

oñmaomi ajc0D0wlsSpum; vlyaqmi tsurñ; ulvrlbomoma' tjijsih
avlvmsuf
peſpeſat;*

pmwrſt uſt

þpmwrſonſ viſ, leopvñl oñmaomi ajc0D0wls pumvlyaqmi tsurñ; ul
jzpáy:apaom pumcēfrsm; ulvrlbomomaA' tjijsihavlvwiſyxm̄aom pmwrſ
jzpáygonſ tceſ(1)viſ viſ, leopvñl b0Eſpmay? tceſ(2)viſ oñmaomi ajc0D
0wlt uſt? tceſ(3)viſ vrlbomomaA' [lõnſ pumvlyaqmi tsurñ jzpáy:aponh
pumcēfrſtſtpm [lcfcmum avlvwiſyxm̄ygonſ xlblvvlvñcijzih wlg
onlvwespmlvrlb0uſlojriEllnfpáygonſ

aomtsuſ0g[m&/ / vrlbomomaA' jzp&yþpumcēf? trlt usiþpumcēf?
quibG ftypumcēf? aqmiVñtsuſypumcēf

ed geſ

Owlbnſ Zmwkvrf? Zmwqmi? umva' oamutl tjeſt vßjympumponh
t*þywlzihzþnſwnqmu&ygonoſ xlblvvnſwnqmu&mwſ 'davmuVl vlv
\ uſ? Elw Eſlt trlt &muſlyí zefwylzmxm̄aom Zmwqmi wñ tceſu@
onfta&ygonoſ Zmwqmi wñ jyfþjymqñ cþmawfawmrlt &y&ywl vll phygif
cþlqulxmjciſzihZmwkvrfwþcþzþlmoſubl Zmwqmi wñ ajympumrsm jzp&yfrsm
jziſvnſ Owl0Dwnſtsuſulzþygonſ þpmwrſonſ viſ, leopvñl Jolvm
aomi ajc0D} OwlulZmwqmi wñ pumcēfrsmjzihavlvwiſy xm̄ygonſ xlblvvlv
wiſy&mwſ pumvlyaqmi tsurñ rſrſ jzpáy:aponſ pumcēfrsmjzþaonjzp&yþpum
cēfrsm? trlt usiſq&pumcēfrsm? quibG fty pumcēfrsm? aqmiVñtsuſþpumcēf
rsm [l (4)rſcþyumaſvlvwiſyygrnſ

1/ viſ, leopvñl b0Eſpmay

pma&q&mviſ, leopvñl {&m0wlvñſa' oñuſ? anmiwleſtllwſ tzožlvſ
trda':Eſt0Dwls 1279cEþl awmboviſvjynkuſſ (9)&uſwſ zþjriſtbnſ trn&itſ
rl Œdat;armiſzpþonſ arfcſiſiga, muſteuf pwkvajrmuſzpþonſ anmiwleſtll
tp&t xuſweſauſmiſwſ t | rweſt xd ynm̄iñm̄cbnſ ppfjzþrluarmvñtlltll
xlvñlaom Jacyiſaqmi} owiſpmwſ e, bwiſaxmuſtjzþi aqmiVñtbnſ 1947
cEþl wſſ} [bñm0w Eſ h] Arnbcw} owiſpmwſ e, fowiſaxmuſtjzþi aqmiVñtbnſ
1949cEþl wſſ t vlyformowiaſaxmuſy&mrS }viſ, lebwifpm} wſſ Jarmiſopvñl}

* a'guiml uxdu? jrefmpmKme? rEñv;wuioſl/

trn̄szihpwia&om&mrS]vīf, lēp̄v̄l̄ uavmifrn̄, t̄bn̄ x̄hemuf]vīf, lēf *me, M̄jyn̄awm̄p̄f̄me, M̄v̄lx̄f̄me, M̄?]v̄x̄mif̄me, M̄]rl̄omuf̄me, M̄ w̄l̄w̄t, f̄v̄mtz̄Dif̄jzp̄f aqm̄v̄f̄t̄bn̄ q̄m̄vīf, lēp̄v̄l̄ yxrq̄lyĒDw̄k̄w̄t̄l̄ B̄ll̄ēp̄(vīf, lēf̄me, l̄ 1950)jzp̄bn̄ yxrq̄lyv̄l̄cs̄f̄0w̄l̄f̄ 1952cĒp̄ EDib̄mvw̄f̄ a&m̄lēD̄p̄mayr̄Sx̄k̄v̄fa0aom̄]w̄lyf̄avūl̄, ly} jzp̄bn̄ 1950jyn̄Ēp̄ pma&q̄m̄tōīf̄ Ēp̄lyw̄v̄n̄p̄maylyf̄yf̄ 0w̄k̄w̄l̄q̄l̄f̄]w̄l̄us̄%} 0w̄j̄z̄īf̄l̄bn̄ ur̄m̄d̄c̄s̄f̄a&ūl̄&ūī (jref̄m̄Ēf̄)rs̄jyK̄lyf̄omp̄may lyf̄yf̄v̄n̄f̄ q̄l̄v̄l̄bn̄

