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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editor's Note

The Department of Linguistics takes immense pleasure to publish the current issue of the Bulletin for meeting the concurring demands of the Departmental Faculties and Research Fellows. In order to bring fresh air in the domain of academic activities, an institution is always in need of a free open space for expressing the desired academic spirit and endeavour. This ambition is obviously not beyond the reach of a heritage Department like Linguistics with its long history of glowing tradition. It goes without saying that this Bulletin is an outcome of the passion and commitment of the colleagues in our Department. Their invaluable contribution has certainly enriched the current issue of this esteemed journal. Moreover, this volume is unique in a sense that not only it does offer an open platform for the young researchers of the Department but also encourages them in exchanging free and vibrant ideas. We congratulate our Research Fellows for contributing all-round thought-provoking papers in this volume.

The present issue of the journal consists of three parts. **Part I** contains four articles by the Faculty members of the Department (arranged according to their seniority) and the peer reviewed **Part II** (alphabetically arranged) presents seven articles by the Research Fellows of the Department. In **Part III,** this issue presents a brief outline of the proceedings of the seminar on *New Perspectives on Language Classification* organised by the Department of Linguistics on the February 26th, 2019. This seminar had a unique design with its inherent multidisciplinary insight. The Resource persons were invited from the disciplines of Linguistics, Anthropology and Archaeology. Part III contains the *Keynote address* delivered by the eminent linguist Prof. *Pabitra Sarkar*, *Abstracts* of the original papers read and discussed in the seminar and the *Report* of the seminar proceedings prepared by the Departmental Research Fellows and the students. The brief overview of the debate and discussion in the said colloquium will certainly bring a unique flavour to the sensible readers about the interdisciplinary vision incorporated in the two sessions of the seminar. A brief sketch of the content of the articles in Part I and Part II may be presented here.

In Part I, the first article by *Mina Dan* presents an enlightening issues related to the task of measuring language vitality, which gains a special significance in case of minority languages especially in the present century. This is because of the awareness and sensitization about the

endangered languages. The basic prerequisite for the tasks of documentation and revitalization is to measure the level of language vitality or endangerment. The author reports six scales for measuring such gradation.

Abhijit Majumdar in his paper, attempts to explore some significant stylistic features inherent in the well-known Bangla folk narrative *Thākurmā'r Jhuli* . The author looks through how stylistic devices such as parallelism, substitution, recurrence etc. have become functionally significant discourse strategies in constituting cohesive linkage within the textual frame.

Aditi Ghosh, in the light of sociolinguistic perspective, looks at one of the most dominant ideology in contemporary world, *i.e.* Nationalism and its effect on Multilingualism. The problematic outlook that nationalism adopts towards multilingualism leads to a misleading belief associated with this viewpoint. A briefsurvey result by the author on a section of the Kolkata residents reflects the effect of such ideology.

The article by *Sunandan Kumar Sen* throws light on the interaction between Genetic science and Linguistics. The growth of Genetic science in the recent time has contributed much in the research domain related to origin and migration of human population, biological classification and language family etc. The debates related to the concept of Indo Aryan migration has also been discussed in the paper in reference to the Genomic study.

The peer reviewed Part II opens with the article by *Arpita Ray*. The author in her paper presents an instrumental study related to the analysis of the tokens of the rhotic phoneme(s) in Standard Colloquial Bengali for both isolated word forms and spontaneous speech forms. Such an analysis not only attempts to validate the variations described in the extant literature but also to augment the descriptions with new inferences.

Basudha Das in her paper explores different patterns of English island incorporation in Bengali-English bilingual speech and the reason behind their use. The study and analysis provides an insight into the code switching phenomenon in Bengali-English context from the structural point of view. The data are examined by the author within the scope of Matrix Language Framework of Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002).

Debdut Chakraborty attempts to make a stylistic analysis of the selected short stories of *Galpaguccha* composed by Tagore. The paper finds out different contexts of the two stylistic markers, namely parallelism and recurrence and their functional significance within the textual domain.

The article by *Kuntala Ghosh Dastidar* highlights the description and analysis of the various processes involved in Echo word formation in Bangla and Hindi. The paper provides a formal account of these processes through Alec Marantz's (1982) theory of reduplication presenting formal account of different reduplicative processes *via* consonant-vowel skeletal mapping.

Nibedita Mitra in her paper deals with the descriptions of certain vowel template asymmetric distribution available at the phonology-morphology interface in Bangla. Methodologically, the paper underlines the role played by the semiotic resources of substantivist analysis and provides a rigorous account of the theoretical tools of substantivism.

The main concern of the paper by *Rajeshwari Datta* is the Limbu community. Limbu is one of the dominant languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family spoken in Eastern Nepal and Sikkim. The author draws a brief sketch of the said community, their language and script and provides a preliminary observation on two specific Limbu dictionaries. The comparative outlook certainly brings to the fore some significant phonological, morphological and lexical differences in the language.

Ria Guha in her paper looks into verbal irony from the semantic as well as pragmatic point of view. The author aims to find out whether the semantic part of an utterance contributes to its ironicalness or not. It has rightly been explored in the paper that irony needs to be represented as well as comprehended in an appropriate context. It is the attitude of the communicators more than the meaning associated with the utterance, gets reflected through the use of irony.

At the end I like to add some optimistic notes about the academic activities of our promising young Research Fellows of the Department. In the last academic session, most of the Research Fellows of the Department joined the UGC-HRDC programme on *Development of Soft Skills*, organised by the Department of Psychology, C.U. [29th November - 1st December 2018]. They have also attended and participated in a seminar cum workshop titled *Endangered languages and Language documentation in India* organised by the Department of Linguistics [February 27 & 28, 2018]. Two of the Research Fellows went for an Internship at Hamburg, Germany for working in a Bilingual Dictionary Project initiated by Oxford Global Languages [OGL] for building lexical resources of the hundred world languages and making their available online digitised forms[January- June 2018]. One of our former student has joined Google as a Linguist in the year 2016.The

Research Fellows of the Department have joined in different Project works and Research programmes of various Universities and Institutes like Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, Assam University, C-Dac, Kolkata, Linguistic Research Unit, Indian Statistical Institute, Kokata, School of Languages and Linguistics, Jadavpur University, Language Division, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata. The young fellows are proving themselves by regularly presenting papers in different national and international seminars and are continually publishing their findings in reputed journals. The students of the Department are also confirming their abilities in the National Eligibility Test (NET) on a regular basis. Some of the students after completion of the PG degree from this University are pursuing their Doctoral and M.Phil researches at various Universities and Institutes like IIT Kanpur, Kharagpur, Mumbai, Delhi, Ropar; the International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad; the Hyderabad Central University; the English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad; the North Eastern Hill University, Shillong; the Jadavpur University etc. Two of our research fellows have obtained UGC Research fellowship; one has obtained Swami Vivekananda Fellowship for Single Girl Child and another Moulana Azad National Fellowship for Minority students. The students of the Department have also worked in two important research projects of the Department, namely *Intercultural Communication in Multilingual Urban Spaces*, funded by UGC, UPE Phase II and another on the mother tongues *Tharua, Birjia, Toto* under the scheme for *Preservation and Protection of Endangered Languages* of the CIIL, Mysore. We feel extremely happy and proud for their success and achievement.

In fine, I want to express my gratitude to Prof. Sonali Chakravarti Banerjee, Honb'le Vice Chancellor, Professor Minakshi Ray, Pro-Vice Chancellor (BA & F), Prof. Asis Kumar Chattopadhyay, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Academic) for their wholesome support. I offer my sincerest thanks to Mr. Ayan Ghosh and his staffs of the Unimage Printers and certainly to my colleagues, specially Prof. Mina Dan, for extending their supportive hands for publication of this issue. If this volume succeeds in any way for advancing our knowledge and scholarship, we shall consider our venture amply rewarded.

Sincerely,

Abhijit Majumdar

July 01, 2019

Part I

Blank

Measuring Language Vitality

Mina Dan

Abstract : In case of endangered languages the prerequisite for both the tasks of documentation and revitalization is to measure the level of language vitality/ endangerment. A range of scales are used for this purpose in the field. Six such scales have been reported in this paper.

Keywords: language vitality, language endangerment, intergenerational transmission, endangered, extinct

1. Introduction

Language vitality presents a concept of gradation as some languages have more vitality than others, which, in turn, possess higher vitality than another group. In reality, it is the major languages of the planet that are dominant either globally or locally possess a higher vitality rate while the minority languages, mostly dominated or suppressed, have a lower vitality rate. Though vitality may be measured for any language, major or minority, the very task of measuring language vitality has gained a special significance in case of minority languages especially in the twenty-first century when awareness and sensitization about endangerment of languages have reached such a height that the linguist community and members of the endangered speech community work hand in hand for the empowerment of the language under consideration through community driven movements of bottom-up makeup.

The following statement, “An estimated 5% of all languages (roughly 350) have over one million speakers each and account for 94% of the global population. This means that the remaining 95% of languages are spoken by just 6% of all people” (Grenoble 2011:28), indicates that minority languages lack speaker strength as they belong to the remaining 95% of languages spoken by only 6% of the global population. As regards language extinction linguists do not reveal a very bright state of affairs. While according to Krauss (1992) 90% of the world’s languages would be either severely endangered or totally lost by 2100, Nettle & Romaine (2000) and Crystal (2000) furnish a more optimistic lower estimation, which is 50% of the languages would

be extinct. According to Hans-Jürgen Sasse (1992: 7), “In the last five hundred years about half the known languages of the world have disappeared.” Whatever maybe the percentage it is the minority languages that run the risk of being extinct most, because by and large they are underprivileged, dominated by the local or global dominant language, and even denied the chance of survival.

Grenoble (2011:32) states “Global languages put even more pressure on indigenous languages. In regions of heavy multilingualism, social and political advancement may be linked to knowledge of English or French, for example, as well as local or national lingua francas.” As a case in point Grenoble cites the example of the autonomous Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in the Russian Federation. In Sakha the small group of speakers of indigenous languages (e.g. Yukaghir with only 243 speakers according to 2002 All-Russian Census) is pressurized by three more powerful languages - the regional language (Sakha/Yakut), the national language (Russian), and the global language English. Yukaghir is indeed a minority language. The situation and pressure-feeling of the small group of speakers of minority languages in our multilingual country India is not much different from the Sakha case. A high degree of bilingualism in these communities, shrink in the domains of language use, rate of school dropout, language movements and so on are the indicators of such pressure and the result of which is language endangerment.

Currently globally three types of projects are undertaken to empower languages against endangerment, viz. language description, language documentation and language revitalization, all of which are heavily fieldwork-based and require a wholehearted participation of linguists, considered the external language activists, and the members of the endangered language communities, the internal language activists, for their success. Also, a prerequisite to all these tasks is to have a scale to measure language vitality to detect various stages of endangerment. The use of such scale or scales can not be limited to the field of endangerment studies only. For example, in the Indian linguistic scenario, where, according to the 2011 Census, the number of raw returns of mother tongues is 19,569, of rationalized mother tongues is

1,369, of unclassified etc. mother tongue is 1,474, of classified mother tongues with 10,000 or more speakers is 121 and of scheduled languages is 22, the big figures along with the overlapping nature of the category names used in Census directly point to an open field of language enumeration studies where too such scale or scales would be of immense value.

The current paper intends to present six different scales and components that constructed the scales for measuring language vitality in the next section, which will be followed by a conclusion. The objective of the paper is to report a few options, combination or modification of which would enable the researchers to build up their own scales appropriate for various types of studies, description, documentation, revitalization, enumeration and the like, they are going to undertake in India.

2. Scales and tools for measuring language vitality

Language vitality and language endangerment are the two sides of the same coin. These two concepts are inversely proportional to each other, i.e. a higher rate of vitality indicates a lower rate of endangerment and vice versa. Hence the same scale is equally useful for measuring both. In the field of endangerment studies a number of various scales have been used to measure language vitality and endangerment. We shall report here six such scales proposed by Fishman (1991), Wurm (1996), UNESCO (2003), Grenoble & Whaley (2006), Krauss (2007) and Brenzinger (2007a).

2.1 Joshua Fishman (1991)

Fishman (1991), a meticulous research on Reversing Language Shift/RLS, offers a graded typology of threatened statuses of languages and in comparison with the Richter Scale device introduces it as a graded sociolinguistics disruption scale. The scale is called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale/ GIDS. In his own words (Fishman 1991:87), “GIDS may be thought of as a sociocultural reverse analog to the sociopsychological language vitality measures that several investigators have recently proposed; the higher the GIDS rating the

lower the intergenerational continuity and maintenance prospects of a language network or community."

This scale treats intergenerational transmission of language as the *gold standard* of language vitality among other factors. Fishman's (1991) terminology *Xish* and *Xmen* stand for the name of any language and the members of that community respectively; while *Yish* and *Ymen* indicate a language of greater power and opportunity than *Xish* and the members of that powerful community respectively. GIDS is explained in a reverse order, from a higher to a lower rating, i.e. from a more threatened to a less threatened stage, as the objective of any RLS programme is to work on a more threatened language with a higher rating and gradually achieve the lowest rating that marks its success. The different stages on the GIDS are as follows.

Stage 8 means most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.

Stage 7 means most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age.

Stage 6 indicates to the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement.

Stage 5 points to Xish literacy in home, school and community but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy.

Stage 4 indicates to Xish in lower education that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws.

Stage 3 means the use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen.

Stage 2 indicates to Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either.

Stage 1 means some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (without the additional safety provided by political independence).

Fishman (1991) provides detailed notes on every stage.

2.2 Stephen A. Wurm (1996)

Wurm (1996) puts forward a scale to measure endangerment of languages worldwide that ranges from *in danger of disappearing* to *extinct*. It is a five point scale yielding five categories of endangerment chiefly on the basis of speakers' age and knowledge of the language. The terms used for each point along with their rationalization are as follows.

i. **Potentially endangered**: Children are no longer learning the language concerned.

ii. **Endangered**: The youngest speakers of the language are young adults.

iii. **Seriously endangered**: The youngest speakers of the language are moving into middle age and beyond in the more advanced stage of the process, and many of them no longer have a good knowledge of the language.

iv. **Moribund**: Only a handful of speakers of the language are left, mostly very old.

v. **Extinct**: No speakers are left.

Wurm (1996) is chiefly a cartographic study that presents maps plotting therein a number of languages measured with this scale and marking each of them with symbols used for each of the five categories mentioned above. The study also provides a caution note that the current areas of the languages belonging to the last two categories, viz. moribund and extinct, are difficult to indicate on account of scattered resettlement, forced or voluntary, mostly far away from their traditional areas. The study offers a sample of the grave scenario with the objective "... to convey a graphic, easily understood image of the extremely widespread nature of the problem of language endangerment."

2.3 UNESCO (2003)

The scale proposed by UNESCO (2003) is the result of a collective decision and has been reported here on the basis of the report entitled *Language Vitality and Endangerment* submitted by the Ad Hok Expert Group of Endangered Languages to the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programmae Safeguarding of Endangered Languages held in Paris on March 10-12, 2003.

The team identified six major factors (1-6 below) to evaluate the vitality and state of endangerment of a language, two factors (7 & 8) to measure language attitude and one factor (9) to estimate the urgency for documentation, nine factors in total, none of which alone is sufficient to assess a language's vitality, endangerment level or documentation need. All factors taken together, each measured on a six (0-5) point scale (except factor 1 which is measured on a seven point scale), are considered useful to capture the overall sociolinguistic condition of a language under consideration.

The nine factors proposed are:

Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission

Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population

Factor 4: Loss of existing language domains

Factor 5: Response to new domains and media

Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy

Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official language status

Factor 8: Community members' attitude towards their own language

Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

To give an idea we cite below two scales based on factors 1 and 4 only and leave the rest as the report is easily retrievable in the web.

The seven grade scale measuring factor 1, i.e. intergenerational language transmission

Endangerment degree	Grade	Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission
Safe	5	The language is spoken by all generations. There is no sign of linguistic threat from any other language, and the intergenerational transmission of the language seems uninterrupted.
Stable yet threatened	5-	The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts. Note that multilingualism alone is not necessarily a threat to languages.
Unsafe	4	Most but not all children or families of a particular community speak their language as their first language, but it may be restricted to specific social domains (such as at home where children interact with their parents and grandparents).
Definitely endangered	3	The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak their language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language.
Severely endangered	2	The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children.
Critically endangered	1	The youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it, since there may not be anyone to speak with.
Extinct	0	There is no one who can speak or remember the language.

The six grade scale measuring factor 4, i.e. loss of existing language domains

Endangerment degree	Grade	Factor 4: Domains and Functions
Universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions.
Multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
Dwindling domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
Limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
Highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions
Extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

These scales were mandatorily employed in all the seventeen research reports on language endangerment published in Brenzinger (2007a), following which we may provide a snapshot of the utility aspect of the factors as follows. Factor 1 helps to tap into the extent of language acquisition among the children within a language community, while Factor 3 into speakers' belief, viz. whether they regard language still a crucial condition for being considered a member of the community, two important aspects of language vitality. If membership of the community does not depend on the knowledge and use of the language concerned then that indicates a low vitality and high endangerment of the tongue from within the community. Factor 4 may reflect external threats like formal education or new job opportunities for the minority group because of which the domains of use shrink. Factor 5 is helpful to detect language shift in a minority group due to shift in its religious affiliation. Factor 6 measures language vitality in terms of the development of script, primers, or new publications in the language etc. While Factors 7 and 8 are more or less self-explanatory,

Factor 9 is meant to determine the urgency of documentation based on the quantity and quality of the existing materials.

2.4 *Lenore A. Grenoble & Linsay J. Whaley (2006)*

Grenoble and Whaley (2006) proposes a scale with a six-way distinction, viz. safe, at risk, disappearing, moribund, nearly extinct and extinct, to assess language endangerment. The points are described as follows.

Safe: The language is used by all generations in almost all domains; has a speaker base larger than its neighbouring languages; may have official status and high prestige; may be the language of government, education and commerce.

At risk: The language lacks some features of a safe language; may be used in limited domains and has a speaker base smaller than its neighbouring languages; language attitude is of crucial importance as a positive attitude may reinforce vitality while a negative one may result in language shift.

Disappearing: The language presents an observable shift, a decreasing proportion of intergenerational transfer and a shrinkage in its speaker base and domains of use; is replaced by the languages of wider communication in a greater percentage of homes.

Moribund: The language lacks intergenerational transfer and its speaker base is constantly shrinking.

Nearly extinct: The language has only a handful of speakers belonging to the older generation.

Extinct: The language has no speaker.

Speakers vitality and domains of language use play a vital role all along the scale.

2.5 Michael E Krauss (2007)

Between two similar scales, viz. Krauss (1997), as mentioned in Grenoble (2011:41), and Krauss (2007) we shall focus on the later one.

		'safe'	*a+*	
endangered		*Stable*	*a-*	all speak, children & up
	indecline	*instable; eroded*	*a*	some children speak; all children speak in some places
		definitively endangered.	*b*	spoken only by parental generation and up
		Severely endangered	*c*	spoken only by grandparental generation and up
		critically endangered	*d*	spoken only by very few, of great-grandparental generation
		extinct	*e*	no speakers

In this system the designator *a* is 'excellent', (*a*- is less than *a* but closer to *a* than to *b*), *b* is 'good', (*b*+ is better than *b* but closer to *b* than to *a*), *c* is 'fair', *d* is 'poor', *e* is 'failing', following the American public school grading system. The scale is open enough to accommodate non discrete designators if need be. This scale also assigns a range of designators to assess language endangerment, e.g. in some Irish-speaking districts of Ireland Irish is designated *a*, while in Dublin where many speakers speak Irish as a second language but their children are native speakers of Irish, it is designated *b-a*; thus Irish in general is designated *a, b-a*.

2.6 Matthias Brenzinger (2007a)

Matthias Brenzinger, a leading member of the UNESCO Ad Hok Expert Group on Endangered Languages, mentions in his work (2007a) two sets of indicators, a set of 9 factors and a six (0-5) point scale for evaluating the state of language vitality, which in his own words is a "challenging task." The indicators of set A includes (a) the percentage of speakers within a population, (b) the extent of language transmission,

(c) loss of functions in language use, and (d) attitudes towards one's own language. These indicators are meant to capture the changes occurring within a dynamic speech community, while the indicators of set B attempt to rank endangered languages that require immediate documentation and include (e) the genetic status of an endangered language, (f) the current status of its documentation, and (g) research condition. The rest of the tools, viz. the nine factors and scales are same as the UNESCO materials. Hence we don't repeat them.

3. Conclusion

Each of the scales discussed above has its own justifications and also limitations. None of them can claim to be suitable for all types of studies in language vitality and endangerment, which is why so many scales exist in the field. India offers an open field of language vitality and endangerment study. As one would naturally expect, the sociolinguistic condition of languages and the types of studies required on this soil would be different from those in other lands. Hence the researchers ought to have options from which they can select the scale most suitable for their work, or devise their own scale modifying the tools and parameters of the existing scales. The current paper offers a handful of options in scales, tools and parameters.

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Investigating 'Thākurmā'r Jhuli' from the Stylistic perspective

Abhijit Majumdar

Abstract : The present article is an attempt to look into the unique prose style and the significant stylistic devices inherent in the well-known text Thākurmā'r Jhuli (TJ). This text is an excellent anthology of folktales truly reflecting the eternal spirit and essence of our Bangla culture and tradition. The brilliance of the text TJ lies in its unique storylines and their presentation, poetic composition and obviously in the imageries and illustration reflected through the exclusive language style. The structure of the narrative in TJ is constructed primarily through narration and dialogue. This article first of all gives a brief sketch about the structure and composition of the text. In addition, it explores the worth noting stylistic features in-built within the text both in its narrative and dialogue part; such as use of the code conflict between *sādhu* and *calit* variety in representing the animate/inanimate characters and their thought; functional intrusion of the verses with end-rhymes in expressing emotions and attitudes of the characters etc. It has also been looked through how stylistic devices such as parallelism, substitution, recurrence etc. have become functionally significant discourse strategies in constituting cohesive linkage in the textual pattern.

Keywords : context of utterance, free direct speech, implied reader, adjacency pair, attenuation, cohesive device, verbal style, conjunction, onomatopoetic form, numerical index.

1. Introduction

Thākurmā'r Jhuli (henceforth TJ) is an excellent anthology of folktales well- recognized in the creative sphere of Bangla juvenile literature. The text has firmly established its root in the deep core of Bangla culture and tradition.

TJ has a down to earth flavour full of ideas and passion of Bangla community. Almost every erudite Bangla speaker enjoyed in his childhood the experience of a journey through this text to get entry into the world full of dream and imagination. Even in his adulthood a person may recollect his/her days of upbringing after a close and thorough reading of it. In fact, the reader has to rely more on emotion than on logic and intellect for understanding and interpreting this text. TJ has now turned into a cultural icon for us in exploring the eternal spirit of our ongoing tradition and ethnicity.

TJ is a folk-text with a collection of some magnificent fairy tales (some of them are also animal tales). These folktales were compiled and finally published by Dakshina Ranjan Mitra Majumdar in the year 1907. The year of publication is no doubt significant. Possibly, the nationalistic spirit involved with the 'Bengal partition movement' (1905) had a genuine reflection in the text itself. This may be the only reason to get in touch with our motherland so intimately when we go across the text. The critics truly comment that it was Tagore who made us aware about our native land through his inventive sphere of narratives, songs, poems and letters etc. But Dakshina Ranjan introduced us with our soil only through the world of fairy tales (Majumdar 2010: 109).

2. The Text and its uniqueness

TJ like other fairy tales presents a world of fantasy and imagination where the margin between possible and impossible thins out and sometimes even disappears. Normally, any story in this genre of tales begins with a crisis and ends in a final resolution of that critical situation. So, every tale generally has a happy ending. It has also been established by Russian Scholar Vladimir Propp (1928) in his structural study on fairy tales (Majumdar,1993; Islam,1998). The excellence of the text TJ lies in its unique storylines and their presentation, poetic composition and obviously in the imageries and illustration reflected through the exclusive language style. Moreover, the uniqueness of the tales is inherent in its oratory style as pointed out by Tagore in the introduction of the anthology.

It is worth noting that in the nineteenth century before the publication of TJ another important collection named *Itihasmala* by William Carey (1812) was brought under light (Detienne, 1972). But the text does lack the flavour of the fairy tales possibly due to strong influence of the written style constraining the natural tune of oratory presentation. The other noteworthy contribution was done by Reverend Lalbihari Dey who collected the original tales from the folk-community and translated those into English. This anthology named 'Folk Tales of Bengal' was published in the year 1883 from London. Lalbihari's translation was free and lucid, but it could not become popular to the common mass of

Bengal perhaps due to their incompetence in English. In contrast, the splendid story-telling capacity of Dakshina Ranjan in his own mother tongue easily captured the heart of the native commune.

3. Structure and Composition of TJ

The present paper attempts to explore the unique prose style and the notable stylistic devices inherent in the text TJ. True to admit, the text is not a narrative in its total form as like a novel. But it is a collection of fourteen stories which are of different length. Most of the stories are fairy tales (numbering thirteen) and only one is animal tale (‘śiyāl paṇḍit’). Notably, two of the stories are of different sort (‘sukhu ār dukhu’; ‘brāhmaṇ brāhma ṇī’) as they cannot be categorized either as fairy- or as animal tales. The author has classified all the tales under four headings: (i) dudher sāgar ; (ii) rūp-tarāsī ; (iii) cyāṃ-byāṃ ; (iv) ām-sandeś. The first one consists of six tales, but (ii) and (iii) each presents four tales. The fourth one is exceptional as it includes only rhymes.

The composition of the narratives in TJ is quite different from the short stories. The author plays the role of the narrator without intervening into the actual event taking place. The author’s “I” is generally not projected into the main storyline. However, he reports usually the events from his own point of view being an omniscient narrator. The reporting goes on in third person and generally in past tense. Such a narration breaks when the author shapes the part of the description in the form of a dialogue structure. He reports what the characters said and attempts to reproduce their speeches as genuinely as possible. The author as a narrator generally uses the Direct Speech (DS) to report verbatim what a character said in a particular context (as in ‘ranira bolilen, --“tObe tomake kaTia phelibo” ’ [buddhu bhūtum, p.49].

‘The queens said : then we will cut you into pieces’). Sometimes even the characters speak directly without the intermediacy of the narrator. This is an instance of Free Direct Speech (FDS) in which the reporting clause is omitted in the presentation of speech (Bradford 1997:51-72) (as in ‘monimala moni nia uThia aSilen,-- “o buRi, buRi, tuy kotha theke eli”?’) [pātāl-kanyā maṇimālā , p.154] ‘Manimala got up with the gem : Oh! old lady ! where from did you come?’). In a few

instances, a kind of fusion takes place between the authorial and character's viewpoint (Free Indirect Speech as in 'æto bORo rajjo ke bhog koribe? raja moner dukkhe thaken' [sāt bhāi campā, p.69] 'Who will enjoy such a big kingdom? The king feels distressed').

The reader of the fairy tales are of different kind. It is true to admit that the creation of a shared world between the narrator and the reader is essential for the transmission of the message in this particular type of text (Mishra 2009 : 36). In the fairy tales the narrator uses spatial as well as temporal references to construct a shared domain in which the imaginary incidents take place. He crosses the limit of the real and credible world and the reader has no other option but to accept it possibly as an implied reader (Booth, 1961, Chatman 1978). Thus in fairy tales the narrative property reflected through degree of uncommonness, absurdity and imagination is far more extensive in comparison to the short stories. (Chakraborti 2019)

The structure of the narrative in TJ is constructed primarily through narration and dialogue (Bhattacharya 2014; Das 2010). Even the rhymes are also functionally exercised for an interaction between the characters (as in śīt-basanta, p.83). The dialogue is important as the dramatic action is mainly performed through dialogues which iconically represent social encounters (Gargesh 1990: p.116). Moreover, the dialogic exchange has the capacity to create a non-real world referred in the course of dialogue, which expresses a set of supposed desires, beliefs, hypotheses, fantasies etc. (Elam, 1980:137).

The dialogues have three important implications in the narrative design: *First of all*, it gives a feed back to the reader/listener about the content of the tale, nature and significance of the characters involved and the purpose of presentation. The dialogic interaction entails background knowledge of the characters, objects, the events referred to and empowers the reader with an ability to locate them in the dramatic world created by the author himself. (*ibid*, 137, Majumdar and Majumdar 2010). The exchange of ideas also discloses the psychological, cultural and social rules which discipline the use of speech in social settings (Dell Hymes *cited in* Giglioli 1972:15).

Secondly, the direct authorial voice is eliminated as the dialogic mode of representation focuses on the I-thou perspective with an interchange of the roles of the participants in the communicative process (Gargesh 1990:116). *Thirdly*, the fictive context of the dramatic exchange focuses mainly on two components: the 'situation' in which a given exchange takes place and the 'context of utterance'. The situation relates to the characters and object present, their physical circumstances, the supposed time and place of their encounter etc. On the other hand the 'context of utterance' involves the communicative context comprising the relationship set up between addresser, addressee and discourse in the immediate here-and now (Elam 1980:138).

3.1 Stylistic aspect of the dialogue structure in TJ

Some of the significant stylistic features embedded in the dialogic encounter of the text TJ may be identified here in this context. One of the common properties of the folktales is to obliterate the distinction between animate and inanimate objects and characters. The exchange of dialogues frequently occurs between men, animals and non-living objects. For instance, in 'buddhu-bhutum', the monkey Buddhu and the owl Bhutum participate in the process of normal conversation (kalābatī rājkanyā, p.34); the flowers cãpā and pārul turn into characters being converted to the human being and they freely converse with each other (sāt bhāi campā, p.72-73) ; surprisingly even the inanimate object like a needle takes part in the communicative exchange (kãkanmālā kāñcanmālā, p.67). As a matter of fact in the folktales like TJ the participants taking part in the communicative process may naturally exceed the number than that is expected in the usual narratives.

3.1.1 Sadhu vs. Calit variety : code conflict in pattern of dialogue

The language of the dialogue structure in TJ is worth noting. The reporting clause and the dialogue both are composed in formal variety i.e. *'Sādhu'* Bangla in most of the folktales. For example ,[(i)]

1.a. Sonnasi… gacher SikoRh dia bolilen,--- eiTi baTia
sage plant-GEN root give-CONJ say-PAST-3P(HON) this-DEF pest-CONJ
sat ranite khaio, sonar cãd chele hoybe." [(ii)]
seven queen--NOM eat- FUT-2P-IMP gold- GEN moon boy be- FUT-3P
(kalābatī rājkanyā, p.30).

'The sage giving the root of the plant said—"you, the seven queens, take it after pasting; a bright child will be born." '

b. choTo bon bolilo— "amar jodi rajar sOnge bie hoyto,
younger sister say-PAST-3P I-GEN if king-GEN with marriage be-PAST-HAB
to ami rani hoytam!"
PART I queen be-PAST-HAB-1P (kiraṇmālā, p.96).

'The younger sister commented—" If I got married with the king I could be the queen." '

It is interesting to note that even in the dialogue composed in '*sādhu*' variety, the natural colloquial tone of the *'calti'* prose style is often blended with perfect accuracy---

1.c. monimala bolilen, "moni, moni! ujle
Manimala tell-PAST-3P(HON) Mani Mani bright-CONJ
oTh, ey SOrobOrer jOle ami naybo."
get up-2P(NON-HON)-IMP this lake- GEN water-LOC I bathe-FUT -1P
(pātāl-kanyā maṇimālā, p.152).
'Manimala told—"Oh! Mani! turn bright, I shall bathe in this lake." '

d. rani bolilen, "kOtodin bondige dekhi
queen say- PAST-3P(HON) how many day sister-PL -ACC see-PRES-1P
na, "maer peTer, rOkter pom apon bolte tinTi bon."
not mother-GEN womb-GEN blood-GEN proof own say-INF three-DEF sister
(kiraṇmālā, p.97).

'The queen said, "I did not see for a long time, my own sisters belonging to the same womb, the proof of same blood, only three sisters of my own. " '

Such type of informal style is more prominent in a few folktales like 'śiyāl paṇḍit' placed in the tail -end of the collection. Here, even the reporting clause gets influenced by the so called *calti* prose style.

2.a. gõphe tin caRa dia dãt mukh caTia cuTia
moustache-LOC three twist up-CONJ teeth face lick-CONJ
boliteche,-- "aha bORo sadhulok chilo go!..."
speak-PRES-CONT-3P alas great honest person be-PAST-3P ADDR
(śiyāl paṇḍit, p.181).

'(The fox), after licking face and teeth and twisting its moustache thrice, is speaking "Alas!, what a great honest person he was!" '

b. ore hOtobhaga paji paSonDe napte! –dEkhto—dEkhto ki korechiS? (*ibid*,p.183).
ADDR ill-fated knave hard-hearted barber see just see just what do-PAST PFT -2P(NON-HON)
‘ Oh! ill-fated hard hearted knave barber ! just see what have you done ?’

c. coTia uThia Sial bolilo,-- “ ãgge kumorer po, SeTi
angry get-CONJ fox say-PAST-3P ADDR potter- GEN son that-DEF
hObe na!...”
be-FUT-3P not (*ibid*, p.184).

‘The fox getting angry commented, “oh! son of the potter, that will not happen.”

The examples truly demonstrate the existence of underlying code conflict between the *sādhu* and *calit* varieties in the textual pattern of TJ. The verb forms (as in ‘caTia cuTia boliteche’ in (2a) and ‘coTia uThia…bolilo’ in (2c)) also establish the blending of *sādhu* and *calti* code. The choice of the colloquial style is quite befitting for the animal tales like ‘śiyāl paṇḍit’ as these are more down -to-earth fables in contrast to the fairy tales representing the world of dream and fantasy. Possibly, the preference to the *calti* code was consciously manipulated by the presenter himself.

The regular norm for using reporting clause with the following speech is not always strictly maintained. In some instances, the characters speak directly without the intermediacy of the narrator. The reporting clause is omitted in the presentation of speech (Free Direct Speech). For example,

3.a. monimala moni nie uThia aSilen, --- “o buRi buRi,
Manimala gem take-CONJ get-CONJ up come-PAST-3P(HON) oh! old woman
tuy kotha theke eli?... ”
you-2P(NON-HON) where from come-PAST-2P(NON-HON)
(pātāl-kanyā maṇimālā, p.154).

‘Manimala got up with the gem, “Oh! old lady, wherefrom did you come?” ’

The same pattern is followed even in the presentation of thought. The thought of the character is directly presented without any intervention of the narrator; consequently the reporting clause remains absent while presenting the thought (Free Direct Thought).

3.b. khub ratre hiraboti kOlaboti uThia dEkhen,-- eki!
very night-LOC Hirabati Kalabati get-CONJ up see- PAST-3P(HON) this what
hirabotir ghOre to Soami nay. ki hoylo, ki hoylo?
Hirabati-GEN room-LOC PART husband not exist what be-PAST-3P
dEkhen,-- bichanar upore Ek banorer chal— Ẽ-
see-PAST-3P(HON) bed-GEN above one monkey-GEN skin EXCLAM
dEkh tObe to ẽra Sottikar banor na… --duy bone
see-2P(NON-HON) then PART this-PL truly monkey not two sister-NOM
bhaben
think-PRES-3P(HON). (kalābatī rājkanyā, p.50-51).

'At deep night Hirabati-Kalabati got up and saw, "what is this! The husband is not in the room. What did happen ? (they) saw a monkey skin on the bed. Oh!, then they are not genuine monkeys."… two sisters thought.'

c. "eSOb era kothaY pailo? – era ki
this all this (person)-PL where get-PAST-3P this (person)-PL QUES
manuS!—haY!!" Ekbar raja anonde haSen, abar raja
person alas once king joy-LOC laugh-PRES-3P(HON) again king
dukkhe bhaSen…
grief-LOC float-PRES-3P(HON) (kiraṇmālā, p.114).

' "Wherefrom did they get all things? Are they men ? Alas!" Once the king smiles and again he feels distressed.'

3.1.2 Speech variation in dialogue : Evaluating the constraints

The speech used in dialogue pattern generally does not vary depending on the nature of the characters. The king-queen, prince or princess and other characters usually take part in speech in the same form of language. However, female characters often converse in an informal colloquial style blended with typical effeminate tone:

4.a. ranira SOkole kil kil koria uThilen--- "ke lo, ke lo, ghũTe-
queen-PL all-NOM ONOM attempt-PAST-3P(HON) who ADDR dongue-cake-
kuRanir cha naki lo ?" "oma, oma, chi! chi!"
collector-FEM- GEN son QUES ADDR expression of surprise expression of disapproval (kalābatī rajkanyā, p.38).

'The queens commented, "who is this? Is this the son of the dongue-cake collector?" (they expressed) surprise and the sense of disapproval.'

b. Sukhur ma bolilo, -- “ balay! pOrer koRir bhag-bãTri—
Sukhu-GEN mother say-PAST-3P a harm other-GEN coin-GEN share
tar kOpale khẼNra mari!”
s/he -GEN forhead-LOC broom beat-PRES-1P (sukhu ar dukhu, p.192).

‘ Sukhu’s mother commented, “ It is harmful. I like to beat the forehead of the person by a broom who does share other’s wealth.” ’

The entertaining effects possibly for pleasing the kids are also distinguished in the nasal colouring of the speech of the monsters (rākṣas-rākṣasī).The onomatopoetic device(discussed later part of this discussion) is the other means for producing such type of effects.

5.a. khokkoS… ar SOkol khokkoSke bolilo,--- “ ẽibãr jĩbh Tãnia
demon other all demon-ACC say-PAST 3P this time tongue snatch-GER
chĩRibõ, tõra ãmãke dhõria khũb jõre
cut down-FUT-1P you (NON-HON)-PL I-ACC hold-CONJ intense strongly
Tãn-- .”
pull-2P (NON- HON) -IMP (nīlkamal ār lālkamal,p.127).

‘The demon told other demons,---“this time I shall cut down the tongue after snatching it, you hold and pull me with intensive strength.” ’

b. rani bolilo— “gab gab gum, kham kham khaH/ ami
queen say-PAST-3P ONOM ONOM eat-2P(NON-HON)-IMP I
hẽtha thaki, tõra deSe jaH !”
here stay-1P you ((NON-HON)-PL country-LOC go-2P((NON-HON)-IMP
(*ibid,* p.122).

‘The queen uttered non-sense words and told “you take your meal, I shall stay here.” ’

The nasal speech rightly confirms (in 5b) that this queen is nothing but a female monster in disguise.

It is significant to note that the speech of the characters in TJ mostly depends on the nature of the tales. When the fables are not strictly fairy tales, but they represent down-to-earth stories; the characters communicate in informal style generally corresponding to SCB.

6.a. brahmoni bOlen,-- “cup kOr, cup kOr… ogo
brahmin-FEM say-PAST-3P(HON) silence do-PRES-2P(NON-HON)-IMP ADDR
bachara, rat gElo tomra Ekhon baRi jaW,-- bamun
son-PL night go-PAST-3P you-PL now home go-PRES-2P-IMP brahmin
ghumuk.”
sleep-FUT- 3P- IMP (brāhmaṇ brāhmaṇī, p.203).

‘The Lady Brahmin said, “ Keep silence… Oh! dear boys, the night has passed. Let you go at home.” ’

b. deR aNule bolilo,--- “na bhay, ami kothaY pabo? baRi nay
Der angule say-PAST-3P no brother I where get-FUT-1P home not exist-PRES
boley to babake ante parlem na.”
COMP-EMPH PART father-ACC bring-INF able-PAST-1P not (deR aNule, p.213)

‘Derh angule told, “No brother, where shall I get ? As I have no residence, I could not bring my father at home.” ’

3.1.3 A case study of adjacency pair : features of substitution and attenuation

The pattern of dialogue orientation is quite different as well as unique in the folktale “kalābatī rājkanyā”. The continuous process of chained interaction between the characters (namely, the queens in a group and the princess) constitutes a composite dialogue structure (Majumdar 2015: 138) .

7. ranira bolilen--- “rajkonna, tumi kar ?”
queen-PL say-PAST-3P(HON) princess you who-GEN
‘The queens said, “Oh, princess! who do you belong to ?”
rajkonna bolilen--- “Dhol-DOgor jar.”
princess say-PAST-3P(HON) tom tom who-GEN
‘The princess said, “(I belong to him) who does own this tom tom? ” ’
“Dhol-DOgor hirarajputrer?”
tom tom diamond prince-GEN
‘Does the tom tom belong to the diamond-prince?’
“ na”
‘no’
“Dhol-DOgor manikrajputrer?”
tom tom ruby prince-GEN
‘Does the tom tom belong to the ruby-prince?’
“ na”

‘no’
“Dhol-DOgor motirajputrer?”
tom tom pearl prince-GEN
‘Does the tom tom belong to the pearl-prince?’
“na”
‘no’
ranira bolilen--- “tObe tomake kaTia phelibo.”
queen say-PAST-3P(HON) then you-ACC cut-GER throw-FUT-1P
‘The queen commented, “then we will cut down you.” ’ (kalābatī rājkanyā, p.48-49)

In the above extract, the dialogue continues in the form of adjacency pair with a sequence of two related utterances by two different speakers. The second utterance is always a response to the first (Coulthard, 1977; Richards *et al* 1985). A series of ‘question-answer’ goes on between the characters. Initially, a clue is given about the addresser and addressee, but later on the reader/listener has to rely on pragmatic knowledge in order to speculate the inherent communicants on the basis of the context. The questions appear in a sequence of parallel pattern, but the answers are always negative except the initial response of the princess.

The parallel pattern of the bunch of questions changes on the basis of substitution of the possessor of the musical instrument (*hira*-rajputro / *manik*-rajputro / *moti*-rajputro).

