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OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

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Osmania Papers in Linguistics (OPiL) is an annual refereed research journal devoted to the publication of articles in the field of general and applied linguistics. It also includes book reviews and review articles.

The journal publishes work primarily by the staff, students, and visiting faculty of the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University. However, articles may occasionally be invited from scholars outside Osmania on special topics. All contributions must be in English. Views expressed in OPiL are only those of the authors.

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EDITORIAL

It gives me great pleasure to inform our OPiL readers that the OPiL 37 of 2011 has been published. The delay was due to so many unforeseen circumstances in receiving the articles from our contributors and finalizing the details. Finally, we are able to get 14 articles from various authors covering different areas of linguistics and applied linguistics.

In this issue, we included articles not only from Pure Linguistics but also from Applied Linguistics with a focus on Language Teaching and Literary Criticism from a linguistic perspective. In addition, we have also included Translation Studies.

In Pure linguistics, we received five articles on phonetics and phonology, lexis, syntax, and semantics. Articles on hypocoristic formation in Urdu (Mohammed Ansari), lexical level ordering in Telugu (Jaya Raju), morphosyntax of finiteness and the evolution of agreement in Dravidian (Sree Kumar), proto-Dravidian features of Malayalam pronouns (Kunjamma) and the nature of sabdam in Indian grammatical tradition (V.M. Subrahmanya Sarma) are included in this issue. Muralidhar deals with word reduplication in Savara with an Appendix of Savara reduplicatives. It is worth noting that these articles are both theory neutral (descriptive) and theory based. Sree Kumar's article on agreement in Dravidian is based on the model of generative grammar while the articles of Ansari, and Jaya Raju have introduced Karimik Linguistic Theory

in the OPiL and motivated the formation of hypocoristics in Urdu and lexical level-ordering in Telugu. This is welcome, especially, when Indian initiatives into linguistic theorizing are woefully lacking in the 21st century and western theories are in a flux.

We also received four articles in sociolinguistics that deal with discourse analysis, dialectal variation, endangered languages, and pragmatics. Modes of greetings in Kashmiri by Omkarnath Kaul, a sociostylistic analysis of election journalese by Bhuvaneshwar, dialectal variation in Kannada by Ramanjaneyulu, and status of Dravidian tribal languages in Kerala by Ms Prema add to the advancement of knowledge in these areas.

In this issue, we have taken the initiative to include two articles in applied linguistics with reference to language teaching. Suresh Kumar and Ansari's article deals with the importance of English language teaching in India and suggests remedial measures to the typical problems faced by Indians. Bhuvaneshwar's article on the definitions of language learning strategies is seminal and path-breaking as it re-examines the existing western definitions in the light of Ka:rmik Language Teaching Approach, a new Indian approach developed from his Ka:rmik In addition, we have also included linguistic literary criticism in applied linguistics. Prashant Mishra's paper on the semantic-pragmatic study of modal auxiliaries in literary Hindi is included to initiate studies in literary linguistics in our journal. Finally, in translation studies, Haribandi

Lakshmi's comparative analysis of two different translations of the same text points out evidence for Ka:rmik Theory of Translation of Bhuvaneshwar even though his theory has not been discussed.

We have made an attempt to expand the scope of OPiL by including more articles on Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies. This is very important to promote our identity as a comprehensive linguistics journal.

Mohammad Ansari
Editor

MODES OF GREETINGS IN KASHMIRI

Omkar N Koul

Abstract

Modes of greeting have an important place in the sociology of language. They can be verbal or non-verbal and are determined by certain sociolinguistic variables of time, space, participants and the communicative intent. In this short paper, these concepts are explored with various examples in Kashmiri.

I. Introduction

Modes of greetings have an important place in the sociology of language. In every greeting situation, two persons come into contact in a particular ethnic situation, which is characterized by means of some paralinguistic features like gestures accompanied with certain statements.

II. Types of Greetings

There are two types of greetings in any language: verbal and non-verbal. Most of the time the greeting is incomplete without some kind of non-verbal behavior implicit or explicit in the use of any mode of the greeting. It may be a nod, or a smile or a twinkle in the eye. Verbal greetings are not complete or effective in isolation unless they are accompanied with appropriate gestural expressions.

Non-verbal behavior appears as an indispensable part of greeting that is often implied in the expression itself. For example, *namaste/namaskaar*, a common Indian greeting/salutation derived from Sanskrit, literally means "I am bowing/bow before you" denotes an activity of showing respect in a non-verbal way. The act is often performed by joining the palms, inclining the head and uttering the word '*namaste/ namaskar*'. The responses of various greeting formulas are often fixed, stereotyped and clearly laid down in the books of etiquette. Greeting expressions are not necessarily communication of information. Greeting expressions in most languages including Kashmiri consist of a

kind of medical diagnosis, an inquiry about one's health as: *va:ray chiva:?* "How are you?" The literal meaning of a greeting in most cases is completely irrelevant.

Greetings are not merely usages of adherence to certain norms and rules laid down by etiquette. They are more than this. They are a kind of social ritual in which you generally say what the other person expects you to say.

2.1. Gestural / Non -Verbal Greetings

Every culture has its own set of formalized greeting expressions and/or non-verbal greeting gestures like kissing, embracing, bowing, saluting with the hand, hand shake, folding hands, prostration, touching feet etc.

2.2. Predictability of Response

Greetings in Kashmiri from the point of view of predictability fall within two broad categories: closed and open. The closed greetings are those which have only one fixed response, where the predictability is hundred percent. On the other hand, the open greetings can have more than one response. They have limited predictability. Examples of both types are given below.

2.2.1. Closed (Maximum predictability)

Relationship	Greeting	Fixed Response	Equal status:
--------------	----------	----------------	---------------

	<i>namaska:r</i>	<i>namaska:r</i>	<i>namaste</i>	<i>namaste</i>
--	------------------	------------------	----------------	----------------

Hindu to Muslim:	<i>a:da:b(ariz)</i>	<i>a:da:b(ariz)</i>		
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Muslim to Muslim:	<i>sala:m alaikum</i>	<i>va:laikum sala:m</i>		
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Between status unequals:

	<i>namaska:r</i>	<i>namaska:r</i>		
--	------------------	------------------	--	--

	<i>ada:b(ariz)</i>	<i>ada:b(ariz)</i>		
--	--------------------	--------------------	--	--

	<i>sala:m alaikum</i>	<i>valaikum sala:m</i>		
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2.2.2. Open (Limited predictability)

Relationship Between: Status equals

Greeting	Alternative Response
<i>va:ray chiva: ?</i> fine are.Q 'Are you fine?'	<i>va:ray, toh' chiva: va:ray?</i> fine/well you are.Q fine 'Fine/Well How are you?'