]x̄l̄f̄-jref̄m̄D̄&x̄m̄v̄r̄f̄ūl̄ f̄w̄l̄ac̄R̄wyf̄S̄v̄w̄f̄} pmtlyf̄l̄t̄yeĒf̄H̄]r̄D̄ owīf̄ pmw̄l̄ū r̄s̄yel̄b̄m̄ōm̄j̄īh yĒf̄x̄k̄v̄a0c̄bn̄ 1957-58cĒp̄w̄f̄f̄ jyn̄ax̄m̄p̄j̄ref̄m̄Ēf̄H̄ pma&q̄m̄ t̄v̄lyf̄r̄b̄q̄m̄f̄t̄jzp̄f̄ w̄m̄D̄ēx̄r̄f̄āq̄m̄f̄t̄bn̄ 1962cĒp̄]ōl̄v̄maōm̄f̄j̄c̄0D̄} v̄l̄cs̄f̄0w̄l̄z̄īt̄Ēlynp̄mayq̄l̄&m̄ 0w̄k̄f̄h̄b̄l̄%} 1968 cĒp̄w̄f̄f̄]x̄l̄f̄-jref̄m̄D̄&x̄m̄v̄r̄f̄ūl̄ f̄w̄l̄ac̄R̄wyf̄S̄v̄w̄f̄} pmtlyf̄z̄īt̄r̄s̄omp̄mayq̄l̄p̄m̄ya'om̄'kw̄ q̄l̄ūl̄%}l̄bn̄ 1971cĒp̄ M̄*kw̄w̄f̄f̄ tr̄s̄omp̄mayq̄l̄ūl̄]"r̄D̄l̄mo}v̄l̄cs̄f̄0w̄k̄f̄h̄b̄l̄%}l̄bn̄]l̄"r̄D̄l̄mo} 0w̄k̄ūl̄&omp̄0ū q̄m̄būl̄toūf̄ 54Ēp̄l̄bn̄ q̄m̄būl̄ vīf, lēf̄ op̄v̄l̄bn̄ 1925 cĒp̄f̄S̄1986 cĒp̄f̄xdv̄l̄cs̄f̄pm̄tlyf̄66 t̄lyf̄&om̄c̄bn̄ q̄m̄būl̄on̄f̄ toūf̄76 Ēp̄t̄%} (21.8.1993)&ūbaēw̄f̄ūl̄ f̄b̄t̄c̄b̄n̄

2/ ōl̄v̄maōm̄f̄j̄c̄0D̄0w̄l̄f̄ ū0f̄

vīf, lēp̄v̄l̄l̄ ōl̄v̄maōm̄f̄j̄c̄0D̄0w̄l̄f̄ 1962 cĒp̄w̄f̄f̄ t̄Ēlynp̄mayq̄l̄&m̄0w̄k̄%}l̄b̄t̄l̄hom̄ jref̄m̄0w̄k̄f̄h̄b̄l̄w̄p̄lyf̄jzp̄bn̄ 2015? {lyf̄w̄f̄ 'kw̄ t̄B̄l̄f̄yĒf̄ x̄k̄v̄a0c̄bn̄ t̄cēfaygīf̄(20)yḡl̄bn̄ ōl̄v̄maōm̄f̄j̄c̄0D̄0w̄l̄f̄ an̄m̄f̄w̄f̄t̄l̄l̄, f̄ paun̄f̄m̄ūl̄ aemuf̄j̄l̄&om̄x̄maom̄ 0w̄k̄v̄p̄lyf̄jzp̄bn̄ paun̄f̄m̄ūl̄ūl̄Ēsh reēf̄t̄f̄w̄l̄bn̄ w̄l̄ḡv̄lyf̄ēj̄z̄īh toūf̄l̄ūl̄ūl̄s̄jzp̄f̄om̄v̄n̄f̄ tub̄l̄f̄t̄v̄lyf̄s̄%}f̄x̄c̄ūl̄ūl̄on̄f̄ or̄Ēp̄, mūl̄y} reēf̄t̄f̄w̄f̄ ww̄l̄ ūl̄ Dēq̄m̄īt̄l̄ūl̄ om̄, mūl̄m̄av; ar̄f̄v̄īh aom̄v̄n̄f̄ or̄f̄rēsuav;om̄ ar̄f̄z̄īc̄bn̄f̄ reēf̄t̄f̄bn̄f̄ ac̄f̄v̄bn̄P̄all̄ūl̄h v̄uf̄ w̄p̄kūhōum̄r̄s̄p̄l̄ūl̄ b̄t̄c̄b̄j̄īhōl̄ūl̄r̄īf̄ūl̄t̄m̄ūl̄c̄l̄on̄f̄

ulūn̄l̄bn̄f̄ r̄b̄m̄p̄b̄m̄0w̄h̄ea&t̄w̄f̄ iḡ%}f̄ae&aom̄v̄n̄f̄ or̄f̄z̄p̄b̄j̄r̄īf̄ūl̄ tub̄l̄f̄t̄v̄lyf̄s̄ūl̄ r̄c̄l̄&ūl̄y/ jr̄īb̄n̄f̄ūl̄ūl̄ iḡ%}f̄iōt̄on̄f̄ūl̄k̄ūl̄ūl̄&m̄ yl̄ūl̄ūl̄p̄om̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄b̄v̄Ēshav̄l̄ūl̄ūl̄bn̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄bn̄f̄jr̄īf̄ūl̄p̄f̄&q̄l̄m̄ p̄ūm̄r̄m̄&m̄s̄ jr̄īf̄ūl̄p̄f̄ūl̄ "m̄Ēst̄l̄ūl̄bn̄f̄ %}f̄oyēf̄ef̄ av̄l̄k̄p̄m̄īt̄p̄of̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄n̄D̄r̄f̄ūl̄ z̄l̄c̄f̄ av̄Ēsh av̄l̄k̄l̄ūl̄ūl̄ %}f̄oyēf̄bn̄f̄ z̄l̄c̄īN̄r̄b̄r̄s̄r̄f̄ ūl̄f̄orm̄? , m̄orm̄r̄m̄ jzp̄f̄ūl̄n̄f̄ jr̄īb̄n̄f̄p̄f̄ȳt̄ūl̄ "m̄Ēst̄l̄ūl̄bn̄f̄ aoon̄l̄ %}f̄bn̄f̄obj̄j̄īhwp̄, mūl̄ x̄b̄om̄ūl̄c̄l̄on̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄av̄m̄f̄ūl̄ aom̄f̄w̄l̄b̄l̄%}f̄m̄ z̄l̄c̄īĒs̄k̄ȳt̄l̄w̄q̄l̄bn̄f̄ jr̄īb̄n̄f̄z̄l̄c̄l̄t̄ay: ar̄w̄l̄l̄om̄v̄n̄f̄ tajzray;Ēl̄y/ jr̄īf̄w̄l̄b̄m̄p̄t̄w̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄r̄ r̄b̄r̄s̄r̄f̄ aūs̄z̄l̄%}f̄s̄jzp̄f̄mon̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄r̄t̄īf̄: az̄l̄z̄l̄on̄f̄ jr̄īf̄ūl̄p̄f̄Ēsh oab̄w̄l̄ on̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄bn̄f̄ P̄m̄ūl̄ Ar̄m̄q̄m̄Ēs̄l̄ūl̄ȳēf̄mon̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄w̄l̄b̄m̄p̄lūl̄ jr̄īf̄tarūl̄ aq̄;ūl̄y;ef̄ aq̄;q̄m̄a:ay;ūm aq̄;z̄l̄ōḡct̄ūl̄f̄ūl̄bn̄f̄ jr̄īb̄n̄f̄ p̄f̄ȳt̄ūl̄v̄n̄f̄