Notably, the passage starts with the regular pattern of reporting clause with the following speech. After the first set of adjacency pair, the reporting clauses remain absent; only the second part continues with the series of dialogue. Such type of attenuation becomes maximized with a single word negative response by the addressee. Finally, the same initial pattern (*i.e* Reporting clause +Dialogue) cyclically returns in the final expression when the queens come to the conclusive decision of cutting down the princess. As a consequence a parallel pattern generates with the elements in identity and contrast (Leech 1984:65).

3.1.4 Functionality in the pattern of end-rhyme

The other noteworthy feature is the use of end- rhymes. The verses mostly being end-rhymed are frequently exercised in the dialogue pattern of TJ. For instance,

8.a. ranira SOkole bolilen--- “kon deSer rajkonna
queen- PL all- NOM say-PAST-3P(HON) which country-GEN princess
kon deSe *ghOr*?/ Sonar cãd chele amar tomar *bOr*.”
which country-LOC home gold-GEN moon son I-GEN you-GEN groom
(kalābatī rājkanyā, p.36).

‘All the queens said, “Which country does the princess reside at? , which country is her home? The sweet and gentle son of me (may become) is the groom for you.” ’

b. jayte jayte SonnaSi bOlen— “ bijOn deSer bijOn bone
go-GER sage say-PRES-3P(HON) lonely country-GEN lonely forest-LOC
ke-go bon *bhay*? /ke goRecho, Emon puri, tulona
who-ADDR sister brother who make-PAST PFT-2P such palace comparison
tar *ney*!”
s/he-GEN not exist (kiraṇmālā, p.105).

‘While travelling the sage said, “Who are you the sisters and brothers (living) in this lonely forest of the lonely country? Who has constructed this palace? S/he is unparallel.” ’

These verses are functionally coherent often being informative and occasionally expressive signifying the ideas and emotions of the characters:

9.a. utttor pub, puber uttor/maYa-pahaR ache,/ nitto
north east east-GEN north illusion-mountain exist-PRES-3P everyday
phOle Sonar phOl /Sotti hirar gache.
grow-PRES-3P gold-GEN fruit true diamond-GEN tree-LOC
(aruṇ baruṇ kiraṇmālā, p.107).

‘There exists a mountain of illusion in the north-east (and) the north of the east. Golden fruits grow there every day in the tree of real diamond.’

b. bhutum amar bap !/ ki korechi pap? / kon pape cheRe
Bhutum I-GEN father what do-PAST PFT-1P sin which sin-LOC leave-CONJ
geli, die monoStap?
go-PAST-2P(NON-HON) give-GER mental anguish (kalābatī rājkanyā,p.39).

‘Bhutum ! you are my father. What sin have I committed? Which vice has caused you to leave me giving me the mental shock?’

The rhymed structure usually serves the purpose of forming the cohesive dialogue structure as it happens in the adjacency pair with question and answer in succession.

10.a. Suk kOY,--- “Sari, Sari! bORo Sit!”
Shuk comment-PRESENT-3P Oh! Sari excessive cold
‘Shuk says, “Oh! Sari, it is excessive cold.” ’

Sari bOle,--- “gaer bOSon Tene dis!”
Sari comment-PRESENT-3P body-GEN rapper pull-CONJ give-FUT-2P-IMP-(NON-HON)
‘Sari comments, “ Let you pull the rapper on the body.” ’

Suk bOle,--- “bOSon gElo chĩiRe, Sit gElo
Shuk comment-PRESENT-3P rapper go-PAST-3P tear-CONJ winter go-PAST-3P
dur,/ konkhane, Sari, nadir kul?
Far which place-LOC sari river-GEN shore
‘Shuk comments, “the rapper has torn out, the winter has gone far, which place? At the shore of the sari river.” ’

Sari uttor korilo— “ ‘dudh-mukuTe’ dhObol pahaR khir-Sagorer paRe…
Sari answer-PAST-3P--- “ ‘dudh-mukute’ white mountain khir- sea-GEN bank-LOC
‘Sari answered, “ near the ‘dudh-mukute’ white mountain at the shore of the khir-sea”’
Suk kohilo,--- “Sey Sonar kOmol, Sey gOjomoti/ ke anbe
Shuk comment-PAST-3P that gold-GEN lotus that costly pearl who bring-FUT-3P
tule ke pabe rupoboti!”
pick-GER who get-FUT-3P beautiful (śīt basanta, p.86).

The dialogues in verse also illustrate the conflict between the *sādhu* (11a) and *calit* (11b) variety quite similar to the speech composed in prose. Sometimes, these are entirely in *sādhu* variety (11a), or in *calit* (11b). But there are instances in which *sādhu* and *calit* are blended (11c) for the dialogic interaction in verse. Such type of code mixing is mostly motivated by the metrical reason.

11.a. hater kãkon dia kinilam daSi, / Sey hoylo rani,
hand-GEN bangle give-CONJ buy-PAST-1P maid-servant that be-PAST-3P queen
ami hoylam bãdi
I be-PAST-1P maid servant (kãkanmala kãncanmala, p.64).

‘I bought a maid servant at the cost of a bangle of the wrist. That woman became the queen and I became the maid servant.’

b. SonnaSi bolilen--- “ arun borun kironmalar raNa rajpuri/ dekhte
sage say-PAST-3P(HON) Arun Barun Kiranmala-GEN scarlet palace see-INF
Sukh Sunte Sukh, phuTto aro chiri.
happiness listen-INF happiness blossom-PAST- HAB-3P more charm
(kiraṇmala, p.105).

‘The sage told, “Arun Barun and Kiranmala (has) a scarlet palace. It is a pleasure to see it and to listen about it. It used to be bloomed with more charm.’

c. kũcbOron konna uttor korilen,--- “--- tomar
a kind of fruit colour girl answer do-PAST-3P(HON) you-GEN
putro paThayo kOlabotir deS./ ante pare
son send-FUT-2P Kalabati-GEN country bring-INF able-PRES-3P
motir phul Dho-l-DOgor, / Sey putrer
pearl-GEN flower tom tom that son-GEN
bãdi hoe aSbo tomar ghOr.”
maid servant be-CONJ come-FUT-1P you-GEN house (kalābatī rājkanyā,p.36).

‘The girl with the colour of the red fruit answered, “Let you send your son to the country of Kalabati. (If) he can bring the flower of pearl and the tom tom, I shall come to your home as a maid servant of that son.” ’

Significantly, in the ‘cyāṃ byāṃ’ part placed at the tail-end of TJ, the dialogue of the verses becomes almost similar to the prose style; though end-rhyme is notable for the finally placed finite verbs. For instance,

12.a. deR aNule… --bolilo--- “ o bhay! Se baRi jaS
Der angule say-PAST-3P oh brother that house go-FUT-2P(NON-HON)-IMP
ni, / Se baRite ache Sãkcunni; ghaRTi bheNe rOkto
not that house-LOC exist-PRES-3P female ghost neck-DEF break-CONJ blood
khabe , / SaRe Sat guSTi ekkebare *jabe*.
drink-FUT-3P half with seven family member totally go-FUT-3P ’’
(deṛ āngule, p.218).

‘Der angule commented, “Oh! brother, don’t go to that house, there exists a female ghost in that house. It will drink the blood after breaking the neck. The seven and half of the family members will be totally ruined.” ’

b. brahmon bolilen,--- cup thak---
Brahmin tell-PAST-3P(HON) silence stay-PRESS-2P(NON-HON)-IMP
Ekhon ami conDipujo kore/ tObe eSe bolbo
now I Chandi worship do-CONJ then come-CONJ tell-FUT-1P
boSe thakge oy dore
sit-CONJ stay-PRES-2P(NON-HON)-IMP that door-LOC
(brāhmaṇ-brahmaṇī, p.200).
‘Brahmin told, “Keep quiet. Now I shall worship the Goddess Chandi; then coming back I will say. Sit down at the door.” ’

3.1.5 The use of verses as cohesive device

The verses are often made use of as a cohesive device in composing the succession of events in the folktales. For instance, in ‘sāt bhāi campā’ the king and his different queens make their presence one after another before the ‘cãpā’ tree. Their orderly appearance is systematically represented in the context of rhymes :

13. Sat cãpa… bolite lagilo,--- “na dibo, na dibo phul uThibo
seven cãpa say-INF start-PAST-3P not give-FUT-1P flower climb-FUT-1P
SOtek dur,/ age aSuk *raja,* tObe dibo phul.”
hundred-one far at first come-FUT-3P-IMP king then give-FUT- 1P flower

‘The seven campa (flowers) started saying , “ (we will) not give the flowers, (we will) climb upto long height, let the king come first; then I shall give the flowers.” ’

cãpara bolilo,--- “na dibo na dibo phul, uThibo SOtek
cãpa flower-PL say-PAST-3P not give-FUT-1P flower climb-FUT-1P hundred-one
dur,/ age aSuk rajar *bORo rani*, tObe dibo phul.”
far at first come-FUT-3P-IMP king-GEN eldest queen then give-FUT 1P flower

‘ The campa flowers commented, “ (we will) not give flowers, (we will) climb up to long height, let the senior –most queen come first; then I shall give the flowers.” ’

……..
cãpaphulera bolilo,--- “na dibo, na dibo phul …
cãpa flower-PL say-PAST-3P not give-FUT-1P flower
age aSuk rajar *mejo rani,* tObe dibo phul.”
at first come-FUT-3P-IMP king-GEN second queen then give-FUT-1P flower’
(sāt bhāi campā, p.71-72).

‘The campa flowers commented, “(we will) not give flowers, (we will) climb up to long height, let the second queen come first; then I shall give the flowers.”

The recurrent pattern of the rhymes foregrounds different characters by the technique of substitution (such as *raja /rajar bORo rani / rajar mejo rani*) and as a consequence it results into a dramatic suspense.

In fine, the request of the flowers reaches to the extreme when they comment: “ … jodi aSe rajar ghũTe-kuRani daSi, / tObe dibo phul” ‘If the king’s maid servant, collector of the dungcake, comes, then I shall give flowers.’ This ultimate substitution brings the end point of the embedded recursive pattern of events.

Interestingly, substitution causing a dramatic effect results into a contrast between two different social classes (*rāṇī* ‘queen’ vs. *dāsī* ‘maid-servant’). However, such a class-conflict gets resolved when the king cordially accepts the socially degraded youngest queen (who was the “ghũTe-kuRani daSi” ‘servant who collects donguecake’) and after the basic problem resolved the story comes to its happy end. Structurally, the class-contrast reflected in the process of substitution gets neutralized by the social acceptance.

4. Stylistic aspect of the narrative part of TJ

Not only dialogues but also the narrative part of the folktales in TJ signifies some worth noting stylistic features. One of the noteworthy features is parallelism which extends even beyond the level of syntactic domain. The pattern of similarity and contrast is operative in different paragraphs and as a consequence a cohesive harmony is generated.

4.1 Parallelism and recurrent pattern as a stylistic device

Syntactic parallelism is a notable feature especially in the fairy tales of TJ. Such a device is very much effective for the fairy tales like TJ, time and again expressing kinetic imagery and minute detailing. The short statement sentences each with finite verbs often construct the parallel pattern. It results into a continuous syntactic chain and produces as a consequence a rhythmic prose style bringing a pleasant musical effect for listening to the text.

14.a. bORorani bhat rãdhiben, mejorani tOrkari
senior-most queen rice cook-FUT-3P(HON) second queen vegetable
kaTiben, Sejorani bEnjon rãdhiben …
cut- FUT-3P(HON) third queen cooked dish cook-FUT-3P(HON)
(kalābatī rājkanyā,p.30).

‘The senior-most queen shall cook rice; the second queen shall cut the vegetable; the third queen shall prepare the cooked dish

b. orun borun kironmala kajollOtake ghaS jOl dilen,…
Arun Barun Kiranmala Kajallata-ACC grass water give-PAST-3P(HON)
bachur khulia dilen, horinchana naoaia
calf release-CONJ give-PAST-3P(HON) deer young bathe-CAUS-CONJ
dilen …
give-PAST- 3P(HON) (kiraṇmālā, p.113).

‘Arun Barun Kiranmala gave grass and water to Kajallata, released the calf, caused the young deer to bathe.’

The continuous flow of parallel syntactic pattern attempts to describe a series of performances by different characters of the tale. In the example (14a), the sentences have different subjects. On the contrary, in (14b) three characters form a composite subject for distinct but interlocked clauses signifying sequence of routine works. The verbs in all examples signify definite tenses—in (14a) it is in future; and in (14b) the tense is immediate past.

The other pattern of parallelism is functionally significant in the following instance:

15. a. bone pakh-pakhalir SObdo nay, bagh bhaluker SaRa nay! ...
forest-LOC bird-GEN sound exist not tiger bear-GEN response exist not
‘There is no sound of birds in the forest, no response from the tigers.’

b. purir moddhe jOno-manuS nay,.. SaRa SObdo paoa jaY na…
palace-GEN within human being exist not response sound get-NA go-PRES not
pataTi pORe na, kuTaTuku nORe na.
leaf-DEF fall -PRES-3P not straw-DEF move-PRES-3P not

‘There is no person in the palace, no response is available, the leave does not fall, (even) a bit of straw does not move.’

c. keho kOtha kohilo na, keho … phiria dekhilo na.
anyone word say-PAST-3P not anyone return-CONJ see-PAST-3P not
… (ghumanta purī, p.54).

‘No one said any words, nobody looked back.’

The series of negative sentences here foregrounds the void and nothingness expressing the feeling of solitude and desolation of the palace in contrast to the warmth and affection of life. The title of the tale 'ghumanta purī '("Sleeping palace") truly reflects this spirit of negativity expressed due to absence of life and action. Obviously, parallelism acts as a discourse strategy in forming a cohesive link between different sentences and even between different portions of the text. As a matter of fact, parallelism plays as an effective stylistic device in the text in keeping up the unity of form and content of the textual structure.

It is also worth noting that the recurrent pattern of clauses occasionally makes a cohesive tie between different paragraphs. For instance, in 'ghumanta purī ' whatever the prince observes in different compartments of the palace is described in different paragraphs. Notably, the paragraphs get systematically interlinked by this similar pattern of sentences.

16. + rajputro kache gia dEkhen … + Ek kuThurite gia
prince near go-CONJ see-PAST-3P(HON) one cell-LOC go-CON
dEkhen …+ ar Ek kuThurite gia dEkhen …
see-PAST-3P(HON) another cell-LOC go-CONJ see-PAST-3P(HON)
+rajputro dEkhen… + ar Ek kuThurite gia dEkhen …(*ibid*, p.55).
prince see-PAST-3P(HON) another cell-LOC go-CONJ see-PAST-3P(HON)
[' +' sign indicates initiation of separate paragraph]

'The prince saw going close to… (he) saw going to a cell… (he) saw going to another cell…the prince saw… (he) saw going to another cell…'

4.2 Verbal style as a significant feature

The use of the verbal style is another important feature in TJ. The sequence of non-finite verbs is frequently employed to describe minute detailing of the course of actions performed by different characters. This pattern is quite contrastive to the pattern represented in (14 a,b). The actions are expressed not in distinct finite clauses; but by the prolonged syntactic frame with multiple non-finite verbs.

17. a. rajputrera cupi-cupi aSia kauTaTi SOraya loya …
prince-PL silently come-CONJ box-DEF dislocate-CONJ take-CONJ
buddhuke dhakka dia jOle phelia dilen…
Buddhu-ACC push give-CONJ water-LOC throw-CONJ give-PAST-3P(HON)
(kalābatī rājkanyā, p.47).

‘The princes silently came and took aside the container (and then) gave a push to throw Buddhu in the water.’

b. snan-Tan koria, kapoRcopoR chaRia … phul-belpata onjoli
bath do-CONJ dress leave-CONJ flower marmelos-leaf offerings
dia, rajputro niSSaS bOndho koria talgache uThia
give-CONJ prince breath choke do-CONJ palm tree-LOC climb-CONJ
talpOtro khãRa paRilen.
palmleaf a large falchion bring down- PAST-3P(HON) (sonār kāṭi rupār kāṭi, p.171)

‘After bathing and changing the dress, the prince offered his sacrifice with flowers and marmelos-leaves.(Then he), choking his breath, climbed the palm-tree and brought down a large falchion.’

The suspense of the reader/listener gets boosted by the appearance of each non-finite verb signifying some action and becomes finally resolved at the end by the presence of the finite verb.

4.3 Verbal pattern as a cohesive device

The repetitive and cyclic use of the finite verb is an another stylistic device causing a formal cohesion between separate sentences used in sequence. Such a mechanism is employed not only for linking sentences or clauses, but occasionally even in relating different paragraphs of the text as in (18).

18.a. duorani SikoR… bORoranir kache dilen. bORorani
Duorani root elder queen-GEN near give-PAST-3P(HON) elder queen
.. mejoranir hate dilen. mejorani …
middle queen-GEN hand-LOC give-PAST-3P(HON) middle queen
Sejoranike dilen. Sejorani… koneranike
third queen-ACC give-PAST-3P(HON) third queen youngest queen-ACC
dilen…
give-PAST-3P(HON) (kalābatī rājkanyā, p.30).

‘Duorani gave the root to the elder queen. The senior-most queen… gave it to the hands of the middle queen. The middle queen… gave (it) to the third queen. The third queen gave to the youngest one…’

b. rajdOrbare raja jagilen, montri jagilen,
king court-LOC king wake up-PAST-3P(HON) minister wake up-PAST-3P(HON)
pattro jagilen…
counselor wake up-PAST-3P(HON) (ghumanta purī, p.59).

'The king woke up in the royal court, the minister woke up, and the counselor woke up.'

c. mejo-rani aSilen, Sejo-rani aSilen, nO-rani
middle queen come-PAST-3P(HON) third queen come-PAST-3P(HON) new queen
aSilen, kone-rani aSilen, kehoy phul
come-PAST-3P(HON) youngest queen come-PAST-3P(HON) anyone indeed flower
paylen na.
receive-PAST-3P(HON) not (sāt bhāi campā,p.72).

'The middle queen came, the third queen came, new queen came, the youngest one came. Nobody got the flower.'

In (18a), the cyclic process of transfer of the object (i.e. 'SikoR' "root") is represented by the recurrent use of the same finite verb. In (18b), the repetitive effect foregrounds the continuous awakening process of different royal characters in the palace. The example in (18c) presents the parallel pattern showing the similarity in adjacent assertive sentences and the contrast reflected in the negative sentence placed at the end. When the verbal repetition gradually brings the effect of strong expectation for getting the flowers, the final sentence brings the climax full of despair. The expected recurrent pattern breaks with a suggestive contrast between desire and disappointment.

The recurrent use of verb also connects the portions in different paragraphs as mentioned earlier :

19.a. rajkonna Ek kuThurir moddhe aTok hoya rohilen.
princess one cell-GEN within arrest be-CONJ stay-PAST-3P(HON)
'The princess stayed arrested within a cell.' [final sentence of a section]

b. +rohilen – moYurpoNkhi aSia ghaTe
stay-PAST-3P(HON) peacock-shaped (boat) come-CONJ bank-LOC
lagilo…
arrrive-PAST-3P (kalābatī rājkanyā, p.48)

'(the princess) stayed at—the peacock-shaped (boat) came and arrived at the bank.' [initial sentence of the next section]

The same type of periodic use is also observable for the non-finite verbs. This type of practice usually brings the effect of continual movement and mobility in the textual representation. For instance,

20.a. jayte, jayte, jayte, bOsonto kOto pOrbot, kOto bon, kOto deS-bideS
go-GER Basanta so many hill so many forest so many country
chaRaya … dhObol pahaRer kache gia põwchilen.
leave-CONJ white mountain-GEN near go-CONJ arrive-PAST-3P(HON)
(śīt basanta, p.87).

‘On the way Basanta crossed so many hills, forests, countries (and finally) arrived near the white mountain.’

b. ghoRa chuTayte chuTayte … , car bondhu Ek tepantOrer maTher
horse run-CAUS-GER four friend one deserted land-GEN field-GEN
SimaY aSia põwchilen.
boundary-LOC come-CONJ arrive-PAST-3P(HON) (sonār kāṭī rūpār kāṭi, p.160).

‘Four friends while running the horse arrived at the boundary of a deserted field.’

In a few instances the finite and non-finite verbs concurrently show the recurrent use.

c. cahia cahia, dekhia dekhia, SeSe cokkher jOl pORe pORe.
look-CONJ observe-CONJ end-LOC eye-GEN water fall-PRES-3P(REDUPL)
(kiraṇmālā, p.102).

‘Finally after looking and observing the tears were about to come.’

Interestingly, this recurrent pattern is available not only for verbs but also for the noun phrases functionally suggesting a voyage continuing endlessly through time and space (as in *kOto pOrbot, kOto bon, kOto deS-bideS*… [20a]).

4.4 Verb chain as a cohesive construct

The other notable feature of the prose-style in TJ is to relate the finite and non-finite verbs in building a cohesive tie between the adjacent sentences/clauses or sometimes between the sentences in different paragraphs. Generally, the finite verb in the sentence final position gets chained with the same verb in its non-finite form appearing at the initial position of the following sentence or paragraph. For example,

21. a. raja abar chuTia *gElen.* *gia* dEkhen…
king again run-CONJ go-PAST-3P(HON) go-CONJ see-PRES-3P(HON)
(sāt bhāi campā, p.70)

‘The king again ran off. After moving he saw…’

b. rajputrera… chidro dia bahir hoya *aSilo.* *aSia*
prince-PL hole through outside be-CONJ come-PAST-3P come-CONJ
dEkhe buddhu ar bhutum!...
look-PRES-3P Buddhu and Bhutum (buddhu bhutum,p.41).

'The princes came out through the holes. After coming out (they) saw Buddhu and Bhutum.'

c. duy bondhu SOrobOre *namilen.* + *namite namite* duy bondhu
two friend lake-LOC get down-PAST-3P(HON) get down-GER two friend
jOtodur - jan…
as far go-PRES-3P(HON) (pātālkanyā maṇimālā, p.150).

'Two friends got down into the lake. While getting down as far as the two friends travel..'

4.5 Conjunction as a cohesive device

Conjunction plays a key-role in building a cohesive connection between different parts of a text. Conjunction is a device for making logical relationship in discourse. It is a cohesive device as it signals relationships that can fully be understood through reference to other parts of the text (Chapman, 1989: 26, 117; Nunan 1993:26-28). Halliday and Hasan (1976) identified four types of logical relationship in reference to English. Those can also be applied in reference to Bangla text: (i) Additive (marked by conjunction such as *ār, ebaṃ* "and" etc.); (ii) Adversative (marked by element such as *kintu* "but", *athaca* "however" etc.); (iii) Causal (marked by word such as *kāraṇ, kenanā* "because" etc.); (iv) Temporal (marked by words such as *tārpar* "then", *abaśeṣe* "finally" etc.).

TG frequently uses the temporal conjunctional markers for relating sequential events. For instance,

22.a. *tar pOr-bOchor* ranir abar chele hoybe. + *tar pOrer*
that-GEN after year queen-GEN again son be-FUT-3P that-GEN after-GEN
bOchor ranir Ek meY hoylo + *tar pOrer bOchor*…
year queen-GEN one daughter be-PAST-3P that-GEN after-GEN year
(kiraṇmālā, p.98-100).

'Next year the queen again will give birth to a child… next year the queen gave birth to a girl child… next year…'

b. kOto oSudh, kOto cikitSa… OSukh Sarilo na! SeSe
so much medicine so much treatment disease cure-PAST-3P not end-LOC
rani bolilo
queen say-PAST-3P …(sonār kāṭi rūpār kāṭi, p.165).

'So much medicine, so much treatment… the disease was not cured. At last the queen said..'

There are also a few instances for other types such as additive (23a) and adversative (23b) one.

23.a ghumonto rajkonna comkia uThia boSilen. + *ar* omni
sleeping princess surprise-CONJ get up-CONJ sit-PAST-3P(HON) and at once
rajpurir caridike pakhi Dakia uThilo.
palace-GEN four side- LOC bird call-CONJ start-PAST-3P (gh̄umanta purī, p.56)

'The sleeping princess being surprised got up (from the bed) and at once the birds started calling from all directions of the palace.'

b. rajpuri gOmgOm korito. + *kintu* rajar mone Sukh
palace ONOM do-PAST-HAB-3P but king-GEN mind-LOC happiness
chilo na.
be-PAST-3P not (kalābatī rājkanyā, p.29)

'The palace used to resound deeply… but the king had no happiness in his mind.'

4.6 Onomatopoetic form as a stylistic marker

The onomatopoetic forms bring into play another worth noting feature. Onomatopoetic words are the forms in which sound must seem to be an echo to the sense (cf. Gargesh 1990 : 139). In other words it leads to a situation where semantics is manifested through linguistic sequences. Leech (1984:97) truly comments: '… it refers to the purely mimetic power of language--- its ability to imitate other (mostly non-linguistic) sounds.'

That sound enacts the sense is one of the basic motivation underlying choice of the onomatopoetic forms. In case of common words a layer of perception mediates as an interface between the sound and sense being controlled by the social experience and background knowledge of the native speaker. On the contrary, sounds directly trigger the sense and perception of the listener/ reader in onomatopoetic words. Bloomfield

reasonably remarks: ‘ Symbolic forms have a connotation of somehow illustrating the meaning more immediately than do ordinary speech forms.’ (1935: 156).

In most of the instances in TJ, the onomatopoetic forms being in recurrent use build up a musical symphony as well as create phono-aesthetic imageries quite expected in the fairy tales.

24. a. *kOlkOl* SObde rOktonodir jOl toRe chuTiache; …
ONOM sound-LOC blood-river-GEN water forceful-LOC run-PAST PFT-3P
haRe haRe *kOTakOT khOTakhOT* SObdo…
bone-LOC ONOM sound (ḍālimkumār, p.144)

‘The water of the blood-river has started flowing with speed and sweet murmur. There was a repeated striking sound from the bones.’

b. *tOr tOr* koria hirar gach bORo hoylo, *phOr phOr* koria
ONOM do-CONJ diamond-GER tree big be-PAST-3P ONOM do-CONJ
rupar gach pata melilo,… Sitol jhOrnaY muktar jOl
silver-GEN tree leave spread out-PAST-3P cold shower-LOC pearl-GEN water
jhOr jhOr koria jhorite lagilo
ONOM do-CONJ fall-INF start-PAST-3P (kiraṇmālā, p.113).

‘The diamond-tree grew up rapidly. The leaves of the silver-tree spread out with fluttering noise… the pearl-water started dropping in the cold shower.’

In most of the cases onomatopoeia ‘utilizes the phonetic properties of the language to set up resemblances so that sound is made to ‘express’ or ‘enact’ the meaning.’ (Gargesh 1990 : 143). The reduplicated pattern of onomatopoetic forms which are almost an imitation of the actual sounds perceived by the listener may be defined as *primary onomatopoeia*. TJ has frequently used this type and as a consequence musical mosaic full of pace and dynamism gets generated within the text itself.

TJ often shows onomatopoetic forms as adjective either preceding or following the nominal forms. Such type of usage is in most of the cases marked and significant. For example,

25.a. *TukTuke* meY, *TulTule* mukh, hat-pa jEno phul- *tuktuk.*
ONOM girl ONOM face hand-leg as if flower-ONOM
(kiraṇmālā, p.99).

‘A bright girl with spongy face, hands and legs are soft like a flower.’

b. rakkhoSi gia niScinte dudh-*dhObdhOb* SojjaY Suia
female-monster go-CONJ unworried-LOC milk-ONOM bed-LOC lie-CONJ
ghumaia poRilo.
sleep down-PAST-3P (ḍālimkumār, p.139)

‘The female-monster slept down unworriedly after going and lying down at the milk-coloured dazzling white bed.’

c. rajpurir car-cOttor *dOldOl jhOlmOl*
palace-GEN four- courtyard ONOM ONOM
‘ The four courtyards of the palace are bright and shiny(?)’ (ghumanta purī, p.60).

The examples bear the evidence of secondary onomatopoeia which in contrast to primary onomatopoeia is not an imitation of the actual sounds. The forms surpass the layer of audibility and directly trigger the sense of emotion in reader’s perception. It is important to mention that the sounds used in the onomatopoetic forms have the ‘range of potential suggestibility’ (Leech 1984 :97). For instance, the high back vowel ‘u’ has a suggestion for smallness quite appropriate to the example in (25a). The liquid consonant ‘l’ on the other hand suggests softness and rapidity as in the example (24c) (Khatun 1987: p.46-47; p.69). Such type of implication has rightly been confirmed by Leech (1984: 98) : ‘…onomatopoetic effects are attributable to the general ‘colour’ of sounds on such dimension ‘hardness’/ ‘softness’, ‘thinness’/ ‘sonority’. Although judgment … is ultimately subjective, it seems that there is enough general agreement on such associations…’ .

The onomatopoetic forms are also employed in order to add the effect of rhyme in the imposed verse pattern. For example,

26.a. kan noRbe *pOTapOT* / lEj poRbe *cOTacOT*
ear move-FUT-3P ONOM tail fall-FUT-3P ONOM (śiyāl paṇḍit, p.181)
‘The ears and the tail will move in quick succession’

b. sOkol puri *gOmgOma*; sOkol rajjo *rOmrOma*
all palace ONOM all kingdom abundance (kiraṇmālā,p.98)
‘All palaces are full of sound, all kingdoms are bountiful.’

The marked use with no specific sense is also available in some contexts:

27.a. ranira sOkole kilkil koria uThilen
queen-PL all-NOM ONOM do-CONJ engage-PAST-3P(HON)
(kalābatī rājkanyā, p.38)
'The queens all approached to move in a swarm(?)

b. muktar phOl thOre thOre cOm- cOm
pearl-GEN fruit layer-PL-LOC ONOM (kiraṇmālā, p. 113)
'The fruits of the pearls being layered (are) sparkling (?)'

4.7 Noun Phrases in sequence

Two other significant features may be mentioned here before concluding this discussion. The dynamic illustration in TJ is over and over again reflected in the sequential use of Noun Phrases. For instance,

28.a. kheter dhan, gacher phOl, kOloS kOloS gONgajOl, Dol-bhOra mug,
field-GEN paddy tree-GEN fruit pitcher-PL Ganga-water pot-filled pigeon pea
kajollOta gaYer dudh…
kajallata cow-GEN milk (kiraṇmālā, p.100)

'The paddy of the field, fruits of the tree, water of the Ganges (filled up in) the pitchers, pots full of pigeon peas and the milk of the cow named Kajallata.'

b. kannakaTi, citkar, hahakar, buke capoR, chuTachuTi.
weeping shouting wailing chest-LOC slapping running (ḍālimkumār, p.141)

'Weeping, shouting, wailing, slapping on the chest and speedy running'

The tightly framed sentence with the overused NPs builds a colourful collage of transient images producing the desired effect of pace and dynamism.

4.8 Numerical index as over -specified

In fine, we may note the frequent use of numerical index as a typical features of the folktales. In most of the tales in TJ the characters and the animate/inanimate objects are specified by the numerical indices. Specifically, this tendency is very much prominent usually in the beginning or middle of the texts of the fairy tales (Chakraborti 2019; Majumdar, 2015 : 147).

29.a. Ek je raja. rajar Sat rani.

One that king king-GEN seven queen (kalābatī rājkanyā, p. 29)

‘There is a king; the king has seven queens.'

b. carijone cari ghoRa chuTaia dilen..

four person-NOM four horse run-CAUS-CONJ give-PAST-3P(HON)

car dike car pOth… car ghoRa car pOthe chuTila

four direction- LOC four way four horse four way-LOC run-PAST-3P

(sonār kāṭi rūpār kāṭi, p.160)

‘Four (persons) caused four horses to run;… four ways in four directions… four horses ran through four ways.’

5. Conclusion

The present article was an attempt to explore some significant stylistic features inherent in the folk-narrative ‘Thākurmā’r Jhuli’. Any narrative generally has two important components, namely *dialogue* and *narration.* The dialogue plays an important role in the folk-narratives. Because dialogue itself associates the world of animate and inanimate entities. The dialogues in TJ are usually in *sādhu* variety; though the conflict between *sādhu* and *calit* variety has become a notable characteristics in this text. It is interesting to find out this *calit* variety as frequently blended with the colloquial tune, specifically in case of animal tales. The dialogues are often significant in shaping the narrative part. As a consequence, narrative part appears as a dialogic interaction. Even the thoughts and ideas of different characters (animate /inanimate) come out in the dialogic form. The tendency of making dialogues as character-oriented is also evident in different tales. The interaction of the female characters or the demons precisely confirms this situation. In the tales, not basically fairy in nature, the characters often shape the dialogue, mostly mingled with *calit* and spoken variety. It is also worth noting that the stylistic devices such as parallelism, substitution have become functional in forming cohesive linkage in the dialogue pattern.

The other important feature is the use of verses in dialogue preferably with end-rhyme. The verses are occasionally mixed with *sādhu* and *calit* variety and sometimes tend to become close to the language variety used in prose. The verses may have some functional roles; they may be purely informative or expressive of the emotion and

attitude of the characters. In many cases, verses are employed as a device for representing sequence of events or for creating a dramatic suspense. The use of recurrence, substitution or contrast as a stylistic device is regular in the pattern of verses.

The narrative part of the text is characterized by the regular use of parallel pattern of sentences representing minute details, kinesthetic imagery and musical symphony sweet to perceive. Syntactic parallelism functions as a discourse strategy in building cohesive linkage between different parts of the text. Moreover recurrent pattern of verbs, the chained connectivity between finite and non-finite verbs, the use of the conjunctive markers etc. are the significant stylistic mechanism for keeping up the cohesive bond within the textual structure. It has also been discussed in this context that the onomatopoetic forms have a range of potential suggestibility as well as symbolic connotation in this excellent piece of folk-narrative.

Notes :

(i) The example sentences are represented only in Modified IPA. Here we are following Modified IPA for phonetic transcription. O, E are used for low-mid back and front vowels respectively. T, D, R denote retroflex sounds. S is used for palato-alveolar sibilant; N for velar nasal and '~' above the vowel for nasalization respectively. The reference to the texts and the words is given in Roman script.

(ii) Source: Mitra Majumdar D.R.(2005) : *Thākurmā'r Jhuli.* 1st publ. 1907. Kolkata: Mitra and Ghosh.

Abbreviations:

1P,2P,3P	:	First, second, third person
ACC	:	Accusative
ADDR	:	Address term
CAUS	:	Causative
COMP	:	Complementiser
COND	:	Conditional
CONJ	:	Conjunctive
CONT	:	Continuous
DEF	:	Definite Article
EMPH	:	Emphatic marker

EXCLAM	:	Exclamatory form
FEM	:	Feminine
FUT	:	Future
GEN	:	Genitive
GER	:	Gerund
HAB	:	Habitual
HON	:	Honorific
IMP	:	Imperative
INF	:	Infinitive
LOC	:	Locative
NA	:	Nominal Affix
NOM	:	Nominative
NON-HON	:	Non-Honorific
ONOM	:	Onomatopoetic form
PART	:	Particle
PAST	:	Past tense
PFT	:	Perfect
PL	:	Plural
PRES	:	Present tense
QUES	:	Question form
REDUPL	:	Reduplicated

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Nationalism as a Threat to Multilingualism

Aditi Ghosh

Abstract : Amidst the worldwide concern for loss of multilingualism and increasing number of endangered languages, this paper tries to look at one of the most dominant ideology in today's world, i.e., Nationalism and its effect on Multilingualism. The ideology of nationalism is deeply rooted in philosophy of a polity based on socio cultural uniformity. Diversity and multiplicity in culture including language is seen within this framework as an unwanted and even dangerous for a cohesive united nation. Researches in the field as well as analysis of history, however, show that such assumptions are not well-founded. This paper discusses the problematic outlook that nationalism adopts towards multilingualism, delves into the misleading beliefs associated with this outlook and finishes with a brief survey result reflecting the effect of such ideology on a section of Kolkata residents.

Keywords : multilingualism, language diversity, nationalism, language policy, language ideology.

1. Introduction

In a meeting held on 22nd November 2016 the UN general assembly adopted a resolution that stressed the "urgent need to preserve, promote and revitalize endangered languages" and further proclaims that 2019 would be declared as the International Year of Indigenous Languages, inviting UNESCO to take necessary steps in that respect (UNESCO, 2016). This declaration comes in a series of steps taken by the UN to protect diversity and multilingualism and create awareness about the need to promote non-dominant local languages all over the world. The year 2008 was declared the year of languages. In the year 2000, the 21st February was declared as the International Mother Tongue day. These efforts mark the fact that languages are dying at an alarming rate. Some scholars (Krauss, 1992) predicted that among the languages spoken currently in the world, 90% would be either dead or severely endangered in one hundred years. Other scholars (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Crystal, 2000) give a lower estimate of 50%. In any case, it is evident that languages are dying or ceasing to be in use at a very rapid rate.

2. Factors causing language death

As we may be aware, language death do not necessarily mean death of all the speakers of the language, though it is possible. Languages may die when an entire language community is dead because of human-created or natural calamities like war, genocide, ethnic cleansing, earthquake etc. However, this is rarely the cause of language death or endangerment in today's world. More often than not, languages start "dying" when speakers of one linguistic community start using a different language progressively in domains that were primarily the domains of their own 'mother tongue'. This happens usually because the second language has a more dominant position among languages as it has more functional and/or social relevance. And since only a handful of languages all over the world hold this dominant position, a large number of indigenous languages are in danger of falling into disuse creating an unfavourable scenario for multilingualism.

The process through which a language is used less and less in domains where it was used robustly before is called a shift. During this time, the community goes through a process of unstable bilingualism or 'leaky diglossia' (Fishman, 1967) where the dominant language proliferates in regular usage of a community and the non-dominant language gradually weakens in usage. The non-dominant language during this process shows symptoms of endangerment (Dorian, 1980) or lack of vitality. For example, it may become structurally simpler as the speakers in community level (though it may not affect all the speakers at the same time) start to lose competence in the language (Mufwene, 2004). At the same time, it would be used in fewer domains – the formal and more prestigious domains are the first where dominant language replaces the local languages, then it proliferates into the more informal and intimate domains of family and friendship. And finally there are fewer and fewer domains left for the local non-dominant language and fewer speakers left to speak or even acquire the language. One of the most significant symptom of endangerment is when in community level languages is not transmitted to the children of the family. (Fishman, 1991; Krauss, 1992) . In today's world language shift is almost always, at least ostensibly, a voluntary phenomenon. To quote

Denison (1977) it should be better called ‘language suicide’ rather than ‘language murder’ or ‘language death’, since the causes of language death seem ‘social and psychological’ as parents cease to transmit the language to the children voluntarily, rather than as a result of any palpable overt pressure. To quote him

> ‘… a speech community, sometimes “decides”, for reasons of functional economy, to suppress a part of itself in the process of onward transmission. Less extravagantly, and more accurately, we can say that there comes a point when a multilingual parent considers it no longer necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The language at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until there is nothing left for them appropriately to be used about.’ (Page 21)

Based on Denison’s comment it can be said that the so-called “suicide” is not really without abetments. Even though language shift for an individual and for a community may appear to be a matter of ‘free choice’, the choice results from several interconnected situations and policies. There are actually a number of interconnected external factors that regulate that ‘free choice’. The proof that the choice is not “free” is evident in the fact that we almost never witness shift from a dominant language to a non-dominant local one.

A number of interconnected factors influence the vitality of a language. While the number of speakers left in a community an obvious indication of language endangerment, there are a multiple factors which can be checked to see the vitality of the language in question. The

following chart (figure 1) provided by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) based on works of Deutsch (1966), Kloss (1969), Verdoodt (1973), identifies three major factors and several sub-factors affecting the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language.

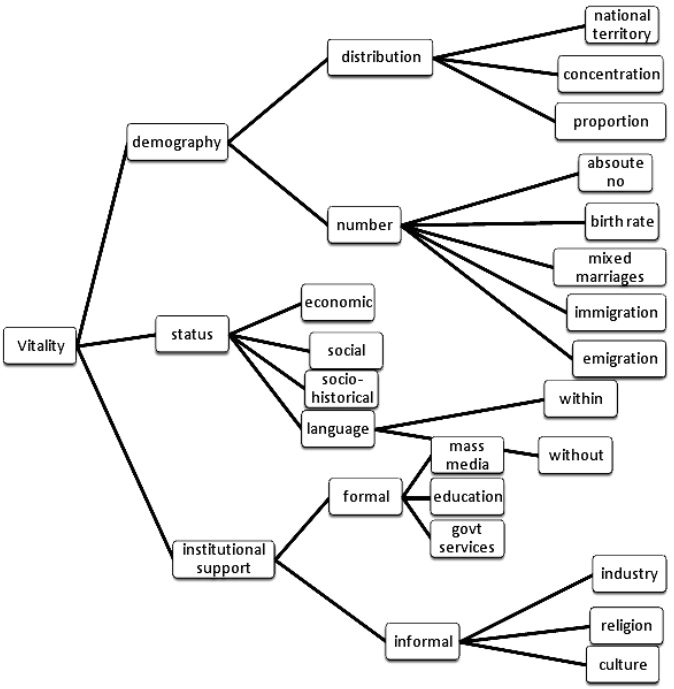

Figure 1 factors influencing ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977)

As mentioned already, all these factors are related. For example, status of the language and absolute and proportional number of speakers may be dependent on socio-economic factors and these socio-economic factors may be directly related to policies adopted by formal and informal institutions. Migration – a recurrent cause of language shift – is often caused by poverty or policy of unequal distribution of resources.

Sallabank (2012, p. 104) following on Nettle and Romaine (2000) and Crystal (2000) lists five common (also interconnected) factors which can explain the 'social and psychological' reasons that prompt speakers of a community to voluntarily choose a more dominant language.

