpretative significance in relation to textual context. Story-wise they can be represented as follows:

1. Bhikhāriṅī

In the story Amar and Kamal love each other and their marriage will happen soon. But suddenly Amar has to be separated from Kamal as the former has to take part in war. In this context their conversation has been expressed through direct speech:

Omor kohilo, “Sokhi, jodi tor Omor juddhokhetre moria jaY, taha hoyle—
 kOmol khuddro bahu duTite Omorer bokkho jORaya dhoria kaMdia uThilo;
 kohilo, “ami je tomake bhalobaSi Omor, tumi moribe kEno.”
 (Amar says, “Dear, if your Amar dies in the battlefield, then—”
 Kamal embracing Amar’s chest with her two little hands cries; She says,
 “I do love you Amar, why do you die?”)

This extract gives the anticipatory clue that it is not Amar but Kamal is going to die in future.

After that, in Amar’s absence, Kamal falls in the trap of dacoits. Then finding no alternative Kamal’s mother goes to Mohanlal for help. In this context their conversation has been represented through direct discourse:

mohon jiggaSa korilen, “ta amake ki korite hoybe.”
 bidhoba | kOmoler pranrokkha korite hoybe.
 mohon | kEno, OmorSiNho ekhane nay?
 bidhoba upohas bujhite parilen.
 (Mohan asks, “So, what have I to do?”
 The widow | You have to save Kamal’s life.
 Mohan | Why? Is not Amarsinha here?
 The widow understands the mockery.)

This extract is important from the point of view of plot progression. Taking the opportunity of Kamal's mother's helpless condition, Mohan compels her to give marriage of Kamal with him. Again, from the point of view of pattern, we find the use of stop mark (।) of Bengali orthography in the presentation of direct discourse for the first time in *Galpaguccha*.

Next, coming back from war Amar gets the news that Kamal has been compelled to marry another person. Then with a view to restrict Kamal to become mentally weak to him as a married woman, he avoids her and leaves that place. Kamal gets hurt at this and in this context her thought has been expressed in direct discourse:

hOtobhagini bhabito, "ami doriddro, amar kichuy nay, amar kehoy nay, ami buddhihina khuddro balika, taMhar cOronrenuro joggo nohi, tObe taMhake bhay bolibo kon odhikare! taMhake bhalobaSibo kon odhikare! ami doriddro kOMol, ami ke je taMhar sneho prarthona koribo."

(The poor girl used to think, "I am poor, I have nothing, I have no one, I am a meritless little girl, I am not compatible even to his nail's end, then in what right I can call him brother! In what right I can love him. I am poor Kamal, who am I that I can crave for his affection?")

Kamal's thought has great psychological impact on her. Her thoughts make her careless about her own health. Gradually she becomes seriously ill and dies.

2. Ghāṭer Kathā

In the story, after meeting widowed Kusum, the monk tries to lead her to the path of dharma and this has been expressed in the narrator's narrative report of speech act:

sonnESi prato-sondha SOMapon koria kuSumke Dakia tahake dhOrmer kOtha boliten.

(After completing his morning prayers, the monk used to call Kusum and discourse to her on religion.)

Here the author has used NRSA because here the actual words uttered by the monk is not important but his speaking to Kusum is. Actually, later the narrator mentions that Kusum understands nothing of the monk's religious words but still she listens to attentively.

Next, Kusum falls in love with the monk and is compelled to reveal the truth before the monk. But Kusum's revelation does not make the monk happy. Then he gives a strange instruction to Kusum which is expressed in his direct speech:

jOkhon murcha bhaNia kuSum uThia boSilo tOkhon SonnESi dhire dhire kohilen, "tumi amar SOkol kOthay palon koriacho, ar ekTi kOtha bolibo, palon korite hoybe... amake tomar bhulite hoybe..."

(When Kusum woke from her swoon, the monk said in measured tones, "You have obeyed me in everything; now you must obey my last command... You must forget me.")

This extract is significant for the revelation of the monk's character. Previously the monk promised to clear Kusum's mental worries. But instead of doing that he leads her to the path of death indirectly by his instruction. This proves his hypocritical nature.

Next, the monk leaves Kusum. Then finding no alternative Kusum proceeds to commit suicide and her inner thought has been expressed in her monologue :

kuSum kohilo, "tini adeS koria giachen taMhake bhulite hoybe." bolia dhire dhire gONgar jOle namilo.

(Kusum said, "He has commanded that I forget him." So saying, she descended slowly into the waters of the Ganga.)

This extract presented in direct speech gives clear indication of Kusum's mental suffering for her loved person and then her ultimate action.

3. Denāpāonā

At the beginning of the story the author has used direct speech to represent a poor father's helplessness in giving marriage of his daughter under dowry system:

ramSundOr raYbahadurer hate-pae dhoria bolilen "Subhokarjo sOmpanno hoya jak, ami niScOY TakaTa Sodh koria dibo."

raybahadur bolilen, "Taka hate na payle bOr sObhasto kOra jaybe na."

(Falling on the knees before Raybahadur, Ramsundar says, "Let the auspicious ceremony happen, then I would pay the money.")

Raybahadur says, "If you can't hand the money to me now, the bridegroom will not be brought here.")

From the above conversation, the character of Raybahadur comes out conspicuously. His statement identifies him as an unkind person who consider marriage as nothing but a deal with money.

Then the author represents contrastive attitude to dowry system by using another direct speech:

bOr SOhoSa tahar pittrideber Obaddho hoya uThilo. Se bapke bolia boSilo, “kenabEca-dOrdamer kOtha ami bujhi na; bibaho korite aSiachi, bibaho koria jaybo.”

(The groom rebelled against his father, saying firmly, “This haggling and bartering means nothing to me. I came here to marry, and I shall.”)

This extract indicates that the groom is against dowry system. He is not influenced by his father's mean principles. He has personality as well as morality.

Next, when Nirupama, the heroine, comes to know that her father has sold his house to pay dowry to her father-in-law, she restrains him from doing that by her speech:

nirupOma somosto bEpar bujhite paria kohilo, “baba, tumi jodi ar Ek pOYSa amar SoSurke dao ta hole tomar meeke dekhte pabe na, ei tomar ga chuMe bollum.”

(Understanding the whole situation Nirupama said, “Father, if you give a single paisa more to my father-in-law, I swear solemnly you will never see me again.”)

In this direct discourse, Nirupama's protest against dowry system has been shown. Her speech also expresses her dignity and self-respect as a woman.

4. Postmāstār

In the story we find that the postmaster finding himself in odd situation in rural environment decides to take transfer to another place. In this context the conversation between the postmaster and his maid servant Ratan has been presented through direct discourse:

postmaster bolilen, “rOton, kal-i ami jacchi.”

rOton | kothaY jaccho, dadababu.

poSTmaSTar | bari jacchi.

rOton | abar kObe aSbe.

poSTmaSTar | ar aSbona.

(The postmaster said, “I’m leaving tomorrow, Ratan.”

Ratan | Where are you going, Dadababu?

Postmaster | I’m going home.

Ratan | When are you coming back?

Postmaster | I shan’t come back again.)

This extract is important for the writer’s use of irregular graphological symbols. Here the writer has used the Bengali stop mark (|) between narrating clause and narrated clause in the presentation of direct discourse.

Next, on the eve of leaving Ratan, the postmaster goes to give some money to Ratan. But, instead of receiving money, Ratan becomes emotional and directly says:

tOkhon rOton dhulaY poRia taMhar pa jORaya dhoria kohilo,
“dadababu, tomar duTi pae poRi, tomar duTi pae poRi, amake kichu
dite hObe na; tomar duTi pae poRi, amar jonne kawke kichu bhabe
hObe na.”

(Then Ratan sinking to the ground and clinging to his feet says,
“Dadababu, I beg you, I beg you—don’t give me anything; I beg you.
No one need to think for me.”)

This extract gives the indication that money has no value to Ratan. What she needs is company of the postmaster in her companionless life.

Ratan’s unusual behaviour stirs the postmaster’s mind and as a result he becomes emotional for a few moments which has been represented in his direct thought:

Ekbar nitanto iccha hoylo, ‘phiria jay, jOgoter kroRbiccutto Sei
Onathinike sONge koria loya aSi.’

(Once he feels a sharp desire to go back and fetch that orphaned girl
whom the world had abandoned.)

This extract signifies that postmaster has not come out from his emotional attachment to Ratan. Afterall, in the remote village, in his solitary situation, Ratan was his only companion for his personal sharing.

However, the postmaster’s emotion does not last long. At the next moment he is led by logic:

nodiprobahe bhaSoman pothiker udaS hridOe ei tOtter udOY hoylo, jibOne Emon kOto bicched, kOto mrittu ache, phiria phOl ki. prithibite ke kahar.