r&uþuE¹ cþþbz²iñvñf rþlypE³zþfum tawþmE⁴ñsm&onf z⁵ciñ jr&if
ullajzawñfæp0f pþy⁶vl, bmoñumvomwþþu &efbnf pþy⁷&mñvñy
jr&iññiñvE⁸bxññiñyE⁹hedñc¹⁰ixm¹¹onf

3/ vþbmomaA¹ [þnf

vþbmomaA¹ [þnfñ bmoñpumE²h vltz³tpn⁴tñm⁵ tjeft v⁶
quþþ⁷ fþþH tñvññvñmaom bmoñA⁸tu⁹tcu¹⁰wþþ¹¹þþonf [k¹²q¹³k¹⁴
onf vþbmomaA¹ rþvþq¹⁵þþtly¹⁶—

][vññiñvññiñonf uþþonf vltajctae tr¹sw² bmoñpumull
uþþp³to⁴ykv⁵u⁶þ⁷bñf bmoñA⁸\ tu⁹tcu¹⁰wþþ¹¹þþom vþ¹²
bmoñA¹onf xþþombmoñpumE²h vltz³tpn⁴tñm⁵ tjeft v⁶
quþþ⁷ fþþavlvñmaomynjzp¹³þþonf}³

[k¹²q¹³k¹⁴yonf]

vltz¹tpn²tw³þ⁴ bmoñpum\ uþþaom vly⁵e⁶aqñiñwññE⁷h to⁸y⁹
tr¹⁰sw¹¹ vþbmomaA¹²uavlvñmonf wþen¹³tñjziñ vþbmomaA¹⁴onf vltz¹⁵
tpn¹⁶wþþ¹⁷tw¹⁸ to¹⁹ykv²⁰u²¹om bmoñpumwþþ²² to²³u²⁴tr²⁵sw²⁶avlvñci²⁷
jzp²⁸þþonf vþbmomaA²⁹w³⁰ bmoñpum\ vþ³¹&q³²m³³o³⁴rsu³⁵avlvñmonf rnþl
urnþlu³⁶rnþb³⁷n³⁸&n³⁹ tsuzi⁴⁰h⁴¹moñpumull to⁴²y⁴³þ⁴⁴þþfpp⁴⁵þþonf

xþþbmoñpumrs¹\to²rsull avlvñm³w⁴ vltaqmu⁵ft tñu bmoñA⁶
taqmu⁷ft tly: tu⁸sou⁹&mu¹⁰f¹¹ bmoñA¹²taqmu¹³ft tñu¹⁴vn¹⁵ vþ¹⁶
taqmu¹⁷ft tly: tu¹⁸sou¹⁹&mu²⁰f²¹um²² aw²³onf⁴

][bmoñpum¹to²rsmonf obm³ta⁴smuf ay:ayguñmonf tajctae
rs⁵w⁶ yþþP⁷neft tr⁸sw⁹jzþþay:vn¹⁰ aþymq¹¹blwþ¹², mu¹³vn¹⁴
ajymq¹⁵tr¹⁶sw¹⁷jzþþi¹⁸hajy¹⁹E²⁰bubl²¹pum²²tajctae tr²³sw²⁴vn²⁵ ajymq²⁶
tr²⁷sw²⁸u²⁹y³⁰ E³¹þþonf xþþy³²q³³tr³⁴sw³⁵ pumc³⁶ [hc:yonf]³⁷

][bmoñpumE¹h vltz²tpn³ tqu⁴þþt⁵py⁶u⁷avlvñm⁸w⁹ vþbmomaA¹⁰
1axm¹¹rs pum¹²ty¹³kt¹⁴ vltw¹⁵ft qyr¹⁶M¹⁷ ci¹⁸iv¹⁹u²⁰avlvñm²¹onf
xþþtsi²²iv²³u²⁴avlvñm²⁵w²⁶ bmoñA²⁷q²⁸&m²⁹ zþþn³⁰rs³¹E³²h vþ³³, O³⁴usrl
q³⁵&m³⁶þþn³⁷rs³⁸ tw³⁹ft tw⁴⁰ft tly⁴¹jeft tu⁴²sou⁴³&mu⁴⁴ft tay:wi⁴⁵vn⁴⁶
aumi⁴⁷? bmoñpumavlvñrnþw⁴⁸ oþwp⁴⁹scm⁵⁰x⁵¹wn⁵² [kw⁵³ vltz⁵⁴

¹ Sociolinguistics

² Crystal, 2000, 353.