1. Economic – languages shift is almost always towards language which is more influential, not necessarily in terms of numbers of speakers, but in terms of social prestige, functional utility. Migration – which may locate a linguistic community in a space where their language is low prestige, numerically insignificant and socio-culturally non-dominant – is almost always caused by search for a more economically resourceful place and this causes change in absolute and proportional number of speakers. Besides, competence in dominant languages provides obvious economic advantages which motivates the speakers to shift their allegiance to that language instead of the local language.
2. Cultural – the dominant language has advantages of being the language of education, literature and popular media. Often the dominant language enjoys state patronages of various kinds which promote its cultural value. This is discussed in details in the next point. In any case, the high cultural or socio-cultural prestige of the dominant language is another reason for speakers of local languages to shift to the dominant languages.
3. Political – governments and institutions, for various reasons including nationalist ideologies, may form policies that direct national resources to dominant language(s) and ignore/exclude local languages. This promotes these languages to more prestigious and socially dominant positions.
4. Historical – events such as colonisation, border dispute etc may see rise of one group in a more dominant position at the detriment of other.
5. Attitudinal – the non-dominant language(s), brought about by factors mentioned, become progressively associated with negative connotations, such as poverty, illiteracy, low achievement whereas the dominant language is associated with progress.

The discussion above proves, that the choices made by individual or community are almost inevitably influenced directly or indirectly by formal or informal institutional policies. Sallabank (2012) comments "attitude and ideologies are key to whether language(s) are maintained or abandoned". The attitude that influences language maintenance is individual as well as institutional. Religious or cultural identity

associated with language can help in language maintenance or language revival. This is almost always supported by informal institutions and communities. And the influence of formal institution can be a very important factor here as it can exert both overt and covert pressure on language groups to move to a language that is promoted by that institution. The ideology and attitude is of utmost importance here.

3. Diversity as an anti-national phenomenon

Multilingualism is often seen as a problem by national governments. Multiplicity is interpreted as potential source of disunity and detrimental to the concept of a united, cohesive and strong nation, which must be based on solidarity – a solidarity which in turn should be based on commonality or shared root. The concept of nation is founded on a solidarity or fraternity based on common origin or purpose. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) shows that nationalist groups often invent or exaggerate the history to make people believe that they have cohesion, common purpose, cultural production and rootedness. In this schema the integrity of national identity is rooted in the common history and for this a common language plays a pivotal role. Anderson (1983) emphasised the importance of 'national print language' in motivating population to imagine themselves as national community. Habermas (2001) also opined that language is an integral part of construction of national identity.

It may be mentioned here that the concept of nation, in the sense in which it is discussed in this paper, is a relatively new one and is generally considered to be a consequence of French and American Revolution and it is different from the concept of a government or a country. This difference is best illustrated by Tagore in his Nationalism (1917)

> "But the difference between them and the government by the Nation is like the difference between the hand loom and the power loom. In the products of the hand loom the magic of man's living fingers finds its expression, and its hum harmonizes with the music of life. But the power loom is relentlessly lifeless and accurate and monotonous in its production. "

This beautiful metaphor points to the fact that the nation demands a mundane uniformity of culture in place of the finesse of variety.

The terms ‘nation’ ‘country’ ‘nationality’ are often used alternatively and with various connotations. Fishman (1968a) offers three distinct terms with distinct interpretations to deal with this terminological problem.

Nation – is the politico-geographic entity (otherwise referred to as country, polity, state) such as – qualify for membership in the United Nation. Nation, as an entity may not be socio-culturally uniform.

Nationality – on the other hand, might be best considered as a socio-cultural entity that may have no corresponding politico-geographic realisation. Its discriminations are essentially at the level of group behaviour and group values rather than at the level of government, politico-geographical realisations and implementation.

Nationalism – the driving reorganising dynamic in this nationality into nation process, i.e., mapping the socio-cultural entity on to the politico-geographical entity.

It can be seen from Fishman’s projection that cultural uniformity is an essential requirement of nationalism. Diversity is undesirable as it stands in the way a uniform nation. Multilingualism as a major component of cultural diversity is seen as a failure. So ideally the nationalist idea of nation requires its citizens to be monolingual and monocultural. If that is not possible, then at least they should ideally display loyalty to a national language and adopt one language as true representative of the nation. The history of rise of Nationalism in Europe bears witness to this fact.

4. Nationalism and multilingualism in Europe

In the early days of French Revolution the Abbe Gregore (a French Roman Catholic priest and a revolutionary leader) conducted a language census to establish the extant of language diversity in France. Though the authenticity of census survey is questioned, it was found that half of the new category of French citizens either did not know French or knew it very little. For the first three years of the Revolution, the official documents were translated in various languages for the benefit of local

language speakers. However, in 1793 tolerance to diversity was completely abandoned with a law that forbade the use of any other language than French in official documents and notifications. This came partly as a consequence of anti-revolution resistance and partly because of the rising belief that non-French is equivalent to anti-nation and potential enemies of revolution. Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, prominent politician during French revolution who proposed the promotion of the cause of nationalism and patriotism with the doctrines of --

1) the teaching of national patriotism through an organized system of universal education;
2) the national widespread of patriotic devotion;
3) the concept that one owed his nation his services

Barère's 1974 speech reflected this ideology that not shifting to French is equivalent to be an enemy of the nation.

> 'Federalism and superstition speak Breton, emigration and hate of republic speak German, counter-revolutions speak Italian, fanaticism speak Basque. Let us smash these faulty and harmful instruments … citizens of a free nation should have a single language to be used by all'.
>
> 'it suited the monarchy that (the country) should be a Tower of Babel; in a democracy, however, it would be a betrayal of the nation if its members did not understand the national languages, could not exercise power … for a free people the language must be one and the same for all.' (Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, 27 January 1974, cited in (Mooney, 2015)

France followed this policy with active status and corpus planning including obligatory French medium primary education, French speaking junior school teacher in every commune, publishing new edition of dictionaries in French and construction and adoption of new plain style of standard French. There was no room for diversity and there was strong pressure on non-French speakers to assimilate. This

forced the non-French speakers to shift to French and the local and regional languages became minority languages with almost no linguistic rights.

For Germany the concept of nation-state was attractive and immitable. However, for German speaking world, the German nationality was based on one common heritage that is Luther's translation of Bible in the early sixteenth century. Johann Gottlieb Fichte – the German philosopher known as the founder of the movement of German idealism – in his *Address to the German Nation* (Fichte, 1922), proclaimed that German speakers should be considered a group as they are defined by their languages. However the German romantic concept of Nationalism required more than the ability to speak the language it was a coming together of those who are 'united by a common language' and also joined by 'a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself'. German nation building came to be based on the concept of *jus sanguinis* – bloodlines. Though language was a common factor, it did not provide a road to acquiring German national membership, so immigrants groups were not permitted to be Germans. This law was in force till 1 January 2000 with the amendment of naturalisation law which made German citizen ship easier to acquire.

Nationalism has been a successful concept in most of Europe. The predominant ideology is that the national language is to be considered as national capital and a sign of patriotism whereas holding on to a local language and dialect is equated with taking a stand against the nation.

> 'it is no coincidence that Europe, the birthplace of nation-state, is the continent where there are the fewest languages according to those such as Ethnologue' (Wright, 2012 : 67)

5. Nationalism and Multilingualism in India

Nationalism in India in the pre-independence period was directly influenced by the idealism of nation in the European states. To understand the attitude towards multilingualism in India, we may take a look into the history and see the approach of the British administrators. On the issue of linguistic provinces, Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras, in 1935 commented that

> ‘One cannot certainly have a united India if he is going to have a government conducted in many languages. I do not believe that the two things [Indian unity and linguistic provinces] are possible nor do they coincide.’ (*cited in* King 1997:67)

Ambedkar in his Thoughts on linguistic state (1955) argues that German, France, Italy, England and U.S. follow "One State, one language" rule, emphasising that solidarity or ‘fellow feeling’ or ‘relatedness among citizens’ is dependent on common language.

> "One State, one language" is a universal feature of almost every State. Examine the constitution of Germany, examine the constitution of France, examine the constitution of Italy, examine the constitution of England, and examine the constitution of the U.S.A. "One State, one language" is the rule.
>
> Wherever there has been a departure from this rule there has been a danger to the State. The illustrations of the mixed States are to be found in the old Austrian Empire and the old Turkish Empire. They were blown up because they were multi-lingual States with all that a multi-lingual State means. India cannot escape this fate if it continues to be a congery of mixed States.
>
> The reasons why a unilingual State is stable and a multi-lingual State unstable are quite obvious. A State is built on fellow feeling. What is this fellow-feeling? To state briefly it is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This feeling is a double-edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one’s own kith and kin and anti-fellowship for those who are not one's own kith and kin. It is a feeling of “consciousness of kind " which on the one hand, binds together those who have it so strongly that it over-rides all differences arising out of economic conflicts

> or social gradations and, on the other, severs them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing not to belong to any other group.

Gandhi's insistence and tireless campaigns for the promotion and spread of Hindustani is well documented (King, 1997; Dasgupta, 1970). It may be mentioned here that the common language for him was Hindustani, which is very different from what is called *Suddh Hindi*. It is a language that Hindus and Muslims of North India speak and can be written in either Devanagari or in Persian script – a concept that is abandoned in the Indian constitution where Hindi is defined as the language written in Devanagari script only. For Gandhi this language seems to be almost artificially constructed language for the benefit of harmony.

> '… neither Sanskritised Hindi nor Persianised Urdu, but a happy combination of both and freely borrowing words from regional language.' (Harijansevak, October 12, 1947 cited in Fazal, 2012).

> 'a resultant of Hindi and Urdu, neither highly Sanskritized nor highly Persianized or Arabinized'(Young India, August 27 1925, *cited* in King 1997: 82).

He promoted the cause of Hindi as a replacement of English – which according to him represented the colonial rulers and therefore a 'sin' to speak.

> 'I hail from Gujrat. My Hindi is broken. I speak to you, brothers, in that broken Hindi of mine, because even if I speak a little of English, I have the feeling that I am committing a sin'
>
> (All-India Script and Common Language Conference in Lucknow 1916. *ibid*, 1997: 82).

One of the strongest and most direct arguments against multilingualism was made by him in 1925, where he asked for a sacrifice from minority language for the sake of the nation.

> ‘ a spirit that is so exclusive and narrow as to want every form of speech to be perpetuated and developed, is anti-national and anti-universal. All underdeveloped and unwritten dialects should … be sacrificed and merged in the great Hindustani stream. It would be a sacrifice …, not a suicide.’
>
> (Young India, 27 august, 1925, *ibid*, 1997: 82)

6. Problems with diversity = division argument

The basic argument against multilingualism and by extension multiculturalism in the nationalist ideology is that does not fit with the perception of a united cohesive country based on solidarity. It is believed that a single language is needed to provide the common thread which would define the ‘Indianness’ of the citizens, and differentiate them from the others – the ‘non-Indians’, specially the colonial rulers, for whom English symbolised a similar role. According to this argument replacing English with Hindi would signify a transition from colonialism to nationalism where Hindi would replace English ideally in all the functional and social spaces. It may be noted here that though this argument shows a departure from the colonial system in symbolic way, from the point of view of linguistic domination and linguistic ideology, there is no significant departure. The colonial ideology of preference for a one- culture nation is adopted without question by the nationalists. It is still based on the presumption that nurturing multilingualism is detrimental to national unity.

This assumption, however, is not necessarily true. It may be mentioned here, that the theory that linguistic heterogeneity would necessary lead to linguistic conflict is not accepted by most sociolinguists. Fishman (1968b) in his paper on linguistically homogenous and linguistically heterogeneous polities conducted an exhaustive analysis of states to see the relationship between linguistic heterogeneity and other characteristics of the polity. In an uncontrolled analysis it seemed that linguistically homogenous polities are economically more advanced, educationally more advanced and politically more modernised. However, when these data is controlled by the economic factor (Fishman used per capita Gross National Product as

an indicator of economic factor) this correlation between homogeneity and advancement becomes less apparent (p62ff)

> It strongly suggests that the simultaneous pursuit of the advantages of higher economic status coupled with the protection or maintenance of valued cultural-linguistic differences is not a will-o-wisp. .. high political enculturation and low sectionalism. These were the only two variables for which controlling the level economic development resulted in no diminution of the differences originally encountered between linguistically homogenous and heterogeneous polities (p 64)

Furthermore political integration does not require socio-cultural integration. These two are separate factors and conflicts can arise in a linguistically homogenous polity and not appear in a highly diverse polity. He elaborates that

> '*Divisineness is an ideologized position*, it can magnify minor differences and indeed it can manufacture differences in languages and in other matters almost as easily as it can capitalize on more obvious differences. *Unification is also an ideologlized position.*' (*ibid*, p-45, author's emphasis).

7. A case study from Kolkata

In this section of the paper, I present the attitude of a section of Kolkata residents towards issues pertaining to multilingualism and national language (for a detailed analysis of results *see* Ghosh, 2018). The results show that the belief that multilingualism is undesirable for a nation is quite wide spread and deep rooted. These responses were collected from a survey[1] conducted in Kolkata from 2008- 2011 among a section of long term Kolkata residents whose mother tongue is not Bengali and those who have at least ten years of formal education. The linguistic backgrounds of respondents are represented in table 1.

[1] This survey was conducted under the University with Potential for Excellence scheme under the University Grants Commission (UGC). The author is grateful to UGC for the support.

		Frequency	Percent
1.	HINDI(s)[2]	319	64.6
2.	MALAYALAM	37	7.5
3.	TAMIL	26	5.3
4.	URDU	24	4.8
5.	PUNJABI	19	3.8
6.	GUJARATI	19	3.8
7.	MAITHILI	15	3.0
8.	ORIYA	9	1.8
9.	NEPALI	7	1.4
10.	KONKANI	5	1.0
11.	TELUGU	5	1.0
12.	FRENCH	3	.6
13.	MARATHI	2	.4
14.	SINDHI	1	.2
15.	KACHCHI GUJARATI	1	.2
16.	CHINESE	1	.2
17.	KANNADA	1	.2
18.	LISANUL DAWAAT	1	.2
	Total	495	100

Table 1: linguistic backgrounds of the respondents

8. The issue of multilingual India

The first issue to be analysed here is the respondents' opinion on whether they would have preferred India as a one-language country and if they did, what would have been the language of their choice for that hypothetical one-language India. The respondents overwhelmingly preferred India as a one language country and chose Hindi to be the chosen language for that country as can be seen in table 2 and table 3.

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	410	82.8
No	55	11.1
Total	465	93.9
Missing System	30	6.1
Total	495	100.0

Table 2 Preference for India as a one-language country

[2]"Hindi(s)" indicate those who stated their mother tongue as Hindi or as one of the MTs listed under Hindi in census

	Frequency	Percent
HINDI	309	62.4
ENGLISH	83	16.8
TAMIL	2	.4
MALAYALAM	1	.2
SANSKRIT	6	1.2
KONKONI	1	.2
BENGALI	3	.6
HINDI/ENGLISH	3	.6
BHOJPURI	1	.2
TOTAL	409	82.6
SYSTEM	86	17.4
TOTAL	495	100.0

Table 3: preferred language for a hypothetical one-language India

Keeping in mind the large presence of Hindi(s) among the respondents, I tried to check the responses of those who did not return Hindi(s) as their mother tongues. Even though the preference for India as a one language country becomes lower than before in this group, still 73.3% said that it would be better for India. However, the preference for Hindi as the one language for that hypothetical one language India drops to 46%. The detailed results can be seen in table 4 and 5.

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	132	73.3
No	22	12.2
Total	154	85.6
Missing System	26	14.4
Total	180	100.0

Table 4: preference for India as a one-language country (non-Hindis group)

	Frequency	Percent
HINDI	83	46.1
ENGLISH	37	20.6
TAMIL	2	1.1
MALAYALAM	1	.6
SANSKRIT	4	2.2
KONKONI	1	.6
BENGALI	2	1.1
HINDI/ENGLISH	1	.6
TOTAL	131	72.6
SYSTEM	49	27.2
TOTAL	180	100.0

Table 5: preferred language for a hypothetical one-language India (non-Hindis group)

9. The issue of national language

The issue of promoting Hindi as a representative language has a long history and already discussed in this paper. Till date India does not have a designated national language. However, in the interviews it was seen that a good section of the respondents were unaware of it and Hindi is "imagined" (Chand, 2011) as a National language and that it is a duty of every citizen to either show loyalty or to learn the language.

As an example I give below a few excerpts from some of the interviews.

Excerpt 1

Interviewer: If you are asked to choose the national languages… then which language would you choose?

Respondent: National language is Hindi. It should stay the same

[Res. No 89, F, 28][3]

Excerpt 2

Interviewer: How important is to speak Hindi properly and fluently or correctly?

[3]Responses are translated by the author. Most interviews were conducted in Hindi, English and Bengali with frequent switching from one language to another.

Respondent: It IS important because more respect to our national language respect to our national language, ok, and that's I feel our identity when we step out of India, so at least where we Indians are concerned we should have […] you know hold on (to) that language.

[Res no. 102, F 42]

Excerpt 3

Interviewer: and if you are asked to select a national language, which language would you choose?

Respondent: we are proud (of) Hindi… I will select Hindi

Interviewer: why?

Respondent: why else? Because Hindi is our National Language … its useful …we feel proud… it should continue to be the national language.

[Res No. 207, F 21]

Excerpt 4

Interviewer: ok … and what is your opinion on Hindi language? How is the language?

Respondent: Hindi is the national language so it is better that every one learns it, so that everyone knows some Hindi.

[Res No 55, F 49]

10. Concluding remarks

A celebration for monoculturalism and denunciation of multiculturalism is a pervasive stance in the framework nationalist ideology. Monoculturalism is thought to be the natural foundation for a solidary, united nation, even though various studies have shown socio-cultural unity is not a necessary requirement for political unity. In fact, a monocultural polity may also be divisive in its ideology. In India, where the nationalism is yet to be scrutinised sufficiently public sphere, both among political leaders and common people, there seems to be a tendency accept, conform or promote to this standpoint as the only bona fide approach for the good of the state. To preserve multilingualism and to see it as a resources rather than a problem, we need to promote the awareness that it is possible to have a multilingual, multicultural and united polity. This requires persistent questioning to the nationalist ideology that vilifies socio-cultural diversity.

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Gene and Language

Sunandan Kumar Sen

Abstract: The present paper intends to throw light on the interaction between Genetic science and Linguistics. The development of Genetic science since middle of twentieth century and human genome study from the beginning of the present era giving us various information on the origin of human population, migration of the human population, correlation between world-wide distribution of human genes and language, biological classification and language family etc. It is interesting to note that language divergence and genetic divergence are two independent factors which have taken place often parallel. Last but not the least the authenticity of Indo-Aryan migration from genomic study has been discussed.

Keywords : Rh factor, DNA, nuclear gene, bio-genetics, mtDNA, Y-chromosome, R1a1a.

1. The New Approach

The beginning of modern Linguistics dates back to the end of the eighteenth century when Sir William Jones observed the structural similarity between some European languages and Sanskrit. One must not forget the fact that before Jones at least three different scholars were able to ascertain the fact that structural similarities are there among the languages which are geographically well dispersed from each other. During the last century the linguist research has experienced a dynamic inertia with the development of Structuralism and Generative Grammar. As an inevitable result many other subjects have started to penetrate in the domain of Linguistic study. As a consequence Linguistics has now become a multidisciplinary subject.

An exhaustive analysis of human genetic information gathered in the last fifty years has enabled the scholars to map the worldwide distribution of human genes. This data is very useful in reconstructing the origin of human population and the migratory paths by which they have spread across the world. The percentage of genetic difference among the tribal group is very important to the scholars for this study. Because the aboriginal people practically confined themselves in their original territory and they are not subject to any kind of migration easily. But the situation is far more complicated in metropolitan societies. Therefore the focus of the study is on the aboriginal tribal

population. Moreover there is a tendency in history of mankind that human species was organised by tribes or group of fairly closely related people. Tribal affiliation is always a cardinal point in tribal societies. In addition there is often (but not always and not everywhere) one to one correspondence between language and tribe. Therefore language often offers us a rough guide to tribe. Now it is the time to explain what we mean by genetic difference. A good example of percentage of genetic difference among the world population is furnished by human Rh factor[i] a very common blood antigen. It may be either positive or present in human or negative that is absolutely absent. The predominance of [Rh-] gene is found in Europe and [Rh +] gene is found virtually in whole East Asia and among the aboriginal population of America and Australia. On the other hand in Africa and West Asia the [Rh -] gene is less frequent[ii]. The degree of relatedness is achieved by subtracting the percentage of [Rh-] factor among the individuals. As for instance the English people has 16 % [Rh-], the Basque people has 25% [Rh-] and the East African population has 32% [Rh-]. Thus the difference between English and Basque is 9% and English and East Africans is 16%; the greater difference implies a separation that has taken place much earlier. The genetic distance increases regularly over time. The longer the two population are separated the greater there genetic distance should be. Distance might serve as clock by which we can date evolutionary history. But a single gene like [Rh] cannot give us accurate chronology. Therefore it is essential to average many genes and scholars have already come to know thousands of human gene.

A group of scholars mainly from University of Stanford and University of Turin led by Luigi Luci Cavalli-Sforza have designed a framework to study the history and geography of human gene and used that framework in the finding out the place of human evolution and also tracing out the path of human migration. In this project they have used the data of genetic information that has been gathered in the last fifty years and so on. Moreover, more than three thousand samples of genetically inherited traits from more than twenty thousand populations from different parts of the world are also used in their project.

Their application of genetic study on language supports the old conclusion that Africa is the origin of our species. The genetic distances between African and non- African are much more than those found in other intercontinental comparisons. This proves that African

separation was the first and oldest in the human family. The genetic distance between African and non-African is roughly twice that between Australians and Asians, and the latter is more than twice that between Europeans and Asians. Interestingly the corresponding time of separation as suggested by paleoanthropologist is more or less similar with the study of bio-genetics. With the help of decoding the DNA system in mitochondria some interesting and illuminating suggestions have been offered to us by the scholars. Mitochondria gene differs from those in the nucleus in a fundamental ways. Nuclear genes derive about equal contribution from the father and mother but those genes in mitochondria are passed to offspring almost exclusively by the mother. This simple mode of inheritance makes mitochondrial genes very convenient for estimation of genetic distance. These genes are also subject to high rate of mutation so that it is easy to calculate statistically the genetic distance. The findings of the analysis of mitochondrial gene indicates that human mitochondrial DNA has been evolving for the longest time in Africa, even it can be traced back to a single African woman. It is estimated that the African woman had lived around one lakh fifty thousand to two lakh years ago. This is actually the branching point of the evolutionary tree by comparing the mitochondrial DNA from human and its nearest ancestor chimpanzee. In this context it should also be mentioned that this African woman is not the story of so called 'Eve' as mentioned in Bible. In fact there is no direct evidence yet that there ever was a time when only a single woman lived in the earth. Many other women obviously lived at the same time but their mitochondrial lineage simply was not found. This conclusion agrees with the conclusion of the paleoanthropologists that the genus Homo originated in Africa around two million years ago and the earliest date of modern Homo sapiens fossils is around two lakh years ago.

Not only the origin of human but also the path of migration around the world has also been suggested by Allan Wilson[iii]. From Africa the migration must have proceeded to Asia and then from Asia to Europe. The migration towards Australia is not very early incidence. From Asia the migration has taken place to Australia in much later time around forty thousand years ago. The migration towards America is also taken place in much later date around thirty thousand years ago. All these dates are based on genetic data and interestingly almost agreeing with the dates of anthropology.

A major success has been achieved in the last twenty-five years on the application of genetic study on linguistics. The world-wide distribution of human gene surprisingly correlates well with language. It has been suggested that in certain cases a language or even a language family can serve to identify a genetic population. For example, almost three hundred languages of Bantu family spoken in central and southern Africa which are closely related to one another and correspond closely to tribal boundaries and genetic affiliation among the tribes. This was first suggested by Joseph Greenberg on linguistic ground around sixty years ago. Greenberg suggested that the Bantu tongues are descended from a closely related dialects spoken by early farmers in Nigeria. Later on due to the migration of the farmers their languages were diverged but not so much as to obscure their common origin. This theory of linguistic diversification is also applicable to the genes of these populations and as a result of that Bantu which is originally a linguistic category is now designated as a group of population having both linguistic and a genetic basis.

During the last two decades different scholars and several teams of human geneticists from a number of countries have discovered a significant correlation between linguistic classification and biological classification in many areas of the world including among others Africa, Europe and America. They have noticed that the genetic clustering of world population closely matches that of language. Not only significant similarity is found between biological classification and linguistic classification but also in this context the language families that had been posited by Greenberg is also getting strong foot hold. Greenberg's classification of the world languages in larger families like Eurasiatic/ Nostratic, Amerind, Indo-pacific, Nilo-Saharan was initially not accepted by the scholars mainly by the Indo-Europeanists. But the recent developments in the field of genetic study and its application on linguistics suggest that Greenberg's classification is very similar with the study of geneticists. A major contribution on this field comes from Merritt Ruhlen and Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza. Though Greenberg's classification is not universally accepted so far but those days are probably not far away when his classification might replace the old and traditional concept of language families like Indo-European, Dravidian and Uralic etc.

2. Indo-Aryan Problem

For any historical inference genetic science mainly relies on mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) and Y-chromosome. The mtDNA passes down the generation only from mother to daughter. Although son also inherit it from his mother but it is not passed to his offspring. The Y-chromosome on the other hand travels down to a single lineage like mtDNA, but only from father to son. The phylogenetic tree of both mtDNA and Y-chromosome indicates that Africa was the point of origin of all modern human beings. This out of Africa theory is an old proposition. In the last twenty years, from the beginning of this millennium, the study of population genetics have been shifted from mtDNA study, Y-chromosome study to whole-genome analysis. The mtDNA and Y-chromosome were a window upon a single line of an individual's ancestors; the whole-genome analysis infers the worldwide human relationship from genome-wide patterns of variations. The whole-genome analysis also supports the findings of mtDNA and Y-chromosome. That is the ultimate source of all non-African modern human beings is in Africa.

Regarding the origin of South Asian population mtDNA study indicates that the foremothers of Indians were more closely related to the foremothers of Chinese than the foremothers of Iranians. The Y-chromosome study indicates that the paternal lineages of Indians were closely related to the west, that is the ancestral population of Eurasia. The whole-genome analysis that mainly shed light on average patterns of many ancestral pedigree indicates that south Asians have occupied a position between the West Eurasians (people of Europe) and East Eurasians (people of East and Sotheast Asia).

The Y-chromosome study of the south Asian population indicates a close external affinity in compare to mtDNA analysis. The mtDNA study shows that the maternal lineages of south Asian population are deeply rooted in the subcontinent. But the Y-chromosome lineage, particularly R1a1a-Z93[iv] haplogroup has a wide spread Eurasian distribution. This R1a1a-Z93 is found in East Europe, Central Asia and South Asia. This suggests a possibility of Bronze Age migration of the Indo-Aryan population from the Eurasian steppe. The whole-genome study also indicates that R1a1a-Z93 seems to have been expanded from a small ancestral population almost four thousand years ago. Therefore there was a possibility of significant influx of mobile male pastoralist in

the Indian subcontinent long back ago. The presence of R1a1a in the South Asia could be a significant marker for lineage of Indo-Aryan male population who arrived in successive waves.

In the last ten years advance research work are going on ancient DNA study beside DNA study of modern population. Ancient DNA study is utmost important to trace back the origin of human population, because modern population actually is a mixture of different ancestral groups who no longer exist. The success of ancient DNA study in south Asia is very scanty so far mainly because of the climate condition in this part of the world. The warmer climate preserves DNA poorly. But some findings of ancient DNA study in the South Asia clearly indicate the presence of R1a1a-Z93 from graves of Sbruna culture that flourished from Dnieper to Volga Mountain nearly three thousand eight hundred years ago. This may be a convincing evidence of the influx of R1a1a-Z93 in South Asia from Eurasian steppe. This R1a1a-Z93 haplogroup once was present among the population of Eurasian steppe in the late Neolithic Age and early Bronze Age. Later on they migrated into the Central Asia. The ancient DNA study from wide areas of South Asia along with Afghanistan, Tajikistan also shows that there was a migration of a group of pastoralist from Central Asia around two thousand years ago before the Christian era. This also corresponds with the arrival of chariots in the Near East. But genetic science cannot give any definite answer of their language issue. There is no clue about the language that the migrated pastoralist people spoke. But the ancient DNA study clearly indicates the arrival of steppe pastoralist having R1a1a-Z93 in the north and west of Indian subcontinent around 2000 BC. So far we have no clue about their language issue. But migration strongly points to the arrival of Indo-European speakers in South Asia. The attestation of Indo-Aryan in the historical written records from Mesopotamia and the archaeological evidence of the arrival of chariots prove that these groups of migrated pastoralist were no doubt was Indo-European speakers.

3. The last word

A question may be raised here. Do genes control our language? The answers is no. Our genes do not control our language. On the other hand it is universally accepted theory that any human child will learn whatever language is spoken in his or her surrounding culture. That is

rather circumstances of birth determine the language to which one is exposed. So if there is no direct connection between a person's gene and the language he/she speaks how we can explain a direct correlation between language families as postulated by linguists and human population as defined by the geneticists. The answer is that the language families and biologically distinct human populations are jointly the consequence of certain historical or more often pre-historical events. In the early stages of migration the initial population brought with them a specific language and a specific gene pool. Over the centuries there language had differentiated into several distinct language or dialects and the gene pool of the population that speaks these languages, have also diverged in various ways. These two independent but parallel developments have ultimately left some significant impression which is still evident. Therefore the correlation between language and gene is simply the reflection of certain specific historical events. Our example of Bantu and Indo-Aryan *vis-a-vis* Indo-European are also the outcome of this same historical event.

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[i] Rh blood group system is one of the thirty five known human blood group system. It is the second most important blood group system after ABO blood group system.

[ii] According to worldwide distribution percentage of [Rh+] and [Rh-] is 94% and 6% respectively.

[iii] Wilson (1943-1991) was pioneer in using molecular biology to trace back the human evolution.

[iv] Human Y-chromosome DNA haplogroup which is distributed in large are of Eurasia extending from Scandinavia to South Asia

Part II

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Rhotics of Bengali

Arpita Ray

Abstract: The paper[i] addresses the divergent opinions reflected in the extant literature on the number and the nature of the rhotic phonemes and their allophones in SCB. The study analyses tokens of rhotic phoneme(s) in both isolated word forms and connected/spontaneous speech forms to (i) validate the variations described in the extant literature; and (ii) to augment the descriptions with new inferences if any. The analysis revealed that the alveolar tap [ɾ] is the most frequently occurring realization of the rhotic phonemes in the language. Multiple sub-realizations of [ɾ] were also observed.

Keywords: rhotics, spontaneous speech, assimilation, rhotacization..

1. Introduction

The contemporary script of Standard Colloquial Bengali (henceforth, SCB) has three graphemes that are expected to be realized as rhotics at the phonemic level: র (= {r}); ড় (= {ṛ}) and ঢ় (= {ṛh}). {r} can occur in all positions of a word. {ṛ} and {ṛh} cannot occur word initially (Table 1). Dash (2010) describes {r} as 'alveolar rolled consonant grapheme', {ṛ} as 'retroflex flap consonant grapheme' and {ṛh} as 'aspirated retroflex flap consonant grapheme'.There however exists a difference of opinion in the extant literature on the number of rhotic phonemes in the language as well as on their nature and their allophones.

At the segmental level, Chatterji (1921) posits alveolarflap /r/ and retroflex flap /ṛ/ as the two phonemes with the alveolar flap /r/ having three variants: 'alveolar rolled r' at word initial position 'alveolar flap' at word medial and word final position and a 'slightly higher articulation before /ṭ/'.

Rhotic graphemes	WI	Gloss	WM	Gloss	WF	Gloss
{r}	{rāt}	night	{tārā}	star	{tār}	wire
{ṛ}	--	--	{muṛo}	head	{guṛ}	jaggery
{ṛh}	--	--	{mūṛha}	idiot	{āṣāṛh}	third month of the Bengali calendar

Table 1: Distribution of rhotic graphemes in word initial, word medial and word final positions.

Abbreviations: WI = word initial, WM = word medial, WF = word final.

He observes that a ‘slightly fricative yet rolled r, not a flap, is the only one with some speakers’. He also observes that the distinction between /r/ and /ṛ/ is maintained everywhere in educated speech. Chatterji (1928) made slight changes to his earlier postulations. Instead of alveolar flap he posits alveolar rolled /r/ as a phoneme. In addition to the earlier established allophones of alveolar flap or rolled /r/, he posits a ‘purely dental’ allophone before /t/ and /d/.

Ferguson and Chowdhury (1960) speak of a ‘postdental trill or flap /r/’ and retroflex flap /ṛ/ with varied phonetic values. The ‘postdental trill or flap /r/ is either flapped or trilled with two or three oscillations’at the word-initial position and a flap at the word medial and word final positions. They also observe that sometimes at the word-initial position, or after a labial and retroflex stop the ‘postdental trill or flap /r/’ is a ‘continuant’. The retroflex flap /ṛ/ at the word final position or when followed by a consonant is a ‘prolonged retroflex continuant’ and before /l/ it is a ‘retroflex lateral’.

Kostić and Das (1972), observes that while the ‘Bengali r sound…is defined by a noise-like concentration of acoustic energy’, the ‘Bengali retroflexive r sound, from the acoustic point of view, is a continuous fricative, with some interruption…At the beginning, there is a distinctive concentration of acoustic energy followed by a very short suppression, and then a burst-like concentration follows. After the burst there is a characteristic friction-like distribution of acoustic energy. ’

Bhattacharya (1988) posits an ‘alveolar flap /r/’ with two allophones: (i) flap [r] occurring word medially and finally and (ii) trilled [r̲] occurring at the word initial position. Dasgupta (2003) sets up two rhotic phonemes: ‘the liquid /r/ -an advanced alveolar approximant in normal standard speech’ and a retroflex flap /ṛ/. He further states that the liquid /r/ has a ‘postdental tap’ allophone. Dan (2011) postulates alveolar trill /r/, unaspirated retroflex flap /ɽ/ and aspirated retroflex flap /ɽʰ/ as phonemes. The alveolar trill is observed to have two allophones:[r] and [ɾ]. Dan (2011)also observes that in most cases, the actual pronunciation of /ɽʰ/ is not maintained and is often realized as [ɽ̲].

The above review thus gives a clear picture of the diverse postulations of rhotics in the existing literature. The postulations moreover, are not supported adequately with exemplars from actual speech events. This makes validating and understanding the actual nature of the rhotic phonemes in SCB slightly problematic.

The present study thus attempts to explore the representations of the rhotic graphemes in actual speech events with the purpose to validate the variations already posited in earlier descriptions as well as to posit more variation if any.

2. Data

The study looks into the manifestations of the unaspirated rhotics both in isolated word forms, characterised by hyper-articulation and in connected or spontaneous speech, characterised by hypo-articulation (Lindblom, 1990). The aspirated rhotic was excluded firstly, because the frequency of the occurrence of its corresponding grapheme is extremely low in the language – 0.001% (Dash, 2010) and secondly, a preliminary analysis showed that as observed by Dan (2011), its actual pronunciation was not maintained and was mostly realized as its unaspirated counterpart.

The data for the isolated word forms consists of 9 words containing the grapheme {r} occurring in word initial, intervocalic and word final positions and 6 words containing the grapheme {ṛ} in intervocalic and word final positions. The words were recorded from four male native speakers of SCB (AH, KG, SC and SG), who read out the list of words with a brief pause in between each word. The total number of words used for the study is thus 60 ((9×4 =36) + (6× 4=24)=60). The test items were followed or preceded by one of the three vowels [i], [u] and [ɑ] in word initial and word final positions. In the intervocalic position the test items were both preceded and followed by the same vowel.The recording was done in digital format in an acoustically treated room using a Linear PCM recorder (Olympus LS-10). The data was recorded at 48kHz sampling rate with 16-bit depth. It was down-sampled to 20kHz for further analysis using the Praat software.

The data for the spontaneous speech consists of recordings of radio broadcasts on Akashvani Kolkata. The corpus consists of news broadcasts, interviews, monologues and chat shows. The total duration of the corpus analyzed is 1hour 30minutes. It contains both male and female speakers. Phonemic and corresponding phonetic transcription of the whole corpus was done manually. The rhotic tokens studied in spontaneous speech occur both within word and cross word boundary. Within words they occur in three contexts: intervocalic (V_V); pre-consonantal (_C) and post-consonantal (C_). Cross word boundary, the rhotic tokens occur in the following contexts:

(i)	(C)(V)(P)#_V	Where # = Word boundary, C = Consonant, V = Vowel, P = Pause
(ii)	V_#(C)(V)(P)	

The test tokens were analyzed by an auditory and visual inspection of the waveforms and spectrograms using Praat.

3. Analysis

Analysis of the isolated word forms reveals that although the grapheme {r} exhibits a tendency to be realized mostly as a tap /ɾ/ and the grapheme {ṛ} exhibit a tendency to be realized mostly as a flap /ɽ/, the distinctive distribution is not strict. An alternation between [ɾ] and [ɽ] is observed, with a high possibility of [ɾ] being the only realization. For instance, in Fig. 1a and 1b, the speaker makes a distinction between the phonetic realizations of the underlying graphemes {r} and {ṛ}. The word {ūru} ‘thigh’ is realized as [uɾu] and the word {uṛu} (from the word {uṛu uṛu} restless’ is realized as [uɽu]. A one to one mapping of {r} to [ɾ] and {ṛ} to [ɽ] is thus seen. In Fig. 1c and 1d, the speaker however does not make a distinction between the realizations of {r} and {ṛ}; both the words{ūru} and {uṛu} are realized as [uɽu].

Although often a distinction between tap [ɾ] and flap [ɽ] is not made, they both differ in their articulatory and acoustic aspects (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996). While a tap is produced by a direct movement of the tongue tip to the place of articulation, a flap on the other hand is made by moving the tongue tangentially to the point of articulation where it strikes the passive articulator in passing. Although both [ɾ] and [ɽ] are associated with a lowered third formant (Ladefoged and Johnson, 2011), they differ in formant transition patterns (Ladefoged and Maddi-

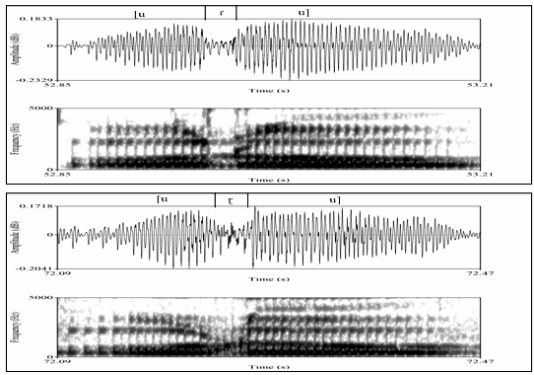

Fig. 1a (upper panel) and 1b (lower panel): Representative examples of {r} realized as [ɾ] and {ɽ} realized as [ɽ]. In 1a, the word {ūru} ‘thigh’ is manifested as [uɾu]. In 1b, the word {uṛu} (from {uṛu uṛu}) ‘restless’ is manifested as [uɽu].

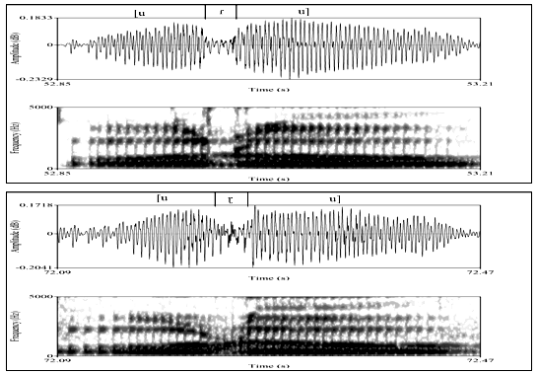

Fig. 1c (upper panel) and 1d (upper panel): Representative examples of {r} and {ɽ} realized as [ɽ]. In 1c and 1d, both the words {ūru} ‘thigh’ and {uṛu} ‘restless’are realized as [uɽu].

-eson, 1996). While taps have similar formant transitions going into and out of the constriction (as evident in Fig.1a), flaps tend to have different transitions(as evident in Fig.1b).

Multiple sub-realizations of [ɾ] were observed in the present data. The sub-realizations at all positions of word alternated with the archetypal realization [ɾ]. The archetypal [ɾ] or [ɽ] in the word initial and word final positions were invariably preceded by a vocalic element (Fig. 2a and 2b). Word initial /ɾ/ was also realized as an approximant [ɹ] (Fig. 2c). In the intervocalic position the rhotic was realized either as [ɹ] (Fig. 2d) or as [ɾ] (same as Fig. 1a) or as [ɽ] (same as in Fig. 1b). At the word final position, the rhotic was realized with voiceless frication (Fig. 2e). It is deduced that during the latter part of the vowel the tip of the tongue

in anticipation of a [ɾ] rises up to make a contact with the alveolar ridge but fails to do so and forms a stricture of close approximation with the alveolar ridge. The close approximation results in a narrow stricture thereby causing the air to pass with a hissing sound. This articulatory configuration is coupled with voicelessness attributed to word final devoicing common across languages (Kenstowicz 1994, as cited in Carranza, 2006). The resultant sound symbolized as [ɻ̊] is referred to as an 'assibilated' rhotic (Carranza, 2006).

The presence of vocalic element preceding [ɾ] or [ɽ] at word initial position and word final position is not unique to the language. This epenthetic vowel has been reported in various dialects of Spanish (Bradley, 2004; Bradley and Schmeiser, 2003; Ramírez, 2006; Romero, 2008; Willis, 2006), French (Colantoni and Steele, 2005), Greek(Baltazani, 2009; Baltazani and Nicolaidis, 2012; 2013), Catalan (Recasens and Espinosa, 2007), Hungarian (Vago and Gósy, 2007), Polish and Romanian (Savu, 2012). Baltazani and Nicolaidis, (2013) observes that the vocalic gesture is articulatory necessary for the execution of the brief/ballistic gesture of taps and flaps.