(This theory arises in the indifferent heart of the floating wayfarer on the river-current that in life there are many separations, many deaths. What point was there in going back? Who belonged to whom in this world?)

Here the postmaster's thought has not been expressed in direct discourse. Actually, his thought mixes with the perspective of the author producing a free indirect discourse.

5. Ekrātri

Here we find that after a long time the narrator has found that his childhood companion Surabala has married another person. At his young stage he got the opportunity to marry Surabala, but he purposely discarded the proposal. Now as he indulges in regretting for his previous mistake, his thoughts come out in free direct discourse:

Surabala amar ki na hoyte parito. amar SOb cee OntorONgo, amar Sab cee nikOToborti, amar jibOner Somosto Sukhdukkho bhagini hoyte parito—se aj Eto dur, Eto pOr.

(Surabala could have been mine. She could have been my closest, most intimate companion; she could have shared all my sorrows and joys; but now she was so far away, so much someone else's.)

This extract gives clear indication of the narrator's self-analysis. It also indicates that he has not come out from his past.

Next, we find that the author gets the scope to meet Surabala in a night of natural disaster. There was no verbal exchange between them. But standing by the side of Surabala, the author's mind becomes totally changed which has been reflected in his free direct thought:

Samiputro grihodhonjon loya Surabala cirodin Sukhe thakuk. ami ei Ek rattere mohaproloer tire daMRaya Ononto anonder aSSad payachi.

(Better that Surabala should live in happiness with her husband, home and children. In this single night, standing on the shore of the apocalypse, I have tasted eternal joy.)

This extract gives the indication of the narrator's psychological change as the narrator has been able to come out from his narrowness of mind. Beside this, we find that the story has surpassed time and space in this point and thus it provides the taste of transcendence.

6. Jībita O Mṛta

In the story we find that waking from her sleep Kadambini finds herself in the burial place. Then she is led by the thought that she is already dead and her thought has been expressed in direct discourse:

...Se janilo, “ami ei prithibir jOnoSOmajer ar keho nohi—ami oti bhiSon, OkollEnkarini; ami amar pretatma.”

(She thinks, “I am no one of the human society of the world any more. I am nothing but a fearsome evil presence; I am a ghost of mine.)

This extract gives indication about the general perception of human beings when they find themselves in some odd place on a sudden as we find in the story.

Next, coming back to her own house and meeting her nephew, she understands that she is still alive. In this context, her thought has been reflected through indirect discourse:

kadambini Onek din pOre aj anubhOb koriache je, Se mOre nay.
(Kadambini has just realised after a long time that she had not died.)

Here Kadambini’s thought has been expressed in indirect form to suggest that her own thought has no value to her family members to whom she is already dead.

After that, we find that Kadambini’s family members are not ready to believe that she is still alive. Then she tries to convince them by her emotional outburst:

tOkhon kadambini ar Sohite parilo na, tibbrokONThe bolia uThilo,
“ogo, ami mori nay go, mori nay. ami kEmon koria tomader bujhaybo,
ami mori nay. ei dEkho, ami baMcia achi.”

(Kadambini could not bear it any longer. She speaks in sharp voice,
“I’m not dead, I tell you, I’m not dead! How do I explain to you that I haven’t died? Look, here’s proof that I’m alive.”)

Here Kadambini’s desperation for living comes out through her direct speech. This speech is also significant for plot progression. In fact, failing in her attempt, Kadambini commits suicide to prove that she was alive.

7. Mālyadān

In the story we find that Kurani wants to express her love for Jatin by bringing a garland of flowers for him. But Jatin refuses her at that time. Later, when Kurani is in her dying stage, Jatin's love for her has been expressed in his direct speech:

jotin kohilo, "tomar mala amake dibe na?"

jotiner ei adorer proSSOYTuku paya kuRanir mone purbokrito Onadorer ekTukhani Obhiman jagia uThilo. Se kohilo, "ki hObe, dadababu!"

jotin dui hate tahar hat loya kohilo, "ami tomake bhalobaSi kuRani."

(Jatin said, "Won't you let me have your garland?")

This affectionate indulgence from Jatin re-awoke in Kurani's heart some of her resentment at his earlier rejection. She said, "What for, Dadababu?"

Jatin took her hand in both of his hand and said, "I love you, Kurani.")

This extract expresses Jatin's love for Kurani and Kurani's sensitiveness towards Jatin.

When Kurani dies, Jatin indulges in philosophical thought which has been presented through direct discourse:

jotin kuRanir Sei Santosnigdho mrittucchobir dike cahia bhabite lagilo, "jaMhar dhon tinii nilen, amakeo boncito korilen na."

(Looking at Kurani's tender and peaceful image of death Jatin thought, "He has taken back the treasure that was His. But He did not deprive me either.")

This extract expresses Jatin's belief in God's judgement.

8. Guptadhan

In the story we find that when Mrityunjay enters into the treasure room under the ground with the help of the monk, he feels excited. But when he comes to know that the monk is his own uncle, he immediately tries to divert the monk's mind with his speech which has been reflected in direct discourse :

mrittunjOy SONkOrer pa dhoria kator Sore kohilo, "tumi mukto puruS, ami mukto nohi, ami mukti cahi na, amake ei oiSorjo hoite boncito korite paribe na."

(Holding Shankar's leg Mrityunjay says in timid voice, "You are a free person but I am not. I don't want freedom. You cannot deprive me of getting this treasure.")

This extract expresses Mrityunjay's narrow mindedness and ingratitude. At the same time, it gives indication of Mrityunjay's state of obsession.

Next, staying in the midst of heap of gold, Mrityunjay gradually becomes detested with gold. He realizes that natural wealth is more valuable than material wealth. Then he prays to Shankar (the monk) for freedom from his confined state through his emotional outburst:

Se bolia uThilo, "ami ar kichuy cay na—ami ei SuroNgo hoyte, Ondhokar hoyte, golokdhaMda hoyte, ey Sonar garod hoyte bahir hoyte cay. ami alok cay, akaS cay, mukti cay."

(He says, "I want nothing anymore—I want to go out from this tunnel, from this darkness, from this labyrinth, from this prison of gold. I want light, I want sky, I want freedom.")

In this direct discourse, Mrityunjay's desperation for living has been expressed. His speech also indicates his psychological change from the state of obsession to detestation for gold.

9. Hāldārgoṣṭhī

In the story we find that Banoyari considers himself as a powerful person. But his wife Kiran has a different view about her husband. This is expressed when Madhukoibarta's wife Sukhoda comes to Banoyari for help—first in Kiran's indirect thought and then in her direct speech:

banoari jOtoy rag ebon asphalon koruk, kirOn niScOY jane je, nilkONTher kajer upOr hOstokkhep koribar kono odhikar tahar nay. eyjonno kiran Sukhodake bar bar koria bujhaybar ceSTa koria bolilo, "bacha, ki koribo bOlo. janoy to ete amader kono hat nay."

(Kiran knew that however much Banoyari might rant and rave against Nilkantha, he had no authority to override the latter's decisions. For this reason, trying to make this clear to Sukhada over and over again, Kiran says, "Child, how can I help you? We have no say in this.")

This extract is an example of character judgement. However, the judgement is proved to be wrong as Banoyari makes arrangement to send Nilkantha to jail.

Next, we find that Banoyari's action makes his family members averse to him. He is deprived of his parental property and then loving his nephew. This is expressed in his indirect thought:

banoari bujhilen, e poribare keho taMhake chele diao bhOrSa paY na, biSOY diao na. tini kichuy paren na, Sob nOSTo korla dEn, e SOMbOndhe e barite karaho duy mOt nay.

(It was clear to Banoyari that no one in the family trusted him, either with the child or with the property. He was good for nothing and would damage anything he laid his hands on: there were no two opinions about that.)

Banoyari's thought reflects his helpless condition in his family. His thought is also crucial for plot progression. Finding himself in odd situation he leaves their house to live independently.

10. Strīr Patra

The present story has been narrated in the form of a letter. Here the heroine Mrinal is writing a letter to her husband by discarding all her relation with him and this has been expressed in the form of free direct speech:

aj ponero bOchor pOre ey SOMuddrer dhare daMRie jante perechi, amar jOgot ebon jOgodissOrer sONge amar onno sOmbOndhoo ache. tai aj SahoS kore ey chiThikhani likhchi.

(Today, after fifteen years, standing by the ocean's shore, I have learnt that I have a different relation as well with the world and the Lord of the world. That is why I have taken courage to write this letter.)

This extract talks about Mrinal's purpose of writing the letter to her husband. It also gives indication about her new attitude towards life and new course of action.