³ atmijri¹D² a'gu³wñ⁴ 2015? 155/

⁴ atmijri¹D² a'gu³wñ⁴ 2010? 166/

⁵ atmijri¹D² a'gu³wñ⁴ 2015? 104/

**tpn̄fES̄h ObusrlwA tpoftyswp̄k jzpfonf homcsufay:wif
vn̄saumi f tajccibnf**

**vrbmomA'wif bmonpum [q̄mū tajympumomif vltvliNlumr̄
qufb̄ fylEl̄hom rlvbunçjzponf tajympumonf tajctae tc̄ftcguvliNyp
ajymq̄lqub̄ El̄sc i fjp̄onf tajympumonf El̄wuaajymq̄l̄ i fjp̄onfumif pumc̄f
[q̄l̄bnf El̄wuaajymq̄l̄om pumr̄sonf pumc̄f yifjp̄onf vrbmomA'wif
pum [hom aog[m&onf tv̄eueeb̄tarlonf pumtaumifull aumi sp̄f
vltiybonf vrbmomA'wif pumonbmonpumEshoufq̄l̄hom ylbP̄teft vltvli
ql̄lbnf² l̄pum\ t"yū, f̄m teuft "yū, f̄m El̄frubliy q̄tsujzponf
l̄c̄f}\ t"yū, f̄m pumull&w̄f&mwf oRaompvNjzponf x̄l̄lumif pumc̄f
l̄q̄lbnf El̄wuaajymq̄l̄ teuft "yū, f̄m pumvltvliullac:jci fjp̄onf³**

**vrbmomA' tjiſ [q̄mū bmonpumEsh vltztpn̄ftwif tjeft v̄f
qufb̄ f̄m avlvnjciſ\yeſw̄l̄bonf bmonpumtaqmuſt t̄l̄l̄ aumi sp̄f vnf
El̄fzponf tjeft v̄ftmjzi h vltztpn̄ taqmuſt t̄l̄l̄n̄f oRaenjzphy
onf⁴**

**þpmwrfonf viſ, leþp̄m̄l̄ oñmaomi fajc080wkv̄ vlttaqmuſt t̄l̄
twif⁵ pumvlyaqmi tsuſonf avlvmxmygonf x̄l̄l̄vliwm̄mū pumvlyf
aqmi tsuſtr̄l̄l̄l̄l̄jzphy:apontþumc̄fsm̄ullavlvwiyxmygonf**

3? 1/ pumvlyaqmi tsuſonf [bn̄f

**pumvlyaqmi tsuſonf pumajymq̄l̄oſwif bmonA' q̄l̄m vlyf̄l̄l̄uſyf̄l̄hom
vrl̄&ol̄ [kw̄ yf̄l̄l̄& n̄l̄f̄ tsuEſh uaw̄teuft "yū, q̄l̄m tuſouſm̄uf
rl̄Eſh oufq̄l̄bonf⁶**

**pumvlyaqmi tsuſonf wp̄0þp̄l̄ pumc̄fouſbuſull &n̄ññfciſr [kw̄/
ajymoEſh emolwA tjiſt r̄l̄q̄uþyf̄l̄ pumc̄fsm̄\ tuſouſm̄ufsm̄ulln̄ññf
onf qufb̄ f̄q̄l̄l̄m̄vlyaqmi tsuſiwp̄yfjp̄onf pumajymc̄ſwif ajymolu&n̄ññf
vl̄bn̄ &n̄l̄f̄ tsuEſh emaxniſtay: jzpf̄x̄f̄apontuſouſm̄ufsm̄ull pl̄pr̄
azñfx̄l̄vjc̄iſjzponf⁷**

**vl̄b̄n̄ pmaomuſciſ? a&c̄loef̄iſciſ? oñvñvlyf̄l̄ciſ ponf yifq̄l̄m
vlyaqmi tsuſm̄ullaeþonyðajrm̄ufapovl̄bmonpumull tolyl̄zw̄beſNyð Nyðajrm̄ufap**

¹ atm̄ri ñD̄ a' ḡf̄vñ 2015? 20/

² - , if-? 25/

³ c&Raqmiſrefmt bñne 2013/

⁴ atm̄ri ñD̄ a' ḡf̄vñ 2003? 16/

⁵ Speech act

⁶ atm̄ri ñD̄ a' ḡf̄vñ 2015? 158/

⁷ - , if- /

aom vlyāqmītsufrm̄vnī r̄mp̄iibnī b̄mopum̄oni t̄vlyāqmi tsufr̄r̄s̄ull jykyEibnī pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄men̄wl v̄l̄v̄eþ0aqmītsufr̄om t̄jykt̄rh̄nyif jzpb̄nī¹ pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄w̄f ajymq̄vlyāqmītsufr̄sh ouā&mufr̄vlyāqmītsufr̄sh r̄sygoibnī ajymq̄vlyāqmītsufr̄nī b̄mopum̄wp̄b̄lw̄f toot̄r̄s̄ylyk̄monho'g q̄l̄&pum̄c̄fr̄m̄ull x̄l̄v̄lyb̄nīvlyāqmītsufr̄p̄b̄nī ouā&mufr̄vlyāqmītsufr̄nī qub̄g h̄&q̄l̄&m &n̄t̄f̄csufr̄ayguþjrm̄w̄p̄ef B̄lyr̄csufr̄s̄b̄nīp̄b̄nī pum̄ vlyāqmītsufr̄nōoor̄nī b̄mopum̄ull jzph̄:aeonftajtae? t̄c̄ftcgtv̄l̄f tolyEibci f̄yifzpb̄nī²

pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄w̄f ajymoNpum̄c̄f̄? Oguš ajymyHijymen̄fonfa& ygonī ajymobnī ajymyHijymen̄f̄wp̄yfūl̄ &n̄l̄& tsufr̄r̄s̄ull tolyEibv̄l̄ &n̄l̄& tsufr̄w̄f yf̄t w̄f ajymyHijymen̄f̄r̄s̄ull tolyEibnī pum̄c̄f̄wp̄yfūl̄ rn̄b̄nī vlyāqmītsufr̄w̄f ajymyHijymen̄f̄rn̄b̄l̄ tolyEibnī q̄l̄omtcsufr̄nī ajym oltw̄f v̄þp̄nta&B̄l̄b̄nī³

pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄m̄ull q̄f̄pp&m̄w̄f pum̄c̄fr̄m̄ull ajymoN&n̄l̄& tsufr̄v̄fñéb̄nī vlyāqmītsufr̄jzpf ¼riþnī pum̄c̄f̄w̄f f̄oni ajymoN&n̄l̄& tsufr̄azm̄aqmīþeaom vlyāqmītsufr̄m̄jzpb̄nī

pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄m̄ull q̄f̄ppazm̄fxlyc̄f̄f̄oni v̄l̄b̄mopum̄ulln̄b̄l̄ tolyEibnīf̄laumiþþem̄vn̄b̄l̄&f̄jzph̄yonī⁴

x̄l̄m̄m̄i h̄ pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄m̄ull avl̄v̄m̄w̄f ajymoN&n̄l̄& tsufr̄v̄fñéb̄nī vlyāqmītsufr̄p̄b̄nī jrefm̄v̄l̄, f̄, w̄f jrefm̄w̄b̄mopum̄ull rn̄b̄l̄ tolyEibnīf̄laumiþþem̄vn̄b̄l̄&f̄p̄Ēl̄b̄nī f̄awþygonī

pum̄vlyāqmītsufr̄m̄ullavl̄v̄m̄w̄fæþ0aqm̄pum̄r̄s̄n̄r̄Savl̄v̄m̄Ēl̄b̄uþl̄pmay ta&t̄om̄w̄fþyaom pum̄c̄fr̄m̄r̄s̄n̄f̄ avl̄v̄Ēb̄nī þpm̄w̄f w̄f vīf, k̄þp̄v̄f \ol̄maomiþjc0þ Owkv̄fþyaom Zm̄aqm̄f̄m̄\ pum̄c̄fr̄m̄r̄þum̄ vlyāqmītsufr̄m̄ull-

jzph̄yþþum̄c̄fr̄m̄⁵ (1)

t̄rl̄t̄us̄f̄q̄l̄&pum̄c̄fr̄m̄⁶ (2)

qub̄g f̄þþum̄c̄fr̄m̄¹ (3)

aqm̄f̄uþþum̄c̄fr̄m̄² (4)

¹ atm̄jriþþ a'guñv̄ 2015? 154/

² -, īf̄-?159/

³ -, īf̄-?168/

⁴ -, īf̄-?171/

⁵ connotative utterances

⁶ ethical utterances

¹ phatic utterances

² per formative utterances

w̄jzi h̄v̄vw̄ȳx̄ȳgon̄

၃၇၇/ jzp&ȳpum̄c̄fr̄m̄; c̄fr̄m̄;

jzp&ȳpum̄c̄fr̄m̄on̄ yuw̄jzp&ȳfr̄m̄ Eshw̄p̄en̄sen̄q̄pȳn̄ h̄v̄w̄ȳx̄ȳgon̄
rs̄m̄jzp̄bn̄ x̄p̄um̄c̄fr̄m̄on̄ taw̄t̄BuL̄L̄ azm̄h̄ej̄cī jzpEllīb̄v̄l̄ p̄v̄f̄uL̄x̄if̄
[ȳts̄uL̄h̄azm̄fȳjc̄ īr̄s̄v̄n̄jzpEllīb̄n̄ tr̄s̄w̄m̄uL̄lȳf̄jc̄m̄ȳjc̄ īr̄s̄v̄n̄jzpEllīb̄n̄⁴

vī, lēp̄n̄ b̄l̄]oL̄maomībj̄c̄0D̄ 0w̄k̄w̄f̄ p̄um̄v̄lȳq̄mīts̄uL̄r̄s̄l̄ jzp̄aȳ:
apaom̄p̄um̄c̄fr̄m̄teuL̄jzp&ȳp̄um̄c̄fr̄m̄uL̄av̄lv̄maw̄Ūȳgon̄

oL̄maomībj̄c̄0D̄0w̄k̄ tcē(2)w̄f̄ īgoav̄m̄uL̄b̄rm̄ 0D̄w̄uL̄w̄l̄
uL̄s̄n̄Eshreeft̄t̄h̄ajym̄aom̄jzp&ȳp̄um̄c̄f̄jzp̄lȳgon̄

]t̄ ī----- uL̄n̄h̄w̄n̄w̄n̄, [k̄b̄uL̄f̄ 'gr̄sm̄0ef̄aus̄o [d̄?
a, muL̄mu ayuL̄q̄f̄uL̄h̄w̄m̄h̄rēfr̄u "m̄ruL̄q̄b̄v̄lȳd̄uL̄h̄"]⁵