In spontaneous speech, both within word and cross word boundary, [ɾ] was the most frequent manifestation for the two underlying graphemes {r} and {ṛ}. [ɽ] occurred extremely rarely but again

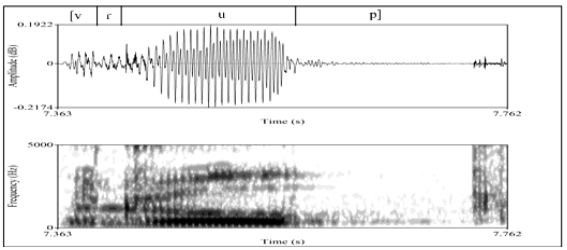

Fig. 2a: Representative example of word realized as [ɾ] preceded by a vocalic element in the word /ɾup/ 'from/shape'.initial /ɾ/

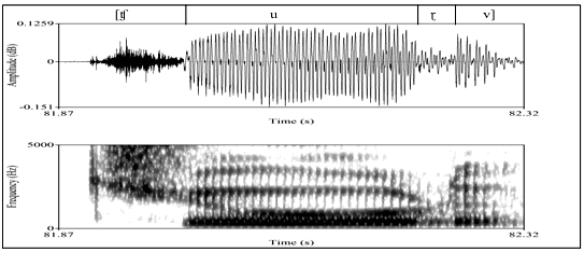

Fig. 2b: Representative example of word final /ɽ/ realized as flap followed by a vocalic element [ɽ^{v}] in the word /ɣuɽ/ 'bracelet'.

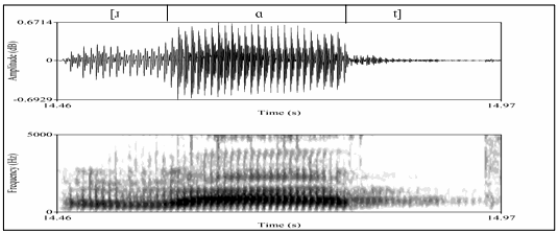

Fig. 2c: Representative example of word initial /ɾ/ realized as an approximant [ɹ] in the word /ɾɑt/ 'night'.

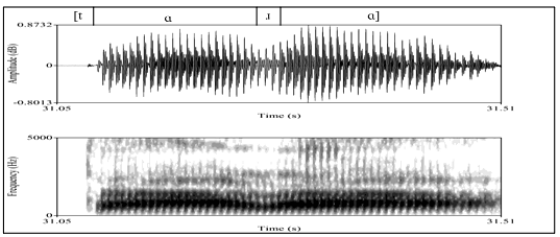

Fig. 2d: Representative example of intervocalic /ɾ/ realized as an approximant [ɹ] in the word /tɑɾɑ/ 'star'.

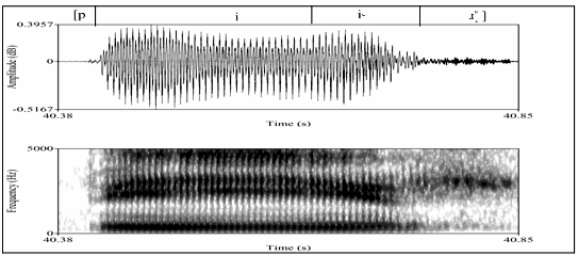

Fig. 2e: Representative example of word final /ɾ/ realized as a rhotacised vowel followed by voiceless friction [i˞ɹ̥] in the word /piɾ/ 'Muslim saint'.

alternated with [ɾ]. In intervocalic position the rhotic was realized as [ɾ] or as an approximant [ɹ] (similar to Fig. 1a and 2d respectively). In pre-consonantal position a strong tendency to be assimilated to the following consonant was observed. The nature of the assimilation is both complete (examples 1-20) and partial (examples 21-23[ii]) and the direction is regressive. While in examples 1-20, the rhotic is completely assimilated to the following consonant; in examples 21-23 the rhotic assimilates only partially to a feature of the following consonant. For example, in 21, /ɾ/ assimilates only to the stop closure gesture of the following affricates [ʤ] and [ʧ] while maintaining its alveolar place of articulation and is realized as alveolar [d] and alveolar [t] respectively. In the latter case the rhotic further assimilates to the phonation of [ʧ]. In

22, /ɾ/ is realized as [n] under the assimilatory influence of the following [m] while maintaining the alveolar place of articulation. In 23, the rhotic assimilates to the stop gesture of the following voiceless stop [t̪] while maintaining its alveolar place of articulation and phonation.

Complete Regressive Assimilation of Manner (/C1/#/C2/)			
1	/ɾ/#/b/>[bb]	/ʃəbʱapotiɾbɔktobbe/ [ʃɔβapot̪i**bb**ɔkt̪obbe]	‘in the comments made by the president of the meeting’
2	/ɾ/#/d/>[d̪d̪]	/ʃondʱe**ɾ d**ike egote paɾi/ [ʃɔnd̪e**d̪d̪**ikeɛ̯eɣo̯t̪epaɹi]	‘we can proceed with the evening’
3	/ɾ/#/tʰ/>[t̪t̪ʰ]	/manuʃe**ɾ t**ʰeke/ [manuʃe**t̪t̪**ʰeke]	‘from a human being’
4	/ɾ/#/n/>[nn]	/tileɾ akaɾe**ɾ n**æɛ̯/ [t̪ileɹakaɾe**nn**æ]	‘of the same shape as a sesame seed’
5	/ɾ/#/m/>[mm]	/ei dʱɔrone**ɾ m**ɔntobbo/ [eidɟ̯ɔrone**mm**ɔn̪t̪obbo]	‘comments like this’
6	/ɾ/#/ʃ/>[ʃʃ]	/proʃa**ɾ ʧ**itɾo/ [poʃa**ʧʧ**it̪t̪o]	‘picture of the campaigning’
7	/ɾ/#/ʤ/>[ʤʤ	/bʱoo̯t̪e**ɾ ʤ**onno/ [bo̯o̯t̪e**ʤʤ**onno]	‘for vote’
8	/ɾ/#/ʃ/>[ʃʃ]	/ʧalaba**ɾ ʃ**omɔɛ̯/ [ʧalaβa**ʃʃ**omae]	‘while driving’
9	/ɾ/#/l/>[ll]	/ɾɔge**ɾ l**okkʰon dækʰa ʤae/ [ɾoge**ll**ɔkkʰond̪ækʰɑ̯adʒæ]	‘symptoms of the disease can be seen’
10	/ɾ/#/t̪/>[t̪t̪]	/gɾambaʃide**ɾ t̪**ren ɔboɾodʱe**ɾ** pʰɔle/ [gɹammaʃiðe**t̪t̪**enɔboɾoðeɟ̊foɫe]	‘because of train blockade by the villagers’

Complete Regressive Assimilation of Manner (/C1C2/)			
11	/ɾʤ/>[ʤʤ]	/doliɔ̯ka**ɾʤ**alɔɛ̯/ [d̪oliʲo ka**ʤʤ**alɔe]	‘in the party office’
12	/ɾt/>[t̪t̪]	/ko**ɾt**e paɾe/ [ko**t̪t̪**epaɾe]	‘can do’
13	/ɾʃ/>[ʃʃ]	P#/ʃo**ɾʃ**ebaʈa/#P [ʃo**ʃʃ**eβaʈa]	‘mustard paste’

14	/ɾʈ/>[ʈʈ]	/ɔpuʃʈidʒe bæpa**ɾʈ**aamɾa boli/ [ɔpuʃʈiʒebæpa**ʈʈ**amɹaboli]	‘the thing that we call malnutrition’
15	/ɾb/>[pp]	P#/pɾotʰompɔ**ɾb**o/#P [pɾot̪ʰompɔ**pp**o]	‘first part’
16	/ɾb/>[bb]	/tin dʒelae̯ ni**ɾb**atʃon hotʃtʃʰe/ [t̪iĩndʒelæni**bb**atʃonɦo̤otʃtʃʰe]	‘election is taking place in three districts’
17	/ɾd/>[d̪d̪]	/dʒananoɾni**ɾd**eʃodewa hoe̯tʃʰe/ [dʒananonni**d̪d̪**eʃd̪eʷaɦoetʃʰe]	‘has been instructed to inform’
18	/ɾl/>[ll]	/mɔntobbo ko**ɾl**e/ [mɔnt̪obbokо**ll**e]	‘if (he) comments’
19	/ɾtʰ/>[t̪t̪ʰ]	/pɾaɾtʰike ʃɔmɔ**ɾtʰ**onkoɾbe/ [paɹt̪igeʃɔmo**t̪t̪ʰ**onkoɹbe]	‘will support the candidate’
20	/ɾn/>[nn]	/nindukeɾbʱumikae̯ ɔboti **ɾn**o hoe̯tʃʰe/ [nind̪ukeɾᵛbumikaɔbot̪i**nn**oɦoetʃʰe	‘has descended to the level ofa critic’

Partial Regressive Assimilation of Manner (/C1/#/C2/)			
21	/ɾ/#/dʒ/>[ddʒ] /ɾ/#/tʃʰ/>[ttʃʰ]	/tʃa**ɾdʒ**ela**ɾ** **tʃʰ**ɔʈi aʃone/ [tʃa**ddʒ**ela**ttʃʰ**ɔʈiʲaʃone]	‘six electoral seats in four district’
22	/ɾ/#/m/>[nm]	/amade**ɾm**oddʰe/ [amad̪e**nm**ot̪t̪ʰe]	‘among us’

Partial Regressive Assimilation of Manner (/C1C2/)			
23	/ɾt/>[d̪t̪]	/kadʒ ko**ɾt**e/ [kaʃko**d̪t̪**e]	‘to work’

Assimilation of the rhotic may sometimes be blocked by the epenthetic vowel as described earlier. So forms like [ni**ɾᵛb**atʃon]are observed to alternate with [ni**bb**atʃon].Assimilation is also blocked by rhotacising the offset of the preceding vowels so that a sequence like /CVɾC/ is realized as [CVᵛ˞C] (Fig.3a). Such forms also alternate with the earlier two forms. Thus we can have the realizations [ni**bb**atʃon]~[ni**ɾᵛb**atʃon]~[n**i**ⁱ˞**b**atʃon] for /ni**ɾb**atʃon/ ‘election’.

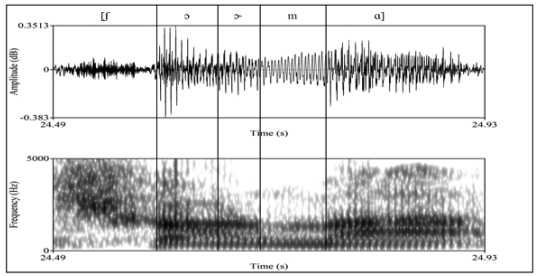

Fig. 3a: Representative waveforms and spectrogram illustrating rhotacization at the vowel offset in [ʃɔɔ˞mɑ] < [ʃɔrmɑ] 'Sharma (a surname)'. Note the third formant lowering in the panel labeled [ɔ˞].

Instances of post-consonantal rhotics other than within word consonant rhotic cluster are rare in the present data set. The consonant rhotic clusters (i.e. /Cɾ/) exhibit multiple realizations. The general trend observed is the deletion of /ɾ/ resulting in /Cɾ/ to be realized as [C] (examples 24-37).In 29 and 30, although the rhotic is deleted, the dental /d/ under the influence of alveolar /ɾ/ is assimilated to the alveolar [d].Sequences such as /C1C2ɾ/ may be realized as [C1C1] after the deletion of the rhotic. Thus the sequence /ʃʈɾ/apart from being realized as [ʃʈ] as seen in example 37 may also be realized as [ʃʃ] as seen in [ʇeleŋgɑɾɑɾɑ**ʃʃ**oʃomiʇi] < /teleŋgɑnɑ ɾɑ**ʃʈɾ**o ʃomiti/ 'Telangana Rashtra Samithi'. /ʃʈɾ/ may also be realized as retroflex sibilants[ʂʂ] where the features sibilant and retroflex coalesced to form retroflex sibilants as seen in [ʃɔɹɑ**ʂʂ**oʃoʧʃib]< /ʃɔɾɑ**ʃʈɾ**oʃoʧʃib/ 'home secretary'.

Deletion of /ɾ/ in /Cɾ/ clusters		
24	/niɾbɑʧʃoni **pɾ**oʧʃɑɾ/ [nibbɑʧʃoni**p**oʧʃɑɾ]	'election campaign'
25	/niɾbɑʧʃoneɾ**pɾ**ekkʰite/ [nibbəʧʃəne˞**p**ekkʰiʇe]	'in context of elections'
26	/kɔŋ**gɾ**es **pɾ**ɑɾtʰike/ [kɔŋ**g**es**p**ɑdʇʰike]	'to the Congress candidate'
27	/ʃɔɾbo ut**kɾ**iʃʈo/ [ʃɔ˞boʇ**k**iʃʈo]	'excellent'
28	/tɑke **gɾ**epʰtɑɾ kɔɾɑ hɔẹ/ [ʇɑɣe**g**eptɑɾʸkɔɾɑɦɔe]	'he was arrested'
29	/ken**dɾ**e/ [ken**d**e]	'at the center'

30	/ken**dr**iˌo ʃɔrkaɾ/ [ken**d**ioʃɔɹkaɾ^{v}]	‘central government’
31	/ʤɔhoɾ ɑhamed nɑme **dʱr**ito bekti/ [ʤɔɦoɾɑɦɑmednɑme**ɖʱ**i̪to̪bekti]	‘the man arrested named Jahar Ahmed’
32	/ɑin**sr**iŋkʰɔlɑ poɾistʰiti/ [ɑʲin**s**iŋxɔlɑpoɾis̪tʰi̪ti]	‘condition of law and order’
33	/æk **sr**eniɾʃɔŋbɑdmɑddʱom/ [æx**s**eniʃɔŋbɑ̪dmɑddʰom]	‘the media of one category’
34	/dɑm **br**iddʱi/ [dɑm**b**itʰi]	‘inflation’
35	/**br**iʃʈi hoe̞ʧe/ [**b**is̪ʈiɦɛʃe]	‘it rained’
36	/**mr**ittumukʰe potito hɔe̞/ [**m**i̪t̪t̪umukʰepo̪ʈi̪t̪oɦɔe]	‘(he) passed away’
37	/ʃɔɾɑ**ʃʈr**omontɾi/ [ʃɔɹɑ**ʃʈ**omonʧi]	‘home minister’

Complete progressive assimilation was observed for some /Cɾ/ clusters where assimilatory influence is exerted by the consonant on the following rhotic (examples 38-40). Partial progressive assimilation was also observed for some /Cɾ/ clusters (example 41a-b). In 41a-b, /ɾ/ is substituted by a homorganic stop /t/ (Fig.3b).

Complete Progressive Assimilation of Manner in /Cɾ/ clusters			
38	/pɾ/>[pp]	/ʃɑtoi e**pr**il/ [ʃɑ̪t̪u^{j}e**pp**il]	‘seventh April’
39	/sɾ/>[ss]	/pɾoti**sr**uti puɾone bærtʰo/ [po̪ʈi**ss**utibuɾonebæ̪t̪̪tʰo]	‘failed to keep promise’
40	/kɾ/>[kk]	/mul ʧo**kr**i/ [mulʧo**kk**i]	‘main conspirator’

Partial Progressive Assimilation of Manner /Cɾ/			
41a	/sɾ/>[st]	/sɾi mi**sr**o bolen/ [simi**st**obɔlen]	‘Mr. Mishra says’
41b		/ɔ**sr**ɑbbo gɑligɑlɑʧ/ [ɔ**st**ɑbbogɑligɑlɑʧ]	‘obscene abuses’

Reciprocal or mutual assimilation is observed in /tɾ/ cluster where the dental stop /t/ under the influence of the following alveolar tap /ɾ/, assimilates to the alveolar stop [t] which then assimilates [ɾ] to [t]. The process can be sequenced as /tɾ/ > [tɾ] > [tt] illustrated by examples 43-46 (Fig. 3c).Similarly /dɾ/ may be realized as the geminated alveolar stop [dd] as seen in 47./tɾ/ clusters may also be realized as a singleton alveolar [t] as illustrated by examples 48-51.

Reciprocal Assimilation in /tɾ/ cluster		
43	/ʧʰa**ttɾ**oʧʰa**ttɾ**ideɾ dewaɾ ʤonno/ [ʧʰa**tt**oʧʰa**tt**i̪de̪debaʤʤonno]	‘to give the students’
44	/gopon ʃu**tɾ**e kʰɔboɾ peje/ [goponʃu**tt**ekʰɔβoɹpiː]	‘getting information from secret sources’
45	/mononɔjon pɔ**tɾ**o/ [mononɔnpɔ**tt**o]	‘nomination form’
46	/ɑlokʧi**tɾ**o ʃaŋbadik/ [ɑlokʧi**tt**oʃaŋba̪dik]	‘photojournalist’
47	/mu**dɾ**aspʰiti niọntɾon koɾbe/ [mu**dd**aspi̪ini^{j}ɔntonkoˑbe]	‘will control inflation’
48	/moţ ek**tɾ**isʤon pɔɾʤobekʰɔk / [moḍek**t**iʤonpɔʤʤoβ̪ekkʰɔg]	‘thirty one observers’
49	/ekţi **tɾ**itiọ ʤoţ/ [ekţi**t**itioʒoḍ]	‘a third alliance’
50	/ʃɔʃo**stɾ**o niɾapɔttɑ ɾokkʰi/ [ʃɔʃo**st**oniɾapɔt̪̪ɑɾokkʰi]	‘armed security personnel’
51	/gɔnotɔn**tɾ**eɾ biɾuddʱe/ > [gɔnoţɔn**t**ebbiɾuddʰe]	‘against democracy’

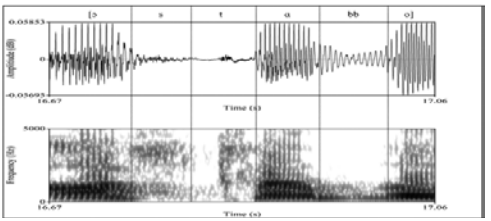

Fig. 3b: Representative waveform and spectrogram of /sɾ/ realized as [st] in [ɔ**st**ɑbbo] </ɔ**sɾ**ɑbbo gɑligɑlɑʧ/ ‘obscene abuses’. The [t] may be slightly aspirated.

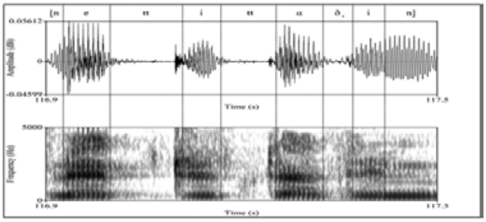

Fig. 3c: Representative waveform and spectrogram of /tɾ/ cluster realized as [tt] in [ne**tt**ittɑð̞in] < /ne**tɾ**ittɑdʱin/ ‘under the leadership’.

The articulation of the tap [ɾ] requires the active articulator i.e. the tongue apex to be moved at a higher speed and for a shorter duration (Laver, 1994). The articulation thus requires finer muscular control and precise timing of the articulator which are costly adjustments in spontaneous/connected speech characterised by ‘economy of speech effort’ (Kohler, 1990). Such constraints often lead to the deletion of /ɾ/ or complete assimilation to the adjacent segment. As vocal organs will always tend to attempt the articulatory target of the underlying segment (Laver, 1994); in some instances the movement of the articulator may be slower probably resulting in an approximant [ɹ] or the duration of contact with the alveolar ridge may be longer which would result in an alveolar stop [t].

In the speech of some speakers especially the female speakers, the release of the consonant in /Cɾ/ clusters is often followed by a brief period of voiceless friction. Through proprioceptive analysis it can be hypothesized that after the closure for the consonant is released, the tongue tip retracts slightly to the alveolar position in order to actualize the tap articulation but undershoots the target thereby maintaining a narrow channel inducing friction till the periodic glottal vibration begins for the following vowel. The lingual gesture for [ɾ] is often indicated by a lowered F3 at the onset of the vowels (Fig. 3d). Thus /Cɾ/ in such cases is realized as [Cɹ̝̊]./ɾ/ in /Cɾ/ sequences may also be realized as an approximant [ɹ] (Fig. 3e).

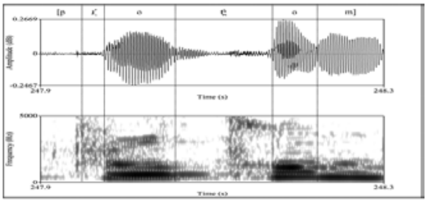

Fig. 3d: Representative waveform and spectrogram of /Cɾ/ realized as [Cɹ̝̊] in [**pɹ̝̊**ot̪ʰom] < [niɾbɑʧoneɾ**pɹ̝̊**ot̪ʰomd̪ɔphɑe] < /niɾbɑʧoneɾ **pɾ**otʰom dɔpʰɑe̯/ ‘in the first phase of election’.

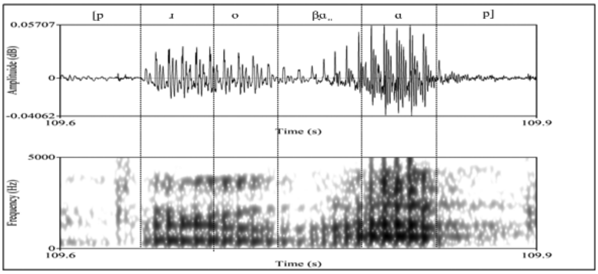

Fig.3e: Representative waveform and spectrogram of /ɾ/ in /Cɾ/ realized as [ɹ] in [**pɹ**oβ̤ɑ̤ɑp] < [**pɹ**oβ̤ɑ̤ɑpʃɑli] < [**pɾ**obʱɑbʃɑli] ‘powerful’.

The archetypal realization of /ɾ/ as [ɾ] in /Cɾ/ clusters is observed (Fig.3f) but is rare and is mostly observed in extemporaneous speech than in the news reading. Extemporaneous speech being characterised by slower speed than the news reading can facilitate finer articulatory control needed in the production of [ɾ].

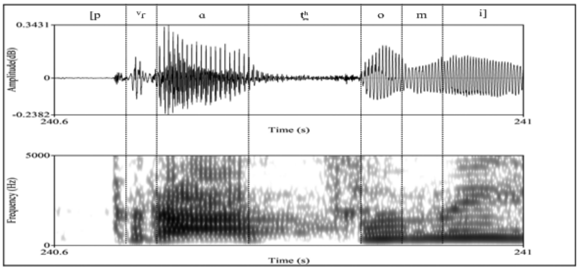

Fig. 3f: Representative waveform and spectrogram of /ɾ/ in /Cɾ/ realized as [ɾ] in [**p^{v}ɾ**ɑt̪ʰomi] < [**p^{v}ɾ**ɑt̪ʰomiʃʃikkʰɑ] < /**pɾ**ɑtʰomik ʃikkʰɑ/ ‘primary education’.

Post-pausal /ɾ/ is mostly realized as an approximant [ɹ] or as [^{v}ɾ]. Pre-pausal /ɾ/ also has similar manifestations in addition to an assibilated rhotic [ɹ̝̊] and an r-colored vowel offset [V$^{V˞}$] as described earlier.

The rhotic at the word boundary (_#C) may also be deleted without leaving any trace on the preceding vowels as seen in examples 52a-b.

Deletion of rhotic at the word boundary			
52a	/ɾ/>[Ø]	/kolkataɾnɔg**orp**al/	‘mayor of Kolkata’
		[kokat̪annɔg**op**al]	
52b		/ʃomikkʰaɾop**orn**iʃedʱagga/	ban on survey
		[ʃomikkʰaɾop**on**iʃeɖ̤aka]	

4. Summary

The present paper thus studies the realizations of the unaspirated rhotic graphemes in both isolated word forms and connected speech. It is observed that although the phonetic realizations of rhotics tend to be mapped onto the underlying graphemes ({ɾ}:[ɾ] and {ɽ}:[ɽ]), their categorization is not strict. In actual speech [ɾ] and [ɽ] are in free variation and often [ɾ] is the only available pronunciation.Analysis of around5000 rhotic tokens from spontaneous speech reveals that alveolar trill [r] as posited in some of the previous studies do not occur in the speech of the speakers of SCB. Retroflex flap [ɽ] although occurs, is extremely rare and freely varies with [ɾ].The present study thus reveals that an alveolar tap /ɾ/ can be postulated as the only rhotic phoneme in SCB.

Phonetically /ɾ/ is observed to be extremely volatile. This is evident from the multiple sub-realizations of /ɾ/ noted during the analysis of both isolated word forms and connected speech forms. /ɾ/ also exhibited a strong tendency to be assimilated to the adjacent consonants both in pre-consonantal and post-consonantal positions. The different realizations resulted from articulatory constraints at play during the actual speech event. /ɾ/ is seen to undergo reduction frequently mainly because of the difficulty in maintaining the precise timing and muscular control during its articulation.

5. Conclusion

The study thus validates the earlier postulations on the rhotic phonemes and posits the alveolar tap /ɾ/ as the only rhotic phoneme of SCB. It also augments the earlier studies by positing multiple variations of /ɾ/.Some of the realizations such as [ɻ̊] and [$V^{V_{\cdot}}$] however need to be looked at more closely in order to achieve a better understanding of their articulatory dynamics. Future studies can be taken up in this direction using different techniques such as electro-palatography or magnetic resonance imaging. Perceptual experiments can also to be conducted to gain insight into how the reduced forms are deciphered by the speakers seamlessly.

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[i]This paper is an extension of the following paper:

Ray, Arpita and Bhaskararao Peri.(2014). Phonetics of the rhotics of Bangla. Paper presented at the 30th South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable (SALA-30) held at CALTS, University of Hyderabad.

The analysis in Ray and Bhaskararao (2014) was based on isolated word forms spoken by a single speaker. In the present paper, we have based our analysis on isolated word forms as well as on spontaneous speech forms spoken by multiple speakers.

[ii]Vowels in spontaneous speech undergo acoustic reduction which alter their formant frequencies and thus quality. In the transcriptions used in the present paper, instead to giving the phonetic forms we have maintained the phonemic forms of the vowels to make it easy to read.

English Islands in Bangla-English Speech

Basudha Das

Abstract: This paper presents the patterns of how English islands are being embedded in Bangla-English bilingual speech, and investigates different types of these patterns and the reasons behind their usage. Data for the survey were recorded from different television programs, and only the instances of English islands, consisting exclusively of English morphemes occurring in the morpho-syntactic frame of Bangla, were taken into consideration. The data were examined within the scope of the Matrix Language Framework of Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) which is applicable for the identification of the Matrix and Embedded language and how English islands are being used as a compromise strategy in the conversation of Bangla-English bilinguals. The results of the investigation establish how English islands are formed systematically, showing structural dependency among the constituent parts, how they follow the word order of the embedded language, and how speakers use them to satisfy various pragmatic and structural reasons. This study, by its findings, hopes to provide insight into the codeswitching phenomenon in Bangla-English bilingual context from a structural point of view.

Keywords: matrix language, embedded language, congruence, embedded language island.

1. Introduction

Among the language contact phenomena —that include interference, convergence, borrowing, pidginization and so on – code switching (CS hereafter), that is, the alternative use of two or more codes (in this case, languages) in the same conversation by bilinguals, has attracted linguists' attention and been studied from a variety of different perspectives. CS has been viewed not only as a conversational tool but also as a crucial way to establish, portray and maintain ethnic identity and boundaries. In the modern world, for the increasing use of international languages stimulated by modernization and globalization, the phenomenon of language revival, and the economically motivated migration of people, bilingualism has become very common (Milroy and Muysken (1995:1-2)). So far, CS has been studied from socio-linguistic, psycholinguistic, pragmatic, structural and applied linguistic perspective. In the context of Bengali community, it can be said that, as a result of prolonged history of colonial politics, Bangla native speakers

also exhibit an unavoidable tendency and practice of incorporating English into their speech in many ways but unfortunately the patterns of Bangla-English speech formation and reasons behind their formation are not much explored from a scholarly point of view. This paper investigates certain structural patterns of CS in Bangla-English bilingual speech, and how syntactic constraints govern those structural patterns and for that this study is carried out within the sketch of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton: 1993, 2002), and its two supporting models: 4-M Model (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000) and The Abstract Level Model (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000, 2001, Myers-Scotton: 2002).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The MLF model

The MLF model is based on the assumption that bilingual speech is characterized by asymmetry in terms of the contribution of the participating languages concerned. The two languages, involved in the process of CS, do not contribute equally. The language, playing the predominant role in language production and having larger contribution by determining the syntax of the CS instance, is called the Matrix Language (ML) and other one is called the Embedded Language (EL).

Both ML and EL can contribute content morpheme, that are the main elements conveying semantic and pragmatic aspects of messages such as nouns, adjective, verbs and some prepositions. These either receive or assign thematic roles. On the other hand, ML only provides the system morphemes that include function words and inflections. They largely indicate relations between the content morphemes. These are essential in building the grammatical frame.

The unit of analysis in intra-sentential CS is bilingual CP (projection of complementizer) (2002: 54). This is the highest unit projected by lexical items. In terms of phrase structure grammar, CP can be defined as a phrasal category, either a complementizer or an element in the specifier position followed by an IP (inflectional phrase) (2002: 55).

A bilingual CP can consist of three types of constituents - Mixed constituent, ML island, and EL island. Mixed constituent is composed of morphemes from both ML and EL, ML island is composed of ML morphemes only, under the control of the ML language, having no EL

influence, and EL island is composed of EL morphemes only but being inserted in the ML frame, they are overall under the control of the ML grammar (2002: 58). EL islands is the subject matter of my study, what are the types of English islands being used in Bangla-English speech and how they are used.

2.2. The 4-M Model and The Abstract Level Model

The understanding of the MLF is impossible without identifying these two supporting models. The 4-M model explains how content morphemes are accessed or activated differently in the production process than the system morphemes and how system morphemes differ from each other as discussed in the Differential Access Hypothesis (2002: 17).

The blocking hypothesis claims that in any ML+EL constituent, a blocking filter blocks any EL content morpheme which is not congruent with its ML counterpart with respect to three levels of abstraction regarding subcategorization (1993: 120). The three levels of abstraction are: First, even if the EL realizes certain grammatical category as a content morpheme, if it is realized as a system morpheme in the ML, the ML blocks its occurrence. Secondly, the ML also blocks an EL morpheme if it is not congruent with its ML counterpart in respect of theta role assignment and thirdly, the congruence between EL and ML content morpheme is checked in terms of discourse of pragmatic functions.

3. Methodology and Data collection

Since the subject matter of this study is EL islands, I have only taken the instances where English islands occur in an otherwise Bengali utterance. For easy availability and diversity of language data and to avoid the problems of face-to-face communication, I chose to work on speech data which consist of various television programs of different genres broadcasted on different Bangla channels at different times. These programs include political debate (Jukti-Takko), talk shows (Bhalo Achi Bhalo Theko, Happy Parents' Day), various entertainment programs like shows on comedy (Mirakkel), music (Tollywood Reporter), interviews (Ghosh & Company), quiz (Dadagiri), cultural discussion (Amar Rabindranath, Kolkata Literary Meet), and cooking (Rannaghar).

For the instances, Bangla morphemes are transcribed and interlinear gloss is given using abbreviated grammatical categories.

4. Findings

According to the Abstract Level model, whenever the speaker intends to use an EL element and selects a lemma from his mental lexicon, a process of congruence checking begins. If the EL content morpheme passes to show sufficient congruence with its ML counterpart, then only it can be fully integrated into the ML frame and appear at the surface level of the expression (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995). The speaker may intend to use an EL content morpheme for various reasons, may be pragmatic or functional. When sufficient congruence is not achieved, the speaker can still use that EL element by accessing a number of compromise strategies (Jake and Myers-Scotton 1997), one of which is EL island. EL islands are constituents consisting only of EL morphemes occurring in the ML frame and are well-formed in the EL. The most important aspect of EL island is structural dependency (Myers-Scotton: 2002: 139). EL islands follow the word order of the EL, though occurring in ML frame, the constituent parts showing structural dependency among them. No ML element can be inserted anywhere between them. But overall they are under the control of ML. This feature shows why not all the sequences of multiple EL morphemes are El islands.

In the data analysed for my study, the speakers exhibit a tendency to use EL islands quite frequently in their speech to satisfy their intentions in a better way. I divide them into two major classes - non-formulaic expressions vs. formulaic expressions (FE hereafter). Though no two utterances are exactly identical in respect of their acoustic or communicational effect, still there are some fixed or conventional expressions which are always used in a certain way i.e. expressions like idioms and proverbs. These expressions are known to the native speakers of the language and the appropriate use of it can distinguish a native speaker from a non-native speaker. These FEs are different from other novel utterances in a number of ways. Firstly, they are conventional in nature than other spontaneously uttered expressions. Secondly, FEs often contain lexical items with their nonliteral or non-standard meaning (just as the case of idiom). And thirdly, they have a unique coherence, not present in novel utterances. Word order or word

selection is determined and fixed, making the structure rigid in this sense. In many cases intonation is stereotyped, which makes the structures even more rigid (Lancker-Sidtis, D. V. & Rallon, G. 2004).

4.1. Formulaic and non-formulaic expressions

In my data, non-formulaic expressions include adjuncts. Adjuncts may be adverbial phrases of time and place (AP hereafter) or prepositional phrases (PP hereafter). They occur outside the predicate-argument structure projected by the main verb of the clause. But it is noteworthy that though adjuncts are semantically optional segments, in case of PPs, thematic roles can be assigned to them (like goal), when describing a positional aspect. For example,

a) *bæpaɾ-ʈa keu ɟan-e na outside my family*
Matter-CLF none know-3 NEG outside my family
'No one knows the matter outside my family'

On the other hand, FEs can be divided into speech formulae, idiom, and proverbs. Speech formula means expressions used in conversational interactions like slangs, sayings, clichés, slogans, some types of collocations etc. Among these, idioms and proverbs are comparatively more formulaic in nature because of the rigidity of word order and word selection.

In my data, the following types of phrases are quite commonly used utterances, all of which can be regarded as adjunct.

4.2. Non-formulaic structures

4.2.1. EL Adjuncts

Prepositional Phrases

1. *am-ɾa ɔpekkʰa koɾ-cʰ-i for the day to change*
1-PL wait do-PROG-1 for the day to change
'We are waiting for the day to change

2. *o kɔto ʈaka ne-b-e per film*
3S how much money take-FUT-3 per film
'How much money will he take per film?'

3. *am-ɾa thirty years puɾno koɾ-cʰ-i of our first world cup victory*
1-PL thirty years complete do-PROG-1 of our first world cup victory
'We are completing thirty years of our first world cup victory'

4. *ama-ɾ ei kɔtʰa-ɐ̨ apotti acʰ-e with due respect to you*
   1S-GEN DEM saying-LOC objection have-PRS with due respect to you
   'I have objection in this saying with due respect to you'

5. *ami naʈok koɾ-ecʰ-il-am with a professional group*
   1 theatre do-PFV-PST-1 with a professional group
   'I did theatre with a professional group'

6. *ami ɟa-deɾ ʃatʰe kaɟ koɾ-ecʰ-i on my level*
   1 who-GEN.PL with work do-PFV-1 on my level
   'Whom I have worked with on my level'

7. *ama-ɾ kono problem nei about talking about this thing*
   1-GEN any problem NEG about talking about this thing
   'I don't have any problem about talking about this thing'

8. *e ɾɔkom hɔ-ɐ̨ na kotʰao out of my family*
   DEM kind be-HAB NEG *anywhere out of my family*
   'This kind of thing happens nowhere out of my family'

9. *ama-ɾ æk-ʈa life cʰ-il-o outside the city*
   1-GEN one-CLF life have-PST-PASS outside the city
   'I have a life outside the city'

10. *ama-ɾ ækmatɾo responsibility ki towards artists*
    1-GEN only responsibility what towards artists
    'What is my only responsibility towards artists?'

4.2.2. Adverbial Phrases

11. *toma- ɾ ʃatʰe ɟa-b-o next time*
    2-GEN with go-FUT-1 next time
    'I will go with you next time'

12. *e-ʈa o bol-l-o just because o-ɾ iccʰe ho-ecʰ-e*
    DEM-CLF 3 say-PST-3 just because 3-GEN wish be-PFV-PASS
    'He said this just because he wished'

13. *ami bʰeb-ecʰ-il-am at that point of time*
    1 think- PFV-PST-1 at that point of time
    'I thought at the point of time'

14. *accʰa for a minute ɟodi mon-e koɾ-i*
    Okay for a minute if think-NF do-1
    'Okay, for a minute, if I think'

15. *e ɾɔkom exercise ami niyomitobʰabe cali-ɻ̩ g-ecʰ-i for*
DEM kind exercise 1 regularly continue-NF go-PFV-1 for
about five to six years
about five to six years
'I continued to practise this kind of exercise regularly for about five to six years'

16. *tui e-ʈa bæbohaɾ koɾ-cʰ-iʃ as your medium of humor*
2 DEM-CLF use do-PROG-2 as your medium of humor
'You are using it as your medium of humor'

17. *ami chance pe-l-am as a radio presenter*
1 chance get-PST-1 as a radio presenter
'I got chance as a radio presenter

18. *æk-ʈa line ɟuɽ-e di-t-am at the end of it*
One-CLF line add-NF give-HAB.PST-1 at the end of it
'I used to add a line at the end of it'

19. *photography kono ʃilpo nɔɻ̩ just as documentation*
Photography any art NEG just as documentation
'Just as documentation, photography is not an art'

20. *ami ɟodi bol-te aɾombʰo koɾ-i in your style*
1 if say-INF start do-1 in your style
'If I start saying in your style'

In all the above-mentioned instances, it is seen that the PPs and APs are adjuncts and occur outside the predicate-argument structure projected by the main verb of the clause. But not only that, many EL NPs are also identified as islands which are part of the argument structure of the clause.

4.2.3. NP Islands

21. *celebration of books ho-l-o boimæla*
Celebration of books be-PST-3 bookfair
'Book fair is the celebration of books'

22. *to-ɾ sense of humor bikɾi koɾ-cʰ-iɟ*
2-GEN sense of humor sell do-PROG-2
'You are selling your sense of humor'

23. *du-ʈo-tei ʃɔman level of comfort cʰ-il-o*
Two-CLF-LOC same level of comfort be-PST-3
'I had same level of comfort in both of them'

24. *e-ʈa-ɾ moddʰe æk-ʈa sense of discovery acʰ-e*
DEM-CLF-GEN in one-CLF sense of discovery be-PRS
'In it, there is a sense of discovery'

25. *æk-ʈa notun manner of addressing ʃuru ho-ccʰ-e*
One-CLF new manner of addressing begin be-PROG-3
'A new manner of addressing is beginning'

26. *bæpaɾ-ʈa-ệ æk-ʈa sense of caution tʰak-e*
Matter-CLF-LOC one-CLF sense of caution exist-PRS
'There exists a sense of caution'

27. *ama-ɾ kacʰ-e primary source of entertainment e-ʈa cʰ-il-o na*
1-GEN near-LOC primary source of entertainment DEM-CLF be-PST-3 NEG
'It was not the primary source of entertainment to me'

28. *æk-ʈa certain sense of objectivity tʰak-e*
One-CLF certain sense of objectivity remain-PRS
'There remains a certain sense of objectivity'

29. *ɟe brand of humor-ʈa-ɾ kɔtʰa tui bol-cʰ-iʃ*
PRO brand of humor-CLF-GEN about 2 say-PROG-2
'The brand of humor which you are saying about'

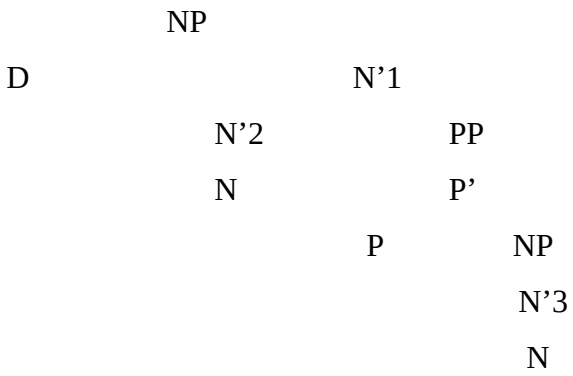
30. *æk-ʈa sense of insecurity hɔ-ệ tɔkʰon*
One-CLF sense of insecurity be-PRS then
'Then I feel a sense of insecurity'

EL islands and EL singly occurring forms differ in the sense that, islands are well-formed at all the three levels of abstract grammatical structure in the EL but in case of singly occurring EL form, it only has to pass the lexical-conceptual level, especially in the case of EL nouns. But it is also noteworthy that, although EL islands must be well-formed in the EL to qualify as islands, a constituent including a noun may be well-formed only in the N-bar level, but not at the NP level from the standpoint of the EL (Myers-Scotton: 2002: 140). The reason behind is that, since ML has the overall control over the larger constituents, it

may inhibit the formation of a full NP from EL if that structure would be something which is not well-formed in ML. For instance, the EL may require a determiner before a noun phrase but the ML may not have this requirement. In English (which is EL here), determiner is the integral part of NP but it is not the case in Bangla (here ML). So, in this particular context, following the framework, the EL island will have to occur without that determiner, thus making it well-formed in the ML structure. The NP without determiner can also be said to be well-formed in the EL, but only at the N-bar level. Since it lacks the determiner, it is less than an NP in the EL. This claim made by Myers-Scotton can be applied to the examples 21, and 27, where the EL islands *celebration of books*, and *primary source of entertainment* need a determiner before them to be well-formed in English. But when they are occurring in Bangla frame, they are coming without that determiner to fit in the morphosyntactic frame of the ML. Bangla does not need a determiner to occur before them, and without that, these forms are well-formed in Bangla.