Hindu to Muslim

<i>va:raya: ?</i> Fine.Q 'Are you fine?'	<i>khosh pə:th'</i> happy like 'Very fine.'
------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------

Muslim to Hindu:

<i>khə:riy cha: ?</i> Fine is.Q 'Are you fine?'	<i>a:hansə: khə:riy ?</i> yes.Hon fine 'Yes , I'm fine.'
-------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------

Between status unequals:

<i>k'a:sə: va:raya: ?</i> what.Hon fine.Q 'Are you fine?'	<i>toh' chiva: va:ray ?</i> you are Q fine 'Are you fine?'
-----------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------

tuh inz meharbə:ni:
your.Hon kindness
'Your kindness.'

<i>k'a: mahra: va:raya: ?</i> what.Hon fine.Q How are you? <i>dor koh</i> strong knee 'Be strong!' <i>lāsiv</i> 'Live long!' <i>d'akl bod</i>	<i>or zuv</i> sound health 'Be Healthy!'
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------

forehead broad
 'Be lucky!'
potrI ga:sh

children.Gen light
 'May your children live!' etc.

Notice that the alternative responses are of two types: formal and non-formal. The expressions used for alternative greetings may enquire about general well-being of the addressee, indicate respect towards the addressee, and indicate affection, good wishes or blessings from elders for younger ones. More examples are given below:

Greeter

va:ray chiva: ?
 Fine are – Q
 'How are you?'

Greetee

meharbə:ni:
 kindness
 'Your kindness.' (Due to your kindness, I'm fine)
ca:ni daykhə:ri
 your blessings
 'Due to your blessings (I'm fine).'

Unlike English, Japanese, Chinese etc. the verbal greetings in Kashmiri as in Hindi-Urdu are the same for different times of the day. There are no special phrases referring to morning, evening etc. Greeting phrases related to 'peace' are found in the Muslim greeting phrases :

<i>salam alaikum</i>	'Peace be with you.'
<i>va:laikum sala:m</i>	'And unto you be peace.'

The most frequent greetings are related to queries about one's health and well-being. The phrases such as the following are very frequently used :

<i>va:ray chiva:?</i>	'How are you?'
<i>k'a:saə: va:ray chiva:?</i>	'How are you?'
<i>sə:ri: chiva: va:ray ?</i>	'Are all O.K./alright?'
<i>hi:kh (pə:h') chiva: ?</i>	'Are you O.K?'

The replies to the greetings also refer to the greeter's health, happiness, well-being and longevity. The replies used by elders take the form of blessings:

<i>a:dika:r</i>	'Power! (Authority)'
<i>or zuv</i>	'Healthy!'
<i>dor koh</i>	'Good health!'
<i>sadbi:sa:l vum ir</i>	'One hundred twenty years of age.'
<i>rumi reshun a:y</i>	'As long life as that of a great Rishi!'
<i>ḍeki boḍ</i>	'Lucky!'
<i>lāsiv</i>	'May you live long!'
<i>patri ga:sh</i>	'Enjoy the pleasure of children!'
<i>əch puur</i>	'May your eyesight last for ever!'

III. Sociolinguistic Variables

Greetings are determined by certain sociolinguistic variables of time, space, participants, channel and the communicative intent.

Sometimes the same person may use different modes of greetings for different persons at different time. A beggar near a Muslim shrine uses the greetings appropriate of the name of the saint or shrine such as :

dasgi:r kərinay ath i ro ‘May Dasgir protect you !’
reshmool thəvinay va:r i ‘May the Rishi keep you
happy!’

The same beggar may use different set of terms near a Hindu shrine like:

mə:j bagvati: thəvinay va:ri bagwati kərinay an iğrah
‘May Mother goddess protect you!’

Time also plays a role when two friends meet after a long time, the greetings of *namaste/namaska:r, a:da:b (ariz)* are repeated as:

namaste *namaste*
namaska:r *namaska:r*
a:da:b *a:da:b*

A certain type of greeting may be appropriate at one place but not at another. A teacher is greeted by his students by standing up in the classroom, but outside the class he/she may be greeted by folded hands, with hand salute or with a verbal greeting of *namaska:r, a:da:b(ariz)* or *sala:m a:laikum* .

Participants are of two types: (a) where the greeter and the greetee are human beings, (b) where the greeter is a human being and the greetee a non-human such as a deity, an animal or an inanimate object.

Greeting phrases of gods and goddesses are of different types. The phrases may be as follows:

jay shiv shankar for Lord Shiva
he ra:m for Lord Ram
he ra:dhee shya:m for Lord Krishna

Another mode of greeting is going around the idol of a god or around a temple several times called *parikrama*.

Gender does play a role in the mode of greeting. The greetings between men and women are sometimes different from between the people of the same sex. Usually, women greet each other by the phrases '*vara:y chakhay/chivay?*' and receive replies such as '*va:ray, ts'i chakhay va:ray / toh' chiva: va:ray?*' etc. Educated women do use the terms of greetings used usually by men such as: *namaska:r/namaste, alsa:m a:laikum* etc.

The age of the participants has a significant role. Following are the examples of greetings used by the participants belonging to different age groups:

Young man to older person

Greeting	Response	
<i>namaska:r</i>	<i>zindi ruuziv/ləsiiv</i>	'live long'
<i>sala:m a:laikum</i>	<i>sala:m a:laiykum</i>	
<i>or zuv/dor koh</i>		

Same age group

<i>namaste /namaska:r</i>	<i>namaste/namaskar</i>
<i>a:dab (ariz) /asla:ma:laikum</i>	<i>a:dab(ariz)/va:laikum sala:m</i>

Old man to younger person

va:ra:y chukha:?
namaska:r
 'How are you?'
va:raya:? toh'chiva: vara:y?
 'fine' 'How are you?'

Man to older Woman

namska:r
orzuv/dorkoh/ d'akibod

Same age group

namaska:r

orzuv, dorkoh

Young woman to elderwoman

namaska:r

namaska:r/ bab lasun/ booy lasun/

dekibə d

va:ra:y chakhay?