[h̄om̄t̄x̄uL̄ȳḡ p̄um̄c̄f̄on̄ īgoav̄m̄uL̄b̄rm̄wp̄0L̄jzp̄aom̄ 0D̄w̄uL̄w̄l̄ jrp̄q̄ȳb̄l̄
iḡ/f̄&ef̄ q̄īv̄m̄om̄ uL̄s̄n̄Eshreeft̄t̄h̄ajym̄aom̄jzp&ȳp̄um̄c̄f̄jzp̄lȳgon̄ reēft̄t̄b̄n̄
w̄l̄ḡ/h̄olwp̄, muL̄zp̄ī ī, p̄0uL̄ȳīuL̄x̄l̄ uL̄f̄x̄h̄uL̄f̄us̄īb̄n̄ uL̄s̄n̄Esh̄
t̄f̄axm̄īuL̄son̄t̄cḡ om̄or̄r̄&ao;on̄it̄w̄f̄ v̄w̄lȳb̄ts̄m̄jzp̄b̄n̄it̄w̄f̄ ȳL̄ts̄ḡ
zr̄t̄v̄lȳf̄uL̄ v̄uL̄&wp̄f̄īw̄n̄ v̄lȳējc̄īf̄uL̄ ajym̄aom̄uL̄jzp&ȳf̄uL̄ azm̄yaom̄jzp&ȳf̄
p̄um̄c̄f̄ aw̄B̄on̄

oL̄maomībj̄c̄0D̄0w̄k̄t̄cē (2)w̄f̄ 0D̄w̄uL̄w̄Esh̄uL̄s̄n̄h̄w̄l̄ t̄jēft̄v̄f̄ajym̄aom̄
jzp&ȳp̄um̄c̄f̄jzp̄lȳgon̄

]'gx̄uf̄uL̄n̄l̄rīf̄ Esh̄uL̄q̄m̄t̄f̄lȳv̄m̄uḠ}⁶

]]uL̄f̄aw̄n̄ q̄m̄r̄ȳj̄quL̄v̄lȳb̄h̄z̄l̄&n̄h̄f̄ x̄m̄w̄, As̄ oL̄h̄us̄Z̄luv̄n̄
uL̄f̄r̄n̄ ½o;w̄, 0D̄w̄uL̄w̄ rEsh̄uL̄s̄ut̄arq̄h̄aw̄n̄ ol̄q̄uaL̄īḡuL̄uL̄;ȳh̄v̄;
, Nȳt̄arh̄om̄uL̄l̄oL̄f̄ h̄uL̄w̄, f̄cl̄vp̄t̄ḡreēft̄t̄h̄t̄f̄ t̄f̄axm̄īuL̄s̄ȳeL̄v̄n̄
[h̄ph̄oL̄h̄ph̄av̄;aw̄t̄w̄uL̄f̄aīh̄v̄;iḡq̄, f̄ȳf̄, R̄o;w̄,]⁷

[h̄om̄t̄x̄uL̄ȳp̄um̄c̄f̄on̄ uL̄s̄n̄h̄ 0D̄w̄uL̄w̄tar;uL̄jyeL̄ajym̄aom̄jzp&ȳp̄um̄c̄f̄
jzp̄lȳgon̄ paun̄f̄S̄ anm̄f̄w̄f̄ap̄say:Esh̄ &ef̄uleb̄w̄īȳh̄&m̄īf̄caom̄ iḡ'l̄r̄s̄n̄½ w̄l̄ḡ
on̄fr̄m̄on̄ &½L̄maomīgr̄m̄uL̄ iḡ'l̄r̄s̄n̄l̄ ay;oL̄f̄j̄cīf̄z̄īh̄ aīuL̄uL̄, MuL̄on̄
w̄l̄ḡon̄fr̄m̄on̄ tuL̄b̄l̄v̄t̄v̄lȳz̄īh̄ touL̄f̄0r̄f̄aL̄uL̄m̄īf̄aom̄v̄n̄ aus̄Z̄lw̄&m̄uL̄

³ atm̄jriD̄p̄ a'guL̄w̄ 2015/

⁴ -, īf̄-?155/

⁵ op̄v̄f̄(vī, lē)? 2005? 155/

⁶ , īf̄-?13/

⁷ , īf̄/

olvwMuorjzpaNmi azmjaeaomjzp&ypumc&frsmjzpygon/
 olvmaomi fjc0D 0wkt ce(4)wf –
]u... vphoBmuNmuqhvme wltmvH vphoBmuNmuawmh rlv; [m
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 [homt xulygumc&fonf pelytLjr&if uL avfjih:c:wL cph&qLmfonf jr&if
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 jr&it tawpumc&fjzpgon/
 3? 1? 2/ t rit usi fq&mpumc&frsm;
 trit usi fq&m pumc&frsm onf plvbaBmx m trit usi fq&mulazm&f onf
 yLft rit usi mulazm&fjyoubl trESt rbi cLmjyc i fLvn f jzpE f onf oLmwf
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 pumc&frsm uLnf aw&on/
]rvlygefreef&, ? usyfbrBp t tlyuL vL ztneaygr, fuL Nyawmh
 uav; awuLnf 'L vlyt vlyapci bL? ri fLusyfom b0taLmuLquf
 twf }² gapawmLuf}
]usyf pumajymvLufLri ftLb0fL vL [LfL? rtLbygelL usyf
 reefwLm wLgmavnif t vlyt tubLflu 'LvpfbuL b0rvLwL
 aecsi høygap? usyfLb0fL orLav; awuLwLh 'L ubLfLwLqf off

¹ atmijri Dp a'guLw 2015? 156/
² -, if-? 47/

csib? olwllvn? usywlzjpf? usywl0rs? ra&mu&atni? wwEif
oavmu&pm &raygr [kwotvreef? [if.....usyajymwm[kwvm?]¹

[homt xusygpumc&fonf ulu&nu reest tifulljmaopumc&jzpygon/
tubl/tvlyzih wpDrwpfc%azpmaomu&on h wilgonfrswif ylf
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jr&ifuly ac:of&efajymon? ulu&nbni wilgonwp, mu&zpamvn? rbarw&
jyn&jzpon? rtbmonfrsmu tubl/tvlyu rvlyapci llumi&ajymam tri
tusi&lm pumc&jzpygon? xphumc&frsm uulu&pkvbabmx? trltusih
ullaznfyaeigon?

olmaomi&jc0Dwktce(17)wf t&dlumtu jr&i&u&paum&om, talumi
ajymam trltusis&lm&pumc&frsmaw&on?