In the concluding part of the letter, she mentions about her realisation in familial life which has been expressed in free direct discourse:

tomader obbhESer Ondhokare amake Dheke rekhe diechilo. khOnokaler jonno bindu ese sey aborOner chiddra die amake dekhe niechilo. Sey meeTai tar apnar mrittu die amar aborOnkhana agagoRa chinno kore die gElo.

(You had shrouded me over in the darkness of your habits and customs. For a short space, Bindu came and stole a glimpse of me through the rents in that shroud. And it was this very girl who, through her death, tore my shroud to tatters.)

In this extract Mrinal's protest against gender discrimination in the male dominated society has been highlighted. Next, it is also important for plot progression. After her realisation about her familial life, Mrinal declares her decision to live independently.

11. Rabibār

In the story, the central character is Abhik. At the beginning of the story, the author has drawn his character in a single sentence by using the narrative report of thought act:

o jane je procolito nomunar manuS o nOY.
(He knows that he is not a man of conventional sample.)

This extract points out self-consciousness of the character. This kind of perception has been expressed in several ways as the story progresses.

Next, we find that Bibha, the heroine, is planning to sell her mother's ornaments so that Amarbabu, a mathematician, can go abroad and explore his talent. Understanding Bibha's motive, Abhik takes immediate action which has been expressed in his speech to Bibha through free direct discourse:

“Sono ami kOto bORo EkTa criminal punnokOrmo korechi—durgapujar caMdar Taka amar hate chilo. Se Taka die diechi Omorbabur biletjatrar phOnDe. diechi kawke na bole... ami nastik, ami bujhi sottokar puja kake bOle.”

(Listen I have done a great criminal noble job. —I had the subscribed money of Durgapuja in my hand. I have given that money in the fund of Amarbabu's journey to abroad. I have done that without telling anything to anyone else... I am an atheist. I know what is called real adoration.)

Here Abhik's action has been reflected in his speech. This extract clearly establishes unconventional character of Abhik.

Abhik even steals Bibha's necklace so that she cannot sell that as it bears the memory of his first meeting with Bibha. He expresses this in his letter to Bibha:

atokkhOne jante perecho tomar harkhani gEche curi. e har tumi bajare bikkri korte jaccho, ey bhabna ami kichutey sojjo korte parchilum na.

(Now you have come to know that your necklace has been stolen. I could not bear this thought in any way that you are going to sell this necklace in the market.)

Here Abhik's love for Bibha has been expressed. At the same time his unconventional nature is proved again by his act of stealing for saving the memory of love.

12. Lyābareṭari (Laboratory)

In the story we find that Nandakishor, an engineer, had established a laboratory for scientific research. He needed a solid person who can look after his laboratory. For this purpose, he married a Punjabi woman named Sohini whom he thought to be the right person. Nandakishor's perception of Sohini's character has been expressed by the narrator through an indirect discourse:

(Nandakishor) dekhte pelen meeTir bhitor theke jhOkjhOk korche kErekTOrer tej.

(He saw the lustre of genuine character shining through this girl.)

This is an example of character judgement. Nandakishor's perception of Sohini's character later proved to be true.

After Nandakishor's death, Sohini herself took responsibility to look after his husband's laboratory. In a direct discourse Sohini expresses her concern for the laboratory to professor Manmatha Choudhuri:

“chawdhurimoSaY, ...eykhaney ey lEboreTOritei hoeche amar Samir Sadhona! TaMr oy bedir tOlaY kono-Ekjon joggo lokke bati jalie rakhbar jonne jodi bosie dite pari, ta hole jekhane thakun taMr mon khuSi hObe.”

(“Mr. Chaudhuri, ...this laboratory was my husband's place of worship. If I can find the right man to keep the flame alight on his very altar, he will be well pleased, no matter where he may be now.”)

Here Sohini's concern for her husband's laboratory expresses her love, respect and loyalty to her husband.

Findings

From the analysis of the stories, the following facts come out:

1. From the point of view of plot progression, we find that there is a close relation between characters' action and their speech and thought. In fact, the speech and thought of characters are followed by their immediate action. For example, in *Ghāṭer Kathā*, Kusum thinks that she has to forget her loved person and then she commits suicide as the solution to her problem. In *Jībita O Mrta*, Kadambini desperately tries to convince her family members that she is not dead. But having failed she commits suicide to prove that she was not dead. In *Hāldārgoṣṭhī*, Kiran expresses doubt on her husband's ability. Then her husband Banoyari's ego gets hurt and he immediately makes all arrangement to send Nilkanta to jail.

2. Direct speech has been used in most of the cases where the narrator tries to show the non-verbal aspects related to speech such as gestures, postures, facial expressions, timbre of voice and so on. Consider the following examples:

- a. kuSum uThia daMRaya SonnESir mukher pane cahia dhir Sore kohilo, "..."
(Kusum stood up, looked into the sannyasin's face and said in a calm voice...)
- b. tOkhon kadombini ar SOhite parilo na, tibbro kONThe bolia uThilo, "..."
(Kadambini could not bear it any longer. She speaks in sharp voice...)
- c. mrittunjOY SONkOrer pa dhoria punoraY kator Sore kohilo, "..."
(Holding Shankar's leg Mrityunjay says in timid voice...)

In example (a) from *Ghāṭer Kathā*, Kusum's gesture, posture and timbre of voice have been expressed. In (b) from *Jībita O Mrta*, Kadambini's timbre of voice has been expressed and in (c) from *Guptadhan*, Mrityunjay's gesture and timbre of voice have been expressed.

3. The general pattern that we observe in verbal exchange is that when the conversation between two characters begins, the two participants are introduced by their names and the writer uses direct

speech to represent them. But as the conversation continues the writer switches to free direct discourse. Here the readers have to identify the speakers from the initial sequence of speech where the participants of conversation were introduced. This kind of pattern is not confined to any specific stage, rather it is available as an unmarked feature almost in all stages of Tagore's writing.

4. In Tagore's use of Direct Speech, we find two different patterns in graphological representation. In one pattern he has used quotation mark while representing narrated speech of characters. In the other pattern, he has removed quotation mark. Not only that, with this he has removed narrating verb and comma (.). Instead, after a character's name, he has used stop mark (!) which is used in Bengali orthography. The two patterns can be represented as follows:

a. Subject + Narrating Verb, + "Narrated Speech"

b. Character's Name | Narrated Speech

Most of the stories show the use of the first pattern. But the second pattern has been used only in *Bhikhāriṇī*, *Postmāṣṭār* and *Mālyadān* which represent three stages of Tagore's writing—Initiation period, Hitabadi Period and Transition Period respectively. An overall study of Tagore's all stories of *Galpaguccha* also proves that his use of the second pattern is mainly confined to these three stages. However, this kind of pattern is in no way the innovative attempt by Tagore. Rather it establishes the theory of Bankimchandra's^{vi} influence in his earlier writings as after *Karmaphal* (1903) this kind of pattern is not found in his stories.

5. In the stories speech and thought has been represented in different contexts. In stories like '*Postmāṣṭār*' and *Mālyadān* the author has represented some logical and philosophical comments through the characters' thought. In *Bhikhāriṇī* and *Ghāṭer Kathā*, the author has presented mental suffering of the heroines for their separation from loved persons. Again, in *Postmāṣṭār* and *Jībita O Mr̥ta*, Ratan and Kadambini's speech represent their emotional outburst. In *Denāpāonā* and *Strīr Patra*, through the speech of Nirupama and Mrinal, protest against social evils (dowry system and gender discrimination

respectively) has been represented. Stories like *Ekrātri* and *Guptadhan* represent step by step psychological change of the characters. In *Hāldār goṣṭhī*, *Rabibār*, *Lyābareṭari* the writer has used characters' speech and thought as means of characterization as well as character judgement.

Conclusion

The present research shows the trend in Tagore's representation of speech and thought in his development as a short story writer. Diachronically there is no significant change in pattern of representation. But it can be said that representation of thought is much higher in earlier stages than in later stages. The reason behind this is the theme of the stories. Usually, we find that the stories of his earlier stages deal with the psychological complexity, whereas the stories of latter stages involve sociological conflict. The point can be proved as conclusive through the analysis of more stories from different stages of his writing.

Notes

- i. Stylistic distancing involves a writer's choice of a specific perspective which determines the degree of distance that the writer maintains from the readers.
- ii. Brian McHale in his essay 'Free Indirect Discourse: a survey of recent accounts' (1987), later published in *Narrative Theory: Critical Concept in Literary and Cultural Studies* (2004, Vol-1, 187-222), gave an account of seven types of discourse representation placing them on a scale from the 'purely diegetic' to the 'purely memetic'.
- iii. *Inquit* is a Latin word which stands for 'he said' or 'she said'. (Toolan, 2001: 120)
- iv. *Monologue* is a long discourse produced by one character and not addressed to other characters (Prince, 2003: 54).
- v. *Stream of consciousness* is a kind of Free Direct Discourse or Interior Monologue which represents human consciousness focussing on the random flow of thought (Prince, 2003: 94).