Same age group

namaste/namaska:r

namaste/namaska:r/

asla:m a:laykum

va:laykum sala:m

va:ray chakhay?

a:hni: va:ray

va:raya:?

asla:m a:laikum/a:da:b (ariz)

Usually the younger person greets the elders first. In certain situations, however, elders greet the younger by virtue of the latter's social position including wealth, education and status.

There is no cast hierarchy followed in the mode of greetings. It is customary to greet a Brahmin priest or a Muslim *pir* first irrespective of his age.

Education, occupation and social status play a prominent role in the greetings. A highly educated person prefers to be greeted with 'Good morning' or a handshake or *namaste* rather than a greeting phrase like *va:ray chiva:?*

3.1. Deferential Order of Greeting

The non-verbal greetings can be listed in diminishing order of deference as follows: Prostration –bending on feet, touching feet – touching knee – folding hands –shaking hands and some other gestures.

Kashmiri Hindus usually prostrate or bend on feet, or touch feet only of saints. It is becoming common among the younger

generation under the influence of other communities outside the valley to touch the feet of elders, especially at the time of their meeting after a long period or at the time of departure on travel.

The greeting terms *namaska:r/namaste* etc. are accompanied by paralinguistic features of pause, stress, tone, volume and facial expression.

3.2. Relationship

The relationships between individuals are usually studied in terms of intimate versus non-intimate or formal versus informal depending on the social distance between the participants and the duration and frequency of contact.

Intimacy may be of two types: symmetrical and asymmetrical. The symmetrical relations exist between status equals or friends of the same age group. Examples of the use of modes of greeting in symmetrical relations are as follows:

vansə: va:raya:?
say-intimate fine-Q
‘Tell me, are you fine?’

The following greetings are used in the asymmetrical intimate relationships between father/mother and son/daughter, elder brother and younger brother or between non-kin’s. Examples are as follows:

vəliv gobra:, bihiv yet’an
come-please son/daughter, sit-polite here
‘Please come and sit over here.’

vansə: hee kar a:yiv i?
say-polite hey when came-pl
‘Hey, tell me when did you come?’

The elders may use the polite expressions of address while being ironic.

A father may address his son as follows:

la:h sə:b k'a:zi gəyi ni az sku:l?

Lord sir why went neg today school

'Lord, why didn't you go to school today?'

Communicative intent or purpose of interaction forms an important underlying factor in the exchange of greetings. It is customary to greet a person with whom one is not acquainted in order to express respect or obtaining a favor or help.

a:da:b ariz jina:b, me:ny kə:m kərytav haz

greetings hon. my work do-imp-polite hon.

'Greetings, please do my work.'

he ba:ya:, me:ny kath bo:zti

O brother my talk listen to

'O brother, please listen to me.'

The greeting forms are often used for asking pardon. It is a form of polite address. For example, it is not uncommon to say:

ma:hra:, bi chusay guly ganḍa:n, mə:phi: diz'am

sir I am -3s hands-folded forgive/pardon give -me

'Sir, I am folding my hands before you and seek your pardon.'

The modes of greeting are deeply correlated with the modes of address. They are often used before the start of a conversation and also before taking leave. The greeting forms are usually initiated by youngsters for elders or by juniors for seniors. The greeter then reciprocates with the appropriate modes of greetings. The forms of address may either precede or follow the greeting forms.

Modes of Address + Verbal Greeting

ḍa:kar sə:b, namaste/namaska:r/a:da:b ariz

doctor-sir

ma:sar ji:, namaska:r/a:da:b(ariz)/sala:m (a:laikum)

bə:y sə:b, namaska:r

Verbal Greetings + Modes of Address

namaska:r ma:hra:/ma:sar ji:

a:da:b ariz jina:b/hazuur

sala:m a:laikum jina:b

Modes of greetings and address are often used as opening phrases for conversations too. The opening phrases in Kashmiri may be of the following type:

twahi kot ta:m chu gatshun

you-dat where up to is go-inf

‘Where do you intend to go?’

kəts ma:hra:/jina:b bajeeyi

how much Hon.struck-time

‘What is the time, please?’

az ma: peyi ru:d

today possible-part fall-fu rain

‘It looks like rain today.’

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**ADAPTATION OF TELUGU PROVERBS BY
LEXICAL VARIATION: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC
(SOCIOSTYLISTIC!) ANALYSIS OF 1999
ELECTION JOURNALESE**

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Abstract

Research work available on adaptation of proverbs is scanty and is mainly concerned with a survey and explanation of such innovated formulaic expressions and their perlocutionary effect (on the readers) - making reading interesting. Nevertheless, the 'sociostylistic' mechanics of the processes of adaptation have not been adequately discussed.

In this paper, more than 25 proverbs in Telugu and English that are adapted to communicate 1999 election news in newspapers are examined from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is found out that the writers, in their attempt to make news interesting, have 'indexed' (Bhuvaneshwar 1998b) an important characteristic of proverbs, namely, containing systems of practices obtained in the society.

I. Introduction

Proverbs are frequently used in Telugu journalese in different contexts and different forms. A usual practice of using proverbs is inside an article to comment on a point of view or an action. There are also a few newspapers that devote special columns to report humorous incidents with proverbs or such similar expressions that summarize or initiate such incidents. / tu:ki:ga:/ of Eenadu and / avi: ivi: / of Vartha belong to this category. Once in a way, a proverb is used as a title of a news report or an article. Generally, such headings contain the proverbs in their original form; sometimes, they are mentioned only partly. However, during the election period (May-October, 1999), there is a spurt in the use of proverbs, especially, adapted ones to convey election news. Apart from making reading interesting, these variations illumine the significant linguistic process of proverbial adaptation.

In this paper, an attempt is made to explicate that process and throw light on the internal mechanics that regulates such a process.

1. 1. Materials and Methods

The materials for this 'research paper are the adapted versions of proverbs that are used as headings for articles and news reports. They contain more than 25 samples mainly from Telugu, and a few from Indian English that will be used to support the observations on Telugu adaptation of proverbs. These are collected from the daily newspapers *Andhra Prabha*, *Vartha*, *Eenadu*, *Andhra Jyothi* and *Vijetha* in Telugu and *Deccan Chronicle* in English.