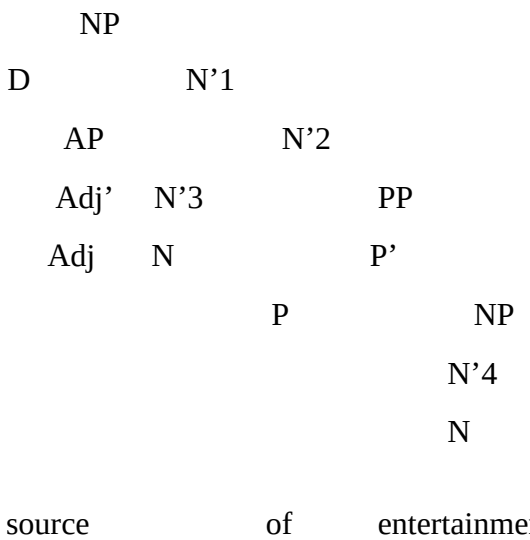
Now we come to the claim made by Myers-Scotton that these EL NPs, without the determiner, are well-formed in the N-bar level but not at the NP level from the standpoint of the EL (here English). The following illustrations will make the point clear. If we only take the English NPs (21, 27) and look at their structure in the light of X-bar syntax, we will see how these structures are well-formed at the N-bar level in the EL, but not at the NP level due to lack of the determiner.

(The) celebration of books



The celebration of books

(The) primary source of entertainment



4.3. Formulaic structures

Now, I come to the formulaic structures. Collected data also shows a few instances of NPs which are more of a collocation. They are sequence of words which co-occur more often than expected by chance. It is noteworthy that, these co-occurrences are found in my collected data repeatedly, and in all the cases, the speakers use them in the EL, not even one word from the ML and the other from the EL. Hence, they are comparatively more formulaic than the above-mentioned instances in the sense that, it seems, the occurrence of one word triggers the occurrence of the other one. Besides, various kinds of speech formulae are found. FEs are expressions used in conversational interaction to organize discourse, convey the speaker's attitude towards the other interlocutor(s) and their message, and even to ease the free flow of talk. Speakers, in the collected data, have also shown a tendency to use English (EL) idiom, quite often.

EL Formulaic Expressions:

4.3.1. NPs (Collocations)

31. *æk-ʈa identity crisis ho-te paɾ-e*
    One-CLF identity crisis occur-INF may-PASS
    'There may occur an identity crisis'

32. *ami ɟodi toma-ẹ facts and figures dækʰ-a-i*
1 if 2-ACC facts and figures show-CAUS-1
'If I show you the facts and figures'

33. *kicʰu terms and conditions tʰak-b-e*
Some terms and conditions be-FUT-3
'There will be some terms and conditions'

34. *e-ʈa æk-ʈa turning point*
DEM-CLF one-CLF turning point
'It is a turning point'

35. *careless beauty bol-e-o to æk-ʈa kɔtʰa acʰ-e*
Careless beauty say-NF-EMPH PART one-CLF thing be-PRS
'There is something called careless beauty'

36. *ama-ɾ alter ego-ɾ ʃatʰe kɔtʰopokɔtʰon*
1-GEN alter ego-GEN with conversation
'Conversation with my alter ego'

37. *æk-ɟon youth icon hiʃebe kæno bikkʰæto*
One-CLF youth icon as why famous
'Why is he famous as a youth icon?'

38. *age kʰub gender bias cʰ-il-o*
Before much gender bias be-PST-3
'Before, there was much more gender biases'

39. *sibling rivalry cʰ-il-o na*
Sibling rivalry be-PST-3 NEG
'There was no sibling rivalry'

Here, the EL islands are cases of collocation, exhibiting familiar grouping of words. In each instance, the components of the EL island habitually occur together and convey some meaning by their association. These are fixed expressions, established through repeated context-dependent use. Collocated pairs of words have semantic compositionality i.e. the meaning of the complex expression is determined by the meanings of its constituent parts, showing structural dependency, and making any ML insertion in between the components impossible. Therefore, they occur as a single linguistic unit, ultimately yielding EL islands.

4.3.2. Speech Formulae

40. *I wish ami pirate ho-t-am*
I wish 1 pirate be-SUBJ-1
'I wish I had been a pirate'

41. *ʃɔbʃɔmɔ̨ be positive*
Always be positive
'Always be positive'

42. *ekʰane aʃa-ɾ ɟonno thank you so much*
Here coming-GEN for thank you so much
'Thank you so much for coming here'

43. *You know tui ɟodi e-ʈa koɾ-t-iʃ*
You know 2 if DEM-CLF do-SUBJ-2
'You know, if you did it'

44. *o I thought e-ʈa-i ona-ɾ nam*
PART I though DEM-CLF-EMPH 3-GEN name
'Okay, I though this is his name'

45. *e-ʈa kind of ʃɔpno dækʰ-a ama-ɾ kacʰe*
DEM-CLF kind of dream see-VN 1-GEN to
'It is kind of dreaming to me'

46. *kicʰudin bade you feel like tumi bored ho-ɛ̨ g-æcʰ-o*
Few days after you feel like 2 bored be-NF go-PFV-2
'After a few days, you feel like you have got bored'

47. *just because uni bideʃ-e tʰak-en*
Just because 3.HON foreign-LOC stay-3.HON
'Just because he stays in foreign country'

48. *I mean gʰum bol-te ca-i ni ami*
I mean sleep say-INF want-1 NEG 1
'I mean, I did not want to say sleep'

49. *o e-ʈa koɾ-te paɾ-e can't you*
3 DEM-CLF do-INF can-3 can't you
'He can do it, can't you?'

This kind of expression, is known as speech formulae. In the study of formulaic speech, speech formulae have always been understood as playing a pivotal role (Lord: 1960, Foley: 1995). They are stored and

retrieved from memory, having multifaceted character. In my data, it has been seen that in most of the cases, speakers use speech formulae in order to explain a way in which the speech is matched with the current context. All the expressions have been used as single linguistic unit, showing structural dependency.

4.3.3. Idioms

50. *aɟ ama-deɾ guest of honor ho-l-en*
Today 1-GEN. PL guest of honor be-PST-3.HON
'Today our guest of honor is'

51. *ebaɾ ama-ɾ the namesake-ke ɖek-e ne-b-o*
Now 1-GEN the namesake-ACC call-PTCP take-FUT-1
'Now we will call my namesake'

52. *am-ɾa ɟan-i opposites attract*
1-PL know-1 opposites attract
'We know that opposites attract'

53. *By the way e-ʈa ki ɟan-iʃ tui*
By the way DEM-CLF PART know-2 2
'By the way, do you know this'

54. *In fact o-ɾ ʃatʰe ɟɔkʰon alap hɔ-ɛ̰*
In fact 3-GEN with when introduction be-PRS
'In fact, when I was introduced to him'

55. *ma bol-cʰ-e e-ʈa below the belt*
Mother say-PROG-3 DEM-CLF below the belt
'Mother is saying it (is) below the belt'

56. *By the way e-ʈa ki ɟan-iʃ tui*
By the way DEM-CLF PART know-2 2
'By the way, do you know this'

57. *. e-ʈa kʰub lame excuse*
DEM-CLF very lame excuse
'This is a very lame excuse'

58. *ami ɟan-l-am once in a while o e-ʈa koɾ-ecʰ-e*
1 know-PST-1 once in a while 3 DEM-CLF do-PFV-3
'I knew once in a while he did it'

59. *ami kʰub old school person*
1 very old school person
'I am a very old school person'

Idiom is also characterized as formulaic language but it differs from collocation from the viewpoint of semantic compositionality. While collocation has compositionality, idioms do not have. Idioms mostly have figurative meaning, i.e. the meaning of the whole expression is not equal to the sum of the meanings of its components. EL islands in examples 50-59 are idioms, satisfying the structural condition for being considered as island in the light of the MLF hypothesis.

5. Motivations behind the use of EL islands

Although EL islands require more processing through different levels of the abstract grammatical structure, still speakers use them in speech because of various reason depending on the intentions of the speaker. The instances, mentioned in 4.3.1, are more like collocation in nature. That is to say, when the speaker intends to convey the meaning, EL expressions better satisfy his intended meaning. For the concepts conveyed by EL islands in 4.3.1, the English expressions are more popularly accepted, frequently used and easily remembered than the corresponding Bangla expressions. Not only in my collected data, but also in our daily speech, bilingual speakers show a tendency to use English expressions for these concepts more often than they use Bangla expression for them. It is mainly because of our continual exposure to English in educational, professional and all other domain of life. We sometimes face difficulty in remembering some concepts or words in our own language, and to maintain the free flow of speech, we invariably switch to English expression for that concept or word.

In case of the instances mentioned in 4.3.2, English speech formulae are extensively used by the speakers. Apart from the advantage of easy access, it seems, the reason behind it is economy of speech. In all the cases, if the speaker intended to use Bangla expressions, he/she would have to utter more words in number than he/she actually uttered by switching to English. Not only that, but sometimes, the ML counterparts are even more complex structurally. Moreover, the speaker's intentions can be sometimes better satisfied by the EL elements because of the pragmatic or semantic mismatch between two languages at the lexical-

conceptual level of the abstract grammatical structure. It has also be seen that, when the speaker intends to say something about his/her own feelings, belief or wants to establish his thought as true, he/she starts his saying by EL islands like *I wish* (40), and *I mean* (48). Speech formulae like *can't you* (49), *you know* (43) are used by the speaker to engage the other interlocutor into the act of speaking and sharing and build a good rapport with them. CS can be promoted as a communicative strategy for various reasons-for emphasizing the message, enhancing the weight of a command or suggestion, to reiterate for further clarification of speech or to show agreement or disagreement with the other person. During conversation, when the speaker can't access the right satisfactory word for what he/she wants to say, he/she immediately use pause fillers to maintain the free flow of speech. EL islands act as the pause fillers in many cases just as found in (45) kind of, and (46) you feel like. The instances of EL idioms (in 4.3.3) are very frequent in my collected data. A major finding comes from a close inspection of the data that, adult speakers use EL islands more frequently than the minor subjects use it. Therefore, it can be said that high degree of island use indicates more proficiency in the EL. In my data collection procedure, there was no age bar since the motive behind this study is to get as many patterns of CS as possible. So the speakers of the recorded television programs are from different age groups, starting from 5-6 years to 60-65 years. One remarkable feature is that, children have shown almost no preference of using EL islands, especially idioms; rather they are very comfortable with code switching for singly occurring EL elements. On the other hand, the adult interlocutors do show an increasing tendency to employ EL islands in forms of adjuncts, speech formulae and idioms. Thus, it can plausibly be said that, more EL islands in speech indicates more bilingual proficiency. Since, larger structures require higher language proficiency and EL islands have to go through long processing in the abstract grammatical structure, it can be said that if speakers employ relatively many EL islands, they seem to be among the more proficient speakers (Myers Scotton: 2002: 148). Idioms are used for various metalinguistic reasons like greeting and showing respect to the addressee (50), expressing law or theory (52), telling surprising truth (54), talking about standard of something (55), indicating temporal notion (58), referring to a definite entity or person (51), emphasizing

one's life style and mental notions (59) etc. Gibbs in his Idioms and formulaic language (In Geeraerts & Cuyckens 2007), reports that people use idioms to politely communicate subjective opinions and so in an indirect manner avoid responsibility for what is communicated. According to Gibbs (1992), idioms appear to contain more meaning than roughly do their equivalent literal paraphrases. In (57), lame excuse does not present its literal meaning, rather it contains more meaning. It is saying about such an excuse which is not acceptable. Idiomatic expression is also used to bring a change in the conversation just as in (56). By uttering by the way, the speaker indicates a point where the previous topic discussion is terminated and they move on to another topic. Thus, we see that, even if EL islands are structurally complex than singly occurring elements;in course of conversation, due to various different reasons, may be pragmatic or structural, the speaker may feel more comfortable using them for better satisfying his/her intentions.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to investigate different patterns of English islands incorporation in Bengali-English bilingual speech, and the reason behind their use. From this study it has been concluded that Myers-Scotton's MLF model along with the 4-M model and the abstract level model have tremendous explanatory capacity to account for the subject matter of this study. It explains how the level of our bilingualism affects the frequency and patterns of CS in our speech. Speakers, who are more proficient in the EL, tend to switch more frequently, and use more EL islands in comparison to the speakers who have less proficiency in the EL. The abstract Level model states that, EL islands are well-formed at all the three levels of abstract grammatical structure in the EL but singly occurring EL form only has to pass the lexical-conceptual level, especially in the case of EL nouns. This is why single insertions of EL elements are easier than forming EL islands. If the EL proficiency supports the process of congruence checking in due time, then only EL islands can appear in the speech of the bilingual speakers, otherwise, single insertions are more convenient for the speakers, having less proficiency in the EL. EL island acts like an effective conversation strategy to achieve the speaker's communicative goals.

Abbreviation

1,2,3	First, Second, Third personal pronoun
ACC	Accusative case
Adj	Adjective
AP	Adverbial Phrase
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
CP	Projection of complementizer
CS	Codeswitching
D	Determiner
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
EL	Embedded Language
EMPH	Emphatic
FE	Formulaic Expression
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive case
HAB	Habitual aspect
HON	Honorific
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative case
ML	Matrix Language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame
N	Noun
NEG	Negation
NF	Non-finite
NP	Noun Phrase
PART	Particle
PASS	Passive voice
PFV	Perfective aspect
PL	Plural number
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PROG	Progressive aspect
PRS	Present tense
PST	Past tense
PTCP	Participial
S	Singular number
SUBJ	Subjunctive mood
VN	Verbal noun

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Parallelism and Recurrence in Tagore's Short-stories

Debdut Chakraborty

Abstract: Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) is the first writer of the true short-story in Bengali and he has remained the best. His career as a short-story writer is a continuous process of experimentation with linguistic elements and this adds a special charm in his style of writing. The present paper is an attempt to make a stylistic analysis and interpretation of selected short-stories of Rabindranath Tagore. In this respect eleven stories of Tagore's 'Galpaguccha' have been selected. This work is confined to two stylistic markers namely parallelism and recurrence. Both the terms are similar and at the same time contrastive in certain ways. The aim of this paper is to find out different contexts of use of these two stylistic markers and their functional significances in the context of the stories.

Keywords: parallelism, recurrence, equivalence, deviation, style markers, keywords

1. Introduction

Parallelism and recurrence are two significant style markers[1] in Rabindranath Tagore's short-stories. Parallelism and recurrence are methods of foregrounding in a text. The methods of applying them are varied in Tagore's short-stories. The concept of parallelism and recurrence as stylistic devices along with deviation was developed into the theoretical framework of 'foregrounding' by the Russian Formalists and the Prague Structuralists. 'Foregrounding' is a kind of deviation which has the function of bringing some item into artistic emphasis so that it stands out from its surroundings (Chapman, 1974:48). The English word 'foregrounding' was first suggested by P.L. Garvin as a rendering of the Czech 'aktualisce'(*ibid*). Foregrounding can be achieved in two ways. Firstly, it may deviate from the language code itself which includes violation of some rule or convention of language. Secondly, it may deviate from some expected frequency. The former involves 'deviation' and the latter involves both 'parallelism' and 'recurrence'. In this paper the focus will be given only to parallelism and recurrence.

2. Parallelism

Parallelism involves a kind of structural patterning characterised by recurrence of structurally equivalent units. Parallelism is in a sense opposite of deviation. Deviation is qualitative by nature and it

introduces irregularities into the language. In contrast, parallelism is quantitative by nature and it introduces extra-regularities into the language. Hence deviation is known as ‘foregrounded irregularity’ and parallelism is known as ‘foregrounded regularity’(Leech, 1969:62).

The necessary condition for parallel construction is the 'principle of equivalence' (Leech, 1969:67). In fact, every parallelism establishes a relationship of equivalence between two or more elements either by similarity or by contrast in the structures. According to Jakobson (1996:17), the principle of equivalence is projected from the axis of selection into the axis of combination. “The selection is produced on the basis of equivalence, similarity and dissimilarity, synonymy and antonymy, while the combination, the build-up of the sequence, is based on contiguity.” (*ibid*).

Parallel constructions often involve the recurrence of linguistic units. But there exists notable difference between parallelism and mechanical recurrence. Recurrence ensures complete duplication of a linguistic unit. In contrast, pure parallel construction, does not depend on any kind of recurrence but the recurrence of the syntactical design of the sentence (Galperin, 1977:208). According to Roman Jakobson, “any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables.” (Leech, 1969: 65). This means, the necessary requirement for parallelism is structurally similar patterns and at the same time certain variety in the use of linguistic items in those patterns.

According to Galperin (1977:208), parallel construction may be partial or complete. Partial parallel arrangement is the repetition of some parts in successive sentences or clauses. Complete parallelism is observed when the syntactic pattern of the sentence that follows is completely identical to the preceding one.

Parallelism in comparison with deviation, is relatively a restricted method of producing foregrounding. In deviation a writer can make a selection beyond the possibilities available in the language. But in parallelism a writer consistently limits himself to the same option in regard of choice (Leech, 1969:64).

Parallelism, just like deviation, shows degree of foregrounding. Leech (1969:64-65) has mentioned several factors on which the degree of parallelism depends. They are as follows: (i) whether it extends to both lexical and grammatical choices; (ii) whether it operates

simultaneously on different layers of structure; (iii) whether it involves patterning on both phonological and formal levels (*ibid*).

The interesting fact about parallelism is that in addition to their perceptual prominence they invite the reader to search for meaning connections between the parallel structures, particularly those parts which are varied. Mick Short has called this the 'parallelism rule' for interpretation (2013:14). But another linguist Michael Short says that "not all parallelism by any means turnout to exhibit these particular relation. Rather it is a processing tendency" [2].

3. Patterns of Parallel Structure in Tagore's 'Galpaguccha'

As the pioneer of true short-story in Bengali Rabindranath started his career as a short-story writer in 1877 and continued till 1941 (Sen, 1960:310). His 'Galpaguccha' is one of the most popular fictional books in Bengali literature. At first the stories of Tagore were published in different selections of stories like 'Choto Galpa', 'Bichitra Galpa', 'Galpa Chatustay', 'Atti Galpa', 'Galpa Chariti', 'Galpa-Dashak', 'Galpa Saptak' etc. Later his stories were published under its specific name 'Galpaguccha' by Majumdar Agency in 1900 in different parts but without any serial number. After that it was revised and published by Indian Publishing House in five parts between 1908-1909. Finally with a much revised and extended form it was published by Visva-Bharati in three parts between 1926-1927. The fourth volume of 'Galpaguccha' was published in 1962. The integrated version of 'Galpaguccha' (which has been followed for the present work) was published for the first time by Visva-Bharati in 1964.

In the first phase of his creative writing Tagore was greatly influenced by Bankimchandra (Sarkar, 2016:184-186). This is reflected in Tagore's skillful use of parallel structures in his stories. But the real fact is that if any particular pattern is repeatedly used in a text it loses its aesthetic effect (Leech, 1969:64-65). Rabindranath's predecessor Bankimchandra understood this. He felt that only the repetition of structure is not enough for fulfilling his purpose. To create a proper syntactic design there is need to bring variety in the structure of parallelism and it can be possible only by creation of expectation and breaking of expectation in the structural patterns (Das,1996:35). Rabindranath followed this formula but still without deviating from his own originality of expression.

However, the use of parallel pattern in Tagore's short-stories are contextually varied and they play different stylistic function in different contexts. According to context they can be grouped as follows :

3.1. One of the most familiar contexts in which the device of parallelism has been employed is the description of natural sights. One such example is as follows :

3.1a. *taMhar Sey kOnThossOr sunite sunite protidin gONgar*
s/he-GEN that voice hear-PROG-PTCP everyday Ganges-GEN
purbo-upokuler akas rOkto bOrno hoiYa uThito,
east- coast-GEN sky blood colour be-NON-FIN rise-PST-HAB-3P
megher dhare dhare orun rONer rekha poRito,
cloud-GEN side-LOC side-LOC sun colour-GEN line fall-PST-HAB-3P
Ondhokar jEno bikasonmukh kuMRir moto phaTiYa cari
darkness as if blossoming bud-GEN like split-NON-FIN whole
dike namiYa poRito o akas- SOrobOre
towards come-NON-FIN down fall-PST-HAB-3P and sky- pond-LOC
uSa- kuSumer lal abha Olpo Olpo koriYa bahir hoiYa
dawn- flower-GEN red tint little little do-NON-FIN out be-NON-FIN
aSito.
come-PST-HAB-3P (ghaTer kOtha, p. 4)

'On hearing his (the monk's) voice (chanting) every day the sky of east-coast of Ganges used to become red-coloured, the ray of sunlight used to fall upon the sides of clouds, darkness like the cover of blossoming bud being split used to fall down towards every side, and in the pond-like sky, the red tint of dawn-flower (sunlight) used to come out gradually.'

Here the chanting of the monk and the successive changes in the natural world are being caused parallelly which has been presented through parallel structures. Despite syntactic complexity the similarity in the pattern here lies in the use of different finite verbs ending with the same suffix '-ito'. This extract is not just lyrical. The soul of the story has been captured here. The metaphor of light coming out of the cover of darkness is actually human love coming out of the cover of shyness (Ghosh , 2016:40).

3.2. In some stories parallel structures have been used for bringing out contrast. For example:

3.2a. jahar Sukher SoNSar ache, Sneher
who-GEN happiness-GEN family have-PRES-3P-SG affection-GEN
chaYa ache, Se proti pOdokkhepe Sukher
shadow have-PRES-3P-SG s/he every step-LOC happiness-GEN
chobi aMkiYa aMkiYa cOle; …
picture draw-ITER-PTCP go-PRES-3P-SG
jahar griho nay, asrOY nay, tahar pOdokkheper moddhe
who-GEN home NEG shelter NEG s/he-GEN step-GEN inside
asa nay, Ortho nay; tahar pOdokkheper dokkhin nay, bam
hope NEG meaning NE s/he-GEN step-GEN right NEG left
nay.
NEG (rajpOther kOtha, p. 9)

‘Who has happy family, shadow of affection, he draws and draws happy picture at every step;…Who has no home, no shelter, there is no hope, no meaning in his step; there is no right, no left in his step.’

Here a contrast between homesick and homeless people has been shown by using positive and negative words (‘ache’ and ‘nay’ respectively) in the stuctures. In the use of the reduplicated form ' aMkiYa aMkiYa', the touching awareness of 'rajpOth' has been transformed into the vision awareness (Ghosh, 2016:47). Again, the repetition of the word 'nay' (which expresses the voidness of passersby) the touching awareness of ‘rajpOth’ has been transformed into the hearing awareness (*ibid*).

3.3. Sometimes use of parallel structures coincides with the exhibition of philosophy of life. For example:

3.3a. *manuS boStur ceYe OboStuke besi bhalobaSe*
people material-GEN than abstract-ACC more love-PRES-HAB-3P
Sonar ceYe bani, praner ceYe man ebON apnar ceYe
gold-GEN than fees life-GEN than honour and self-GEN than
apnar namTake bORo mone kOre.
self-GEN name-DET-ACC big mind-LOC do-PRES-HAB-3P
(ginni, p.22)

'The abstract is worth more to us than the material, fees to the goldsmith seem dearer than gold, honour means more than life, one's name more than one's self.'

[Radice, 2000: 54-55]

Here the extract has been presented in comparative degree and by using a recurring structural pattern. The pattern of structure can be presented as- a:b:b:a. The philosophy employed in the first structure has been extended to the latter structures.

3.4. Similarity of pattern is also expressive of sensuousness in several stories. For example

3.4a. *jOkhon Sey rattre jhup jhup briSTi poRitechilo,*
when that night-LOC ONOM rain fall-PST-PROG-3P
miTmiT koriYa prodip jolitechilo ebON gun gun
ONOM do-NON-FIN lamp light-PST-PROG-3P and ONOM
SOre didima mosarir moddhe gOlpo
voice-LOC maternal grandmother mosquito-net-GEN inside story
bolitechilen…
tell-PST-PROG-3P-SG-HON (OSOmbhOb kOtha, p. 162)

'When rain was falling moderately in that night , the lamp was lighting dimly and maternal grandmother was telling story inside the mosquito-net in a humming voice…'

Here three different incidents are happening parallelly and they have been presented through parallel structures. The three onomatopoetic words ('jhup jhup', 'miTmiT', 'gungun') are associated with mediumness in degree. Again, the presentation of three things through parallel structures is essentially sensuous. The words like 'jhup jhup', 'gungun' evoke the auditory awareness, whereas 'miT miT' evokes visual awareness. In totality the three onomatopoetic words are adding mystery to the atmosphere of story-telling.

3.5. In the story 'Ginni' the parallel structural pattern has become an instrument for representing the psycho-physical change in a child. The example is as follows:

3.5a. *tOkhon haSite haSite tahar mukh kan TokTOke lal*
then laugh-PROG-PTCP s/he-GEN face ears deep red
hoiYa uThilo, bEthito kOpaler sira phuliYa
be-NON-FIN rise-PST-3P hurt forehead-GEN vein swell-NON-FIN
uThilo, ebON ucchoSito ossrujal ar kichutey badha
rise-PST-3P and exalted tears more means-EMPH obstruction
manilo na.
abide-PST-3P by NEG (ginni, p.24)

'His smile gave way to a deep red blush around his face and ears. The veins in his aching forehead began to throb; he could no longer hold back the flood of tears in his eyes.' [Radice, 2000:56]

Here the first two structures have same pattern and hence it is expected that the third structure will be the same. But our expectation is broken by a different pattern in the third structure. Thus a conflict between similarity and contrast has been created. Again, the breaking of regularity in the pattern coincides with the child's breaking into tears.

3.6. The device of parallelism has also been used in representing characters. The best example of characterization through parallelism is found in 'SaSti'. Four main characters of the story have been presented in four different ways. They are as follows:

- Chandara :

prithibir SOkol biSOYey tahar EkTa koutuk ebON
earth-GEN every matters-EMPH s/he-GEN one-DET amusement and
koutuhOl ache.
curiosity have-3P-SG (saSti, p.168)
'Everything amused and intrigued her.' [Radice, 2010:128]

- Radha :

bORo- bow chilo Thik tar ulTo; ottonto elomelo
elder- bride be-PST-3P-SG exactly s/he-GEN opposite extremely unkempt
DhileDhala, Ogochalo.
sloppy slovenly (saSti, p.168)
'The elder wife had been her exact opposite: unkempt, sloppy and slovenly.'
[Radice, 2010:128]

- Dukhiram :

Emon niriho Othoco bhiSon, Emon SObol Othoco nirupaY
such innocent yet fearsome such powerfull yet helpless
manuS oti durlObh'.
people very rare (saSti, p.168)
'He was innocent yet fearsome: a rare combination of power and helplessness.'
[Radice, 2010:129]

- Chidam:

SOkol kajey tahar ekTi porimito paripatto, ekTi
every work-EMPH he-GEN one-DET complete dexterity, one-DET
Obolilakrito sobha prokas paY'.
effortless grace exposition get-PRES-HAB-3P-SG (saSti, p.168)
'He showed complete dexterity, effortless grace.' [Radice, 2010:129]

If we look at the characterization pattern in 'SaSti' we find that Chandara has been presented by using two adjectives which begins with the same sound and by placing a conjunction between them which indicates tidiness and solidarity in Chandara's character. But the character of Radha has been presented by three adjectives but without any insertion of conjunction between them which indicates looseness and lack of tidiness in her character. The excessive use of lateral sound 'l' in three adjectives (elomelo, DhileDhala, Ogochalo) is exposing Radha's unkemptness very clearly (Gupta, 1984:77). The character of Dukhiram has been presented by antonymous adjectives in the structures to express duality in his character. In contrast the character of Chidam has been presented by synonymous phrasal structures in a row to express his skill in different activities.

4. Recurrence

Recurrence is a stylistic device which involves complete repetition of a linguistic form. At first recurrence as an expressive means of language was used when the speaker was found to be under the stress of strong emotion. According to Leech (1969:78), "to call repetition a 'device' is to mislead, for repetition is almost involuntary to a person in a state of extreme emotional excitation". But Galperin says that "when used as a stylistic device, repetition acquires different functions. It does not aim at making a different emotional impact. On the contrary, the stylistic

device of repetition aims at logical emphasis, an emphasis necessary to fix the attention of the reader on the key-words of the utterance" (1977:211). In fact, in a literary text some words or phrases by the writer's skillful and purposive repetition become more important and significant in relation to other words or phrases. Their relevance lies in the text in defining what the content is about. They are known as 'key words' of the text (Ray, 2006:63).

In literary texts recurrence is not just confined to recurrence of linguistic forms as 'key words'. Like parallelism, recurrence may also operate on different layers of structure which involves sounds, words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Recurrence also includes recurrence of structures. Thus, recurrence involves the structural recurrence as well as recurrence of a particular linguistic form.

In one sense repetition is also considered as a type of deviation, because it deviates from the normal rules of language by its over-frequent use in the structures. According to Wales (2011: 167), "repetitive patterns are superimposed on the background of the expectations of normal usage, and so strikes the reader's attention as unusual".

Repetition is relatively a restricted method of producing foregrounding than parallelism. In parallelism some features (usually structural features) are held constant while others (usually lexical items) are varied (Short, 201:14). But in repetition same linguistic items are reduplicated.

5. Recurrent Patterns in Tagore's 'Galpaguccha'

Recurrence in Rabindranath Tagore's short-stories is in no way mechanical. Tagore has used repetition in his stories so skillfully that this device is becoming functional in the context of the stories. In the stories the device of recurrence has been employed in two ways—firstly, by recurrence of linguistic forms in different layers of structure and secondly, by recurrence of linguistic forms as key words in the texts.

5.1. Recurrence of linguistic forms in different layers of structure

5.1a. kebOl pOdda purbobOt chOl chOl khOl khOl koriYa
just Padma previous -like ONOM ONOM do-NON-FIN
chuTiYa colite lagilo, jEno Se kichuy
run-NON-FIN walk-INF perform-PRES-PROG-3P as if s/he anything
jane na,…
know-PRES-3P NEG (khokababur prottabOrton, p.40)

'The Padma went on rushing and swirling and gurgling as before, as if it knew nothing.' [Radice, 2000:60]

Here through the repeated use of lateral sound 'l' in 'chOl chOl', 'khOl khOl' the ruthless cruelty of Padma has been highlighted in the context of the story.

5.1b. Ondhokar daoYaY duy- cariTa Ondhokar murti OSpOSTo
darkness verandah-LOC two- four darkness statue unclear
dEkha jaiteche.
see-GER go-PRES-PROG-3P (saSti, p.166)
'On the dark verandah, the dim shapes of two or four people could be seen.'
[Radice, 2000:127]

Through the repetition of the word 'Ondhokar' (darkness), darkness appears as more dark so that people as if cannot be identified separately from darkness (Ghosh, 2016:189).

5.1c. ogo ami mori nai go, mori nai. ami kEmon
o I die-PRES-1P-SG NEG o die-PRES-1P-SG NEG I how
koriYa tomader bujhaibo, ami mori
do-NON-FIN you-PL-GEN make-FUT-1P-SG understand I die-PRES-1P-SG
nai. ey dEkho ami baMciYa achi.
NEG this look-PRES-IMP I live-NON-FIN be-PRES-1P-SG

'I did not die, I did not die, I tell you! How can I make you understand – I did not die! Can't you see: I am alive'.

In this example the speaker's repeated utterance of 'ami mori nai go' exposes her desperation for living.

5.1d. *dadababu, tomar duTi paYe poRi, tomar*
Dadababu you-GEN two-DET feet-LOC fall-PRES-1P-SG you-GEN
duTi paYe poRi, amake kichu dite hObe na;
two feet-LOC fall-PRES-1P-SG I-ACC anything give-INF be-FUT NEG
tomar duTi paYe poRi, amar jonno kauke
you-GEN two-DET feet-LOC fall-PRES-1P-SG I-GEN for any one
kichu bhabte hObe na.
anything think-INF be-INF NEG (poSTmaSTar, p. 20)

'I beg you, Dadababu, I beg you—don't give me any money. Please, no one need bother about me.' [Radice, 2000: 46]

The repetition of the phrase 'tomar duTi paYe poRi' shows the emotional state of the speaker and here the story has reached the climax.

5.2. Recurrence of linguistic forms as 'keywords'

5.2.1a. In 'KONkal' (Skeleton), two words 'moSari' (mosquito-net) and 'manuS' (people) have been repeated to bring out two contrastive facts.

- SOhoSa mone hoilo ekTi cetOn pOdartho
  suddenly mind-LOC be-PRES-PERF one-DET conscious substance
  Ondhokare ghOrer deYal hatRaiYa amar mosarir
  darkness-LOC room-GEN wall grop-NON-FIN I-GEN mosquito-net-GEN
  cari dike ghuriYa ghuriYa bERaiteche.
  whole towards move-ITER-PTCP roam-PRES-PROG-3P

'I suddenly felt a kind of live presence groping along the wall and circling round my mosquito-net.'

- pOdosObdo amar mosarir kache aSiYa
  sound of foot steps I-GEN mosquito-net-GEN near come-NON-FIN
  thamiYa gElo.
  stop-NON-FIN go-PRES-PERF-3P

'The footsteps stopped right next to my mosquito-net.'

- Ondhokar mosarir ottonto nikOT hoite uttor
  darkness mosquito-net-GEN very near from answer
  aSilo…
  come-PRES-PERF-3P

'From the darkness right against the mosquito-net the reply came.'

- onubhOb korilam, amar mosarir kache
  feelings do-PRES-PERF-1P-SG I-GEN mosquito-net-GEN near
  ke boSilo.
  who sit-PRES-PERF-3P-SG (kONkal, p. 58-59)

'I sensed that someone had sat down next to my mosquito-net.' [Radice, 2000:84-85]

5.2.1b. poMYtris bOtSor purbe ami- o manuSer kache boSiYa
thirty-five years ago I - too people-GEN near sit-NON-FIN
manuSer SONge gOlpo koritam… aj tomar
people-GEN with story do-PST-HAB-1P-SG today you-GEN
kache boSiYa ar Ekbar manuSer moto koriYa
near sit-NON-FIN more one time people-GEN like do-NON-FIN
gOlpo kori.
story do-PRES-1P-SG (kONkal, p. 59)

'Thirty-five years ago I too sat next to men and chatted with them. Today I want to sit next to you and talk like a human being again.' [Radice, 2000:85]

In the first example, the word 'moSari' (mosquito-net) has been used to differentiate human world from ghost world. The mosquito-net here is acting as a barrier between the speaker of the story and the ghost. But in the second example, in the ghost's repeated use of the word 'manuS'(people), this barrier has been vanished as the ghost sitting by the side of a living person narrates the story of her life when she was alive (Ghosh, 2016:101).

5.2.2. In 'guptodhon' the word 'Sona' has been repeated for several times to serve a specific purpose in the story.

- e Sona amar— e ami konomOtei pheliYa jaite
  these gold I-GEN these I means-EMPH leave-NON-FIN go-INF
  paribo na.
  can-FUT -1P-SG NEG (guptodhon, p. 513)

'These gold is mine—I cannot go in any way leaving these.'

- ami bahire jaite cay— kintu SONge ei
  I outside go-INF want-FUT-1P-SG but with these
  Sonar duTo-EkTa pat - o ki niYe jaite
  gold-GEN two - one plate even what take-NON-FIN go-INF
  paribo na.
  can-FUT -1P-SG NEG (guptodhon, p. 514)

'I want to go out—but can't I take away one or two plate of these gold with me.'

- ogo SonnESi, ami e Sona cai na— Sona
  o monk I these gold want-FUT-1P-SG NEG gold
  cai na.
  want-FUT-1P-SG NEG (guptodhon, p. 514)

'O monk, I do not want these gold— do not want these gold.'

- ami ar kichuy cai na-- ami ei SuroNgo
  I more anything want-FUT-1P-SG NEG I this tunnel
  hoite, Ondhokar hoite, golokdhaMda hoite, ei Sonar garod
  from darkness from labyrinth from this gold-GEN prison
  hoite bahir hoite cai. ami alok cai,
  from out be-INF want-FUT-1P-SG I light want-FUT-1P-SG
  akaS cai, mukti cai.
  sky want-FUT-1P-SG freedom want-FUT-1P-SG (guptodhon, p. 515)

'I want nothing anymore—I want to go out from this tunnel, this darkness, this labyrinth, this prison of gold. I want light, I want sky, I want freedom.'

In the four verbal extracts the repetition of the word 'Sona' (gold) has been done for showing step by step psychological change of the central character Mrityunjay. The word 'mrityunjay' literally means 'one who has conquered death'. In the story Mrityunjay has been transformed from his obsession with gold into a state of detestation for gold and finally he has obtained the freedom of mind and soul.

6. Conclusion

Through the analysis of a limited data collected from Tagore's selected short-stories the thing that appears attractive is the variety in the use of parallel patterns as well as recurrent patterns. This variety in

case of parallelism comes from the regular recurrence of positive and negative words, finite form of verbs, onomatopoetic words, conjunctions, alliteration, etc. in syntactic structures. In case of recurrence the variety comes through the recurrence of linguistic items in different layers of structures as well as the recurrence as 'key words' in the text. Again, these two structural devices involve an immediate interpretation and at the same time leaves the scope for a wider interpretation taking into account the whole work in which it appears (Leech, 1969:69). The present work includes only eleven stories of 'Galpaguccha' but still it establishes 'parallelism' and 'recurrence' as significant style markers in Tagore's short-stories. Finally, this work leaves the scope of study of Tagore's stories of different phases for capturing the evolution in his style of writing.

Notes

1. 'Style markers' refers to those particular features of style which call for more careful investigation (Leech & Short, 2007: 56).
2. Short, Michael (2008).*Who is Stylistics?*. <https://wk.baidu.com/view/371c933610661ed9ad51f336?pcf=2>.

Abbreviations :

1P	first Person	EMPH	emphatic	PROG	progressive
3P	third person	ACC	accusative	HON	honorific
SG	singular	GEN	genitive	NON-HON	non-honorific
PL	plural	LOC	locative	NON-FIN	non-finite
DET	determiner	PRES	present	INF	infinitive
NEG	negation	PST	past	ITER	iterative
PTCP	participle	FUT	future	ONOM	onomatopoetic
GER	gerund	PERF	perfect		
IMP	imperative	HAB	habitual		

Source Texts :

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

Translated Texts :

Radice, W. (2000). *Rabindranath Tagore : Selected Short Stories*. India : Penguin Books.

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Structural Analysis of Echo Words in Bangla and Hindi: A C-V Skeletal Approach to Echo Reduplication

Kuntala Ghosh Dastidar

Abstract : This paper describes and analyzes the various structures of echo words (EW) formed by Echo Reduplication (ER) in Bangla and Hindi, two important Eastern Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia. Echo Reduplication is a subtype of Reduplication which is mainly found in the spoken variety of these two languages. More specifically this paper seeks to investigate different processes involved in Echo Word Formation in Bangla and Hindi. Aim of this study is to provide a formal account of these processes through Alec Marantz's (1982) theory of Reduplication.

Keywords : echo word, C-V skeleton, phonemic melody, skeletal affixation.

1. Introduction

Echo Reduplication belongs to a broader category called Reduplication which is one of the salient areal features of Indian languages. Reduplication is a morphological process where outputs (carrying semantic modification) are the complete or partial copying / repetition of the structures of its inputs, viz. lexical items. According to Abbi (1992) Reduplication is of two types-Complete and Partial Reduplication on the basis of the phonological structure of its output. She (1992) has further divided the reduplicated structures on the basis of their morpho-syntactic and semantic functions into two broad categories–Morphological and Lexical Reduplication. Echo Reduplication is a Partial as well as a Lexical Reduplication that results in Echo Words. It is partial as reduplicated forms have slight phonological difference from the base words (i.e. the words undergone the reduplication process). The most common device to form Echo Words in Bangla and Hindi is the replacement of the initial phoneme (consonant or vowel) or syllable of the base word with a completely different phoneme or syllable (termed as "replacing phoneme/syllable") which is more or less fixed in a particular language and varies from language to language, then the partially reduplicated form or echoed part either precedes or follows the base word in order to convey the sense of generality/and the like/etc. For example,

1a. Bangla	*boi-Toi*	
	book-ER	'book etc.'
1b. Hindi	*kitab-vitab*	
	book-ER	'book etc.'
1c. Kannada	*pustaka-gistaka*	
	book - ER	'book etc.
1d. Telugu	*pustakam-gistakam*	
	book - ER	'book etc.'

Echo words are mostly found in the colloquial varieties of Indian languages. Eminent scholar Emeneau (1956:10) has claimed that echo words have not been found in other Indo-European languages. It is a pan-Indic trait and Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla, Hindi, Marathi etc. have received it mainly from Non Indo-Aryan languages. The following sections of this article describe different structures of Bangla and Hindi Echo Words along with different strategies of affixation of consonant-vowel, C-V skeleton, therein.

2. Structures of Bangla and Hindi Echo words

Abbi (2018) has mentioned five different strategies of which Bangla mainly applies three while Hindi follows two to form Echo Words. According to Abbi the five different strategies used by different Indian languages are as follows.

Strategy/S-1: Replacement of the base word's initial phoneme (mostly consonant) by a specific phoneme which is fixed in a particular language.

Strategy/S-2: Replacement of the base word's initial syllable by an entirely distinct syllable along with the structural repetition of the remaining part of the base word.

Strategy/S-3: Base word is preceded by its echoed counterpart instead of getting followed.

Strategy/S-4: Alteration of the nucleus of base word's initial syllable by another vowel.

Strategy/S-5: Formation of echo words by expressive morphology.

Bangla follows S-1, S-3 and S-4 whereas Hindi follows S-1 and S-3 to form echo words. S-1 is the most common device to form echo words of these two languages and both of them have few instances of the S-3. The fifth strategy is mainly used to form Bangla and Hindi onomatopoeic words.

For both Bangla and Hindi, the first strategy can be schematized as follows.