- vi. This kind of pattern was used by Bankimchandra in his novels.
For example,

birendrasiNho | bimOla, tomar aj e beS kEno?

bimOla | amar proYojon ache.

(Birendrasimha | Bimala, why do you wear this?)

Bimala | It is necessary for me.) (Dūrgeśnandinī, 1865, Part-10)

Source Text :

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

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The Language Endangerment of The Dhimal Language : A Field Report

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Abstract

The Dhimal language, a lesser-known Himalayan language spoken in West Bengal, India as well as in the few adjoining villages of Nepal, has been identified as a severely endangered language by UNESCO. This paper deals with the Dhimal language spoken in India and discusses various factors contributing to the endangerment of the language. Dhimals, one of the smallest communities in India, speak the Dhimal language, that remained unnoticed even after years of independence, striving hard for its existence under the stern dominance of the languages spoken widely in that area. The paper aims to investigate various socio-cultural-linguistic factors impending upon the sustainability of the language. The paper reflects the researcher's first-hand field observations espoused with relevant secondary research works.

Keywords: *language endangerment, socio-linguistic dominance, linguistic diversity , multilingualism*

Introduction

‘I dream in Chamicuro, but I cannot tell my dreams to anyone...It’s lonely being the last one.’-

Natalia Sangama, the last fluent speaker of the Chamicuro language (The New York Times,May,16, 1999)

Endangerment of a language starts with the gradual loss of its domain of use, subsequently paving a potential path to the loss of the

language itself along with its worldview and cultural perception. In today's world, hundreds of languages are facing severe endangerment and many of them are on the verge of extinction. According to UNESCO's Atlas of the World Languages in Danger, nearly 230 languages went extinct in 60 years (1950-2010) (Strochloc, 2018). It is even more worrisome to learn that "the estimated current rate of language extinction exceeds the rate of loss of biodiversity" (Kandler & Steele, 2017 p 4851). According to the People's Linguistic Survey of India in the past 60 years, nearly 250 languages have died and 600 languages out of 780 documented languages are on the verge of extinction (Roychowdhury, 2020). India is a conglomerate country that has a vast portion of populace speaking just a handful of languages, whereas on the other hand, a cosmic range of languages is being spoken by a small number of speakers. This sort of asymmetrical multilingualism weighs down the minor, lesser-known languages even more. This paper focuses on such kind of a lesser-known Himalayan language, namely the Dhimal language spoken in the Terai region of Darjeeling district, West Bengal, India, surviving and struggling with the threat of existential crisis.

Dhimals, one of the smallest communities in India, speak the Dhimal language which is one of the only Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Terai other than Mech (Dhimal, Larsan and Willam, 2001 p 3). Reportedly, this language is also spoken in Jhapa and Morong districts of Nepal. According to King (1994, p 163), the language is divided into two dialects, western dialect and eastern dialect differing mainly in syntax and vocabulary (Phonology in some cases). The western dialect is solely spoken in Nepal and the eastern dialect is spoken in India and a few adjoining villages of Nepal. In India, Dhimal is mainly spoken in a few villages falling under Hathighisha and Maniram Gram Panchayat area, Naxalbari C.D.block under Darjeeling district, West Bengal. The community people call themselves Dhimal or Dhimal. It is believed that the Dhimals settled down along the northern and northeastern Himalayan region long before 1000 B.C. or even before the coming of the Aryans to the Indian subcontinent (Dhimal, 2010:20).

2.0. Genetic Affiliation:

The genetic lineage of the Dhimal language is not free from controversy. According to Grierson and Konow (1909, p 277), Dhimal is one of the pronominalised Himalayan languages of the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan language family. K. Benedict (1972, p 5) mentions it as belonging to the Abor-Miri-Dafla sub-branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. According to Shafer (1966), it belongs to the Bodic division of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Kathiwada, 2016 p 2). Voegeline and Voegeline (1977) classify the language under the eastern sub-group of Gyarung-Mishmi (King, 1994, p 122). van Driem has classified Dhimal under the Dhimalish sub-group along with Toto to the Boro-Konyak-Jinghpaw group (Bielmeier, 2003 p100) which he later named Brahmputran group (van Driem, 2001 p 397). King (2008, p 2) could linguistically relate the Dhimal language with Rai, Limbu, and Newar language in spite of being mutually unintelligible. As per a recent study by Grollmann & Gerber (2018, p 2), the Dhimal language is grouped with the Lhokpu language (spoken in Bhutan) into the Dhimalish sub-group along with the Toto language under Trans – Himalayan language family.

3. The Socio-Linguistic Landscape :

Dhimal has been identified as a severely endangered language by UNESCO. i.e., the language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves. Between the two dialects of the Dhimal language i.e. western dialect (spoken solely in Nepal) and the eastern dialect (spoken in India and a few adjoining villages of Nepal), the eastern dialect is “facing the greatest pressure” (King, 2008 p 16). The present linguistic situation of the Dhimal language spoken in India is worsening steadily under the constant dominance of languages predominantly spoken in that region. Dhimals, one of the smallest communities of India comprising near 1015 people (Mitra, 2019) live in a few villages of the southern Darjeeling district of West Bengal. However, in a recent personal interaction, Mr. Garjan Mallik, secretary of the Dhimal Jati Astitwa Rakhsha Committee, claims that the present population of the Dhimals is around 2000¹. The Dhimals mainly inhabit

with the Rajbonshi and Nepali language-speaking community members as their immediate neighbours. However, in a few villages (namely Jhapu Jote, and Mouri Jote) Dhimals are found to be dwelling with the Sadri, Kurukh, Santhal language-speaking communities as well. Dhimals use the Bangla language predominantly in all official and formal situations despite the Bangla language not even being the immediate communicative context of the Dhimals. Having an intense multi-linguistic practice in every local-regional-official situation the Dhimal-speaking community has developed a multilingual repertoire. King (2008, p 3) mentions that the eastern variety dialect (spoken in India) has a great influence of “Northern –Bengali speaking Rajbonshi”. However, what King meant by “Northern –Bengali speaking Rajbonshi” may be subject to some other research or arguments. In a report of Kalimpong News (Sharma, 2014) it was even claimed that “many Dhimals have forsaken their true identities and merged with Rajbonshi community.” Owing to the constant and rapid change of linguistic ecology, in recent times along with the Rajbonshi language, the Nepali language plays a vital role in influencing the Dhimal language and the culture as well. More exposure to these predominant languages is lessening the domain and scope of use of the Dhimal language.

It was found during my fieldwork that the Dhimal language is mainly spoken among the older generation and the use of the language among the young generation is gradually shrinking. The young generation who are socially mobile have been forgetting their language due to the constant increasing influence of the neighbouring speech communities viz Nepali and Rajbonshi speaking communities. The Dhimal language possesses no script and lacks any written documents. The language exists only in spoken form, it has been passed on through generations in verbal form only. At present, the Bengali script is used to write down the Dhimal language. There is no school in the area (even in the country) that teaches The Dhimal language as a subject or uses the language as a medium of instruction. In most cases, the Dhimal children are sent to Government-funded Bengali medium schools, A very few numbers of people can afford to send their wards to local, private English medium schools. It may hardly surprise us to learn that be it print media or broadcast media the Dhimal language finds no place to be used in either of these. The Dhimal people mostly do not indulge in

newspaper or magazine reading (as the literacy rate is quite low) but when it comes to broadcast media they very much follow Hindi programs and Bengali/Nepali programs. Owing to the electronic media/broadcast media like television, radio, you tube channels the Hindi language is gradually becoming the newest entrant into their linguistic repertoire.