A framework for variations in proverbs that are linguistically possible is developed first. Since the main focus of our research is on lexical variation, the samples are further classified according to the grammatical categories to which they belong and then the change in meaning that is conveyed by such a variation is analysed. Finally, the relationship between the original and the adaptation is established and interpreted sociolinguistically.

II. Literature Review

A number of research articles in English listed by Mieder (1989) and in Telugu by Bhuvaneshwar (1998a) deal with various aspects of proverbs. Among them, Mieder (1987:118-156) and Sri Lakshmi (1996:91-96) only discuss variation in proverbs. Meider's article involves a detailed historical survey of 'four major aspects of the traditional and innovative use of proverbs' (ibid 119). They are: 1. a general analysis of proverbs from the Middle Ages to modern cartoons and caricatures; 2. misogynous proverbs in modern sexual politics; 3. use of well-known proverbs or their critical variations in lyrical poetry and 4. a case of study of the proverb 'Wine,

Women and Song'. Sri Lakshmi's article considers 8 important Telugu proverbs and illustrates with a few other examples (both in English and Telugu) how the modified versions reflect the writers' attempt to make news interesting and effectively communicated. All the same, these articles do not offer an in depth linguistic analysis of the adaptations.

Leech (1969:42-44) in his treatment of lexical deviation quotes examples from poetry and offers a theoretical exposition of the topic which is applicable to proverbs also since they share characteristics of poetry.

III. Data Presentation and Analysis

In this section, first, the theoretical foundation for variation will be worked out. Next, the collected proverbs will be analysed according to the laid out procedure in the theoretical framework. Finally, a comparison between the original and innovated versions of proverbs will be made to find out the underlying principles that decide what aspects of proverbs are adaptable.

3. 1. A Theoretical Framework for Linguistic Variation in Proverbs (Flvp)

There are three levels involved in the communication of an adapted proverb. The first is the social plane in which an event that is to be communicated takes place. The second is the communicator's plane in which a communicator (i.e., a journalist) decides the channel (spoken or written mode), the form (the adaptation of the proverb), the code (Telugu, English, etc.) and the topic and the comment (the content of communication). The third is the mediator's *plane* (the adapted proverb itself). Let us discuss each of these planes.

3. 1. 1. The Proverbial Plane

3. 1. 1. 1. The Linguistic Form of the Proverb

Leech (1969:42-52) mentions eight types of deviation:

Tense, aspect and other moods can also be changed according to the requirements to make an adaptation of the proverb.

In a similar way the meaning of a proverb may also be changed by manipulating the minor words while keeping the key words constant, as shown in (2).

- (2) He that never rode never fell. (Original proverb)
- a. He that always rode never fell.
(*i.e.*, practice makes perfect)
 - b. He that never rode always fell.
(*i.e.*, lack of practice causes failure)
 - c. He that always rides surely falls.
(*i.e.*, tiredness, causes loss of grip and results in falls), etc.

In 2, the same syntactic structure of a proverb is retained with variations in the lexical items to convey the same point of view, as shown in (3).

- (3) The losing horse blames the saddle. (original proverb)
- a. A bad workman quarrels with his tools. (-do-)
 - b. A bad dancer blames the drummer (or drum). (adaptation)
 - c. A poor player blames his (tennis) racket. (adaptation)

In a similar way, the meaning of a proverb may also be changed by keeping the same syntactic structure but manipulating the lexical items and their position also in the syntactic structure, as shown in (4).

- (4) Why buy the cow when you get the milk free?
(original proverb)
- a. Why buy the milk when you get the cow free?
(When it is more profitable to maintain a cow, especially, when you need more milk)
 - b. Why buy a house when you give it free? (in the case of no inheritors)
- (4a) is possible in the Hindu society when cows are donated to

priests during death ceremonies. A person can maintain a donated cow and give its milk to his new born babies or children which is more profitable monetarily and better quality-wise- cow milk is expensive in India.

In 3, the same semantics (meaning) is maintained with variations in the lexicon of the proverb. This is shown with examples in (3) a, b, c. The same meaning can also be achieved by changing the lexical items in a different syntactic pattern.

- (5) If you want to dance, you must pay the fiddler.
- a. He who dances must pay the fiddler.
 - b. The dancer must pay the fiddler.
 - c. You may dance, but remember, the fiddler is always to pay. (Mieder et al 1992:133)

In this connection, it is necessary to be clear about what constitutes the meaning in a proverb for there are many meanings that can be constructed in a proverb. For example, in (1), we can read three meanings in it:

- (6) a. the referential meaning: Do not look in the mouth of a horse that is given as a gift.
- b. the prototypical meaning: Do not find fault with objects that are given free.
- c. the contextual meaning: Do not find fault with the given object in the setting since it is given free. (Bhuvaneshwar 1999b: 11-12)

When we say, the same meaning can be sustained with variation in the lexical items of the proverb, we mean the prototypical meaning – it is not possible to create either the referential or the contextual meaning since the referents and

the contexts will be different in different instances.

In the written mode of communication, variation in proverbs can also be achieved by manipulating the graphological representation of the proverb. The position of the proverb, for example, in a newspaper either in the first page or second page and so on; or at the beginning or middle or end of the page; or in the first column or second column and so on; or vertically or horizontally; or in big letters or small letters; or in black and white or coloured letters; or illustrating with pictures; and so on and so forth brings about a variation in its representation. Graphological representation in the modern mass media is a very important factor that affects communication.

Sound plays a mute role in printed communication. The effect of sound can only be exploited in the form of different patterns of sound that can be created by an imaginative choice of words in a proverb. Alliteration, rhyme, etc., play a crucial role in the formation of proverbs, especially, Telugu proverbs. However, their influence is only 'mental' but not 'physical' in the case of printed proverbs since they are read 'silently'.

A proverb can be adapted by making minor or major alterations to the original version. When the modifications made mangle the original proverb, the disfigurement distorts the communicative effect, thus causing a failure in the adaptation. On the other hand, if the alterations become decorations to the original versions, the make-up adds glow and beauty to enchant the reader.

So far, we have discussed the theoretical possibilities that can be applied to a proverb to alter it. A detailed discussion of all the minor features of adaptation that involve an exhaustive survey of the syntactic and semantic choices, apart from the phonological and graphological inputs, is beyond the scope of

this paper- such a treatment involves an extensive survey of the existing corpus of proverbs in Telugu in terms of syntactic, semantic and phonological patterns obtained in proverbs.