Ja1/ *fulef%&omawbuawh wlsmpau&mu&ull c&dlumtu& jzpae&nu
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olmaomi&jc0Dtce(18)wf z&ci&trltusis&lm aznfyam&ir&i&taw&
pumc&frsmaw&yon?

z&ci& tou&fr&it&njzih pi&u, belyebom ulform? v, form
omwp, mu&zp? a1/ *fulefaomif, lkuwif tlu&faygi? tcgagyi
rsi&v&f&DE&f a, mu&wn&aw&u? q&uon&vif trltusis&lm
%&omamz&ci&bn&olt& tb, b&hom x&y&ut;v&rlu&ljy&ky]³

[hom t xusygpumc&fonf z&ci&trltusis&lm aznfyam&ir&i&taw&pumc&f
jzpygon?

313/ quib& klypumc&frsm;

quib& kly pumc&frsm&onf talumi&u&wp&y&ullaznfy&eftw&ur [kway/ p
pumc&frsm&onf tjc&wp, mu&ull v&v&rljyon&tr&svu&P&E&sh quib& kly&

¹ opv&(vi, b)? 2005? 47- 48/

² opv&(vi, b)? 2005? 169/

³ - , if-? 170/

]]at; vlf, f} }³

t x u s y g p u m c e f r s o n f j r & i E S p e s t h w l t j e e t v b a j y m a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f r s i j z p y g o n f j r & i b n f z c i j z p b o l u l u n b u l u n b u l a v b u l y f x q i f v m a p m i h r f a e p o f w p b a n t a e v a l a j r m u s y l t r s y l u b o l u l o m p e y t h l l a j y m a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f j z p y g o n f

o l v a o m i h j c o P o W K t c e f (6) w f f j r & i l u z l c i f u l l c : a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f u l l a w R o n f

]]'P, f, 'P, f }⁴

]]l.. [l.. [b u f u f v l u y l y ; y g v m [i]⁵

]]p a u m b u f v m }⁶

]]l u f y g w , v s }

t x u s y g p u m c e f r s o n f j r & i E S t h l c i f w l t j e e t v b a j y m a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f r s i j z p y g o n f j r & i b n f p e s t h s b v b u l u l u b b t v l u b m r s p e s t h c p b & q l u m q a l c : j c i f c l o n f p e s t h l t x i f v l u m " m E S t h l c i f b n f v a l u b u l u t s i f l u m i f u l t n b w m i f a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f j z p y g o n f

o l v a o m i h j c o P o W K t c e f (13) w f f j r w i f u l l u n b u l u b f e s a w m b u l u v m a l u m i f a j y m a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f j z p y g o n f

]]b f e f b u l u v m f t b a & }⁷

t x u s y g p u m c e f o n f u l l s t h e e t t d w l t v u g f e b b u , f e f j r w i f u b f e s b u l u v m a l u m i f t o d y ; a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f j z p y g o n f

]]u l f ... u l f o l v a q m u f w n t h l l u e f a w m b u u e f a w m b u }

]]t d f e i f w l e l o v e b o ; a e y o u l l [h u s h t l l]

t x u s y g p u m c e f o n f b f e s a w m b u l u u l u s h t l b m p l u l l o v h l l f e b j y m a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f j z p y g o n f b f e s b u l s o l v h l l f l s a o m v n f v a l y g o l u l l r c h l l w w b o n h u l u s h t l b m p l u l l j y m a o m q u b g f l y p u m c e f j z p y g o n f

b f e s a w m b u l s o l v a q m u f w n & e f r e b w m f b o m t c g u l u s h t l b m p k h l l o l v r c h l l w w b a y / b f e s b u l a u s i f o m o m b u a l s a q m i f o l v h l l f l s a o m v n f v a l y g o l u l l r c h l l w w b o n h l l f l g o n f w b o u l a w v a l y g o n f b o t a l u m i f r a u m i f o j z h l l w l g o n f t v l y j z h l l t o u f a r f r l l l a e m i f o b & m w f f r b u l l u l f

³ o p y t f (vif, b)? 2005?58/

⁴ -, if-?64/

⁵ -, if-?64/

⁶ -, if-?58/

⁷ -, if-?64/

⁸ -, if-? 124/

⁹ -, if-?152/

atmifolivisolaqmuwneti Monhwigonwlvrboullawriygoni

3? 1? 4/ aqmi kutsufypum;cferm;

aqmi kutsufy pumcfermoni vwivavmaqmi kutsuburu temwulug
tuou&muapEibonpumcferjzponi¹

olivmaomi fjcODWk tcef(5)wif reefttu uusnulijymaom aqmi kutsuf
jypumcferullawponi

][kwf.. kwf..? [kwfgyw, ulhli uervnf 'itwifpifufi xmygw, ?
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uav; wnf, vli uerphifufi xmyw, ? jr&i lvnifta&mift0, fwfbif
r, ? ulhli nfi ckyllurqif&awmbaygh]²

txufypumcferoni reefttu uusnulijymaom aqmi kutsufypumcferjzponi
reefttoni wwif ajrmuf uli Dehqmi fxm&onitcsif oma, muimav; vitsch
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][kwfgywif vjynlkuif aeblif iawnif 'itvlyf vlyfif 0ybfbliif aqmuif
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jzpfszpfajrmufajrmuf 0ybfrapmifbif]³

txufypumcferoni uusnul reefttu uusnulijymaom aqmi kutsufy pumcferjzponi
reefttoni uusnul, ubifbliif aqmuwn&ef wluwefajymumcferoni uusnul
u tvif swulvufi lumi fajymonhaqmi kutsufypumcferjzponi

][ulif ... ulif olivaqmuwnetli kluelawmu uelawmu]⁴

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eeftti]⁵

][boitalumi falmif tckltouarfri raumi fjp&wmulvnf aemif
olb&mr, frullulu&atmif wwEibavmuf olivisolaqmuwnfuif
uoshni]¹