4.0. The Factors Impending on The Dhimal Language to Prosper :

4.1. The intense multilingual practice and its influence in-house language practice:

A huge influx of heterogeneous communities over time to the Dhimal inhabited areas has worked against the healthy survival of the Dhimal language. A steady and gradual increase in the number of heterogeneous people settling down in Dhimal inhabited areas is broadening the span of multi-linguistic exposure for the Dhimals leaving lesser scope to use their own language. The Dhimal language is exclusively spoken in the home domain. With the passage of time people of different linguistic-cultural backgrounds, predominantly Rajbonshi and Nepali, along with some other indigenous communities to name a few Sadri, Santhal, and Oraon have settled down in the Dhimal inhabited area. Rajbonshi language has been a dominant language along with Nepali as a locally and regionally dominant language, leaving a huge impact on the Dhimal language concerning its linguistic change, use, maintenance and more. Though already mentioned that the Dhimal language is exclusively spoken in the home domain, and the linguistic penetration of the dominant languages (Rajbonshi and Nepali mainly) into the home domain is also quite vivid. It was noted that many Dhimals of the young generation use the Rajbonshi or Nepali language at home while conversing with their parents or grandparents. In such an intense language contact situation, people are driven to confront the act of choice when it comes to the usage of languages in every sphere of life. Languages do differ in their sound and linguistic structure but when it comes to use in a social and cultural arena all languages are capable of being functional at their fullest capacity. However, like many other indigenous minority languages the Dhimal language also is considered to be disadvantageous

and unfavourable by many of its speakers themselves to be used in any formal, official setting. Mohanty (2006, p 271) very rightly asserts that even though multilingualism lauds linguistic diversity but the very presence of “hierarchical multilingualism” in India often summons adverse effects upon the indigenous minority languages. This multilingual hierarchy is projected by thrusting social, cultural, and political advantageous quotient upon a number of languages through established institutionalization and constitutional statutes, making those languages more powerful and socio-politically favourable over the indigenous minority languages. In the environs where the Dhimal language is spoken, the neighbouring languages i.e. Rajbonshi and Nepali language, have made their way to the home domain where the Dhimal language is exclusively used. Many of the Dhimal speakers find it all right to use languages other than Dhimal even at home. The entire Dhimal population can roughly be divided into two area-based categories, one in and around the Naxalbari area and the other one in the Hathighisha area, situated 15-20 km. apart. During the field visit it was observed that the majority of the Dhimal population living in the Hathighisha area has capitulated to the Rajbonshi language to a great extent whereas, a good many Dhimals living in the Naxalbari area still indulge in using their own Dhimal language at home domain at least, even though substantial inclination towards the Rajbonshi and Nepali language cannot go unnoticed. The Bangla language which is an official language of the state of West Bengal is also spoken by the Dhimals, mostly by the school-going and socially mobile young Dhimals. Bangla is not used in any immediate communicative context of the Dhimals and is mainly used in formal/official contexts.

4.2 Next to No Use of Mother Tongue in the Domain of Education:

Article 350(A) of the Indian Constitution provisions upon the states and local authorities to adequately facilitate the mother tongues belonging to the linguistic minorities to be used as a medium of instruction at the level of primary education. UNESCO has also spoken volumes in favour of a mother tongue-based bilingual education system in the early years of education (Benson:2005). There are three Bengali medium government schools in the Dhimal-inhabited villages, two of them are primary schools and the rest one is upper primary school where the Dhimal language hardly finds any scope to be either taught as

a subject or used as a medium of instruction. In schools along with the Dhimal children, there are students who speak the dominant languages (Rajbanshi and Nepali) as their mother tongue. While communicating with the peer groups outside the classroom in school the Dhimal children use dominant languages as per requirements. Whereas, during class hours the medium of instruction generally takes place in Bengali (English and Nepali in some private schools as well). Such a situation makes the children confront a di-linguistic situation i.e. in side classroom situation and outside classroom situation. In both cases, the Dhimal children are placed in a situation where they are to use either the official medium of education (the Bangla language) or the dominant regional languages (Rajbonshi and Nepali language) but not the Dhimal language.

An inclusive educational policy which can serve as a fruitful resolution to this kind of hierarchic multilingual society to secure the interest of the minority language keeping the balance of multilingualism intact still needs to be figured out. According to Pattanayak (1981), the inadequacy of the Indian Education system shows up when persistent dominant usage of one or few languages weakens the “grassroots level multilingualism”. On a positive note, the central Government's newly proposed Education Policy 2020 strongly advocates in favor of multilingual, mother-tongue-based education in the early years education of a child. This initiative may give a nudge toward the desired outcome in the future.

4.3 Inter-Ethnic Marriages and Inter Generational Transmission:

One cannot disregard the fact that family plays a pivotal role in the language acquisition of a child, language usage, restoration, and maintenance. Due to increased mobility, congruous socialization, and harmonious coexistence with the other language-speaking communities for a prolonged period, inter-ethnic marriages among the Dhimals are on a steady rise. Marriages between the Dhimals and the Rajbonshis and between the Dhimals and the Nepalese are regular occurrences nowadays. Exogamous marital practices are very much in vogue at present even though the Dhimals traditionally indulge in endogamous marriages only. Offspring of the parents, inter-ethnically married are

likely to be grown up with a diverse set of cultural values, languages, customs, beliefs, and traditions. Due to the exposure to linguistic and cultural differences, intercultural families are put in a dilemma when a child is born and that is ‘what language should be taught?’ (Dugan, 1988:84 as cited in David:2008). In the case of the inter-ethnic families among the Dhimals, the children are generally raised learning the dominant languages over their native indigenous language. Familial practices of this sort are functioning as an obstacle to inter-generational transmission of the Dhimal language. In a case study conducted in Thailand by Hugo Yu-Hsiu Lee (2018) among five different types of cross-cultural and non-cross-cultural families, it was found that in the case of cross-cultural families, the dominant language and English were positively regarded whereas the minority languages were either negatively regarded or less positively regarded. (Yu-Hsiu Lee:2018).

4.4 Persistent Disregard to the Social-Linguistic Status of the Dhimals and their Language:

“A civilization can be judged by the way it treats minorities “- Mahatma Gandhi. Rita Izsak (2013), an independent expert on minorities, in her report to the UN Human Rights Council, in Geneva, points out that the protection of linguistic minorities and their language is a human right obligation and providing safeguards to the linguistic minorities with minority languages also stands as a constitutional obligation. Article 29 and 30 of the Indian constitution do not simply ascertain linguistic rights for the minority languages but rather make provisions of how these rights can be rightly exercised via constitution-mandated safeguards. Nevertheless, the lack of proper implementation of the policies makes the safeguards appear to be failed promises. This issue has been acknowledged even in the report of National Commission for De-Notified, Nomadic, and Semi-Nomadic Tribes, (2017) it states, - “During the commission’s work, it has come out very prominently that the communities belong to De-Notified /Nomadic/ Semi-Nomadic tribes have been suffering socially, economically and politically due to lack of specific legal provisions to protect their interest.” (page-116) As per the same report (2017) the Dhimals have been listed under the Nomadic Tribes of West Bengal and further have been recategorised as Nomadic Tribes under OBC (Other Backward Classes). The Dhimals are not well convinced with their tribal

categorization as OBC, as they claim their primitive historical background has not been attributed properly in spite of having a distinct history, culture, and language. Moreover, ‘the uneven competitions with dominant next-door neighbors and others in respect of the nation, push them much behind whether in the field of education, occupation or socio-cultural context as a whole’(Biswas:2008). It is pertinent to mention that the particular exercise of excluding the languages having speaker strength below 10,000 in the Indian Census, came into practice in the year 1971 and certainly at present The Indian Census report has no data on Dhimal available. It is even stranger to note the fact that a separate enumeration of the Dhimal language has been wiped out from the Indian Census since the year of 1951. Even the UNESCO Atlas of Endangered Languages (2010), does not recognize the Dhimal language spoken in India, it has only documented the Dhimal language spoken in Nepal. The Dhimal language could get little attention when it came to its linguistic studies. As far as the linguistic works are concerned it was the European scholar Brain Hodgson to be the first one to work on the Dhimal language in his book “Essays the First on the Koch, Boro and Dhimal” in the year 1847 where a brief description of the language and the community is available. Later Grierson (1909) also provided a brief grammatical sketch of Dhimal. However, in recent times King(2008), and Khatiwada(2016) have worked comprehensively on the Dhimal language that too on the western variety of Dhimal language spoken in Nepal. However, even fewer works have been done on the eastern variety of Dhimal spoken in India, to name a few Roy (2015), Mallik (2010), etc. The Dhimal Community and their language to be precise need to be taken care of with sincere efforts, otherwise the language may succumb to the dominant languages. However, recently, a great initiative has been taken by the Government and the local administration to establish a Dhimal museum and community hall in order to preserve and promote the Dhimal culture and language.

5. Conclusion:

The severely endangered Dhimal language is largely influenced in India by the predominant languages viz. Rajbonshi and Nepali language. A few factors that are primarily responsible for the endangerment of the Dhimal language are the intense multilingual

practice, no use of their mother tongue in the education domain, increasing practice of inter-ethnic marriages, and persistent disregard of the social-linguistic status of the Dhimals and their language. The variety of Dhimal (eastern dialect) spoken in India, is more endangered than the variety that is spoken in Nepal (Western dialect). However, on a positive note, with the initiative of Mr. Garjan Mallick, the Secretary of Dhimal Jati Astitwa Rakhsha Committee, the Dhimals are made a little aware of the importance of their language and culture which may certainly help in retaining the Dhimal language and culture in future.