In the foregoing discussion, an analysis of the types of deviation that can occur within *the internal structure* of a proverb is made. Now, let us focus our attention on the external structure of proverbs within *sentences, paragraphs, and beyond paragraphs* in an article or report.

3. 1. 1. 2. *The Proverb in the Structure of Composition*

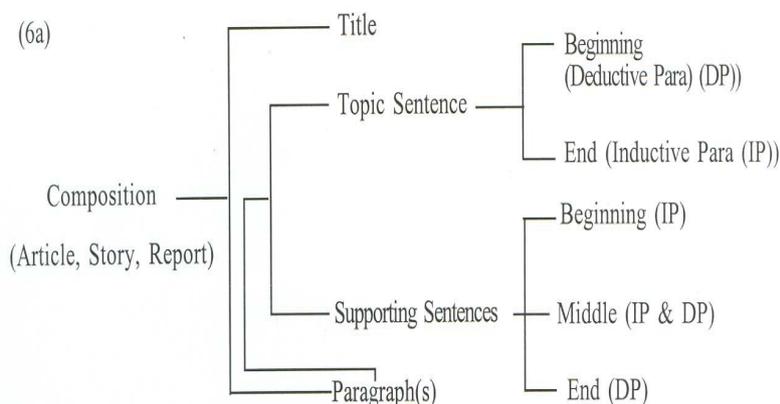
In Bhuvaneshwar (1999a: 9), the external structure of proverbs within and beyond the sentential level has been described to constitute three divisions:

1. P₁ the proverb (in its original form) itself;
2. P₂ the proverb embedded in a sentence;
3. P₃ the proverb adjoined (pre-jointed or post-jointed) to a sentence which forms the *proverbial base (PB)*.

These divisions are made in connection with proverbial exchanges (i.e. conversational exchanges in which proverbs are used). In addition to these divisions, another layer of divisions is needed to account for their use in composition. These divisions are based on the structure of composition (i.e., newspaper reports and articles in this case) itself.

An article or a report can be divided into its components as follows: the *title* and the *body*. The title gives a summary of the body in a short sentence or a few phrases. The shorter the title the better the perlocutionary force, if brevity is taken care of not to clash with the clarity of the summary. The body is the elaboration of the title. It consists of a number of paragraphs. These paragraphs in turn consist of a topic sentence and supporting sentences - sometimes the topic sentence will include the supporting sentences and constitutes a one-senten-

ce paragraph. These divisions can be shown in the following classificatory flow-chart.



Network 1. Components of Composition

Theoretically, a proverb being an utterance can occur in any one of the two comments: title and paragraph in any one or more than one position in these components. As a title is graphologically constrained to be at the top of the composition and syntactically restricted to be either a phrase or a sentence utmost, a proverb cannot occur twice in a title. Furthermore, it can occur only in the P1 form since P1 alone summarizes the theme (and the details) without including the details. Finally, as we are concerned with the use of proverbs or their adaptations as titles, we will consider the structural constraints that are imposed on the syntax of proverbs as titles only.

In the following discussion, the deviation that can be brought to the meaning as a whole in the proverb (the logical form) will be discussed.

3. 1. 1. 3. The Linguistic Anthropological Basis as Logical Form of the Proverb

We have pointed out earlier that there are three layers of meaning in a proverb: 1.the referential (combined with the structural); 2. the prototypical; and 3. the contextual. The refe-

referential meaning of the lexical items in concurrence with the “structural meaning” derived by their juxtaposition in the proverb is *extended* to form the prototypical meaning. What is the basis for this *extension* of meaning? In a similar way, the extended meaning of the proverb is further *degenerated* when it is contextualized. What is the basis for this degeneration of meaning? The answer to these questions lies in the discovery of the underlying basis that generates the extension and degeneration of the meanings. Let us illustrate the underlying basis with the help of an example from Bhuvaneshwar (1999B:10-12).

(7) A boisterous horse must have a rough bridle.

The referential meaning of the proverb is the meaning that is derived by the reference of the lexical items to the referents:

- ‘boisterous horse’: a horse that is wild, that behaves in an undisciplined manner;
 ‘rough bridle’ : a bridle that is sharp which hurts the mouth of the horse more than an ordinary bridle.

The referential meaning gains its structural meaning by the juxtaposition of the lexical items in that order as in the proverb: ‘a boisterous horse’ precedes ‘must have’ and ‘a rough bridle’ follows it; similarly ‘boisterous’ precedes ‘horse’ and ‘rough’ ‘bridle’; and so on. Thus, the whole sentence means: A wild horse must have (must be ridden with/controlled by) a sharp bridle. The meaning in turn indicates a practice, a social practice of using and riding with sharp bridles wild horses. In other words, the proverb describes a practice obtained in the society.

This social practice obtained in the society has parallels in other practices equally obtained in the same society. For example, caning an indisciplined boy in the house or in the classroom; imprisoning a thief in a jail; etc. In each of these

practices, a harsh punishment is used to correct an equally harsh type of behaviour (bad behaviour).

The society perceives the practice obtained in (7) as *prototypical* to the other practices observed in the above paragraph and makes a sociostylistic choice of choosing (7) to represent the meaning of such similar practices by extension of its meaning obtained in the society. This is what I call 'the prototypical meaning' of the proverb endowed newly on the proverb by proverbialization of the practice (7). The extended meaning of the proverb (i.e., the prototypical meaning) is the further *categorized* (narrowed down or transferred or degenerated) to give the contextual meaning of a proverb via the referential meaning when used in discourse. This process of investing and transferring the meaning is a unique characteristic of proverbs. It is represented in the form of an equation as follows:

(8) Referential Meaning > Prototypical Meaning > Contextual Meaning as Categorial Meaning

When the proverb is taken out of its context (immediate setting), it loses the contextual meaning. In a similar way, when the proverb is removed from the culture (wider setting), it loses its prototypical meaning also. That is the reason why proverbs from alien cultures will not be understood without reference to the prototypical meaning. For example, (1) means nothing but the referential meaning to someone who does not know the prototypical meaning gained from a cultural awareness of the setting in which it is produced (for the meanings of immediate setting, wider setting and setting, please refer to Bhuvaneshwar 1997:24).