CVX → CVX-C'VX where CVX and C'VX are base word and its echoed counterpart respectively. C is the initial consonant whose alteration with a distinct phoneme, i.e. C' triggers the formation of echo words. VX is the remaining part whose canonical shape is kept intact in the echoed part and V represents a pure vowel or a diphthong. Unvoiced retroflex consonant, viz. /T/ and labial approximant, viz. /v/ are the most common replacing phonemes in Bangla and Hindi echo-formations respectively.

2a. Bangla *gan-Tan*
song-ER 'song etc.'

2b. Hindi *gana-vana*
song-ER 'song etc.'

The third strategy can be schematized as CVX→VX-CVX. Important characteristic of such Echo Words of Bangla and Hindi is that the preceding echoed part always has a vowel in its initial position and it is the same vowel that functions as the nucleus of the base word's initial syllable. So, it can be said that instead of the replacement of initial phoneme (consonants in such cases), the deletion of the onset of base word's initial syllable triggers the Echo word formation.

3a. Bangla *altu-phaltu*
ER-nonsense/rubbish 'nonsense/ rubbish and the like'

3b. Hindi *aju-baju*
ER-beside 'beside etc.'

Echo Word formation by following S-4 can be schematized as CVX→CVX-CV'X, where the nucleus of the initial syllable of the base word is replaced by another vowel. Bangla has some instances of such Echo Words, but Standard Hindi lacks them, though some instances are

found in Western Hindi dialects such as Bangru, Khariboli etc. We shall focus on Bangla Echo words only under S-4.

4. Bangla *gol-gal*
fatty-ER ‘fatty and the like’

Bangla and Hindi Echo Reduplication exhibits two notable characteristics :

(i) If a base word begins with a vowel, [VX] , then vowel alternation does not take place to form its echoed part rather the fixed replacer consonant, [C], occurs at the word initial position of its echoed part resulting in CVX viz. VX→VX-CVX.

5a. Bangla *am-Tam*
mango-ER ‘mango etc.’

5b. Hindi *am-vam*
mango-ER ‘mango etc.’

(ii) If there is a consonantal conjunct, [C_1C_2], in the initial position of a base word, then in Bangla the conjunct is simplified and replaced with the replacer consonant [C’],viz. C_1C_2VX→C_1C_2VX-C’VX. The reason behind the simplification of this consonantal conjunct is that Bangla native words do not have consonantal conjuncts both as onset and coda (Sarkar 1986, Dan 2004) . Bangla has a tendency to simplify consonantal conjuncts by deleting one of the members of the conjuncts. There are some instances where first member of the conjunct, [C_1], gets dropped to simplify the conjunct, such as,

6a. Bangla *sthan* → *than* ‘place’
sphoTik → *phoTik* ‘crystal’

In case of some Bangla words conjunct simplification takes place by deleting the second consonant, [C_2]. For example,

6b. Bangla *trino* → *tino* ‘grass’
kriSno→ *kiSIno* ‘Lord Krishna’

The forms at 6b present synchronic evidence as this type of simplification is very common in careless/non-sophisticated speech, while the simplification shown at 6a is also supported diachronically.

Thus in Bangla both C_1 and C_2 can get dropped to simplify consonantal conjuncts. In case of Echo word formation, the echoed counterpart, being a native Bangla word, would drop either C_1 or C_2 to simplify the initial conjunct of its base word and finally the remaining consonant would get replaced by the replacer phoneme, viz. /T/. As regards the question of which consonant between [C_1] and [C_2] is dropped, we may think of two options - (i) Unlike 6a and 6b, it is difficult to say which member of the conjunct is actually getting dropped and which one is replaced in the echoed part by the replacer phoneme, and (ii) like 6a and 6b, in words like *sthan-Tan* 'place and the like' it is the [C_1] which is dropped and [C_2] is replaced by /T/, while in words like *trino-Tino* 'grass and the like', it is the [C_2] which is dropped and [C_1] is replaced by /T/.

Between the above two, option (ii) overrules option (i) in the following two senses.

a) Option (i) fails to acknowledge the evidences shown at 6a and 6b.
b) A mechanism that can account for the issue of bidirectionality mentioned in option (ii) would be sufficient to deal with option (i) that does not overtly include the issue of directionality.

Hence while proposing mechanism in section 4 we shall keep in mind option (ii) rather than option (i).

On the other hand, Hindi presents a simpler situation as Hindi has a tendency to retain the second consonant viz. [C_2]. In case of Hindi, the first consonant, [C_1], is replaced by the replacer phoneme and C_2 remains in the echoed part forming a new consonantal conjunct with C'. So Hindi has a different representation than Bangla in case of words with initial conjuncts, which is $C_1C_2VX \rightarrow C'C_2VX$.

7a. Bangla *prem-Tem*
love-ER 'love etc.'
7b. Hindi *prem-vrem*
love – ER 'love etc.'

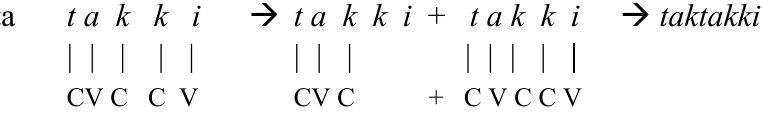
3. A C-V Skeletal Approach to Reduplication

Alec Marantz (1982) has proposed a theory which provides a formal account of the analysis of different reduplicative processes *via* Consonant-Vowel skeletal mapping cross-linguistically. Marantz's theory is basically an extension of John MaCarthy's (1979, 1981) analysis of the Arabic verbal system. MaCarthy adopted the principles

of John Goldsmith's (1976) Autosegmental phonology and introduced the method of representing words as Consonant-Vowel, [C-V], skeleton connected to phonemic melodies on separate tiers, though his work is confined to the Arabic languages which belong to the non-concatenative Semitic language family.

Marantz (1982:436) has considered reduplication like any other normal affixation processes with the only difference that the affixes which get added to the stems in reduplicative processes have either complete or partial phonological resemblance with the stems. He claimed that each reduplicative process can be characterized by C-V skeleton and the objective of his theory was to establish the reduplicating skeleton as a reduplicating morpheme and reduplication as the affixation of these C-V skeleton morphemes to stems. The C-V skeleton and phonemic melody are two individual tiers and each element of the skeletal tier, [C or V], should be linked/associated to each element, viz. phoneme, of the phonemic melody.

8. (Marantz 1982:446)



Agta reduplication has been presented at 8, where CVC, the reduplicating part [*tak*], is prefixed to the stem CVCCV, [*takki*] 'leg', resulting in the plural form CVCCVCCV, [*taktakki*] 'legs'. So, the mechanism that Marantz has proposed is the copying of a stem's entire phonemic melody to the reduplicating affix on the same tier and on the same side to which the affix is added. These reduplicating affixes are dependent on the phonemic melody of the stems which is the only difference between reduplication and other normal affixations. Marantz has proposed four conditions on the linking of phonemic melodies with C-V skeletal, which predict the correct association for most reduplicative processes.

Condition A: If not overruled by a special condition, feature complexes containing the feature [-syllabic] and [+syllabic] should be linked to C slots and V slots in the skeletal tier respectively.

Condition B: Each and every phoneme, both consonant and vowel, in the phonemic melody should be linked to the C and V slots in accordance with other conditions and principles.

Once this association is accomplished, extra phonemes and C-V slots are discarded. The linking between phonemes and C-V slots is one-to-one. There is no multiple associations between phonemes and C-V slots and *vice versa*.

Condition C: Some distinctive features may be pre-attached to C-V slots on the skeletal tier. These pre-attached features take precedence over any phoneme from phonemic melody tier which may link to these slots.

Condition D: Unmarked rule for the association between the phonemic melody and reduplicating skeleton prefixed to a stem starts with the leftmost phoneme of the melody linking to the leftmost C-V slot on the skeletal tier eligible under Condition A and proceeds from left to right. In case of suffixation the linking of phonemic melody to the reduplicating skeleton starts with the rightmost phoneme of the melody linking to the rightmost C-V slot of the skeleton and proceeds from right to left. According to Marantz this association is "phoneme-driven" (Marantz:1982:447) as for each phoneme involved in the mechanism of linking, the association first scans along the skeleton to find a C-V slot eligible for association with the phoneme in accordance with the condition A.

Although Abbi has considered Echo Reduplication as one kind of Lexical Reduplication, here we will treat Echo Reduplication as mere affixation of reduplicating C-V skeleton to a stem, viz. a base word, to which Reduplication is applied and the reduplicating affix relies on the phonemic melody of the stem and the association of phonemes with the C-V slots of skeleton follows these above mentioned four conditions. The different strategies that Bangla and Hindi follow to form Echo Words, as proposed by Abbi, will be presented through Marantz's theory of Reduplication in the next section.

4. A C-V Skeleton Theoretic Account of Bangla and Hindi Echo Words

Abbi's (2018) S-1 that Bangla and Hindi follow is CVX → CVX-C'VX. In this, as we can see, a C'VX is suffixed to a stem CVX, CV is the initial syllable and X is the remaining part of each stem which gets copied along with the nucleus of initial syllable to the echo suffix without any change in its phonological shape, whereas the onset of the

stem's initial syllable C is replaced with a distinct phoneme C', which is /T/ in Bangla and /v/ in Hindi. X has been used for an easier representation of Echo Word Formation in these two languages as C-V skeletal structure of this X part depends on the Bangla and Hindi words encountered the Echo Reduplication.

Marantz's Condition C enables the replacement of the stem's onset, viz. C, as the possibility of some distinctive feature's pre-attachment to the C-V slots has been formally encoded in it.

Thus, *gan-Tan*, at 2a, can be analyzed as suffixation of CVC (as here CVX=CVC) instead of C'VC, and the reduplicating suffix associates with its phonemic melodies from right to left, and pre-association of a feature complex containing the features [+obstruent, -voiced, +coronal] to the leftmost C slot in this reduplicating suffix's skeleton results in *gan-Tan,* instead of **gan-gan.* Although a consonant from the stem's phonemic melody links to this C slot in the reduplicating suffix in Bangla, all of its features get overridden by the pre-attached features.

9. Bangla

g a n	→	*g a n*	+	*g a n*	→	*gan-Tan* 'song etc.'				
| | |		| | |		| | |						
CV C		CV C	+	C V C						
				|						
				[+obstruent						
				-voiced						
				+coronal]						

In case of Hindi *gana-vana*, at 2b, CVCV is suffixed to the stem (here CVX=CVCV, *i.e.* X=CV), linking of the phonemic melody and reduplicating suffix begins from the right to left and a set of distinctive features [-consonantal, -syllabic, +labial] is pre-attached to the initial C slot in the skeleton of reduplicating suffix.

10. Hindi

g a n a	→	*g a n a*	+	*g a n a*	→	*gana-vana* 'song etc.'					
| | | |		| | | |		| | | |							
CVCV		CV C V	+	C V C V							
				|							
				[-consonantal							
				-syllabic							
				+labial]							

Abbi's S-3, viz. the prefixation of echo morpheme where the onset of the stem's initial syllable gets dropped, has been described as the prefixation of VX. In accordance with Marantz (1982) examples 3a and 3b are presented below.

11. Bangla *ph a l t u* → *ph a l t u* + *ph a l t u* → *altu-phaltu* 'nonsense etc.'

C VCCV VCCV + C V CC V

Here VX=VCCV.

12. Hindi *b a j u* → *b a j u* *b a j u* → *aju-baju* 'beside etc.'

CVCV V CV + C V C V

Here VX=VCV.

Marantz's condition B enables the deletion of the initial phonemes, /ph/ in Bangla and /b/ in Hindi, as they are not linked to any slot on the C-V skeleton and according to this condition extra or unassociated phonemic melody should be discarded.

Echo word formation by alteration of the nucleus of initial syllable of base word, viz. S-4 of Abbi (2018), can be schematized as CVX→CVX-CV'X and it has been already mentioned that only Bangla reflects this strategy to form Echo Words.

Thus, *gol-gal*, at 4, can be described as the affixation of a reduplicating C-V skeleton to the base word and the pre-association of a set of distinctive features to the first V slot from left of the reduplicating C-V skeleton results in the alteration of vowel in Echo Word Formation following condition C.

13. Bangla *g o l* → *g o l* + *g o l* → *gol-gal* 'fatty and the like'

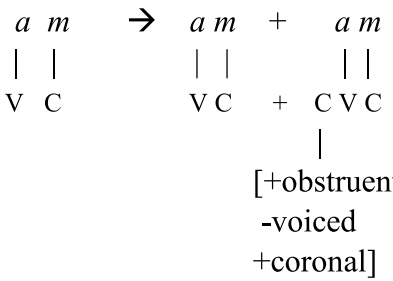
C V C CV C + C V C

[+low, +back]

Pre-association of distinctive features, [+low, +back], causes the replacement of Bangla back mid-high vowel /o/ by low back vowel /a/ in this above mentioned example.

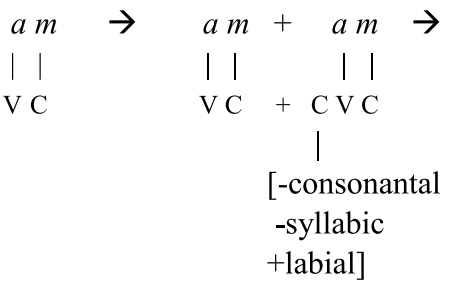
Bangla and Hindi words, [VX], that begin with vowel have CVX as reduplicating suffix where a set of distinctive features is pre-attached to the C slot. Examples 5a and 5b are illustrated as 14 and 15 respectively.

14. Bangla



Here VX=VC

15. Hindi



Here VX=VC

This group of stems seems to be problematic as the existence of an extra C slot (even after the completion of linking procedure) in reduplicating suffix's skeleton is violating Marantz's Condition B. However, this may be justified on the basis of Condition C, which makes provision for the pre-association of some features to C-V slots in the skeleton. In this group of stems pre-attached features legitimizes the existence of this extra C slot. As no phoneme from the stem's phonemic melody is linked to this extra C slot, this pre-attached feature complex provides the shape of a phoneme that gets linked to this slot.

In the previous section we have seen that Bangla and Hindi treat base words starting with consonantal conjuncts differently to form Echo words. Accordingly these two languages will exploit different mechanisms of copying phonemes from stem's phonemic melody to reduplicating suffix's C-V skeleton as discussed below.

It has been mentioned that Bangla has a tendency to simplify consonantal conjunct and according to option (ii), mentioned in section

2, either of the [C_1C_2] may be dropped in Echo Word Formation. This leads us to consider that if the second consonant, [C_2], is dropped and the first consonant, [C_1] of the conjunct is replaced by Replacer Phoneme, then the mechanism of linking such stems' phonemic melody to the suffixed C-V skeleton would begin from the left to right instead of the unmarked rule of association (as described in Marantz's condition D) for suffixes, viz. from right to left. So, in this case a marked association between phonemic melody and C-V skeletal suffix is taking place. On the other hand, if C_1 gets dropped and C_2 is replaced then the process of linking between stem's phonemic melody and suffixed C-V skeleton would follow the unmarked rule of association (right to left) for suffixes according to Condition D. Example 7a is described as follows-

16a . Bangla *p r e m* → *p r e m* + *p r e m* → *prem-Tem* 'love etc.'

C_1	C_2	V	C	C_1	C_2	V	C	+ C	V	C	

[+obstruent
-voiced
+coronal]

Here, CVC is suffixed to the stem and linking of phonemic melody to this suffixed skeleton starts from left to right.

16b. Bangla *p r e m* → *p r e m* + *p r e m* → *prem-Tem* 'love etc.'

C_1	C_2	V	C	C_1	C_2	V	C	+	C	V	C

[+obstruent
-voiced
+coronal]

Here, association of phonemic melody to the CVC skeletal suffix begins from right to left.

Both 16a and 16b result in *prem-Tem* without any problem, even if we support the claim of option (i), i.e. it cannot be strongly stated that which consonant of the conjunct is deleted in the echoed part. In both the mechanisms we proposed we have an unassociated phoneme, which

is /r/ in 16a (in case of marked linking) and /p/ in 16b (in case of unmarked linking. However this unassociated phoneme, be it /r/ or /p/, is discarded following Condition B and the remaining consonant, in spite of being attached to the leftmost C slot on C-V skeleton gets overruled by the pre-attached distinctive features following Condition C.

Hindi base words starting with consonantal conjunct retain the second consonant of the conjunct in their echoed part and the reduplicative C-V skeletal suffix is CCVC whereas it is CVC in Bangla. So, unlike Bangla, there is no need for conjunct simplification in Hindi and marked association between the phonemic melody and the C-V skeleton of reduplicative as it follows the most common strategy, viz. S-1, to form Echo Words. Hence example 7b can be represented as follows.

17. Hindi *p r e m* → *p r e m* + *p r e m* → *prem-vrem* 'love etc.'

p	*r*	*e*	*m*	*p*	*r*	*e*	*m*	+ *p*	*r*	*e*	*m*
C_1	C_2	V	C	C_1	C_2	V	C	+ C	C	V	C
								[-consonantal			
								-syllabic			
								+ labial]			

5. Conclusion

Both Bangla and Hindi belong to the Indo-Aryan language family. In spite of being genetically related, these two languages have some structural differences in case of Echo Reduplication although they more or less follow the same strategies proposed by Abbi (2018) to form Echo Words. Echo Words are the structural imitation of the established linguistic units of a particular language and at the semantic level they echo or copy/imitate the meaning of these established linguistic units. Echo words cannot occur independently. So, they can be considered as one kind of bound morpheme termed as 'Echo Morpheme'. This present work concludes that Echo Reduplication in Bangla and Hindi can be considered as affixation of C-V skeleton (Echo Morpheme) to stems and this affixation process causes slight changes to the structures of these stems.

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Vowel Template Asymmetries: a Semiotic Aspect

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Abstract: This paper deals with the vowel template asymmetry in terms of front and back vowels in case of Bangla adjectives and verbs following Substantivist approach. This approach includes Generative Phonotactics in Phonology, Whole Word Morphology in the Morphology Moudle as well as Semiotics to deal with certain asymmetries which are part of the phonology-morphology interface. The absence of certain templates in Bangla adjectives and verbs indicate some semiotic factors. Verbs with /CeCa/ schema exhibit only causatives (/cena/ 'identify', /phera/ 'send back') but /CoCa/ schema exhibits both denominals (/bola/ 'stroke', /gocha/ 'arrange') and causatives (/oTha/ 'raise', /bojha/ 'explain, convince'). Verbs in Bangla permit diphthongs with a back second element but never with a front second element, whereas adjectives and nouns can freely do this. The total exclusion of front second element diphthongs is thus a significant fact about the phonic signature of verbs as a category in Bangla and this 'signature' is the semiotic aspect we are introducing here for our framework.

Keywords: substantivist approach, vowel template asymmetry, generative phonotactics, whole word morphology, semiotics

1. Introduction

Following Substantivist approach this paper revisits some empirical material in connection with which Dasgupta (2001) introduced semiotic considerations into the study of the phonology-morphology interface. The substantivist research perspective inherits the formal components of its architecture (WWM and generative phonotactics) from the work of Rajendra Singh and Alan Ford. Going beyond those formal mechanisms, it is semiotic considerations that enable the substantivist framework to articulate a distinctive approach to certain phenomena that lie at the interface where phonology and morphology meet. The book that launched substantivism – Dasgupta, Ford & Singh (2000) – introduced the semiotic element only very briefly, in paper 7, section 5, and that too in a morpho-syntactic context that was not pertinent to the interface examined in this dissertation. The present paper revisits the material presented in Dasgupta (2001) in order to highlight the relevance of semiotics at phonology's interface with morphology.

2. Distributional Asymmetries in Adjective Vowel Templates

Dasgupta's (2001) main argument focuses on certain facts about verbs in Bangla. But one part of his paper links these facts to some unfamiliar properties of Bangla adjectives. To maximize expository clarity, we take up these properties first, in section 2.1, and return to verbs in section 2.2, finally presenting the connection between the two sets of properties in section 2.3.

2.1 Certain Canonical Schema Asymmetries Involving Adjectives

Consider words in terms of their canonical schemas, showing every consonant as 'C' and specifying only the vowels. In such a notation, the Bangla adjectives /buno/ 'wild', /kuMjo/ 'stooping', /Tulo/ 'pedantic' count as illustrating the canonical schema /CuCo/. On the basis of patterns that emerge when one looks at ordinary Bangla adjectives (excluding direct loans from Sanskrit or English, since such words sometimes violate phonotactic regularities), Dasgupta (2001) found a curious gap in the set of canonical schemas available. He noted that the schemas built around a back vowel, such as /CuCo/ and /CoCa/, allow CC between the two vowels – in other words some adjectives exist that instantiate the schemas /CuCCo/ and /CoCCa/ shown below at (1) and (2) – whereas, among the schemas based on a front vowel, only /CiCe/ allows a CC (i.e., as shown at (3), /CiCCe/ exists), but in contrast the vowel template /…e…o…/ is confined to the single C schema /CeCo/, see (4) – there are no instances of /CeCCo/:

(1)	/CuCo/:	a. /buno/ 'wild'
		b. /kuMjo/ 'stooping'
	/CuCCo/:	c. /phulko/ 'puffed up (s.o. a puri)'
		d. /Sukno/ 'dry'
(2)	/CoCa/:	a. /Soja/ 'straight'
		b. /bhoMta/ 'blunt'
	/CoCCa/:	c. /koMkRa/ 'curly'
		d. /phokla/ 'toothless'
(3)	/CiCe/:	a. /bhije/ 'wet'
		b. /Sidhe/ 'straight'
	/CiCCe/:	c. /micke/ 'perverse'
		d. /chiMcke/ 'petty'

(4) /CeCo/: a. /DeMpo/ ‘uppity’
b. /khelo/ ‘tawdry’
/CeCCo/: ***no adjectival examples***

We find it appropriate to add to this set of data some further facts of the same type that did not come to Dasgupta’s (2001) attention. In addition to the /CeCo/ schema illustrated at (4), the /CoCo/ and /CeCe/ schemas are also clearly confined to the single consonant mode, as shown in (5) and (6). There are no instances of /CoCCo/ or /CeCCe/ among Bangla adjectives (if one discounts the direct Sanskrit loan /mondo/ ‘bad’ or the sometimes independently used echo word /pokto/ which originates in the echo word compound /SOkto-pokto/ ‘of the tough sort’). As will become clear in the later discussion, the observations we are adding to the data base actually support the main line of argumentation in Dasgupta (2001).

(5) /CoCo/: a. /poRo/ ‘fallow’
b. /jolo/ ‘humid’
/CoCCo/: ***no adjectival examples***[1]

(6) /CeCe/: a. /meTe/ ‘brown’
b. /heMRe/ ‘bass (s.o. voice)’
/CeCCe/: ***no adjectival examples***

Why highlight the phenomena at (1)-(4), to which we have added (5) and (6)? What is there to say about these examples that pertain to phonology, to morphology or to their interface?

Generative Phonotactics and Whole Word Morphology perform specific phonological and morphological operations. We must bear in mind one fundamental fact about lexical items that it cannot be expressed by specific phonological or morphological mechanisms only. Namely, the phonic shapes of lexical items are not completely random; they are associated to some extent with particular categories. Languages are so designed as to make it easy for listeners to identify certain words as nouns, others as verbs, others as adjectives on the basis of their sound

[1] The word *choTTo* ‘teeny weeny’, a hypocoristic stylization formed by geminating the *T* in *choTo* ‘small’, is not a counterexample to this claim about the lexical non-instantiation of /CoCCo/ among adjectives.

patterns. The Bangla noun /bhikhiri/ ‘beggar’ displays a canonical schema typical of a noun: it could not possibly be a verb or an adjective. Likewise, the verb /paThabe/ ‘will send’ has the characteristic appearance of a verb, ruling out the option of parsing it as an adjective or a noun. The examples listed at (1)-(6) help us to identify some canonical schemas associated with adjectives as a lexical category. This category may not have any canonical templates uniquely dedicated to it in Bangla. But the fact that certain shapes are unavailable for adjectival use – such as */CeCCo, CoCCo, CeCCe/ – is part of the evidence for the view that categories and canonical schemas have something to do with each other.

Given this view that every major lexical category has a characteristic phonic signature, it becomes natural that some of the typically adjectival shapes shown above play a role also in one or two Word Formation Strategies (WFS). Consider (4) and (5). It so happens that two WFSs specify these schemas, shown at (7) and (8) respectively, along with word pairs motivating them:

(7) CeCo WFS: /CaC/ $_{N}$ ←→ /CeCo/ $_{ADJ}$

a.	/kaTh/ ‘wood’	/keTho/ ‘wooden’
b.	/kaj/ ‘work’	/kejo/ ‘busy’

(8) CoCo WFS: /COC/ $_{N}$ ←→ /CoCo/ $_{ADJ}$

a.	/jOl/ ‘water’	/jolo/ ‘humid, watery’
b.	/jhOR/ ‘storm’	/jhoRo/ ‘stormy’

These WFSs are compatible with the presence of a few stray instances where some other lexical category instantiates the /CeCo, CoCo/ templates, such as the nouns /gero/ ‘knot’, /keMco/ ‘earthworm’. No specific principle or rule prevents the existence of such nouns. However, notice the absence of any WFS that directly works against (7) or (8) (in other words, no WFS gives rise to nouns instantiating the canonical schemas /CeCo, CoCo/). WFSs (7) and (8) play a role, then, in consolidating the link between these word shapes and the adjective category in Bangla; no contrary WFS undermines the pattern.

We can now approach a more rigorous statement of the point Dasgupta (2001) made about adjectival canonical schemas (he spoke of vowel templates instead of canonical schemas, but this is just a matter

of terminology). He noted an asymmetry differentiating the canonical schemas whose V_1 (first vowel) is [+back] – /CuCo, CuCe, CoCa/ (and, we add, /CoCo/) – from those with a front V_1, /CiCe, CeCo, CeCa/ (and, we add, /CeCe/). His observation focused on the different degrees of representation of front V_1 schemas and back V_1 schemas among Bangla adjectives.

The asymmetry in the pattern becomes visible at two points. Firstly, the front V_1 schema /CeCa/ and its CC version /CeCCa/ are unrepresented (exceptions like /Sera/ 'best' and /meghla/ 'cloudy' do not undermine this generalization). Secondly, the front V_1 schema /CeCo/ has only limited representation, in the sense that not a single Bangla adjective instantiates its CC version (/CeCCo/ adjectives don't exist). In contrast, the back V_1 schemas /CuCo, CuCe, CoCa/ and their CC versions /CuCCo, CuCCe, CoCCa/ all have Bangla adjectives instantiating them.

Our fresh additions to the data set, the back V_1 schema /CoCo/ and the front V_1 schema /CeCe/, do not undermine Dasgupta's asymmetry observation. The non-instantiation of the CC counterparts of these two newly added schemas – i.e. the unavailability of /CoCCo/ and /CeCCe/ adjectives – leaves undisturbed the overall front-back asymmetry that he noticed. After taking our additions into account, back V_1 schemas are still much better represented in Bangla adjectives than front V_1 schemas.

The phonic signature of the adjectival category in Bangla, then, is somewhat tilted towards patterns built around back rather than front vowels. In section 2.3, devoted to the phonic signature of the verb category, which exhibits a broadly similar front-back asymmetry, we focus on some methodologically crucial facts concerning verbs with a front V_1. In section 3, on the basis of preliminary proposals made by Dasgupta (2001) in the context of exploring connections between the phonic signature of adjectives (which we have revisited in section 2.2) and that of verbs (see section 2.3), we provide some semiotic tools that enable the substantivist approach to offer descriptively adequate accounts of phenomena that its formalistic rivals have not been able to handle.

2.2 Certain Canonical Schema Asymmetries Involving Verbs

In order to apply canonical schemas to the study of verbs, it is important to begin by inspecting some basic facts about the shapes of verbs. Bangla verbs in their least specified 'bare' form carry the inflectional features second person, intimate, imperative[2]:

(9) a. /cen/ 'recognize.2Intim.Imp'
b. /oTh/ 'get up'
c. /dEkh/ 'look'
d. /SOr/ 'move (intr)'

A verb in any other inflected form always contains more than one syllable:

(10) a. /cene/ 'recognize.3Neu[tral].Pres'
b. /oThen/ 'get.up.3Hon[orific].Pres'
c. /dekhechilo/ 'look.3Neu.PastPerf'
d. /SoriS/ 'move.2Intim.Pres'

And there are verbs whose bare form itself is disyllabic. Some of these are ***causatives***, whose morphological formation becomes clear if one compares their bare (second person intimate imperative) forms with their bare non-causative counterparts given at (9):

(11) a. /cena/ 'identify'
b. /oTha/ 'raise'
c. /dEkha/ 'show'
d. /SOra/ 'move (tr)'.

Other disyllabic bare forms are non-causative and take part in no morphological process, such as

[2] Only two verbs display a discrepancy in Standard Bangla between the second person intimate imperative and the 'real bare form' of the verb that appears as the core of other inflected forms. The core forms of these two exceptional verbs are /aS-/ 'come' and /bOS-/ 'sit'; their second person intimate imperative forms are /aY/ and /boS/, respectively. ***All*** other Bangla verbs use their core 'bare form' for this imperative. Throughout this thesis, we shall avoid using the verbs 'come' and 'sit' in our examples.

(12) a. /paTha/ ‘send’
b. /bero/ ‘go out, come out’
c. /totla/ ‘stammer’
d. /cEMca/ ‘shout’

In this paper, verbs of the subtype shown in (12) shall be called **denominal** verbs. Some of them, like the verbs /bero/ and /totla/ shown at (12b, c) do indeed have an etymological affinity with words like /bayre/ ‘outside’ and /totla/ ‘stammering-prone’. However, most linguists find it convenient to label all such verbs in Bangla as **denominal**, despite the absence of such affinities for many members of the class.

Summarizing so far, the canonical schema CVC covers verbs exemplified at (9). Their causative counterparts shown at (11) instantiate the schema CVC*a*, whose invariant final vowel /a/ is associated with the causative property. In contrast to these, denominal verbs shown at (10) instantiate the schema CVC(C)V, whose final V can be either /a/ or /o/.[3]

The front-back asymmetry among Bangla verbs on which Dasgupta’s (2001) argument was focused appears in this denominal class. Denominal verbs with a non-low back V_1 bifurcate into two subclasses, exhibiting the schemas /CuCo/ and /CoCa/ shown in (13). In contrast, denominals with a non-low front V_1 instantiate only the schema /CiCo/ illustrated in (14). Denominals instantiating /CeCa/ – totally absent in my speech and that of my associates – are extremely rare in the usage of other speakers also, as web searches indicate.[4]

[3] These schemas are slightly inaccurate with respect to the initial C, which is in fact optional (thus, (9b) and (11b) begin with a vowel); we shall continue to ignore that detail, which makes no difference to any of the issues considered in the present study.

[4] Some readers may imagine that /peTa/ ‘beat (a person)’ is a counterexample to this claim. But this word, like /ghaMTa/ ‘meddle (with)’, is a semantically irregular causative, not a denominal. The non-causative counterparts to these verbs, /peT/ ‘beat (inanimate objects)’ and /ghaMT/ ‘stir (inanimate substances)’, do have unexpected meanings; but this irregularity has no bearing on the morphology-phonology interface.

(13) a. /kuRo/ ‘pick.up’
b. /Suko/ ‘dry’
c. /bulo/ ‘stroke’
d. /gucho/ ‘arrange’
e. /bola/ ‘stroke’
f. /gocha/ ‘arrange’
g. /gonga/ ‘groan’
h. /khoMRa/ ‘limp’

(14) a. /niko/ ‘scrub’
b. /cibo/ ‘chew’
c. /jiro/ ‘rest’
d. /bilo/ ‘distribute’
e. /Dingo/ ‘step over’

This front-back asymmetry in the class of denominal verbs sharply contrasts with the facts of causative verbs, which are completely symmetrical. Consider the /CoCa/ schema illustrated in (15) and the /CeCa/ schema in (16):

(15) a. /oTha/ ‘raise’
b. /bojha/ ‘explain, convince’
c. /Sona/ ‘cause to hear’
d. /oRa/ ‘fly (tr)’

(16) a. /cena/ ‘identify’
b. /phera/ ‘send back’
c. /bheja/ ‘soak’
d. /meSa/ ‘mix (tr)’

Given the non-existence of /CeCa/-type denominals, the fact that some causatives do instantiate the /CeCa/ schema has the effect of, as it were, ‘reserving’ the /CeCa/ schema exclusively for causative verbs. But this pattern is confined to front V_1 schemas; there is no such ‘reservation’ of the /CoCa/ schema (which has a back V_1) for causatives. We find denominal instances of /CoCa/, (13e-h), co-existing with causative instances, (15a-d). Thus, the /CeCa/ schema stands out as a schema uniquely associated with this causative feature in Bangla. Dasgupta (2001) argues that it is no coincidence that it stands out in this way.

Specifically, Dasgupta (2001) argues that, in the domain of Bangla verbs, the causative /CeCa/ schema of (16) stands in direct contrast to the denominal /CeCo/ schema illustrated in (17):

(17) a. /bero/ ‘go out, come out’
b. /ego/ ‘move ahead’
c. /pero/ ‘cross’

The minimal phonic difference between the /CeCa/ and /CeCo/ schemas, Dasgupta (2001) argues, is so directly associated with the causative vs denominal grammatical contrast that this paradigmatic fact about verbs in Bangla takes on a certain semiotic significance. The /CeCa/ schema becomes an explicit carrier for the causative value; in contrast, the /CoCa/ schema is not under comparable paradigmatic pressure and does not count as a vehicle for this grammatical feature. The reason is that, among back V_1 schemas, there is no neighbouring /CoCo/ schema; not a single Bangla verb in its bare form, in any contemporary dialect of the language, ever has a shape like */boro/, */chogo/, */pholo/ (if such verbs were to exist, their gerund or ‘lexical citation’ forms would have been */borono/, */chogono, */pholono/). As a consequence of this semiotic effect, Dasgupta notes, the /CeCa/ schema gets ‘reserved’ for causatives, as it were, and becomes unavailable for denominals. In contrast, in the back V_1 region of the class of verbs, where no such semiotic effect exists, the denominals remain free to choose between the /CuCo/ and /CoCa/ schemas, as observed in (13).

Dasgupta goes on to observe that this striking asymmetry between /CeCa/ and /CoCa/ extends to the biconsonantal variants /CeCCa/ and /CoCCa/ as well. The ‘reservation’ of /CeCa/ for the causative feature, interacting with the word formation process responsible for causatives in Bangla (which prevents a causative bare form from ending in /CCa/), makes the /CeCCa/ schema phonotactically unavailable for causatives. One consequence of this conspiracy is that Bangla ends up having no /CeCCa/ verbs at all; it has only /CiCCo/ verbs, consistently denominal, as illustrated in (18). Among back V_1 canonical schemas, however, both /CoCCa/ and /CuCCo/ are instantiated (and, again, only by denominals), as in (19):

(18) a. /ningRo/ ‘wring (s.o. clothes)’
b. /chiTko/ ‘splash’
c. /pichlo/ ‘slip (and fall)’
d. /Thikro/ ‘radiate’

(19) a. /culko/ ‘itch, scratch’
b. /cumRo/ ‘twirl (s.o. a moustache)’
c. /cupSo/ ‘shrink, deflate’
d. /tubRo/ ‘bend’
e. /tobRa/ ‘bend’
f. /totla/ ‘stammer’
g. /mocRa/ ‘twist’
h. /domRa/ ‘twist’

Thus, the front-back asymmetry covers an unusually large number of verbs. The ‘reservation’ of /CeCa/ for causatives and the total absence of /CeCCa/ verbs are significant effects. That these effects are confined to the front V_1 schemas is a striking fact. It requires explanation, and is not amenable to any known explanation within the non-substantivist models of morphology and phonology that many linguists adhere to.

In section 3, we return to the task of rearticulating, in terms of the framework of this dissertation, Dasgupta’s (2001) substantivist explanation for this striking asymmetry. On the way to that rearticulation, in section 2.3, we look at the paradigmatic context within which the facts about causative and denominal verbs are to be viewed. Specifically, section 2.3 juxtaposes the adjectival phenomena of section 2.1 and the verbal phenomena of section 2.2 in order to explore more carefully the way the paradigmatic facts are patterned in this domain. On that basis, it becomes possible to offer a substantivist account of the phenomena in section 3.

2.3 The asymmetries in their paradigmatic context

Recall, from section 2.1, that adjectives have a shape bias as well. The phonic signature of the adjective category in Bangla, we found in that section, was tilted towards the back region of the vowel space. Adjectives exhibit an overall asymmetry in favour of back V_1 schemas, better represented, and against front V_1 schemas, less well represented.

If one revisits the material surveyed in section 2.1 one also finds, however, that the facts pertaining to adjectives are considerably less sharp than the verb-related phenomena reported in section 2.2. For instance, the total non-existence of denominal verbs instantiating the schema /CeCa/, a sharply delineated fact, contrasts with the somewhat fuzzy fact that adjectives **almost** never instantiate the /CeCa/ schema or its biconsonantal /CeCCa/ variant; 'almost', because the stray one-consonant example *Sera* 'best' and the stray two-consonant example *meghla* 'cloudy' do exist. Is it useful to place fuzzy phenomena and exact phenomena side by side and attempt a generalization? How does such an enterprise help linguistics, where exact results are the goal?

Once we take a closer look at the /CeCa/ and /CeCCa/ schemas with respect to adjectival instantiations, a slightly more interesting pattern emerges. First of all, note the strong (if not absolute) reluctance of adjectives to instantiate the monoconsonantal /CeCa/ or the biconsonantal schema /CeCCa/. This absence does not reflect any phonotactic forces that might be regarded as weakening the template elsewhere in the language: Bangla nouns freely permit /CeCa/ and /CeCCa/, as in /peSa/ 'profession', /neSa/ 'passion, addiction', /Tekka/ 'ace', /ekka/ 'a type of horse-drawn carriage', /meghna/ 'name of a river', /jella/ 'splendour'. We conclude that the phonic signature of adjectives is indeed resistant to the schemas /CeCa/ and /CeCCa/. How is this resistance to be interpreted?

In this connection, we draw the reader's attention to the fact that **participial adjectives** have unobstructed access to the /CeCa/ schema. Thus, the participle /cena/ 'known' has, associated with it, an adjective /cena/ 'familiar', which responds positively to standard adjectival diagnostics like reduplication (/cena cena/ 'somewhat familiar'), intensifier use (/khub cena/ 'very familiar'), lexical negation (/Ocena/ 'unfamiliar'). Other participial adjectives instantiating the /CeCa/ schema – whose degree of integration into the adjectival category varies across lexical items and interpretive contexts – include /cera/ 'pierced, segmented', /cheMRa/ 'torn', /lekha/ 'written, explicit'. We would like to argue that this route into the /CeCa/ schema in some sense **bypasses** the general resistance to them in the adjectival category. It is as if

simple adjectives that have no morphological baggage avoid the /CeCa/ schema precisely in order to keep this schema 'reserved' for this **derived** subtype, which has one foot in the adjective category and another foot in the verb category.

If one recalls that verbs 'reserve' exactly the same /CeCa/ schema for a **derived** subclass of verbs, causatives, it stops being important that underived verbs sharply exclude /CeCa/ and /CeCCa/ whereas underived adjectives exhibit a slightly less sharp version of this exclusion (given the existence of the stray adjectival examples /Sera/ 'best' and /meghla/ 'cloudy'). After all, the facts are not so absolutely sharp in the verb category either. Recall, from section 2.1, that varieties of Bangla detected on internet searches (though not spoken by my associates) do permit a couple of underived /CeCa/ and /CeCCa/ verbs. We have chosen to ignore these items because they are overwhelmingly outnumbered by the hits for /CiCo/ and /CiCCo/. But it is possible that a stray example or two of the phenomenon may enter the standard language and spoil the apparent neatness of our picture even for verbs. What matters is not the sharp or absolute unavailability of underived members of these categories exhibiting the schemas /CeCa/ and /CeCCa/. The fact that adjectives and verbs systematically resist these schemas is enough for our purposes. We need to understand more rigorously just how this resistance leads to the effect of /CeCa/ being 'reserved' for derived words (for causative verbs and for participial adjectives). In section 3, we shall try to construct a rigorous account. In the remainder of the present section, we note a few more points regarding front vowel/ back vowel asymmetries within the domain of Bangla verbs.

When we shift our focus from the backness value of the first vowel in a bisyllabic verb to the distribution of front and back second elements in the diphthongal nucleus, we find a very sharp front-back asymmetry. Verbs in Bangla permit diphthongs with a back second element, as in (20), but never with a front second element: */aYRa/, */khOYla/,

*/buyTo/, */ceyRo/ are impossible shapes for verbs. There are no exceptions at all to this generalization if we focus[5] on those diphthongs that are followed by a consonant.

(20) a. /aWRa/ ‘declaim, recite’
b. /tEWRa/ ‘bend, twist’
c. /dowRo/ ‘run’

In contrast, adjectives and nouns freely allow front as well as back second elements in diphthongs that precede a consonant:

(21) a. /mOYla/ ‘dirty’
b. /toyri/ ‘ready’
c. /cOWRa/ ‘wide’
d. /cowko/ ‘rectangular’
e. /pOYSa/ ‘money’
f. /aYna/ ‘mirror’
g. /nowko/ ‘boat’
h. /SEWla/ ‘moss’

The total exclusion of front second element diphthongs is thus a significant fact about the phonic signature of verbs as a category in Bangla. This force acts in the same direction as the strong tilt in favour of back V_1 schemas among polysyllabic verbs. That there is also a similar tilt in the adjectival category shows the strength of the paradigmatic forces that make front vowels stand out wherever they occur in the language. We can conclude with some confidence, then, that there is a semiotic point to make about the unavailability of denominal verbs that exhibit the /CeCa/ schema. In section 3 we formulate this point in rigorous terms.