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Note :

ⁱ Telephonic conversation took place on 12th January 2022

Narrative Performance in Retelling: A Study of Select Tales from Maive Stokes' *Indian Fairy Tales*

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Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse excerpts from “Indian Fairy Tales” (1880) by Maive Stokes (including *Preface, Introduction* and *Notes*), collected and compiled in the English language, by exploring the different features of narrative performance present in them. Using the framework of narrative performance, this paper shall analyse how in the language of these literary narratives, natural speech, conversational narrative, the attitude of the author/s towards the original story and the native storyteller (of the oral versions), and the historical intended reception or readership of that particular period is juxtaposed together. This study may help one ascertain the factors that might have influenced the final versions of these retellings of Indian folktales.

The performativity of texts, oral as well as written, have been studied qualitatively by sociolinguistic scholars such as William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1967), Nessa Wolfson (1978), and Michael J. Toolan (1988). My study will apply this framework to written texts. The six elements of narrative analysis (Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda), as delineated by Labov (1999), was at first applied to natural, oral narratives, but later adapted and applied to literary narratives by Mary Louise Pratt (1977). Wolfson (1978) mainly focused on storytelling as theatrical demonstrations in broader contexts, with reference to the following performance features: direct speech, asides, repetition, expressive sounds, sound effects,

motions and gestures, conversational historic present. The following analysis will focus on selected excerpts from the English retellings of Indian folktales, namely “Phulmati Rani”, “The Pomegranate King”, “A Wonderful Story”, “The Cat and The Dog”, and “The Princess who loved Her Father Like Salt”, attempting to distinguish their unique collaborative context, by identifying relevant storytelling features.

Keywords: *performative language, narrative collaboration, linguistic diversity, multilingualism*

Introduction

The study of narrative performance in respect to oral discourse retold as a written text- for instance, in this case of Indian folktales collected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, occasions the need to look at language as a visual representation of spontaneous actions and speech of the storyteller/s. In this paper I wish to analyse the language of select tales from the edited compilation - “Indian Fairy Tales” (1880) by Maive Stokes, where the reteller chooses to translate the indigenous tales as verbally collected from three other native storytellers, and presents verbatim their versions, including animated gestures and descriptive speech, in her own remarks as “Notes” or in the “Preface”. The term ‘performance’ refers to any dramatization of narrative, and in sociolinguistic studies, the use of verbal cues, enactment of physical signs and rhetoric by the storyteller, enhances the experience of the oral storytelling. As established in narrative analysis of oral narratives (Labov, 1999) and the study of performance features in written narratives (Wolfson, 1978), use of language in social interaction and communicative context requires a certain point of view and most importantly the “tellability and relevance” (Pratt, 1977) of a tale. In this paper, I shall look at the use of performance features in select tales from the collection and study their relevance in conveying relevant emotive intent in a structured, dramatized form.

Language and Performance:

In this paper I shall explore the use of performative language by the narrator/author in select tales. The work aims to study how the particular retellings are construed and thereby performed using verbal cues as well as non-verbal markers by investigating the main texts as well as the additional footnotes, endnotes and introductory prologues to the text provided by each collector/author.

As the original tellers of these tales relied heavily on memory and shared or assimilated cultural practices to pass on the folktales orally to the listeners (often British children or adults), the tales naturally underwent multiple retellings. Since coherence and interpretation of any text is depended upon time and location of practice, the framework of contextual analysis of written texts (Pratt, 1977; Toolan, 1988) and narrative analysis (Labov, 1999; Wolfson, 1978), to understand the identity of the characters/performers belonging to a particular culture, or as actors in certain roles, may also be relevant for study. The interplay between the implied listener/ reader and the personal history of the storyteller (what the narrative reveals about the original tellers of the tales and how their language/ speech patterns go on to construct the text) shall also be explored. Using the framework of narrative performance, an analysis of the language of these literary narratives, the attitude of the author towards the original story, the vernacular/native storyteller and the historical intended reception/readership of that particular period may be revealed.

In the study of oral narratives, the Labovian six-part structure is usually attached to personal, natural narratives that may be dramatized in multiple retellings. Pratt (1977) however shows that literary narratives are also similar to everyday speech, and it is common to find similarities in the components of written literature and common utterances (Toolan, 1988, p. 175). In the late 19th century, Indian folktales were collected, compiled and translated from the vernacular languages into English, to make them available for English speaking readers. William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1967) in “Narrative analysis: Oral versions of Personal Experience” focused on the importance of speech acts (gestures, intonations) accompanying personal oral narratives. Labov’s (1999) six part analysis model (Abstract, Orientation, Complicating action, Evaluation, Resolution and Coda) in naturally occurring narratives has been further adapted as seven performance features (direct speech, asides, repetition, expressive sounds, sound effects, motions and gestures, narrative past tense) by Nessa Wolfson (1978) for dramatized reenactments of literary narratives. This paper only attempts to look at some examples from a vast repertoire of folktales.

Analysis of selected tales:

In Maive Stokes' "Indian Fairy Tales" (1880), the stories range from moral tales to animal fables to popular fairy lores. The author-collector Stokes admits that both the stories were told by her *ayah* Dunkni, at Simla and the native names and words were spelled with the help of her Father (Stokes, 1880, *Preface*, p. v). The names given to the Indian characters of the original tales are typically translated for the intended Western reader. E.g. *Phulmati Rani* is both translated as 'The Flower-Lady' (Stokes, 1880, p. xxxi) and 'The Pink-Rose Queen' (Stokes, 1880, p. 1). Additional 'Notes' are provided at the end of the compilation by Mary Stokes, the author's mother which acts as additional commentary directly explaining to the reader European equivalents of local tales or word-meanings found in the story:

- i) "I can find it in no dictionary. Dunkni says her heroine was named after a pink rose." (Stokes, Mary, p. 241).

Similarly 'a Maharaja called the *Anarbasa*' (p.7) becomes 'The Pomegranate King' and 'a Maharani called the *Gulianar*' is called "Pomegranate-flower" (Stokes, p.7).

- ii) "On my asking her in 1878, when the story was going through the press, to explain some points in it, such as why the children said they had been brought to life *three* times, the boy having only died twice, and the girl once, she told me the following variation" (Stokes, Mary, p.246).

This constant cross-referencing in the narrative, with the help of footnotes or endnotes, also reveals that multiple revisions and repetitive exchanges had occasioned between the translator/s and the oral narrator Dunkni, before finalising the printed version. Thus, the collaborative nature of the storytelling and translation which culminates to the final literary text, testifies to the co-dependent relationship between the two culturally-diverse narrators involved.

In the folktale, "The Princess Who loved her Father like Salt", the translator interestingly chooses to do a direct translation and not a sense translation of a colloquial Hindi phrase in English as "to eat the air" (loosely meaning, 'a change of weather').

- iii) ‘One day the king thought, “I will go to another country to eat the air.”’ (Stokes, p. 167)

The comic effect produced as a result thereby preserves the performative essence of the oral storyteller in the written text. The likelihood of then contemporary readers in English being familiar with indigenous proverbs and idiomatic usage might justify the reason behind the direct translation. However, an additional glossary with English translations of certain native phrases and words provided at the end of the collection, tries to co-relate the possible context of the terminology used. Similarly the endnotes inserted in-between try to ascertain mythological thematic equivalents between Indian and European folktales.

- iv) “In one of Grimm’s stories, “Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen,” *Kinder und Hausmaerchen*, vol. II. p. 419, a king asks his three daughters how much they love him” (Stokes, Mary, p. 288).

“A Wonderful Story” tells the story of a wrestler’s daughter named Ajit, who is a physically strong girl and surprises everyone with breaking gender stereotypes, usually associated with traditional representation of Indian women in domestic spaces. Her name “Ajit” is linguistically gender neutral in the native tongue.

- v) ‘Ajít means unsubdued, invincible’ (Stokes, Mary, p. 275).

She consumes huge quantities of food, can carry heavy loads effortlessly and at the end of the story, does not marry a king, but defeats and captures him to become the Queen of the Nabha country. Stokes as the reteller notes how this story hailing from Lucknow was told to her by a male *Khidmatgar* named Karim. The use of the word ‘wonderful’ in the title might appear superfluous since most folktales are generally build on a sense of wonder and disbelief, but here the delight in finding a fantastically fearless woman protagonist in popular lore is emphasized heavily. What the folktale manages to achieve through the use of humour, is a look at a fictionalized alternative to expected gender roles of women in India and even in Indian folktales at that time. Ajit’s unapologetic display of her physical strength, even while performing homely roles such as dusting and cooking, is notable here:

- vi) “I can’t eat such a big cake as this,” said the wrestler. “Can’t you?” said Ajít. “I can’t indeed,” he answered; “it is much too big.” **“Then I will eat it myself,”** said Ajít, and taking it and all the other cakes she popped them into her mouth together. “But I cannot carry your house,” said the wrestler. “Well, then,” said Ajít, **“I will carry it myself”** (Stokes, p.111).