From the above analysis we understand that it is the prototypical meaning which is the mould that produces the contextual meaning for a proverb and that this prototypical

meaning is nothing but a system of practice (7) as well as other similar practices. Therefore, if any deviation to the proverb is to be carried out, it should be carried out only within the limits of the meaning of the system of practices indicated by the prototypical meaning. To put it in a different way, an adaptation of a proverb will be so only if the adaptation conveys the prototypical meaning with a different referential cum structural meaning constructed by lexical or syntactic variation in the proverb. In the absence of such an operation, the adaptation ceases to be an adaptation of the proverb and pales into an imitation or analogical derivation.

In the foregoing discussion, we have set out a condition for constraining an adaptation of a proverb, which can be formulated as follows:

(9) Any adaptation of a proverb should not violate its (proverb's) prototypical meaning.

Having discussed the variations that can be brought about at the phonological and logical forms of a proverb, let us now go to the societal plane.

3. 1. 2. The Societal Plane

A social actor (in this case the journalist) observes an action carried out by other social actors in a setting of the society. The journalist wants to communicate (report) this action carried out in the setting. In other words, he has set himself a task or a goal of doing another kind of action, namely, reporting. In order to do so, he uses an appropriate tool, proverb (language), to mediate his action through a newspaper. If he thinks that his tool (the mediator) is not specifically fit enough but generally fit enough, then he wants to make certain modifications to suit the purpose. To illustrate this point, let us take the case of a screwdriver with a thick blade which is fit enough to fit into the groove of a big nail but not fit enough to

fit into the groove of a small nail. The user has a choice to discard it and get a new screwdriver with a smaller and sharper blade or modify it by sharpening (and reducing the size also if necessary) to fit into the groove and turn it. In a similar way, the journalist also has a choice - either to discard the proverb or adapt it - to carry out his task and achieve the goal. The type of a proverb he wants to use, if at all he wants to use - which is again a further choice - and the manner in which he wants to communicate it (transmit it) - which again is influenced by the manner in which it will be received - are largely influenced by the institution in which he works, by the setting in which the institution operates or exists (i.e., the social contextualization of communication). In addition to this, he has to make another choice, the choice of reporting as he likes, or as his institution likes, or as his readers like. These factors play an important role in the choice and modification of the proverb, which point to the necessity of a proverbial repertoire.

3. 1. 3. Proverbial Repertoire

Just as a speaker possesses a linguistic repertoire to transact communication, he should also possess a proverbial repertoire (Bhuvaneshwar 1999c). A proverbial repertoire is the corpus of proverbs that a speaker possesses and from which he makes choices to use them in discourse. Such a repertoire in turn points out to proverbial competence and proverbial performance, which imply an awareness of proverbs and their appropriate use in discourse. Appropriate use of proverbs in turn constrains the choice of a proverb with regard to its status, the type of a situation in which it is to be used, and a further choice of the variety of a proverb to be used. When the journalist has chosen the event for reporting and the modus operandi of reporting it, he enters the communicative plane, which is described in the next section.

3. 1. 4. *The Communicative Plane*

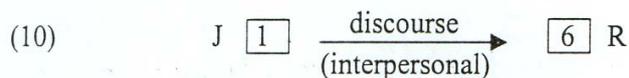
As already pointed, when the journalist (the speaker *S* or the social actor *SA*) observes an event in a setting and wants to communicate it to the readers, he sets himself a task (or a goal). How he performs this task to achieve his goal of communication is discussed in this section. Leech (1985: 13-17; 56-62) outlines a *process model of language* and explains it further in terms of *rhetorics* using Grice's maxims and Slobin's (1975) language principles (ibid 78-151; 63-70). This process model of language is taken as the basis for examining the style of journalistic 'proverbialese', especially, proverbs as titles or headings to news reports and stories. Any analysis of style and deviation requires a framework (cf. Crystal and Davy 1969) and so a theoretical framework for the analysis of style and deviation in journalistic proverbialese is developed (as a first approximation to a process model of proverbial language) in this section. This framework will enable us to carry out a sociostylistic analysis of the collected samples as part of linguistic analysis.

3. 1. 5. *A Process Model of Proverbial Titling in Journalism*

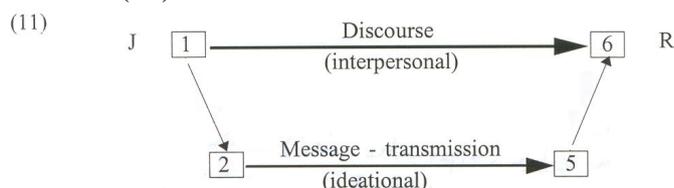
A. In this process, a linguistic act of communication, in this case the utterance of a (printed) proverbial title, is described as 'constituting a transaction on three different planes: as (a) an interpersonal transaction or *DISCOURSE*; as (b) an ideational transaction or *MESSAGE - TRANSMISSION*; and as (c) a textual transaction or *TEXT*' (Leech 1985:59). The discourse as the whole transaction conveys a particular illocutionary force to the reader. The journalist achieves this illocutionary force (goal) in the following stages.

STAGE 1: In order for the journalist (*J*) to achieve the goal of communication with the readers (*R*), he must choose a *sense* (or the ideational content), i.e., the semantic meaning of the

event, to convey his intended force (illocutionary force).



If the message is correctly transferred to R, R should go through the parallel stage of working out the force as shown below in (11)



Interpersonal Rhetoric enters stages 1 and 2 on the assumption (on the part of J) that the proverb expresses his attitudes and the reader(s) (in stages 5 and 6) derives an implicature from the proverb of the intended force of the meaning expressed by J. It is also based on the assumption that the proverb (used to communicate J's intended force) attracts and engages the attention of the reader(s) by proverbialization of the message as an innovation. Accordingly, the social function of Interpersonal Rhetoric imposes input constraints upon the message (to be conveyed as a proverb in a certain form).

Leech (1985: 8 and 16) lists out three important principles: cooperative principle; politeness principle; irony principle with their maxims of quantity, quality, relation, manner; tact, generosity, approbation, modesty that impose constraints upon the message. These principles are meant to explain ordinary language transmission. However, proverbs are a unique form of language even though they are language and therefore do they need a special set of principles to account for their interpersonal rhetorical functions?