[5] The observation we are making holds only of ‘bare verbs’, devoid of inflectional material, and is confined to pre-consonantal diphthongs because otherwise forms like /biyo/ ‘give.birth.to’ or /miyo/ ‘get.soggy’ would technically count as counterexamples. In fact these /iy/ sequences are extended occurrences of /i/, hardly diphthongs; but we prefer to formulate our observation in a way that does not allow them even to look like counterexamples.

3. Semiotics in Substantivist Analysis

The substantivist approach couples the Generative Phonotactics model (based on Well-Formedness Constraints and Repair Strategies) in phonology with the WWM model (built around Word Formation Strategies) in morphology. In addition to these tools of formal description, the approach crucially draws on semiotic resources as well. Some analyses carried out in the substantivist framework use semiotic resources to supplement formal descriptive devices (Dasgupta, Ford & Singh 2000: 167-78; Dasgupta 2009a: 28). The claim made by Dasgupta (2001) that the /CeCa/ schema takes on a causative value as a consequence of the asymmetric instantiation of canonical schemas among verbs is yet another case of semiotic tools serving such purposes.

As we take up the task of stating this point about /CeCa/ verbs with appropriate theoretical rigour, we must inquire, generally, how formal devices and semiotic supplements work together in substantivist analyses. One answer to this question is offered by Dasgupta (in press: section 3), who writes that

> the methodological alignment between the grammatical core of a linguistic system and its semiotic matrix is governed by 'particularization' in the sense of Dasgupta (2009b). […] The grammar is, in the relevant sense, more 'particularized' than the semiotic matrix it is embedded in. Once we bring this theoretical move to bear on the relatively large class of inexact alignments between overtly flagged phenomena […] and their unflagged […] counterparts […] we find the division of labour between formal linguistics and its semiotic matrix falling into place.

'Particularization' is often called the **elsewhere** principle. This term relies on our familiarity with descriptive statements in the format "the English past tense affix is /id/ after an alveolar plosive, /t/ after a voiceless obstruent, and /d/ **elsewhere**". Note that here even the specification 'after a voiceless obstruent' has the operative meaning 'after any **other** voiceless obstruent', tacitly excluding voiceless alveolar plosives, which are already particularized by the first part of the statement. The particularization principle is built into all linguistic theories now in use. But substantivism is one of the few frameworks that explicitly draw on a more general set of semiotic resources and place particularization in this toolkit.

As we try to situate the semiotic toolkit in the substantivist repertory, it is convenient to begin by focusing on two basic questions. What is the architectural basis that makes it necessary to use semiotic resources in linguistics? What empirical purposes do they serve?

Substantivist linguistics, unlike formalistic theories of language, takes discourse as its object of study. Adherents of substantivism regard the 'code' visualization of language (in terms of a lexicon-wedded grammar that maps between sound-chains and meaning-complexes) as merely a first approximation, which is to be left behind as linguistic research advances beyond its structuralist beginnings. One known difficulty is that the picture of a 'code' implies a single, homogeneous set of forms, rules and principles. In fact, within one and the same language there is a great deal of heterogeneity. Some aspects of this heterogeneity are widely recognized and categorized in terms of labels such as 'learned', 'Sanskritic'/ 'tatsama', 'borrowed from English'. Substantivism classifies such labels also as semiotic in character. The search for asymmetries in phonology and morphology – the theme of the present study – is one way to identify other kinds of heterogeneity that have no established labels but turn out to be descriptively significant.

The types of descriptive significance involved are sometimes familiar from older and less parsimonious generative models. In order to see more clearly what empirical purposes can be served by semiotic resources in substantivist work, consider the proposal in Dasgupta (2009a) to distinguish, in semiotic terms, between the transparent /əbl/ affixation process in English word formation (which maps between *compare, revoke* and *compárable, revókable*) and the opaque affixation process that maps between *reputation, irritation, revocation* and *reputable, irritable, (ir)révocable*. The WWM component of the substantivist description merely formalizes them as WFSs (22), (23), and makes no direct contribution to the architectural task:

(22) $/X/_{V} \leftrightarrow /Xəbl/_{Adj}$

(23) $/X\grave{\sigma}\sigma Céiʃən/_{N} \leftrightarrow /X\acute{\sigma}\sigma Cəbl/_{Adj}$

It is the semiotics interpreting these grammatical descriptive devices that performs what we are calling the 'architectural' task – that of handling those effects that older models used to attribute to the supposed difference between 'morpheme boundary affixation' at (23) and 'word boundary affixation' at (22). The semiotic principle involved

is an extension of particularization. Strategy (23), providing as it does more information on both sides of the arrow, counts as more **particular** than strategy (22). The word pairs instantiating (23) are thus semiotically expected to carry a heavier burden of lexical idiosyncrasy than the pairs that take part in strategy (22). Indeed, this expectation is fulfilled in both phonological and semantic terms. Improving on classical generative phonology's stipulative distinction between 'morpheme boundaries' and 'word boundaries' within the word, this substantivist account shows how the phenomena can be made to follow from the particularization principle that all theories of morphology assume.

Let us now examine a case broadly similar to (22) vs (23) but involving the semiotic boundary distinguishing tatsama (Sanskritic) words from other words in the Bangla lexicon. Consider the alternation between single and geminate consonants (stops and fricatives) in pre-liquid position associated with the word formation processes operative in the following sets of words, all of which are tatsama:

(24)	a-i. /groho/ 'planet'	a-ii. /Opoggroho/ 'inauspicious planet'
	b-i. /proYog/ 'use'	b-ii. /OpopproYog/ 'misuse'
	c-i. /procar/ 'dissemination'	c-ii. /Opopprocar/ 'hostile propaganda'
	d-i. /SObdo/ 'word'	d-ii. /OpoSObdo/ 'bad word'
	e-i. /jOS/ 'reputation'	e-ii. /OpojOS/ 'notoriety'
(25)	a-i. /klanto/ 'tired'	a-ii. /Okklanto/ 'untiring'
	b-i. /bhranto/ 'mistaken'	b-ii. /Obbhranto/ 'unerring'
	c-i. /projukto/ 'used'	c-ii. /Opprojukto/ 'unused'
	d-i. /sruto/ 'heard'	d-ii. /Ossruto/ 'unheard'
	e-i. /srabbo/ 'hearable'	e-ii./Ossrabbo/ 'unhearable, i.e. intolerable'
	f-i. /mlan/ 'pale'	f-ii. /Ommlan/ 'unpale, i.e. bright'
	g-i. /jato/ 'born'	g-ii. /Ojato/ 'unborn'
	h-i. /poricito/ 'known'	h-ii. /Oporicito/ 'unknown'

Should we attribute the single consonant / geminate alternation in pre-liquid position to the phonology, and therefore leave it unstated in the WFS formulations for (24) and (25)? Or should we attribute the alternation to the morphology and thus state it explicitly, as in (26), (27)?

(26) The /Opo/ prefixation WFS for (24): /(CL)X/$_{N}$ ←→ /Opo(CCL)X/$_{N}$

(27) The /O/ prefixation WFS for (25): /(CL)X/$_{Adj}$ ←→ /O(CCL)X/$_{Adj}$

The standard way to find out is to inquire how word-medial CL and CCL sequences are distributed. Pre-liquid geminates occur in some non-tatsama words (/akkra/ ‘expensive’, /Dikkri/ ‘decree’, /Diggri/ ‘degree’), in some non-tatsama names like /aggra/ ‘Agra’, /phOtepur sikkri/ ‘Fatehpur Sikri’, and overwhelmingly often in tatsama words, such as /biddroho/ ‘rebellion’, /uddrek/ ‘triggering’, /upoddrob/ ‘disturbance’, /Oggradhikar/ ‘priority’. Pre-liquid single consonants occur in an irregular subset of tatsama words, e.g. /Okritodar/ ‘unmarried’, /Sukriti/ ‘good deed’, /abritti/ ‘recitation’, /nibhrito/ ‘private’, and extensively in non-tatsama words like /cakri/ ‘job’, /Thokrano/ ‘pecking’, /ograno/ ‘regurgitating’, /nagra juto/ ‘pointed shoes’, /dadra/ ‘a three-beat rhythm [in music]’, /kEbla/ ‘clumsy’, /patla/ ‘thin’, /amla/ ‘bureaucrat’, /amra/ ‘we’, /tomra/ ‘you.Pl’. We see at once that attributing the alternation to the phonotactics would be unjustified. Thus, the WFS statements (26) and (27) are the only option available to us. But what about the semiotics? Do we associate this special gemination with the tatsama stratum of Bangla vocabulary? If we do, can we then make the further claim that these WFSs take part in establishing the phonic signature distinguishing tatsama from non-tatsama words in Bangla (apart from the irregular enclave containing /Okritodar/ ‘unmarried’ etc.)?

In order to draw firm conclusions about these issues, we need first to look at the way negative prefixation works for the non-tatsama words shown in (28):

(28) a-i. /klayvbongSiyo/ ‘Clive-descendant’
a-ii. /OklayvbongSiyo/ ‘non-Clive-descendant’
b-i. /klorinmissrito/ ‘chlorine-mixed’
b-ii. /Oklorinmissrito/ ‘non-chlorine-mixed’
c-i. /plEningghoTito/ ‘planning-related’
c-ii. /OplEningghoTito/ ‘non-planning-related’
d-i. /pluTobOt/ ‘Pluto-like’
d-ii. /OpluTobOt/ ‘non-Pluto-like’

It is clear that strategy (29) rather than (27) is involved:

(29) The /O/ prefixation WFS for (28): $/X/_{Adj} \leftrightarrow /OX/_{Adj}$

We can also conclude at once that words whose formation is associated with (27), a strategy richly specified in terms of information, are expected to carry a heavier burden of lexical idiosyncrasy than words associated with the far more general strategy (29), exactly as in the case of (22) vs (23), the pair of strategies cited earlier. However, we have not quite finished deciding whether (27) can be said to take part in carving out a phonic signature for tatsama words. It turns out that the facts are more complicated. Consider the following tatsama examples:

(30)	a-i. /drabiR ‘Dravidian’	a-ii. /OdrabiR/ ‘non-Dravidian’
	b-i. /dhrupodi ‘classical’	b-ii. /Odhrupodi/ ‘non-classical’
	c-i. /grammo ‘rural’	c-ii. /Ogrammo/ ‘non-rural’

What we find at (30) is that even a tatsama adjective, if its negative version is not entrenched in the language – in other words, if a native speaker of Bangla is spontaneously coining the negation on the spot – comes out ungeminated. This goes to show that the semiotic factors involved go beyond vocabulary stratum labels. A simple historical label like ‘tatsama’ does not capture all the relevant facts. Formalistic theories of language that rely on such labels are bound to find it difficult to deal with the semiotic factors in such cases. For the moment, substantivism is in an advantageous position. It is difficult to see how a formalist can tackle the facts surveyed above without accepting the validity of some version of the substantivist account provided here.

Semiotic points made by authors whose work is close to the substantivist school of thought (Wurzel 1989 on shape recognizability as an important consideration in morphology, one that he explicitly calls ‘semiotic’, Bhat 2000 on the institutional autonomy of the semantics of many nouns, which in his view makes the noun category stand apart in the architecture of lexical categories) should also be kept in mind in the context of adding precision to the alignment between grammar and semiotics.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we have proposed descriptions of certain asymmetric distributions available at the phonology-morphology interface in Bangla. Methodologically speaking this paper highlights the role played

by semiotic resources of substantivist analysis and provides a rigorous presentation of the theoretical tools of substantivism.

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A note on the Limbu community with a comparative observation of two Limbu Dictionaries

Rajeshwari Datta

Abstract: The Limbu community is native to the regions of Eastern Nepal and Sikkim. Significant Limbu population is seen in the state of West Bengal and also Bhutan. The Limbu is one of the dominant languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family. This paper attempts to draw a suitable picture of the Limbu community, their language, and their script and also provide a preliminary observation on Limbu Dictionaries. The name of the community as well as the name of the language is known by the ethnonym 'Limbu' which is derived from the place *Limbuvan*, an area of the Himlayan region now part of eastern Nepal, northern Sikkim in India and western Bhutan. In the Indian context, along with Sikkim, Limbu settlement can be found in the hills of Darjeeling, West Bengal. Limbu is one of the eastern pronominalised language under the Himalayan group of languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. This paper attempts a comparative study of two hundred dictionary words and analyses the data after adequate transliteration. An analysis of the data on the different levels of linguistic structure is attempted and the phonological, morphlogical and lexical differences are noted among the dictionary words that are compared. This paper doesn't claim to be an exhaustive study on the Limbu dictionaries, however, the observations made point to certain features that are important to the Limbu language.

Keywords : Limbu settlement, Limbu dictionary, Srijunga script, transliteration.

1. Introduction

The Limbus are a sedentary agriculturalist people of the Mongoloid race dwelling in the hills of the *Kosi* and *Meci* zones of eastern Nepal, parts of Sikkim to the west of the Tista and in Darjeeling district. By far the largest part of the Limbu nation lives within eastern Nepal, which is the home of approximately 1,80,000 speakers of Limbu. (Subba 1976:142). It is also spoken in Assam and in some parts of northern India by the Limbu community. At present the Ethnologue records the total Limbu population in Nepal as 3,66,200 with 3,44,000 L1 users and 22,200 L2 users. According to Risley, Limbu a large tribe, probably of Mongolian descent, belongs to the Kiranti group of people of the Himalayas (Risley 1892: 14). The term *Kirata* indicates the wild non-

Aryan tribes living in the mountains, particularly the Himalayas and in the North-eastern areas of India, who were Mongoloid in origin (Chatterji 1951: 26). The word 'Limbu' is a Nepali ethnonym, and the Limbu homeland in eastern Nepal is known in Nepali as *Limbuvan* (van Driem 1987: xix). Risley states, the Limbus call themselves *Yakthomba* or yakherds, with reference to the tradition that this was their characteristic occupation before the tribe crossed the Himalaya into Eastern Nepal. Though the native speakers of the Limbu designate themselves as *Yakthungba*, and their language as *Yakthungba Pan*, they are referred to as the ethnonym 'Limbu' (Tumbahang 2013: 6). The name 'Limbu' is also referred to as 'Limboo' orthographically. Apart from the Lepchas, Bhotias or the Tibetans, the other members of the Kiranti group address the Limbus by the honorific title of Subah or Suffah, a chief (Risley 1892: 15).

Herbert Hope Risley in his major work *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal vol.2* (1892), one of the earliest studies recorded the activities of the community while giving a socio-cultural view of the tribe. Risley's work is followed by George Abraham Grierson's the *Linguistic Survey of India (vol. 3, part-1)* (1903-1928), Kumar Suresh Singh's *People of India Project, vol 5* (1998) and others.

This paper is organised in different sections. Section two talks about the Limbu language and their script which dates back to the early 18th century. The third section provides a comparative report of the speaker's strength of the Limbus according to the 2001 and 2011 census. The status of the language in the states of West Bengal and Sikkim is given in section four. The next section briefly talks about the lexicographic works on the lesser know languages. Section six enumerates the various compilations of the Limbu vocabulary that are made available in the form of a dictionary, word meaning books and others. A comparative study of the two Limbu dictionaries is attempted in section seven. The phonological, morphological and lexical differences are discussed briefly. Sub-sections are used where the need arises.

2. Limbu language and Script

The Limbu language belongs to the Himalayan group of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. The languages of the many number of tribes settled along the Himalayan range are divided into two categories by John Hodgson, 'distinguished by the respective use of simple or non-pronominalized, and of complex or pronominalized languages' (Grierson 1909: 177). Limbu falls under the second category. It is placed under the Tibeto-Burman eastern pronominalised dialects.

The Limbu language is one of the few Sino-Tibetan languages of the Central Himalayas to possess their own script (Sprigg 1959: 590). The other two languages of the same branch to possess their own scripts are Lepcha and Newari. The Limbu or Kiranti script was devised during the period of Buddhist expansion in Sikkim in the early 18th century when *Limbuvan* still constituted part of Sikkimese territory (Sprigg 1959: 591-592 & MS: 1-4). The Limbu script is ascribed to the Limbu hero Srijunga Teongsi (1704-1741) who is said to have revived the old Limbu script and composed extensively on topics pertaining to Limbu history and cultural traditions.The modifications of the Limbu script has been done by various scholars. In recent times Imansing Cemjong has made attempts to resurrect the Kiranti script (van Driem 1987: 25). However, in both of his works, viz. *Kirata Mundhum* and *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, the Limbu words were provided in the Devanagari script. van Driem in his *A Grammar of Limbu* (1987) states "Subba (1976) adopted Cemjong's new and expanded Kiranti script but made a few minor but enlightened modifications of his own which rigorously improved the script by making provision for both the glottal stop phoneme and for phonemic vowel length". In recent times attempts to modify the Kiranti script have been made by Shri B.B. Subba (Muringla)[1] of Sikkim. B.B. Subba was appointed as an Assistant Text Book Writer by the Government of Sikkim in the year 1976, for the preparation of Limbu text books, and it is in his hands that the Limbu script can be said to have taken its present shape.

3. A comparison of the Census reports

According to the Census report of India, the comparative figures for the speaker's strength of Limbu for the two consecutive decades 2001 and 2011 respectively are provided below.

Year	India	Sikkim	West Bengal	Assam
2001	37,265	34,292	2,377	288
2011	40,835	38,733	921	780

According to the 2011 census data, there has been a decadal percentage increase of 9.58 for the decade 2001-2011.

According to UNESCO's Degree of Endangerment which is based on the Intergenerational Language Transmission, Limbu falls under the 'Definitely Endangered' category, viz. 'the children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in their home'.

Ethnologue categorizes Limbu as a 'Developing' (EGIDS-5) language in Nepal. The categorization of Ethnologue is based on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The EGIDS level for this language in its primary country is 5 (Developing) viz. the language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.

4. Language status in West Bengal and Sikkim

4.1 West Bengal

In West Bengal, the Limbu is distributed in the hills of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong subdivisions of the Darjeeling district (Singh 1999:1983). The main concentration of the tribe is found in the Bijanbari Block of the Darjeeling district along with the neighbouring villages such as Lamagaon, Gairigaon, Nor busty, Basbotey etc.The community lives in close contact with many other tribal communities namely Tamang, Gurung, Sherpa, Chetri, Mangar and others. The present speaker's strength of the Limbu has reduced from 2,377 to 921

as reported in the Census mentioned above. In the year 2016, the West Bengal Limbu Development Board has been created in Kalimpong, to undertake necessary activities for the protection, promotion and safe-guarding of the Limbu language, tradition and culture. At present the West Bengal Limbu Development Board is looking after the overall development of the Limbus in Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Kurseong, Mirik, Siliguri, Bagdogra, Dooars, Jalpaiguri, Alipurduar and Jaigaon.

Unlike in Sikkim, Limbu is not taught in any of the schools of West Bengal. An attempt was made by the members of the Limbu association in 1998 and again in 2001 to introduce the language in the schools as a subject. They appealed to the then government of the state who asked them to get a No Objection Certificate (NOC) from the leader of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) Subhash Ghising. Mr.Ghising denied to give a NOC both the times.

In the present context of the situation of Limbus in the state, a sincere attempt has been made by the Limbu writer Purn Bahadur Subba who has published matters relating to the Limbu culture and tradition. He has also prepared a Limbu primary book for the students of Bengal. The Limbu Board Chairman Mr. N.D. Subba gravely voices his concern stating "…here within the jurisdiction of Kalimpong district and in other areas of West Bengal, we are still deprived of having even primary education in our mother tongue. Some private night schools have been opened here in Kalimpong, Kurseong, Bijanbari, Dooars-Terai and in some other places just for relief from such drawbacks at present". (Subba 2018: 5)

4.2 Sikkim

In Sikkim, Limbu is recognised as one of the eleven Official languages of the state, the others being Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha, Gurung, Mangar, Mukhia, Newari, Rai, Sherpa, and Tamang. It is widely used as both spoken and written language among the Limbu community. According to Buddhi L. Khamdhak, "until 1950s, the reading and writing of Limboo language and script was not known in Sikkim. It was after the advent of Iman Singh Chemjong in 1940s that Limboo script and literature could set a new milestone in Sikkim. In 1951, two Limboo primers were published by Iman Singh Chemjong, M.B. Khamdhak and P.S. Muringla. The primers were the first Limboo books ever written in

the history of Limboo language and literature in Sikkim. It was on the basis of these primers that teaching of Limboo language in schools and writing of literature set its threshhold in Sikkim". Teaching of Limbu language in the schools of Sikkim began in the year 1968, and with the advent of democracy in the year 1975, the growth and development of the Limbu language gained momentum. In the present times, Shri B.B. Muringla has been one of the most instrumental figures in continuing the momentum. From the year 2012, teaching of the Limbu language as one of the honours subjects in three government Colleges of Sikkim began. "Very recently in 2016, Limboo has been included in Post Graduate Programme by the Sikkim University with the approval of University Grants commission." (Subba 2016: 66).

5. Lexicographic works on lesser known languages

"Dictionaries are published in many and varied forms. According to Constance Winchell, Dictionaries are the main sources for information about words, their spelling, pronunciation, meaning, derivation, etc." (Lytel 1961:22)

The preparation of dictionaries in the lesser known languages is part of the language documentation process. "Dictionaries are of obvious importance to endangered language communities and they are… the linguistic genre that is most familiar to the general public… The familiarity of indigenous communities with the dictionary genre is, of course, very significant because it promotes a documentary product that is readily recognizable and usually valued by the community." (Kroskrity 2015:140).

The motivations for compiling dictionaries are various. " A great deal of lexicographical work is currently being done on rare and endangered languages… sometimes the lexicographer is trying to establish a written standard for a language that previously was not written down. Sometimes the motivation is simply to record the lexicon and phraseology of the language before it is lost forever." More often "such a dictionary allies scholarship to practical needs: providing access for speakers of a rare language to the wider world and to modern facilities, markets and technology…" (Brown 2006: 117).

The study of a dictionary is important in the sense that it provides not only a list of conventional form-meaning pairings and the lexical

information about the language but it also carries an understanding of the cultural aspect of a community. A dictionary is very much a part of a language community and its culture. According to Kavanagh " the knowledge, beliefs, and practices of a particular society are reflected in its language. The vocabulary of a language can provide some evidence of what is considered culturally important, and there may be several words for the most familiar items and concepts." (2000: 103). The knowledge of the cultural information of a community aids the understanding of the written and spoken language.

6. Limbu dictionaries

Various scholars have worked towards the collection of Limbu words and have made the vocabulary available in various books and compilations. One of the earliest scholars to have studied the Limbu words has been "William Kirkpatrick who visited Nepal in 1793 and collected 63 'Limbooa' words. … a Limbu vocabulary was collected by Major H.W.R Senior of the Intelligence Branch of the Division of the Chief of the Staff. Erik Haarh compiled a Limbu-English glossary on the basis of word lists and glosses recorded in XIXth century British sources (1960), and soon after a Limbu dictionary appeared by the great Limbu scholar Imansimha Cemjong (BS^2 2018)." (van Driem 2001: 667). Alfons Weidert and Bikram Subba published a *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary* in the year 1985. van Driem in his book *A Grammar of Limbu* (1987) has also provided a Limbu-English glossary of more than 1200 words. Also a number of word collection and word meaning books have been available lately.

For the purpose of the present study, two Limbu lexicons are taken into account. Both the dictionaries are trilingual in nature. The *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, one of the standard dictionaries for the Limbu language by Bairagi Kainla has been published by the Nepal Academy in the year 2018 BS. It has been one of the extensively worked out dictionaries in the Limbu language and consists of more than 12000 Limbu words. This work has been the reference point for other similar works that took place in the later times. "Kainla (2059 B.S.) lists forty thousand words in total with twelve thousand headwords and other derivatives. The entries of headwords follow the alphabetical order of the Srijangga script and are written in the

Devanagari script. Their pronunciations are transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet. Their word-classes and meanings are given in Nepali … again in English. This dictionary is, claimed to be an improved and revised form of the Iman Sing Chemjong's Limbu-English-Dictionary (2018 B.S.)" (Tumbahang 2007:8)

More recently B.B. Muringla has composed another trilingual English-Nepali-Limbu dictionary which is currently sent to the press and is expected to release pretty soon[3]. Also two dictionaries, one based on the Limbu affixes and another a collection of Limbu native words is under prepartion by Purn Bahadur Subba of Bijanbari, West Bengal. In the above works, the Srijunga script is used to write Limbu, and the Devanagari script is used no more.

7. A comparison of the two Lexicons

In the following sections, a comparative study of the dictionary words from two different dictionaries, one published and another under publication, is attempted. Both the dictionaries are trilingual in nature.The first dictionary by the renowned Nepali author Bairagi Kaila, viz. *Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary*, henceforth Dictionary I, is the third reprinted version and has been published in the year 2067 BS by the Nepal Academy. The second dictionary, henceforth Dictionary II, is an unpublished manuscript that has been collected from one of the proof-readers of the text from Gangtok, Sikkim. This dictionary is however under publication. The three languages used in the second dictionary are in the order English-Nepali-Limbu respectively.

7.1 Methodology

For the aim of data collection in fieldwork studies a number of Basic Word Lists (BWL) are available, for example the list by Morris Swadesh (1955), another list by Sarah Gudschinsky (1956), and others. These have become the reference word lists by linguists who are willing to understand the sound system and word formation process of the target language. The words that are included in the BWL cover the basic semantic fields like, kinship terms, body parts, environment etc. and these are considered to be resistant to change. For the present analysis, two hundred basic words were selected from both the Limbu

dictionaries for comparison. In the Dictionary I, the headwords are provided in Limbu and in the Dictionary II, the headwords have been provided in English.The data for comparison from both the dictionaries has been transliterated in Roman. Symbols used for transliteration have been mentioned at the end of this paper. Out of the two hundred words compared sixty-six words have shown certain differences in their spelling. The differences that have been identified are of phonological and morphological in nature. There are also examples of different lexical items for the same word in both the dictionaries. Rest of the words compared (apart from the sixty-six words) are found to be identical.

Apart from the phonological and morphological differences in the headwords, the glottal stop and the half consonant, viz. ‘sOi’, also known as ‘halant’ in Devanagari feature, have also been studied. The glottal stop, half consonant, and vowel length are important features of the Limbu language. The feature of vowel length is not taken up in this paper.

7.2 Data Analysis

The data for analysis has been categorised according to the differences in the features identified.

7.2.1 Phonological differences

Phonological differences identified in the data have been listed below:

i) Instances of free variation as found in the data has been listed below:

Serial no.	**Dictionary I**	**Dictionary II**	**Gloss**
1.	*koṇdeʔ* *[ʔ]*	*koṇde* *[Φ]*	lips
2.	*habeʔ(ba)* *[ʔ]*	*habeḳ* *[ḳ]*	jaw
3.	*muyuṃba* *[u]*	*muyoṃba* *[o]*	moustache
4.	*thEgaṆ* *[Φ]*	*thEṆgaṆ* *[Ṇ]*	stomach

5.	*sEbONba* *[N]*	*sEbOm̨ba* *[m̨]*	thigh
6.	*thum̨boʔ* *[m̨]*	*thuN̨boʔ* *[N̨]*	knee
7.	*uN̨siN̨ma* *[N̨]*	*uN̨sim̨ma* *[m̨]*	crawl
8.	*tabhe* *[e]*	*tabhE* *[E]*	sword
9.	*tam̨duk̨khheʔ* *[ʔ]*	*tam̨duk̨khhe* *[Φ]*	broom
10.	*thOʔtrOm̨ba* *[t]*	*thOʔrOm̨ba* *[Φ]*	throat
11.	*nam̨dhiN̨go* *[i]*	*nam̨dhaN̨go* *[a]*	rainbow
12.	*thEriN̨ba* *[E]*	*thiriN̨ba* *[i]*	leopard
13.	*pOk̨wa* *[p]*	*phOk̨wa* *[ph]*	pond
14.	*phuN̨seʔ* *[ph]*	*puN̨seʔ* *[p]*	fruits
15.	*mijik̨* *[k̨]*	*mijip̨* *[p̨]*	ashtray
16.	*yaN̨ghaʔ* *[ʔ]*	*yaN̨gha* *[Φ]*	bag
17.	*lOn̨lam̨* *[n̨]*	*lOl̨lam̨* *[l̨]*	exit
18.	*lEN̨him̨* *[h]*	*lEN̨ghim̨* *[gh]*	shop

ii) The glottal stop /ʔ/ has been identified as a phoneme in the language, for example, sjaʔ ‘uncooked rice’

sja ‘meat’

The occurrence of the phoneme as identified in the above data is seen to be occurring in either word final or syllable final position.

Word final occurrences of the glottal stop can be seen in the examples:

koṇdeʔ ‘lips’

habeʔ(ba) ‘jaw’

thuṃboʔ or thuṆboʔ ‘knee’

yumaʔ ‘grandmother’

the syllable final occurrence of the glottal stop can be seen in the example :

thOʔ-trOṃ-ba ‘throat’.

The word medial occurrence of the glottal stop is much less frequent than the word final occurrence of the phoneme as seen in the present data. The phoneme /ʔ/ occurs with the front vowels /i/, /e/ and the back vowel /o/. It also occurs with the open vowel /a/. There are no instances of the glottal stop occurring with the back vowel /u/ in the word final position. However the combination occurs in the word medial and syllable final position. For example:

sEṇ-duʔ-ba ‘nails’

iii) The sOi (halant in Devanagari) feature is frequently used in the Limbu language. However their occurrence takes place with only the three stop consonants /p, t, k/ and three nasal consonants /m, n, N/. The combinatory possibilities with any other phoneme is not noticed in the language. Few examples are noted below:

yeꝑma	‘to stand’	khaṃladha	‘car’
siṭla	‘neck’	cOꝑtEṇ	‘table’
huḳ	‘hand’	naʔsiṆ	‘rest’

A point to be noted here is that, since the comparisons are made on the written data the number of sounds ocurring in free variation are restricted. Studying the phonological features based on the orthography reduces the language variations as compared to the spoken data. This stands as one of the limitations of the script based study in identifying the accurate phonological features.

For example, in number (6) of the above table , we find [ṃ] and [Ṇ] occurring in free variations, viz.

thuṃboʔ thuṆboʔ ‘knee’

[ṃ] [Ṇ]

However, in the spoken data [ʔ] and [Φ] are also found to be occuring in the same environment without any change in the meaning of this particular lexical item. For example:

thuɴboʔ tʰuɴbo ‘knee’

[ʔ] [Φ]

7.2.2 Morphological differences

The morphological differences that have been identified while comparing the data from the two dictionaries are listed below:

Serial no.	Dictionary 1	Dictionary 2	Gloss
1.	*mikwENsi*	*mikwEN*	eyelid
2.	*miḳkhuN(ba)*	*miḳHek*	eyebrow
3.	*siNdaN*	*siNdaNba*	chin
4.	*miḳluɴ*	*miḳyu*	sleep
5.	*mO:siɴma*	*mO:siɴba*	drunk
6.	*caɴjaɴ*	*caɴjaɴba*	alert
7.	*kuṭṭiba* *kuṭṭima*	*kuṭṭisa* *khyasa*	puppy
8.	*khalEp*	*khalEppa* *kharEppa*	blank/empty
9.	*khaɱdaḳpa* *khaɱda:ḳpa*	*khaɱdaḳwa* *khaɱbedhOḳ*	spider
10.	*cuḳsa*	*cuḳpa* *cuḷliḳ*	small/little
11.	*tiɴgreḳpa* *tiɴgre:ḳpa*	*tiɴ* *tiɴgreḳ*	thorn
12.	*nOima*	*nOi*	basket
13.	*naɱliɴ*	*naɱliɴwa* *naɱbiɳwa*	sunrise/dawn
14.	*nuɱmEɳdiɴ*	*nuɱmEɳdiɴba*	eternal

15.	*piṭ*	*pipma:*	cow
16.	*mOsyaṇ*	*mOsi*	ink
17.	*maḳkhOdOŊ*	*maḳkhOdOŊba* *maḳkhuṃba*	cloudy
18.	*yaḳkoʔba*	*yaḳkho*	pumpkin
19.	*laŊghoppa* *laŊgho:ppa*	*laŊhOḳ* *laŊghOp*	shoe
20.	*Huḳco:*	*Huḳco* *co*	finger

i) The absence and presence of additional morphemes can be noticed in the above data. In example (1):

mO:siŊma *mO:siŊba* *'drunk'*

the morpheme 'ma' and 'ba' are the markers for the female and male respectively. Therefore,

mO:siŊma 'drunk (woman)'

mO:siŊba 'drunk (man)'

we note similar usage in example (7) and example (15)

kuṭtiba 'male puppy'

kuṭtima 'female puppy'

piṗma: 'cow (female)'

ii) The Limbu has three number system in its language viz. singular, dual and plural which are indicated by the suffixes affixed to the word classes. "The dual morpheme of nominal flexion is <-si>, eg. mənasi 'two men'." (van Driem 1987: 59). The dual affix can be identified in example (1), viz

mikwENsi *mikwEN* 'eyelid'

iii) Limbu is characterised as an agglutinating language, that is, words typically contain a linear sequence of morphs (affixations attached to root or base) each carrying a distinctive meaning on its own. (Tumbahang: 2013: 148). This feature is illustrated in example (20).

Huḳco or *co* 'finger'

Here *'co'* means finger whereas *'Huk̚'* stands for hand. The actual meaning of the word *'Huk̚co'* would be 'fingers of hand'. We have similar example in

'laŊco' where *'laŊ'* stands for feet and the actual meaning of the word *'laŊco'* would be 'fingers of feet'.

Similar examples are noticed above in (1) and (2),

mikwENsi 'eyelid'

mik̚khuN(ba) 'eyebrow'

In Limbu, *mik* stands for 'eye', the other meanings viz. 'eyelid' and 'eyebrow' are thus formed by sequences of affixes attached to the base.

7.2.3 Lexical differences

In the below table, the different lexical items for a single headword are listed.

Serial no.	Dictionary 1	Dictionary 2	Gloss
1.	*Huk̚cEk̚*	*tik̚na* *nari*	wrist
2.	*Ho:rik̚*	*kuHOk̚*	skin
3.	*wamik̚ma*	*kuwa kEmik̚pa*	thirsty
4.	*kObu*	*yuk̚tuŊ*	village
5.	*kEŊba*	*kOppOk̚pa*	round
6.	*thak̚pa*	*sik̚ki*	rope/a long string
7.	*niladha*	*nigOplok̚*	bicycle
8.	*paŊgeppa* *paŊge:ppa*	*hOnEba:* *aŊdiŊdiŊba*	naughty

i) Out of the two hundred lexicographic words, lexical differences are noted among eight headwords. One of the reasons for this difference in the lexical items can be attributed to the dialectal differences found in the language. The author of the English-Nepali-Limbu dictionary (Dictioanry II), Shri B.B. Muringla states " …the dialectal variations are very few. Whatever I have found I have listed those as synonyms to the selected word entries

in the dictionary."[4] The author also states that the motivation for treating the lexical varieties as synonyms is to keep the language and the community united. Creating different dictionaries for the different language varieties will only add to complexity and create differences among the community members.

ii) van Driem, in his book *A Grammar of Limbu* roughly divides "the Limbu language into four dialects: Phedappe, Pacthare, Chathare and Taplejune (or Tamarkhola)". (1987: 22). "Though ideally Pacthare and Phedappe are mutually intelligible dialects, understanding Pacthare presents considerable problems to native Phedappe speakers of Tamphula village." (1987: 23). As stated earlier, van Driem has provided a Limbu-English glossary of more than 1200 words in his book. His grammar is primarily "a description of the Phedappe dialect of Limbu as it is spoken in Tamphula village in Tehrathum district in eastern Nepal's *Kosi* zone". (1987: 26)

8. Conclusion

The written form of a language can be collected and stored more easily as compared to the spoken language unless recorded. Analysis of the spoken language reveals varied corresponding forms of a word or sentential unit which in turn benefits the structural analysis of the language unlike the study of the orthography which stands as a reflection of the standardised form of the language. The analysis of the language after adequate recording and transcription is the most followed approach in the process of language documentation. Whereas, attempting a linguistic analysis after adequate transliteration of the written data can be said to be a path less travelled.

The comparison of the dictionary words that has been taken up in this paper brings to the fore certain phonological, morphological and lexical differences in the language. The phonological and morphological features identified in the data, in a way contribute to the understanding of the language patterns and restrictions.

They can also be helpful in understanding the phonotactics of the language. These written data as transliterated from the two Limbu dictionaries can also be compared to the spoken variety to note further differences, similarities and usages.

Symbols used for transliteration

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)		Roman symbols used
front open-mid vowel	ɛ	E
back open-mid vowel	ɔ	O
velar nasal	ŋ	N
glottal fricative	h	H
palatal approximant	j	y
affricate	ʤ	j

End notes :

1. The Limbus are divided into number of clans and sub-clans. 'Muringla' is the name of one such clan. B.B. Subba (Muringla) has been awarded the Padmashree in the year 2017 for his dedicated work spaning more than three decades which has contributed to the revival of the Limbu language and literature in Sikkim.
2. Nepali calender is also known as the Bikram Sambat calendar. B.S. or V.S. stands for Bikram Sambat or Vikram Sambat. Nepal Sambat is the national lunar calendar of Nepal. The current Nepali year is 2075 Bikram Sambat. Nepali calendar is approximately 56 years and 8 months ahead of the English calendar.
3. Personal communication took place via telephone on 1st January 2019.
4. Personal comunication with the author took place at his residence in Geyzing (Sikkim) on 10th April 2018.

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The Language of Verbal Irony : or is There Any ?

Ria Guha

Abstract : Verbal irony is considered by some as a literary trope or a figure of speech, by some a stylistic device, by a few a discursive practice or a strategy and by others a pragmatic phenomenon. This paper aims to study verbal irony from a pragmatic point of view while also trying to consider its semantic counterpart. Although there are no significant differences between the semantics of an ironic and non-ironic utterance as the same utterance can pass both as an ironic and a non-ironic one, it is our aim to find out whether the semantic part of an ironic utterance contributes to its ironicalness or not. Along with that this study will probe into the process of identification of irony as well as missing it out in an utterance.

Keywords : verbal irony, pragmatics, context, irony markers.

1. Introduction

Verbal Irony, from a pragmatic point of view is a type of speech that connotes a totally distinct proposition other than what it states literally. Structurally, no significant difference is noticed between an ironic and a non-ironic version of an utterance i.e. an utterance can be both ironic or non-ironic depending upon the context in which it occurs. To understand language one needs linguistic competence but communication is not always linear, it has associated multiple layers. One not only needs a linguistic faculty but also needs pragmatic competence consisting of knowledge of contexts, world knowledge, information about the speaker (like her nature, occupation, etc) and common sense. All of these are needed to understand irony as it is a complex phenomenon. “It’s a wonderful day to go for picnic” said on a day when it is raining cats and dogs needs more than linguistic competence to get the implied message i.e. one must know picnic is an outdoor activity probably in the open nature and while it is raining profusely, it is very difficult to have a picnic in such a weather. So why does the speaker frame it so? Because she is expressing her “negative attitude” towards the failure of her expectation (Utsumi 2000: 1785). As the structural components of a sentence alone cannot convey this message; it is crucial to look for the elements that contribute to the meaning making like context, shared information between the speaker

and the hearer, background information, world knowledge and common sense. According to Grice (1975), an utterance can offer several interpretations but it is the very context of the utterance that determines which one must be chosen in that very context.

Having stated previously that there is no significant structural difference between an ironic and non-ironic sentence, we must not forget that there must be some element in the structure (be it meaning or a certain word) that signals the irony within the utterance or the fact that the utterance is 'incongruous' (Gibbs 1994) or 'inappropriate' (Attardo 2000b : 793-826) to the context of its occurrence. This paper aims to find out those incongruities and inappropriateness within the language instances that have been collected for this study.

This paper will also try to find out whether there are any clues present in the language used in the ironic utterances, any pattern particular to irony or not that helps the addressee to identify the irony. It may be mentioned here that identifying the irony and understanding it as well are not the same (Attardo 2000a). Even if one identifies the irony there, it is quite possible that they are not able to understand the irony simply lacking the background information that one needs to link the premises provided by the contexts and the background knowledge together. That is why satirical texts and cartoons lose their effects over time periods, as people who are not attuned to the contexts (the time frame, social milieu, target of the irony, etc.) within which they were created cannot understand the underlying message. They lose their connotations and become text with limited signification. Only if the background knowledge is made available to them will they decode the irony embedded in the text.

2. Theoretical Framework

Linda Hutcheon in her book *Irony's Edge* (1994), states "...from the point of view of ... the *ironist*, irony is the intentional transmission of both information and evaluative attitude other than what is explicitly presented." It is very important to note that irony not only conveys a message different from what is explicitly stated but also passes an evaluative judgement or attitude. Even if someone states the truth without violating the truthfulness maxim of Grice, she can still be ironic only if she intends an evaluative attitude.

Akira Utsumi's (2000) Implicit display theory states that to facilitate verbal irony there has to be an ironic environment which consists of the following :

i) having an expectation
ii) failure of that expectation
iii) negative attitude towards that failed expectation.

After the environment is created, the speaker may express her negative attitude implicitly towards her failed expectation by violating some pragmatic principle. We are going to use this framework wherever appropriate.

Sperber and Wilson's Echo theory (1992) that states that irony is created by echoing someone else's previously used thoughts, utterances or world view will be used to bolster our framework. Although not all irony can be evaluated by Echo theory (cf. Clark & Gerrig 1984; Utsumi 2000), it offers scope within certain domains and therefore offers relevant support.

Drawing from the above frameworks this paper seeks to examine the data to argue that Irony is founded on violated pragmatic principles and is both evaluative and echoic.