Declarative phrases stem from both the intention of the speaker and the circumstances which encourages such an utterance. Here, both the oral storyteller Karim and Stokes, the translator, through their retellings create a dialogue between the two characters in such a manner so as to gradually unearth Ajit’s true potential.

Narrative Features

Labov (1999) gives the definition of narrative as “one method of recapitulating past experience” (p. 225) where the sequence of clauses match that of occurrences. Stokes’ introductory *Preface* to her collection of folktales acts as an **Abstract** and establishes the nature of relationship between the author as the listener and the indigenous storytellers. It meticulously prepares the reader for context, the adaptive nature of her written narrative and a summarization of what is to follow. The selected tales show some features among **Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation** and **Resolution**, which ensure the successful progression of an oral narrative, embellished with additional features in the literary form. The ending of each tale culminate into the **Coda**, where the reader is brought back to the present with the name of the storyteller and date of oral storytelling recorded as a Footnote, having successfully maintained the “tellability or reportability of a story” (Toolan, 1988, p. 156).

Further delineating the features of storytelling in folktales, I have selected the following examples to show how the seven performance features (Wolfson, 1978) find expression in these excerpts:

Feature1: Repetitions : Mainly used for emphasis, also a storytelling device for memorising details.

- a. ‘Once there lived two wrestlers, who were both **very very** strong. The stronger of the two **had a daughter** called Ajit, the other **had no daughter at all**. One day the wrestler **that had no daughter** heard

of the wrestler **that had a daughter**, and he determined to go and find him and wrestle with him, to see who was the stronger' (Stokes, 1880, p. 109).

- b. And she lived happily for a **long, long time**' (Stokes, 1880, p.113).

In both the above examples, the highlighted words and phrases are repeated for emphasis and to make the oral narrative more engaging to the listener. Stokes mimics the verbal repetitions in her dialogue to ensure a verisimilitude of a dramatic performance in the reading of the same. Also the striking manner of differentiating between the two wrestlers only on the basis of 'having a daughter or not' expresses a titling of the power-equation towards the feminine gender, almost hinting at the shift in the stereotypical perspective that is to follow.

Feature 2: Direct Speech: Gives a sense of the oral tradition and immediacy to the listener.

- a. "He went therefore to Ajít's father's country, and when he arrived at his house, he knocked at the door and said, '**Is any one here?**' Ajít answered, '**Yes, I am here**'; and she came out" (Stokes, 1880, p. 109).

The use of direct speech here keeps the listener /reader attentive and invested in the narration. The firm reply to the question helps introduce the character, establishes her individual presence, and most importantly marks her courage as she steps out to reveal herself. The solitary presence of Ajit in the house and her answering the door all by herself to a stranger, demonstrates the uniqueness of her personality, even before the reader engages in the following action.

In the story, "The Princess Who Loved Her Father like Salt", which resembles Shakespeare's *King Lear*, the final realisation that dawns upon the king at the end of the story is narrated in direct speech, emphasising the moral of the story to the reader through the voice of one of the character.

- b. Then her father said, "My daughter is wise though she is so young, and is the youngest of my daughters. I know now how much she loved me when she said she loved me like salt. People cannot eat their food without salt. If their food is cooked with sugar one day, it

must be cooked with salt the next, or they cannot eat it" (Stokes, 1880, p. 172).

Also the youngest daughter who is at first misunderstood and then declared the wisest, upholds the image of the intelligent women role in the folktale, saving not only her husband but also her parents through positive traits of patience, dexterity and most importantly semantic choice of answering her father using the metaphor of 'salt' .

Feature 3: Aside : According to Michael Toolan (1988), the *aside* functionally act as 'Labov's explicatives' (p. 167) enabling the storyteller to exit the narrative for a while to draw attention of the listener to the present, relaying some observation or personal comment.

- a. "The wrestler's mode of announcing his arrival at Ajít's house is, probably, the solitary result of many efforts to induce Karím himself to knock at the nursery door before he marched into the nursery. I never heard of natives knocking at each other's house-doors." (Stokes, 1880, p. 275)

Here, additional information is provided to the reader about the actual storyteller Karim, from whom the author heard the story in the native tongue. The story is paused midway and the shift from past to present is done effortlessly to provide a glimpse into the narrator's own world and her relationship with the original narrator of the oral tale. The bilingual exchange between the indigenous *khidmatgar* Karim and his British employer makes way for the anecdotal additions to their collaborative storytelling.

Feature 4: Motions and Gestures, Sound Effects: One of the most significant acts of performative narrative is to help the reader visualise not only through the use of words but also through descriptive gestures and onomatopoeic sounds.

- a. Old Múniyá tells her stories with the solemn, authoritative air of a professor. She sits quite still on the floor, and uses no gestures. (Stokes, 1880, p. 238)
- b. Dunkní gets thoroughly excited over her tales, marches up and down the room, acting her stories, as it were. For instance, in describing the thickness of Mahádeo's hair in King Burtal's story, she put her two thumbs to her ears, and spread out all her fingers from her head

saying, “His hair stood out like this,” and in “Loving Lailí,” after moving her hand as if she were pulling the magic knife from her pocket and unfolding it, she swung her arm out at full length with great energy, and then she said, “Lailí made one ‘touch’” (here she brought back the edge of her hand to her own throat), “and the head fell off.” (Stokes, 1880, p.238)

One of the ways in which Stokes adapts the hand motions and gestures of the oral storyteller into her written discourse is by narrating her own experience of first hand observation as a listener. Her description (oscillating between direct and indirect speech) of her two *ayahs* with their distinct methods of communicating the tales, adds to the informality of the dramatized reenactment.

Feature 5 : Conversational Historic Present (CHP) :

- a. “Now all cats are aunts to the tigers... This is why all cats are so afraid of tigers, or of anything like a tiger ” (Stokes, 1880, p.16).
- b. “There were once a dog and a cat. It was a very rainy day, and some men were eating their dinner inside their house” (Stokes, 1880, p. 17).

Wolfson (1978) refers to the CHP as a recurring component in a performed folktale, which gives a sense of temporal immediacy and help to dramatize it. Though, not all folktales may have this particular feature, the animal fable “The Cat and the Dog” uses this feature to alternate between simple past tense and present tense. The switching of tense midway through the narrative, according to Wolfson (1978, p. 215) shows the interdependence of linguistic structure and social structure. The conversation shifts focus from one event to the other by alternating the tense and thereby creating a more layered narrative and making way for better performativity on the part of the intervening teller.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of the above excerpts it can be concluded that when published as a collection in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Stokes’ Indian folktales in English mainly attempted to put on paper a combination of verbal storytelling, community-life and shared traditions

passed on beyond generations and geographical areas. The natural flow and performative features of oral storytelling was consciously adapted and subsequently replicated in the language used. The multilingual nature of the retellings, with frequent references drawn from Western mythology showed a deliberate attempt on the part of the compiler to make the indigenous tales more palatable to the contemporary English readers (both children and adults). However, some colloquial phrases were left untranslated perhaps in an attempt to preserve the rawness of native lore. The documentation of the social situation, tone of address and gestures of the native storytellers (as stated in the *Notes* and *Preface*), firmly establishes the narrative as a collaborative effort between the author-translator and native storyteller.

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Substantive Verb in Bengali

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Abstract

The present paper intends to draw some interesting role of Bengali substantive verbs in Bengali syntax. The substantive verbs in fusional languages are the equivalent of 'be' verb. The presence in the underlying form is obligatory though their presence in surface level is optional.

Keywords : *Substantive verb, copula role, affirmation, elliptical, defective verb*

1.1. Substantive Verb

In Bengali as like many other languages of the world there is a superfluity of substantive verbs. In Bengali primarily three substantive verbs are there [hɔ/ ho] 'to be', [ach] 'is/are' and [thak] 'to remain'. Among these three verbs the second one is mainly a defective verb in Bengali. Because the verb root [ach] is not conjugated in all tenses and moods. The verb [ach] has no future form in Bengali and it is neither conjugated in imperative mood. The scope of this paper is to show their use in Standard Colloquial Bengali (spoken as well as written).