Proverbs are frozen utterances with a definite number of lexical items in a specified syntactic structure. When J chooses to convey his intended force through the use of proverbs, the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner under the Cooperative Principle have to be reinterpreted. This is so because the question of reducing the *Quantity* in a proverb does not arise, one cannot make the contribution as informative as is required (maxim 1) since a proverb *inherently* contains more information than is required in its referential meaning. In a similar way, the second maxim 'Do not make your contribution more informative than is required' is contradicted by the very nature of the proverb. Even though the second maxim of *Quality* can be applied to proverbs, it can be applied only by reference to their *prototypical meaning* and not to their referential meaning. So is the case with *Relation* (maxim 3). In the case of the fourth maxim *Manner*, the proverb violates sub-maxims 1 (Avoid obscurity of expression) and 2 (Avoid ambiguity) definitely. The sub-maxims 3 (Avoid unnecessary prolixity) and 4 (Be orderly) are not violated. The Politeness Principle can be applied successfully to proverbs that are in praise of actions and cannot be applied to others that censure actions. Nonetheless, downplaying or highlighting or hedging is part of proverbs' function and therefore Politeness Principle can be applied on the whole to achieve effective communication.

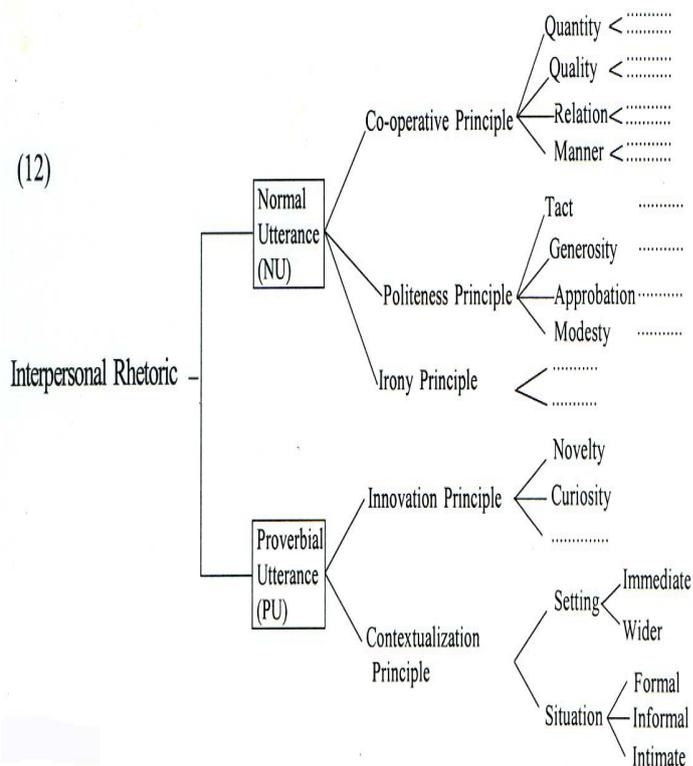
Apart from these principles adapted from Grice by Leech, two more important principles can be added to the list. They are: 1. the Innovation Principle; 2. the Contextualization Principle. The Innovation Principle imposes the constraint of making the message *innovative* implying: that the utterance should be new in its form and sense; and that the utterance should rouse the curiosity of the reader. The Innovative Principle is based on the assumption that the other participant gives more *value*

(appreciates more) to innovation and that the use of proverbs is considered *innovative* in the cultural environment and the speaker recognizes this as a discourse strategy to maintain *involvement* in conversation. The Contextualization Principle on the other hand imposes the constraint of contextualizing the proverb. The Contextualization Principle enables one participant in a conversation to communicate with a proverb on the assumption that the other participant is being capable of contextualizing it to derive the contextual meaning while the other participant assumes that the first participant does so.

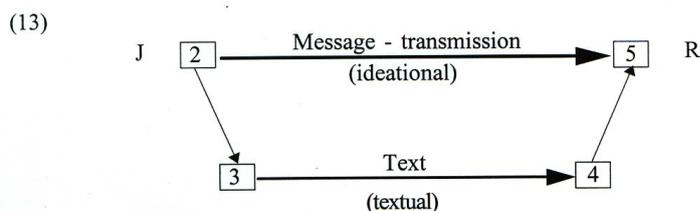
Contextualization involves placing the communication at the appropriate *time*, in the exact *space* and the required *matter* in a *setting* and a *situation*. Setting is the geographical and social environment which can be divided into *immediate* setting (the environment immediately enclosing the reader) and the *wider* setting (the environment of which the immediate setting is a part). The *situation* involves the social relation of the journalist with the reader with reference to the message transmission. It can be broadly divided into *formal*, *informal* and *intimate* situations. These two principles together constitute the major constraints of the proverbial Interpersonal Rhetoric. They are included along with the constraints imposed by Grice's maxims in the figure (12) shown in the next page.

STAGE 2: After the journalist has chosen a sense to convey his intended force, the sense itself has to be *encoded* (Stages 2-3) syntactically, phonologically and graphologically as a *text* (stages 3 - 4) which is a linguistic transaction in actual visual physical form as a part of the newspaper in the shape of orthographic symbols. After the encoding process is over, the message is transmitted through the same symbols in the newspaper. The reader who reads it then *decodes* the text (stages 4-5) into its form as a message. The encoding stage

(12) Interpersonal Layer



involves the grammatical process of mapping the sense to an appropriate phonetic output (Leech 1985-58). It is at this stage, principles of Proverbial Textual Rhetoric come into play to determine the stylistic form of the text in terms of the selection of an *appropriate* proverb; and the segmentation, ordering, etc. of the lexical and syntactic items of the proverb as well. This encoding and decoding of the message can be shown in the figure (13) as in the next page.



The principles of Textual Rhetoric re-formulated by Leech (1985:16) from Slobin (1975:1-30) are: 1. processibility; 2. clarity; 3. economy and 4. expressivity. In the processibility principle, Leech discusses the maxims of end-focus (phonology), end-weight (syntax) and end-scope (semantics) which are restricted to normal utterances only. They are not applicable to proverbs since they are frozen utterances. In the case of end-focus, its effect on printed proverbs is marginal since a proverb is not *said* loudly but only *read* silently.

However, its effect is there whereas end-weight and end-scope do not operate here - such a possibility is foreseen only in the distortion of proverbs. In the case of *non-titular* proverbs, they are controlled by the three fixed patterns of proverbial utterances given as P1 (only the proverb), P2 (the proverb embedded *in* a sentence) and P3 (the proverb and a sentence). The end-focus becomes lexical-focus, i.e., in adapted proverbs, the lexical item that replaces the original in the proverb gets the focus wherever it is in the proverb.