¹ atmifriDD a'guwm 2005? 157/

² opvif(vif, b)? 2005? 48/

³ -, if-? 1915? 1119/

⁴ opvif(vif, b)? 2005? 48/

⁵ -, if-? 1915? 126/

¹ opvif(vif, b)? 2005? 1915/

**txusypumcēfrmonf blešawm̄l̄s reeftt̄esh ul̄s̄n̄l̄w̄t̄m Oybōw̄iſ
aqm̄l̄wn&ef rell̄w̄r̄hom aqm̄l̄l̄sypumcēfjzpb̄onf**

**ol̄maomi h̄jc0D0w̄k t̄ceſ(18)w̄l̄ a' :azn̄zlu jr&iſull̄ȳmaom aqm̄l̄l̄sypu
pumcēfūllaw&ygonyf**

**I[Jr&iſ eift buu a&aE6xyfxn̄hay;v̄l̄l̄ a&m̄iſhq;v̄l̄l̄v̄n̄
n̄at̄m̄l̄h̄b̄}^2**

**I[hal̄m̄ 'I[m̄av; t̄ys̄iſt̄w̄l̄jzpb̄ew, fxifg&J iſajymwm̄ueiſt̄buu
a&aE6xyfxn̄hay;v̄l̄l̄ iſhq;v̄l̄l̄n̄ay;pr̄v̄l̄l̄ajymwm̄[h̄}^3**

**txusypumcēfrmonfa' :azn̄zlujr&iſull̄ȳmaom aqm̄l̄l̄sypu pumcēfjzpf
ygonf jr&iſbn̄p̄eſt̄esh zl̄ciſw̄l̄p̄teuf rnbuul̄l̄cs, &rn̄froſ taw̄fr̄mae
onf a' :azn̄zlu ul̄s̄n̄l̄l̄a&aE6xyfxn̄hay;&eEſhrt̄t̄w̄l̄q;v̄l̄l̄n̄t̄l̄onfjr&iſu
aocsm̄l̄m̄v̄l̄l̄b̄ ul̄s̄n̄l̄l̄r̄daw̄muſeaom xifp̄u, by;onf a' :azn̄zlu jr&iſu
aqm̄l̄l̄sypu ūl̄ȳmaom aqm̄l̄l̄sypu pumcēfjzpygonf**

II IIloytsuf

**þpm̄w̄ſonf ol̄maomi h̄jc0D0w̄l̄Spumcēfr̄m̄ul̄pumvlyaqmiſsuav;rl̄zih
avl̄m̄iſȳx̄m̄jciſjzpygonf ol̄maomi h̄jc0D0w̄l̄onf anmiſw̄l̄l̄le, ? pauiſm̄l̄l̄
aem̄t̄jyK a&;zlx̄mygonf w̄l̄gonf tajccNl̄weſpm̄w̄l̄b0uul̄0w̄l̄ȳZm̄w̄qmiſw̄l̄
pumcēfr̄m̄jziſhavl̄m̄iſȳx̄mygonf 0w̄k̄l̄ȳ0iſam̄ jzp&ȳpumcēfr̄m̄onf yuwd
jzp&ȳpumcēfr̄m̄jzpb̄n̄fūl̄ul̄s̄n̄l̄Eſreeſt̄t̄w̄l̄ w̄l̄gonb̄0?
w̄l̄gonftc̄ſciſȳl̄fzlw̄? ȳl̄t̄l̄ȳ t̄c̄ſciſow̄fzw̄l̄uȳl̄g.'l̄fr̄w̄l̄ aifb̄l̄ l̄m
aiſiſm̄ȳl̄ or̄uul̄l̄w̄p̄ig t̄t̄w̄l̄ t̄t̄zmt̄jzpf ȳl̄m̄&aom̄v̄n̄t̄ q̄iſȳonftw̄l̄
auſeȳaom̄ tajccNl̄weſpm̄w̄l̄ȳw̄jzp&ȳpumcēfr̄m̄ul̄w̄l̄onf**

**tr̄t̄uſiſq̄l̄m̄ pumcēfr̄m̄onf 0w̄l̄ȳZm̄w̄qmiſw̄l̄ w̄l̄q̄uſq̄l̄;t̄ajctaeuſȳl̄
w̄l̄gt vlyzih touar̄fjy&aom̄v̄n̄t̄ or̄uul̄l̄b̄l̄t̄ub̄l̄ft vlyſpm̄ rvlyapcsib̄n̄
p̄l̄v̄babm̄x̄m̄ tr̄t̄uſiſm̄ul̄w̄l̄onf pauiſm̄l̄l̄ uim̄om̄r̄m̄onf l̄l̄ ¼&b̄eſonf
vn̄t̄ ½&t̄l̄fesuav;w̄l̄ *Pb̄l̄m̄uſapm̄ b̄l̄fusw̄b̄n̄t̄ tr̄t̄uſiſl̄law&onf**

**quib̄ ſt̄ypumcēfr̄m̄onf 0w̄l̄ȳZm̄w̄qmiſw̄l̄ v̄l̄q̄uſq̄l̄;t̄ajctaeuſȳl̄
touDihy:v̄l̄aponfūllaw&onf aqm̄l̄l̄sypumcēfr̄m̄onf 0w̄l̄ȳ Zm̄w̄qmiſ
w̄l̄ v̄w̄l̄w̄v̄m̄ aqm̄l̄l̄sypu tem̄w̄l̄qmiſl̄sypu ay:v̄l̄aponf
tajctaewp&ȳt̄jzpb̄w̄l̄ȳgonf ol̄maomi h̄jc0D 0w̄l̄ȳZm̄w̄qmiſm̄ \pumcēfr̄m̄**

² օրին(viſ, b)? 1915? 181/

³, if?-1915/