1.3 The substantive verb [hɔ ~ho]

Origin

The verb [hɔ] originates from Sanskrit verb root bhū- 'to be'. Historically the Bengali verb root can be traced back to third person singular present indicative form of the Sanskrit root bhū that is bhavati 'he/she is'

Sanskrit bhavati > Prakrit hoi > Bengali ho ~ hɔ

The Sanskrit verb root [as-] might have influenced it to some extent. The original sense of the Sanskrit root bhū seems to have been 'to become', but in Vedic language the same verb root has sometimes been used where the meaning seems to be 'to attain' like sa rāṣṭram bhavati 'he attains a kingdom'.

1.4 Some property of root [hɔ] in Bengali

In Bengali the verb root [hɔ] is used as copula and in the indicative mood where it is generally elliptical

1. ram bhalo lok
Ram good man < Ram (is) a good man>
2. je baṅgali
He/She Bengali < He/She (is) a Bengali>

The underlying structure of the sentence (1) and (2) are as

3. ram bhalo lok (hɔe)
Ram good man is
4. je baṅgali (hɔe)
He/She Bengali is

The presence of the verb in Bengali sentences is however optionally found either with possessive form or in an interrogative sentence.

5. je ramer bhai hɔe
He of Ram Brother is < He is Ram's brother>

But the sentence in Bengali can also be formed like

6. je ramer bhai
He of Ram brother < He is Ram's brother>

Sentence (5) is more common in spoken variety than sentence (3) and (4)

In interrogative sentence the verb can be there in the sentence but that is optionally too

7. je tomar ke hɔe?
He to you who is < How is he related to you?>

But the above sentence can also occur as following but (7) is more common than (8)

8. je tomar ke?

He to you is < How he is related to you?

In colloquial speech the interrogative marker [ke] in (7) can come at the head of the sentence and then the presence of the copula is obligatory

9. ke hœ je tomar?

who is he to you < How is he related to you >

10. *ke je tomar ?

who he to you

In moods other than indicative like, in imperative the verb as copula is not deleted in the sentence and its presence is obligatory

11. thakbar hœ thakbe

remain is remain < if (you) to remain (you) shall remain >

12. jibone fukhi hœ

in life happy be-imp < be happy in life >

The second person imperative [tumi] 'you' is there in the underlying representation of the sentence.

13. (tumi) jibone fukhi hœ

you in life happy be-imp

(13) is the underlying form of the sentence like (12)

The past tense form of the verb does function as copula in Bengali. The past tense of this verb is sometimes used in emphasis, but the sense is that of present tense and the verb does not come at the end of the sentence but just after the subject of the verb

14. ram holo ekta masta lok

ram past one big man < (literal) Ram is (indeed) a big man >

In (14) the verb is in the past form but the sense of the verb is present in the surface representation

If the verb appears in its normal position it does not indicate emphasis and the past sense is retained.

15. ram masta lok holo
ram big man be-past < Ram became a big man>

The present progressive form of the verb [hɔ] is basically a copula in the sense of emphasis, is not deleted and it comes immediately after the subject. Interestingly the verb has the sense of that of simple present

16. je hacche ekjan kabi
He is one poet < He is (indeed) a poet>

In (16) the verb is in progressive form but indicates the sense of simple present.

The simple future form of the verb is generally used in the sense 'to exists', where the sense express the sense of simple present tense

17. amar kache dɔʃta taka habe
my to ten rupees have < (lit) There is ten rupees to me>

1.5 The verb root [ach]

The Bengali verb root [ach] comes from Sanskrit verb root [as-] conjugated with theme -*sk(h)- > -cch-. The original IE verb root *es- seems to have been the proper substantive verb maintaining its class even in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit the root [as] was conjugated like the root [gam] in dialectal level where in third person indicative beside [asti] a form like [acchati] was there. The Bengali verb root [ach] could have been come from [acchati] like form.

Skt acchati > Pkt acchai > Ben [ach-], Miathili [ach]

In the simple present tense the substantive verb [ach] is often elliptical in the sentence though optionally it may be present in the sentence like the verb [hɔ]

18. tar car chele
he four sons < He has four sons>

(18) has the underlying representation like the following where the substantive verb is there, where the sentence like (19) is more common than (18).

19. tar car chele ache
he four sons has < He has four sons>

But in sentences like (20), (21) the presence of the substantive verb is more common both in written Bengali as well as in spoken variety than without the verb.

20. je okhane ache
He there is <He is there>

21. ami okhane achi
I there am < I am there>

The past tense of the verb root [ach] forms the past tense of the copula in the sentences like the

22. ramera car bhai chilo
Ram pl four brothers was < Ram and others were four brothers>

But with genitive the past form of the verb root [ach] implies the sense of possession

23. ramer car bhai chilo
of Ram four brothers had < Ram had four brothers>

24. amar ekta bari chilo
my one house had < I had a house>

In sentence (22) the subject actually indicates inclusive plural like Ram + others where it functions as copula but in (23) and (24) the subject is singular where it does not function as copula

The verb root [ach] also used in the other senses like 'to remain', 'to live', 'at a place' etc.

25. boita amar kache chilo
thebook my with remain < The book was with me>

26. je ekhan kothay ache ?
he now where live < Where does he live now>

But if the sentence like (26) is not interrogative the verb acts as a pure substantive verb

27. je ekhan barite ache
he now in house is < He is now in house>.

As a substantive verb [ach] means 'to exists' is not conjugated either in future tense or in progressive tense.

1.6 The verb root [thak]

The Bengali verb root [thak] probably has come from an unknown source but it cannot be doubted that it is closely connected with OIA root [sthā]. In classical Sanskrit the verb [sthā] was used as a pure substantive verb. Like ‘madhu tiṣṭhanti jihvāgre’ << there is honey at the tip of the tongue>>

In Bengali the verb root [thak] like the verb root [ach] probably acts as a substantive verb but with slight difference in meaning like

28. je ekhane ache
he here is < He is here> he lives here
29. je ekhane thake
he here stay < He stays here>

The difference between the above two sentences should be noted, the former means 'he is here' that is 'he is present here', and the later means 'he lives here usually' but he may not be actually present there at the time being.

Similarly a slight difference of meaning between [ach] and [thak] is noticed in the following pair of sentences

30. boita jelphe ache
the book in shelf is < The book is in the shelf>
31. boita jelphe thake
The book on shelf kept
< The book is kept on the shelf > [usually remains]

Actually the meaning of the verb [thak] is 'to remain', 'to live habitually' etc.

According to the definition of substantive verb Bengali verb root [thak] is not a pure substantive verb. But this root is basically a suppletion of the Bengali root [ach] in future tense where it functions as a substantive verb.

32. je barite ache
he home-loc be <He is in home>

33. je barite thakbe
 he home-loc stay-future < He will be in home>

(33) is the corresponding future form of (32) the present form of the root [ach] is replaced by the future form of the root [thak].

1.7 The verb root [rɔh]

The meaning of the verb root [rɔh] is 'to remain', 'to continue' and also 'to be'. The simple present and the future form of this verb root has become obsolete in SCB because such use is now to be found only in poetry and in proverbial expression. The present perfect often carries the sense/ meaning of the simple present

34. ami ekhane raichi
 I here <be> = <I am here>
35. boiṭa ekhane rayeche
 the book here be = <The book is here>

alternatively the above sentence may also mean 'the book is lying here' because the first meaning of the sentence is more correctly expressed in the following sentence

36. boiṭa ekhane ache
 the book here be = <the book is here>

The simple past form of the verb denotes the idea of the present perfect as against the corresponding form form of the verb root [ach] which denotes completion of action. As for example

37. je jekhane raila
 he/she there remained = <he/ she remained there>
38. boiṭa okhane raila
 the book there remained = <the book remained there>

the underlying meaning of the above sentence is that 'someone has left the book there'

Sometimes the verb root [ach] is an alternative idiom of [rɔh] in interrogation like

39. tumi ki barite acho?
 you interrogative at home be = <are you at home?>

1.8 The verb root [bɔʈ]

The verb root [bɔʈ] have originated from Classical Sanskrit verb root [vr̥t] which was often used as substantive verb. In Bengali this verb is really the emphatic substantive verb. It occurs only in the present tense, and in SCB its use is restricted to the third person only. This verb is more common in the dialect of Southern Rarh mainly in Burdwan and Bankure district. It has been observed that those having some kind of lineage to Southern Rarhi dialect generally use it. Even though it is absent in the next generation.

In simple declarative sentence this verb is used as an emphatic marker

40. je bhalo lok bɔʈe
 He good person indeed <He is indeed a good person.>

1.9 Conclusion

In the conclusion it can be said that substantive verb is more a semantic category than a functional one. English grammar or even in general books on linguistics do not use this term very often. In traditional grammar the substantive verb is generally referred to as verb 'to be'. But in Bengali [thak] can also be treated as substantive verb more on semantic category than functional one as we have already explained.

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