3. Methodology

Data for the purpose of this study have been collected from multiple domains like literary works, social media, observations, personal interactions, etc. Both Bengali and English language data have been used for this study. One of the reasons for choosing multiple domains is the difficulty of collecting ironical utterances from spontaneous speech and other reasons include being able to collect as much as data possible so that we can get a wider exposure on this matter. Data includes both written and spoken medium because that helps us to compare both the media to find out what elements contribute to the ironicalness of a sentence and whether there are different irony markers present to indicate irony in these two types of medium.

4. Data Analysis

4.1. *Role of background information and misfiring of irony (negative irony)*

4.1.1 *A:* Okay, you don't have a fixed time for office?

4.1.2 *B*: Naah.. I go anytime between 1-3 and leave around 10 pm unless there is an issue.. then I might stay up till 2am
4.1.3 *A*: Ohh that sounds great
4.1.4 *B:* Yeah it's convenient
(*Source*: Messenger chat, 3/1/2019)

Irony "happens" when the speaker intends irony and the hearer identifies and recognize that irony (Hutcheon 1994). In the above stated example, 4.1.3A is intended to be ironic by the speaker; but it is lost on the addressee as it is evident in B's reply "[y]eah it's convenient". Hutcheon (1994) has said what seems to be irony to her might not be ironic to someone else. Our knowledge, experience, beliefs, attitude, etc. all contribute to the way we think and talk, and if two people do not share same values, their thinking might not match; therefore resulting in a clash of ideas and missing out on the intent of the speaker; in this case the ironic intent of the speaker. Let us probe into A's mind to see why her comment can be taken as ironic.

- For A, usual office timing is probably 10:00 a.m. or 11:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. or 6:00 p.m.. If someone has a shift duty, the timings maybe different, sometimes night shift as well. But when B says 1-3 p.m. to around 10:00 p.m. and if there is some issue it might be 2:00 a.m., she was surprised.
- It did not match her general expectation.
- So, she had an evaluative attitude towards this.
- She expressed that attitude regarding that unexpected information by indirectly implying to that.
- Or if we consider opposition theory, it is simply that A does not think working till 2:00 a.m. is great at all.

Now we should consider some other background information too so that we can understand why B missed the irony and whether A's being ironic was miscalculated.

Considering background information :

- B works in an IT company and they work in shifts, so timings like 1-3 to 10 and sometimes 2:00 a.m. in the morning is quite usual.
- People in IT companies get to choose their shifts.

That is why B did not get the irony in A's comment as B thought A was being appreciative.

Then why did A express irony if she had the relevant information?

The answer is A miscalculated information. She confused the name of the IT company with a bank that has a similar name, and generally banks have a fixed working hour and that leads A to think in that way (as we discussed earlier) ending up commenting ironically.

Implicit display theory (Utsumi 2000) generally discusses irony from the speaker's point of view where the speaker expresses her negative attitude for her failed expectation. So these ironic utterances are literally positive while expressing a negative or disapproving attitude. Hence, this type of irony can be called negative irony.

4.2. Ironic juxtaposition of words

kintu je bidday Orthoparjon hoilo na, Se bidda ki bidda? aSol kOtha ey, Saheb Subor kache jawa aSa cai. kOto bOro bOro *murkho*, kebOl nam dOstokhOt korite pare, - tahara taluk muluk korilo- amar mOte taharay *ponDit*.

ar kOmolakanter moto biddan, jahara kebOl kOtokgulo bohi poRiyachhe, tahara amar mOte gOnDomurkho. (*kOmolakanter dOptor:* Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay)

'If knowledge cannot earn you money, what kind of knowledge is that? truth is this, one must make acquaintances with *"sahibs"* (european masters). so many big idiots, can only sign their name,- they made land and properties in my opinion they are the *pandits* (learned ones).'

And erudites like Komolakanta who have only read a few books; in my opinion they are big fools. (Author's translation)

Some ironies can be created just with the juxtapositions of words within a sentence; putting words together which are antonymous in sense relation it resembles another figure of speech: oxymoron). In this case, one does not need a broader context to detect as well as interpret the irony within the sentence. The antonymous relationship itself points out the irony to its reader. The above text is an example of that kind of irony where the words '*murkho*' (idiot) and '*ponDit*' (learned man) have been ascribed to the same person. The author has called an idiot a learned man and an erudite a big fool which is ironic as it creates a

contrast between the "expected and experienced" reality (Colston, O'Brien 2000 : 1557-83). An idiot who can only sign his name and nothing more can never be expected to be considered as a learned man by common sense nor an erudite as a big fool. Even if the readers of this article are not aware about the story they will be able to recognize the irony within the above mentioned text because of that unexpected pairing up of antonymous terms. As we have already discussed before, irony is not only about what is the underlined message but it also reflects the attitude of the ironist towards the matter. Just like here it is evident from the text that the author's attitude is sarcastic or negative, he is disappointed about the fact that even if someone is learned they do not get a job but people who are not even learned make connections to people in the power and manage to get a job.

4.3. Ironic attitude

"You sure know a lot", said to someone who is arrogantly and offensively showing off knowledge.

(*Source:* Kumon-Nakamura, Glucksberg & Brown 1995:4 as mentioned in Giora 1998: 2)

This is an example of Irony that does not follow the opposition theory i.e. irony is saying the opposite of what one really means; this example here is a kind of "understatement" (Giora 1998: 3). Although this example is better suited to show how irony addresses speaker's attitude towards certain situation, in this case the speaker is really annoyed and expressing a disapproving attitude towards the addressee for "showing off knowledge" rather than meaning "you don't know anything".

Another aspect of irony that may be considered from this example is how Irony can be ambiguous to be acknowledged by the addressee. Here, to the addressee the remark might or might not have seemed ironic depending on the facts whether it was visible on the speaker's face (like rolling eyes) or evident in his intonation (sarcastic intonation, cf. Attardo 2000a). These kinds of utterances always present indeterminacy on the addressee's part, i.e. whether the speaker is being ironic or not. The reason is that the comment does not clash with the addressee's expectation. There is always a possibility that he may take

the comment to be genuine as he really knows a lot and as a result he will not consider the comment as ironic.

4.4. Missing irony (positive irony)

4.4.1A: Was that writing too horrible?
4.4.2B: It was. (Irony)
4.4.3A: I have to write that again then.
4.4.4B: No, only some minor corrections will do.
4.4.5A: What? I thought it was 'horrible'?
4.4.6B: No; it wasn't. That much. ;)
(Source : Online written communication)

A missed B's irony because A was expecting to hear something just like that. So B's irony seemed true to her and she missed the irony and because it was written communication there was not any overt irony marker like sarcastic tone or facial expressions to help her out either.

But in the last comment of B "That much" is again ironic but this time the using of the winking emoticon ";)" is aiding to indicate irony as well as the fact that B was being ironic just before that, so this time A was aware, it was irony again. According to Burgers, Mulken & Schellens (2013) recipients get the irony better if that utterance is preceded by more ironies as it makes them ready to expect irony from the same speaker.

As we mentioned in section 1 that irony in general mostly expresses speaker's negative attitude that is why those ironic utterances can be called negative irony. But in this above excerpt, it is evident that the ironist is not expressing any negative attitude towards the addressee and literally she is being non-committal or at least not expressing anything positive. Instances like this can be called positive irony where the ironist does not express any negative attitude but pretend to be negative to the addressee. Praising someone by criticising her falls under this kind of irony.

4.5. Rhyming syllables

kOthokOta peSata bhalo- dibbo jOlkhabar, dibbo hatpakhar bataS; kebOl moddhe moddhe kono kono sthOle aahar biharer anuSongik proharTa Soite hOY, SeiTei mOhan kOSTo.

(Source : *Hutom Pyanchar Naksha:* Kaliprasanna Singha)

The profession of storytelling is quite good- splendid breakfast, heavenly air from hand fan; only in between at some places, beating which accompanies the food and travel has to be endured, that is the only great trouble.

Here again Irony happens through words, but in this case phonological properties play a role.

[a.har] ‘food’
[bi.har] ‘pleasure trip’
[pro.har] ‘beating’

This sentence starts with an innocent job of storytelling, according to the author it is a good profession. It provides one with certain amenities like food, travel, comfort, etc. then this apparently comfortable tone of the sentence changes when the author says this job also includes getting beaten up at times. A seemingly peaceful job includes violent measures- this unexpected turn of the description creates the irony here.

An Irony can be humorous but not all humour tend to be irony (Attardo 2000). The author’s ironic usage of words generates the humour here. All these three words have the same last syllable which creates a rhyming effect. But when the first two words belong to a positive subset that people desire, the last one is a member of a negative subset (cf. Sacks 1995) that is undesirable by humans. Thereby irony is indicated by positing words with diverse membership in this sentence.

4.6. Cultural Information

“This is all America’s fault.”

Using statements like these in casual conversations directed at the regime of Kim Jong Un have been warned against in North Korea by the Government authorities in 2016 for being ironic. They were threatened that any “indirect criticisms of party leadership” would not be tolerated.

(*Source*: North Korean Citizens Warned Against ‘Hostile’ Speech: RFA. 2/9/2016)

First, ‘all’ cannot be someone’s fault, this is an exaggeration, and this is hyperbole which is often used to indicate irony. But here other elements are playing their roles too to create the irony and those are the cultural information. Everyone in North Korea will get this irony but

those who are not North Koreans or are not aware of the competitive rivalry between America and North Korea, the irony will be lost upon them. North Korean regime seems always busy to compete with America and experimenting on nuclear missiles, and to do that their internal condition might have been put on the back burner, putting all the blame on America. It is always easier to use irony instead of protesting directly against a regime where there is always a chance of repercussion. So the North Koreans were using irony. According to Haiman (1990: 203) as stated in Giora (1995) irony makes it possible to express the speaker's subversive ideas without saying anything overtly. In this way, it is not possible for the targeted audience to pinpoint whether the speaker is being serious or she is just mocking indirectly. The denial based on the ambiguity of intention and literary expression helps the author to protect themselves from direct wrath of the targeted audience (oppressors). But in this North Korean case, it's evident that the targeted audience (Jong regime) has detected the irony and has acted on that to prevent it.

4.7. Anti-Proverb

"lekhapORa kOre je
Onahare mOre Se".
(Source : Movie: *Hirak Rajar Deshe*, 1980)
[One who studies/ he starves to death.]

Anti-proverb (Mieder 2004; Doyle and Shapiro 2012) is modification of existing proverbs and giving it a paradoxical, satirical meaning than the original one. The actual proverb is "lekhapORa kOre je/ gaRi ghoRa chOre Se" (One who studies/ he gets to ride vehicles). It means education leads you to achievements. But in the movie this proverb has been used by the education minister belonging to a regime where the king does not want his subjects to prosper. So it creates the irony by turning the positive expectation of the original proverb into a negative one i.e. death threat.

4.8. Echo

A: Eto Sundor Sundor jiniS, bajar korle monTa khuSi hoye jaY

B: hmm aar Segulo poriSkar kore jake tule rakhte hOY tar mon o khubi khuSi hoye jaY

(*Source:* conversation)

A: So many beautiful things, the mind becomes happy after shopping

B: hmm and her mind also becomes very happy who has to clean and store all of them later

Here as Sperber and Wilson (1992) have mentioned, by repeating or echoing A's expression, B has indicated the irony. B's negative attitude towards A's thought is evident from the utterance itself because cleaning and storing are tiresome job so it does not make anyone's mind happy unless she has bought all the things herself.

5. Discussion

Context plays a crucial role in case of irony as we can see some of the above stated examples cannot be identified as irony if the contexts pertaining to them are not provided. Only within the context those utterances can be termed as irony. Irony can take multiple forms (hyperbole, understatement, echoing, etc.). So the essence of irony lies in the evaluation and attitude towards the target of irony and that adheres to the context. Whenever the utterance is removed from the context, it loses its ironic characteristics.

Now following the multiple models that have been used to analyse these data, it is apparent that irony does not always mean the opposite of what one literally says but more than that it expresses an attitude towards the matter of discussion or the addressee (cf. Hutcheon 1994). It is evident in excerpt 4.3 where the speaker is not violating the truthfulness maxim and stating something that is contextually appropriate, but still it becomes an irony as it exudes the "evaluative judgement" of the speaker about the addressee (Hutcheon 1994).

Applying Implicit display theory to these data we can see, an utterance may become ironic when it violates certain pragmatic principles i.e. pragmatic insincerity (Utsumi 2000: 1789) as in excerpt 4.4 where 4.4.2B is inadequate in information according to Grice's maxim of quantity; in 4.7 it shows a violation of maxim of quality. While most of the examples can be explained following Implicit display theory, it still poses problems while explaining instances like excerpt 4.4. The reason is Implicit display theory sees irony from the speaker's point of view and that too points to the ironist's negative attitude towards the target, but in example 4.4 the speaker is not at all expressing any negative attitude, therefore it becomes difficult to explain it following the above mentioned theory.

Although the rest of the excerpts can be explained by Implicit display theory, Example 4.6 and 4.8 can be analysed better with Echo theory where in 4.8, B is echoing A's utterance which immediately precedes B's with a negative attitude but in 4.6 it is a comment that echoes the Korean regime's 'blaming America' notion.

Clashes of ideas or unexpectedness is very important in detecting irony in case of real life conversation, if there is no contrasts between the expectations and the reality, irony cannot be perceived as evident in the example no 4.4. By using irony not only one expresses some message but also they convey a certain attitude towards the matters. While sometimes it is very important to have background information to understand the irony, sometimes only the selection of contrastive words indicate the irony where context does not play much role in it. Excerpts 4.2, 4.5, 4.7 and 4.8 are such examples of that and another common aspect among them is the language, all four of them are in Bengali language and except 4.8 the rest of them belong to literature and films. In case of direct communication the speaker can be vague and allusive while using irony. She can rely on the context assuming the addressee will retrieve the irony intended by her. But even if the addressee cannot detect the irony and if it creates some miscommunication, the speaker can always make the addressee aware of it or explain it. However, in case of literature and film, the author cannot rely solely on the context if she intends irony to deliver. Therefore effective lexical choices and combinatorial features assume significance. As a matter of fact, whether irony in Bengali language or in literature is mostly context-independent or not is subjected to further study and will be dealt on another paper.

So it can be said that Implicit display theory can explain almost all the irony that is dealt from the speaker's point of view as well as where the speaker is expressing negative attitude. But when it comes to irony from the point of view of the audience or the addressee and positive irony, this theory is not much effective as evident in the excerpt 4.7 and 4.4.

6. Conclusion

So; I would like to conclude that the semantics or the meaning of the words used in the ironic sentences helps create the contrasts within the existing context and also irony needs an appropriate context to be manifested as well as comprehended. By using irony one communicates an attitude more than the meaning associated with it. Even if irony is not echoic all the time, it is evaluative in every instance. In addition, I have

found that in case of certain corpora, selection of words and its arrangement can indicate irony itself, although it needs further investigation.

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Part-III

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A Seminar on

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

26.02.2019

Classification, Language, and Classification of Languages

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(Keynote address delivered in the Seminar on at the Department of Linguistics, University of Calcutta, on 26 February, 2019)

Prologue : In a meeting held on 22nd November 2016 the UN general assembly adopted a resolution that stressed the "urgent need to preserve, promote and revitalize endangered languages" and further proclaims that 2019 would be declared as the International Year of Indigenous Languages, inviting UNESCO to take necessary steps in that respect (UNESCO, 2016). This declaration comes in a series of steps taken by the UN to protect diversity and multilingualism and create awareness about the need to promote non-dominant local languages all over the world. The year 2008 was declared the year of languages. In the year 2000, the 21st February was declared as the International Mother Tongue day. These efforts mark the fact that languages are dying at an alarming rate. Some scholars (Krauss, 1992) predicted that among the languages spoken currently in the world, 90% would be either dead or severely endangered in one hundred years. Other scholars (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Crystal, 2000) give a lower estimate of 50%. In any case, it is evident that languages are dying or ceasing to be in use at a very rapid rate.

1. Classification: why and how?

Classification is typically a human practice. However, as a concept it is totally humane. As far as I can make a common-sense guess, animals possess some rough kind of classifications, that of, for example, edibles and non-edibles, friends and enemies, weather that is clement and inclement, etc. We, as animals, have to classify objects and entities for our survival or we will be destroyed. But classification as a 'concept' fully escapes other animals, as they have no word for it. That means

they have no language, and most classifications and the basic idea of it, are formed by language. We humans, and of course humans who have made some progress in abstract thinking, do know that there is such a thing as classification and categorization, and we have to develop principles as well as parameters (sorry if the phrase reminds of of something more recent in linguistics) for classification. The *mantra* at one time for humans, as for other animals seems to have been 'Classify or perish!'

So we had to classify whatever came our way, inanimate objects, animals, birds and insects, plants and, of course, human beings. The first classifications were broad, big chunks, for example, animates and non-animates. But then, to the early humans, this was also problematic. They accepted the fact that animals and plants had life, as they were born, grew up and died. But then was baffled by the question : were the non-animates, which didn't undergo these processes, fully devoid of life? Isn't there a life in them, a divine spirit or something? Such ambiguities and fuzziness plagued the early classifications, which were often directed by belief rather than reasoning. This, we hope we now have grown beyond. Thanks to the tireless and meticulous efforts of people like Aristotle (384-322 BCE), Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and many othes, we human beings seem to have been able to reach manageable classifications of various objects and items on the earth, as well as in the universe at large. We, however, haven't seen the end of it. We still go on classifying and reclassifying, from the indomitable urge of knowing more and more about us and others—humans and non-humans, living objects and the non -living. I am sure that is why this seminar has been arranged. Are further classifications of language possible? If so, which way should we go for them?

As one can be somewhat amused to find, classifications themselves can also be classified. There are several ways of doing that, but I will draw you kind notice to the first important divide—classifications that we must make for us merely to survive, and classifications the absence of which are not as lethal or fatal. To give an example of the first category, we must know what is edible and what is not, who is a friend and who is an enemy, when it is a favorable time to do a thing, and when it is not; classifications dictated by the crucial divide of life and death. But there are classifications that, in comparison, sound rather

innocuous. For example, classification of of birds according the size of their tails, or the colour of their wings, or by the fact that some among them can sing and some cannot. Such classifications we attempt because we are always prodded by an indomitable urge to understand the world we live in, and this is where we outgrow our animal nature, we become fully human. We become a classificatory animal, more than any other animal on earth. Simply because we possess, and other animals do not, the paramount tool for classification, our language.

And, as we can easily see, we have to use language for such classifications. When there was no language at all, say some forty thousand years ago, our classifications of things of our environment were of a very rudimentary and primitive kind. With the advent of language, however, it became an enormously vigorous, as well as an almost unending, exercise. The Christian mythology has it that when Adam the first man came there happened a 'naming day' in Eden. The act of naming has an underlying assumption that there must have been language that could enable such naming. And what is more, naming also assumes a classification, for, unless we classify entities, how can we name them properly? I of course will not venture to state which comes first, naming or classification. That will be a futile exercise like guessing the priority of chicken and eggs. I assume that, at the popular level, naming precedes classification, while at the specialized or scientific level, classification often claims primacy. The scientific names of animal species, plants and other objects may provide examples; which actually means, we cannot have our identity properly defined without classification.

So, it seems that the human mind revels in classification; and for good reasons, too, as we have seen above. We have to survive and prosper as a community, and in order to do both, that is to survive and prosper, we have to understand our environment. Animals try to understand their environment for their survival alone. They, I guess, have not idea of prosperity, of developing, enriching and transforming their lives by changing, creating or understanding what confront them. The latter needs intricate intellectual exercises which are only possible through language.

2. Features of Classification

There are many other things about classification which cannot escape one's notice. Classification is almost always **hierarchical**, it moves from the most general fact to the minutest or the individual item. You must begin from the universe of objects. The first act of classification is that you pick up your object of classification from the rest. It is almost a binary exercise in the beginning. You leave out the negatively marked things and get yourself involved only with the positively marked. Plants vs. non-plants, and you now concentrate on plants. Then perhaps the task becomes n-nary, more diversified, and you classify on the basis of inherent features of items. That is how Aristotle classified the arts. He first differentiated the arts from nature and life. Life and nature was there as the model, while the arts imitated them *–he techne mimeitai ten phuusin.* Arts are not nature or natural objects as they are imitations.

This brings us to the question, how do we classify at all. What is its first basis? The answer is: you must have a **parameter** for classification**.** The first parameter of classification for Aristotle was the human act of 'imitation'. This feature, 'imitation', distinguishes the arts from nature. He rejects the somewhat theistic idea of his teacher Plato that nature was also an imitation, and God was the first creator as well as imitator, and we do the same, and we distort Truth thereby. Aristotle begins with the human imitator. In the next level of hierarchy, he takes up another parameter—that is, the medium of imitation. Some arts have, as their medium of imitation, language. So the master's first conclusion is that it has to be literature. One may of course object that aren't there non-literatures too that are written in language? Yes, Aristotle owns that, but he says that literature produces joy in the human mind that consumes it, while a text of physics does not do so. So, production of joy is the parameter that distinguishes literature from non-literature. At his time, Aristotle was not at all aware of what a twentieth century philosopher Jaques Derrida would say, who says everything written in language is literature. The next question he addressed, was then literature a single, indivisible and monolithic entity, with no further classes of its own? No, Aristotle replies, there are literature which is recited and read, and there is literature which is shown as visible and mostly audible action. The former is poetry, the

latter is drama. So he adopts one more parameter, 'manner of imitation' (recitation for one, acting for the other) to mark off drama from literature. Is that where the classification ends then? No. Drama can further be divided into tragedy and comedy, applying the parameter of 'object of imitation'. We imitate sufferings of noble lives in tragedy, while comedies depict the lives of those who we can laugh about. And so on and so forth.

Classifications, therefore, entail **cross-classifications**. A single item can be cross classified applying different parameters. Looking for parameters, you can use 'form' of the item, or various aspects of it as such, as you can use the content and such other features of an object. I don't know if there is a limit to the number of parameters you can choose. A book can be classified by size—demi, double demi, royal, double crown etc. It can also be classified by the color of its cover—books with yellow, red or green covers; or by the stability or hardness of the cover—paperback, hardcover. Or books that have date of publication, ISBN number, and books that do not. Or, further, books that were published in the 7th decade of the nineteenth century. If you move to the contents, there can be umpteen classifications—by genres, by the tone of writing, by what the author tries to achieve through the book ('reactionary', 'revolutionary', 'soapy'). I myself as an individual, belong to several classes or categories—a male human being, an octogenarian, a father, a son, a (retired) teacher, a (retired) education administrator, a linguist (of sorts), a writer (of sorts), a Bengali, a leftist and so on and so forth. These constitute my identities. I, as any other object, have multiple identities, defined by multiple parameters of classification. All such classifications and cross-classifications need naming and naming, inevitably, implies language.

3. Classification of Language

I now think it's time for moving out the language of classification to the classification of language.

As we all know, when we speak about language, we create a metalanguage. Classification of language is therefore a metalinguistic exercise. In the nineteenth century linguistic literature, when historical and comparative linguistics ruled the day, we were familiar with only two broad kinds of classification—the genetic, and the formal or

typological. The genetic was historically present there, it was almost given, it was our task to discover it. It was to simply classify the language according to their families of origin, but their evolution in time also imposed a kind of classification on the linguistic progenies, as proto Indo-European, its several branches, branches of these branches, branches of the branches of the branches etc. We found out their existence and named them. Every one of them was placed in a temporal frame and pushed into a family or sub-family. Individual languages were also divided into time-frames, in old, middle and modern periods. Here, change of such broad time-slots also meant change in the content and extent of the language. In literature also, when we divide literary periods into classical, romantic, neo-classical, modern etc. we imply both changed time and changed content. Time, or the concept of time, is also a human creation, and an amazing example of human exercise in classifications—beginning from the bigger chunks like aeon, century, decade, era or year and coming down to the months, weeks, days, hours, minutes and seconds. I don't know which way it had begun—from the big to the small, or the other way around, or from somewhere in the middle and then the human mind working up and down. Animals may have a rough concept of time or seasons, but they have not been able to categorize time the way we human beings have, as, once again, they have no language. Time, however, is an abstract concept, bereft of the power of causality, and in itself it does not influence change. Changes do happen due to other diverse social and environmental factors, and one of the most important ways we mark the changes is, time.

The earliest typological classification of languages was directed by their morphology, on the similarity or dissimilarity of the word-making processes of the languages in question. These were also there, as given facts, and human enquiry had to discover their existence to be able to classify. We found that some of the world languages were isolating or analytic or root languages. Some, in contrast, were inflecting/ analytic/ agglutinating languages. Further, some were polysynthetic or incorporating, which combined all the words of sentence together and made it another, much bigger word.

Unfortunately however, some such typological classifications were infected by a kind of racial prejudice, as some scholars of the nineteenth century thought, absolutely wrongly, that isolating languages were more primitive, much less developed than others and represented a less advanced stage of civilization. Such evaluative judgements did not bring any credit to typological classifications. People forgot that while classifications were a scientific exercise, and could only be right or wrong, evaluations could, besides being right or wrong, also be harmful and detrimental to the progress of science.

Later typological classification has extended their bases or parameters to phonology, syntax, vocabulary and what not. There are languages which have aspirated stops, including voiced aspirated stops. In India, some of the eastern languages have the low, back vowel sound /ɔ/, and the more common sibilant as /ʃ/, while others in the country has the low central vowel /ə/ and the alveolar /s/, as the most representative sounds in those categories. Some languages have retroflex sounds while others have not. These are phonological classifications. I recently attended a Kyoto University conference on 'expressive's, which were earlier called onomatopoeia or phonaesthetics, where it was found out that quite a few languages from India to Japan have more such words than the languages of the West did. Why does it happen to be so? Is it just accidental, or there are some deeper reasons behind it? Here the basis of classification was vocabulary. In the pre-Chomskyan language universal project initiated by Greenberg on the basis of statistical data, new parameters of classifications of language were made available. The classification of languages according to the word order in the sentence—SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS etc. has become quite familiar. In addition, classification of languages on the basis of number of 'morphemes per word' has also been attempted. Then there are 'right-branching and 'left-branching' languages. The horizons are receding all the time.

Geography of the language or languages spoken has given rise to two kinds of classification. One was that of classifying the language into dialects, and another was that on the basis of 'areal linguistics' of Emeneau, who viewed languages in contact in a particular geographical area do develop a kind of similarity of features that become significant. These languages may not be genetically related to each other, but due to

long historical association have influenced each other in all aspects of linguistic features, phonological, mophological, syntactic and in those of discourse.

Then there is the socio-political classification of languages—the language that is 'official' and those which are not. The Constitution of India in its Articles from 343 to 351, has classified the major languages of the country as the 'official' ones, which are two in number, Hindi in Devnagri script and English. Some 22 two major languages, including these two and Sanskrit, are the Eighth Schedule languages now. The list had begun with fourteen. The Sahity Akademi, on the other hand, recognizes 24 Indian languages, including English, as literary language. Then there are languages of minorities, which could not make it to any of such list. Recently the Govt. of India has begun marking some modern languages as 'classical', on what criteria is somewhat unclear to us. And then there are impressionistic, folk classifications of languages that are 'sweet', and those which are not so 'sweet', that is the sounds of which rattle the ears of another linguistic community.

So the field of classification of language is wide open, the sky seems to be the limit for it. New parameters will be discovered and applied on languages, and new classifications will come up. It all will, I'm sure, enrich human knowledge, not just about language, but about anything and everything that involves language. That is almost the whole universe of knowledge. If we can take one or two steps towards that direction, we will deem the exercises in this Seminar a success.

Thank you.

A Seminar on

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

ABSTRACTS

Language Classification: Some Concepts and Methods

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Any systematic study of languages requires some kinds of categorization. Scholars of language sciences, therefore, felt the need of classifying languages on the basis of some principles. The present discussion is concerned with three methods of classification of languages on the basis of three different parameters of categorization. These are common origin, borrowing due to contact in a geographical area and structural types. Accordingly, we get genetic, areal and typological classifications. Further, in the history of language study it is found that the proponents of the classificatory methods obtained their insights from different philosophical concepts. In course of the discussion there will be some brief references to those concepts as well.

Archaeology and Language: Some points to ponder on

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The questions of how and when humans first developed our distinctive language faculty are tantalizing ones. This can only be linked to a final expansion of anatomically and behaviorally modern humans from Africa and the Middle East, somewhere between 100,000 to 50,000 years ago. But beyond that the early origins of human language still remain in the realm of speculation. The idea of a relationship between a linguistic prehistory and an archaeological prehistory is a seductive one to pursue. Histories of research of both the disciplines show that the relations have often been vitiated by external political trends as well as internal resistance within the discipline. But from 1980's onward there has been a renewed search for identity which led Colin Renfrew, one of the foremost archaeologists of modern times, to write his oft-debated but much-appreciated book,*Archaeology and language.* I take this book as a point of departure and highlight the issues raised, as well the criticism it invoked. Thereupon I hope to throw open certain avenues of inquiry.

Ethno-linguistic and Genomic architecture of the Austro-Asiatic speaking Tribal Communities in India and beyond

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The people of India exhibit a unique range of social, cultural, linguistic and biological diversity. The complex pattern of genetic diversity in human populations are the product of many layers of demographic history and evolutionary events acting on different timescales, including colonisations, migrations, population expansions, mutation, genetic drift and selection. In India, the tribal mosaic reveals a wide spread distribution in various ecological and geo-climatic regions like hilly and mountain terrain, forest, sea coast, islands, and river banks. The origin and ethnic affinities of these people are largely a matter of conjectures in the absence of adequate data but recently a few studies based on genomic evidence exploring their affinities with the population of Southeast Asia. Recently, with the advent of DNA technology in the genomic era, a number of studies have focused towards understanding the possible routes of migration and peopling of India based on genomic evidences both on Mitochondrial DNA (maternal lineage) and Y-chromosome markers (paternal lineage). The genetic landscape of India also revealed that: i) the Indian sub-continent is considered to be one of the major corridors of human migrations from out-of-Africa. ii) the Austro-Asiatic speaking tribal populations are the earliest wave of human into India through north-eastern corridor, iii) the infiltration and admixture of new ethnic, cultural and linguistic elements from time to time indicate a wide spectrum of genetic heterogeneity in Indian populations (iv) the high percentage of paternal lineage (O2a) found among the Mundari speaking people of eastern India – suggesting diffusion of paternal lineage from India to Southeast Asia. In the present discourse an attempt has also been made to examine these genomic results in the context of archaeological, historical, linguistic evidences and geographical proximity of the Indian population and beyond.

Language Groupings or Classifications: Some Issues and Problems

Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya

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Since languages are numerous, no one can control these large mass of material without some sort of classification. There are different methods that one can use for classifying languages into different groups or families like Indo-European, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan and Austric, etc. and establish what is called genetic classification. Alternately one can classify languages with different geographical areas, like Africa, India, etc. Typology is one of such ways in which one can very well classify languages.

Further, we are aware that Indian languages historically belong to four major language families: Indo-European (Indo-Aryan), Dravidian, Austric (Austroasiatic), Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman). Besides Semito-Hamitic, Great Andamanese constitute the sixth language family of India, the other being Tai-Kadai. There are also single languages with unknown affinities, such as Nihali / Nahali and Burushaski. The identification of a common speech is not always as obvious as it may appear. Even intelligibility, i.e., the ability by which speakers of a given language more or less understand that of another, which is the basic criterion in the delimitation of language affiliation, is inadequate. The present paper deals with some such issues and raises a question whether the descendants of early “Paleolithic Colonizers” of Southeast Asia are the survivors of the first migration from Africa that took place seventy thousand years ago (Abbi, 2017).

A Brief Report of the Seminar Sessions

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A one day seminar on "New Perspectives on Language Classification" was hosted in the University of Calcutta, College Street Campus by Department of Linguistics on 26th February, 2019. Its main objective was to see the language classification in different lights of other fields as well as incorporating multidisciplinary approaches.

We were honoured to have Prof. Pabitra Sarkar, Prof. Mahidas Bhattacharya among us to chair the sessions and Prof. Krishna Bhattacharya, Prof. Bishnupriya Basak, Dr. Bisvanath Sarkar and Mr. Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya as the speakers.

Prof. Abhijit Majumdar, Head, Department of Linguistics, University of Calcutta gave the welcome address where he set the note of the seminar by saying a few words about types of language classification that are predominant: Genetic, Typological and Areal classifications. While all genetically related languages may have similar typology, not all typologically similar languages are genetically related. As we proceed to the end of the seminar, we see there are so many variables in play apart from linguistic ones that determine linguistic classifications also.

Prof. Pabitra Sarkar in his keynote "*Classification, Language, and Classification of Languages*" discussed about why do we need classification and how do we do it. "Classification is typically a human practice", said Prof. Sarkar. From animate to non-animate, edible to non-edible, friend to enemy, almost everything is classified. Even classification has its own classification; be it the ones on which our survival depends or the trivial ones that we do to merely enrich our knowledge.

We classify objects to ease our access to the knowledge base. It is partly a process of generalization. But due to "cross-classification" as mentioned by Prof. Sarkar, certain objects can belong to different categories at the same time making it difficult to put them in a particular class. There we have the subclasses and the sub-subclasses. It also happens that some object cannot be placed in any existing class as Mr. Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya mentioned about the languages Nihali/Nahali and Burushaski.

Prof. Sarkar also talked about the genetic and typological classifications as well the later introduced geographical classification. Some of these classifications are not beyond "racial prejudice" as mentioned by him, and this point was raised again in a later session by Dr. Aditi Ghosh to Prof. Krishna Bhattacharya, whether there is a racial aspect in classifying languages genetically.

Prof. Sarkar discussed about "socio-political" and "folk" classifications of languages as well.

Prof. Krishna Bhattacharya in her presentation "*Language Classification: Some Concepts and Methods*" talks about three methods of classifications of languages and some philosophical concepts from which the advocates of these classifications drew inspiration. She discussed about how 'Tree Model' proposed by August Schleicher was replaced by the 'Wave theory' of Schmidt (1872) because "languages are not like animals or trees. They are sets of conventions. Changes are introduced in languages by their speakers, not by the languages themselves."

She also reflected upon certain concepts crucial in genetic classification, such as: comparative method, reconstruction (external and internal), proto language, cognate language, reflex, phylum, etc. One of the limitation of comparative method is certainly the fact that "it cannot reconstruct the elements which are completely lost in subsequent stages of the language" as Prof. Bhattacharya mentioned while discussing the comparative method.

Next she showed how typological classification of language modified itself in the hands of Wilhelm von Humboldt, August von Schlegel, A. Schleicher, Edward Sapir and Joseph H. Greenberg with

time. From isolating, agglutinating, inflecting and later on incorporating to analytic, synthetic and polysynthetic, languages under the scope of typological classifications have been classified and reclassified several times as it was also mentioned by Prof. Sarkar earlier in his keynote.

Prof. Bhattacharya also talked about areal classification that includes concepts like *Sprachbund* , linguistic convergence and how due to multilingualism features of two neighbouring languages are being exchanged and create a new variety which differs from its original genetic family features.

Dr. Aditi Ghosh asked Prof. Bhattacharya about her opinion on the racial aspect of genetic classification to which the later answered in nineteenth century Indo-European languages were rich in written documents, such type of study would have been possible in languages but that is no reason. So, it looks like that but then later on genetic classification was found even in American-Indian languages was done also.

Prof. Sarkar added that there was a certain kind of imperialistic politics associated with origin and superiority of languages. It has been abandoned in the early twentieth century particularly after the declaration by the American Linguistic Society in 1948 that all language and language families are equal. Given the opportunity every language or dialect can become as powerful as English or other language. All are potential equal.

Dr.Sunandan Kumar Sen remarked on this note that this racial aspect might have been there due to the theory of Aryan invasion or migration which was a racial comment of one type but in this concept from 1960 onwards, in archaeological excavation and genetic studies it is proved that there was a migration from Europe to Asia and possibility is there that it might have been taken place earlier. So obviously the concept of Aryan migration may have developed some kind of racial concept but this is a theme we must look at seriously.

Dr. Ghosh further added that facts cannot be blamed upon or questioned as it is scientifically proven and how it is used politically and for other purposes. It is totally up to us though how we use it.

Prof. Sarkar concluded the session commenting that the equation of Aryan race and languages have been demolished by Max Müller himself and the superiority of the whites have been throttled by 'out of Africa' theory.

The second lecture was delivered by Prof. Bishnupriya Basak from Dept. of Archaeology, University of Calcutta on "*Archaeology and Language: Some points to ponder on*". She talks about two widely recognized theories of the origin of Proto Indo-European speakers which are Steppe Theory and Anatolian Hypothesis. She enlightened us about the archaeological viewpoint on the language transmission. Initial colonization, replacement and continual developments including divergence and convergence are the three basic processes by which a language comes to be spoken in a particular area. Colin Renfrew introduced three principal models for language replacements – demography/ subsistence, elite dominance and system collapse.

She also mentioned genetic studies have proved that there was a southward spread of genetic ancestry from the Eurasian steppe area and there was an admixture of steppe people with Bactria- Margiana archaeological complex (BMAC) people and With BMAC people there was an admixture of South Asian people. Indus periphery people are thus source to the origin of South Asian people. Genetic studies link Europe and Asia from Steppe area.

Prof. Basak ended her speech raising some of her own questions about how far linguists can stop mixing Aryan and non Aryan words. There were migrations and movements then how can one work out the regional and sub-regional traits correlating with material and genome studies?

Dr. Sunandan Kumar Sen mentioned an article by Romila Thapar where haplogroup RA is mentioned in relation to Aryan race to which Prof. Basak said importance to BMAC group has to be put to study this area.

Dr. Aditi Ghosh highlighted the importance of studying historical linguistics on this note as there are still so many things to learn.

Mr. Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya asked Prof. Basak to comment on a claim by Prof. Anwita Abbi (2017) "whether the descendants of early

“Paleolithic Colonizers” of Southeast Asia are the survivors of the first migration from Africa that took place seventy thousand years ago.” to this Prof. Basak commented no skeletal remains have been found in the South asian region except Sri lanka due to the humid and unsuitable environment for preserving the skeletons within nature. So it will be “unscientific” to claim such thing without enough evidence for it.

The next session was chaired by Prof. Mahidas Bhattacharya.

In this session the first talk was presented by Dr. Bisvanath Sarkar, from Dept. of Anthropology, West Bengal State University, on “*Ethno-linguistic and Genomic architecture of the Austro-Asiatic speaking Tribal Communities in India and beyond*”. This has been an interesting talk where scientific facts prove the linguistic assumptions. Dr. Sarkar introduced us to ‘book of life’ consisting just “four alphabets” A, T, G, C, the mitochondrial DNA and the Y-chromosome markers and how these help us to know about the genetic lineage be it maternal or paternal as well as to determine route in which the people out of Africa migrated towards the rest of the world. In this very paper his focus was on the Austro-Asiatic people who were the earliest one to arrive in India through the north-east corridor and settled in the Chotonagpur plateau. The genomic evidence suggests the diffusion of paternal lineage from India to South Asia.

Prof. Krishna Bhattacharya asked about the Mon-Khmer branch to which Dr. Sarkar answered that the two groups of that branch are Khasi in Meghalaya and the Nicobar group. Recent studies have shown that the Mon-Khmer epicentre is in Kambodia, Thailand.

Mr. Bhattacharya asked some questions about the languages which are isolated, what about those languages and their people. To that the answer was some of them needed in-depth studies.

Garima Chopra, a student from Jadavpur University, asked what are the guiding factors to choose the participants for the phylogenetic study? Dr. Sarkar responded saying that those tribal communities which live in relatively inaccessible places and maintain their identity, culture and have fewer admixtures, they are chosen for the study.

Prof. Mahidas Bhattacharya asked if the 0.1% genetic gap can determine the cognitive function or not and whether the genetic matter also determine the functioning of the motor organs of the human.

HAR gene is responsible for cognition and communication in humans and Andamanese and Jarwa people are stronger in communicating non-verbally than verbally.

The further discussion was concluded on the note that though gene determines the structure and function of our organs; ultimately it is the environment be it physical, biological or cultural that affects the function of the genes. As Dr. Sarkar put it, gene loaded the gun but environment is the trigger.

Mr. Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya, Philological Secretary, The Asiatic Society, in his speech on "*Language Groupings or Classifications: Some Issues and Problems"* discussed about the various issues one faces while classifying languages in a multi-linguistic, pluralistic country like India. He said even though it is said there are five language families in India but census presents languages belonging to two more families (Semito-hamitic, Tai Kadai) and languages like Nihali/Nahali and Burushaski are spoken in India. How concepts like dialects, language and intelligibility are inadequate when classification of Indian languages have been done. That is why classifying them and re-classifying them, changing status like from dialect to language and moving a dialect from under one umbrella to another take place. When he was asked by Dr. Ghosh what is the rationalizing behind these decisions and who make them, he said, if there is a mistake in gathering information, or if there is doubtful information, a short questionnaire is made and people go there and investigate again and after that grouping of people under different group umbrella is done. Madhura Sen, a research scholars of the Department of Linguistics asked whether there is any political influence behind these decisions. He said that it depends partly on the concerned people's demand of their own linguistic identity as well as decisions of Govt. and there is political influence also (Rajasthani included under hindi between 1961-1971). Mr. Bhattacharya concluded saying that language classification depends on political, Government's and people's decisions.

This seminar proved that classification of languages can be multi-faceted and it is not necessarily always linguistic. Certain extra-linguistic criteria dominate this area. But the crucial point that we realised is every discipline has its own limitation be it lack of written documents of certain stages in the development of a language, lack of archaic materials or skeletal remains in case of archaeological studies or the impacts of environments on gene and lack of genuine specimens; we can only overthrow our limitations if we compliment to each other. No one can thrive in isolation, for that we need collaboration; as Prof. Mahidas Bhattacharya said “we need to break the walls of our disciplines”.

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   Kumar table-(y)-LOK sit-KONV be-PRS-3.SG.M
   'Kumar is sitting at the table.'

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