In the case of the Clarity Principle, there is a *direct and transparent relationship between semantics and phonological structure (maxim one)* in a proverb but there is no such relationship between the message in the proverb and the event in the setting if the referential meaning of the proverb is taken into consideration. Again, there is *no ambiguity (maxim 2)* in

the proverb but it cannot be avoided in the adaptation. Notwithstanding such a 'garden path' ambiguity, it can be resolved as the latter part of the discourse unfolds, if it occurs properly.

In the case of the economy principle ('Be quick and easy'), it is highly observed in proverbs since they are never prolix. However, the economy observed in a proverb is at a different level from that of a normal utterance. The Economy Principle will be always in clash with the Clarity Principle in normal utterances but in proverbs it is not so since their meaning is already known even before they are used. Yet, the unfoldment of the contextual meaning will be delayed until the entire action that took place is known. The meaning of some proverbs requires the culture awareness of the society in which they are produced.

The Expressive Principle, which deals with the expressive and aesthetic aspects of communication, rather than simply with efficiency, inhibits reduction in normal utterances. It endows the utterance in the case of expressive repetition, with the rhetorical value of surprising, impressing or rousing the interest of the addressee. In the case of adapted proverbs, such a rhetorical value is obtained by *replacement* instead of repetition; sometimes with the addition of a new lexical item but not repetition; some other times by the proverb itself since all proverbs, especially, metaphorical ones are expressive.

Apart from these principles whose relevance to proverbs has been outlined above, there are two principles which should be added to proverbial Textual Rhetoric. They are the *Adaptation Principle* and *Status Principle*. The Adaptation Principle deals with the constraints that will be imposed on the output of the message. It embraces the clarity, economy and expressivity principles of normal utterances and also includes

graphologization which itself can be treated as a separate principle.

The second principle is the Status Principle, which is concerned with the status of a proverb (Bhuvaneshwar 1998b). The status of a proverb is determined by an examination of the status of the lexical items in the proverb, i.e., whether they are literary, colloquial or vulgar. These divisions are important since they constrain the text in the choice of a proverb to suit the Contextualization Principle.

Taking all these constraints into consideration, a figure similar to (12) can also be drawn as in (14), shown in the next page.

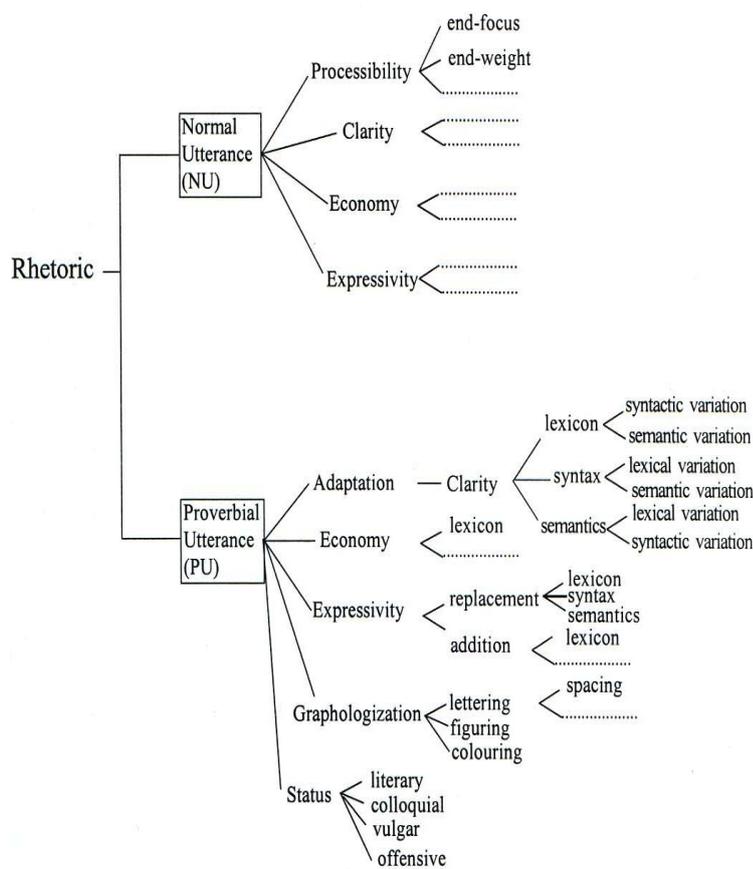
The principles and maxims and sub-maxims arrived at (12) and (14) for interpersonal and textual rhetorics can serve as the framework for a stylistic analysis of proverbs used as titles in newspapers.

Stage 3: The processes of encoding and decoding are not done in a sequential order of first processing the semantics, then the syntax and finally the phonology of the message while encoding and in the reverse order while decoding.

The different levels of linguistic processing are simultaneously in operation. However, in newspaper communication, where planning and separate execution can be separated in time, lexical and syntactic manipulation can be separated in the 'before > after' sequence also.

So far we have attempted to frame a theoretical basis for a stylistic analysis of proverbs and proverbial adaptations used as titles. In the next section, let us analyse the samples collected and find out the underlying assumption in carrying out adaptations.

(14) Textual Layer



3. 2. Illustration of Collected Samples by Flvp

In this section, the proverbial adaptations collected from the newspapers on the election issue during May - October, 1999 are listed first according to the parts of speech adapted in the proverbs. Then a few representative samples are analysed according to FLVP to find out the interpersonal and textual constraints imposed upon the message to convey the intended force.

The adapted proverbs are listed under the original as follows in the checklist. The adaptations are shown against the English letters. When the proverbs are self - explanatory with the gloss, no separate translation is given.

3. 2. 1. A Checklist of Adapted Proverbs in Telugu and English

3. 2. 1. 1. Proverbs Adapted by Replacement of Nouns

1.

- i. ko:ʈi viɖʈʌlu ku:ʈi ko:rake:.
ten million educations food for only.
'One crore jobs only for food'.
- ii. ku:ʈi ko:sam ko:ʈi viɖʈʌlu.
food for ten million educations.
'Only for food, one crore jobs'.
- iii. ku:ʈi ko:sam ko:ʈi tippalu.
food for ten million hassles
'Only for food, one crore hassles'.
- a. ko:ʈi viɖʈʌlu, o:ʈu ko:reke:.
crore vocations vo:ʈu for only
'One crore plans, only for vote'.
- b. ko:ʈi ettulu, o:ʈu ko:rake:.
crore plans vo:ʈu for only
'One crore plans, only for vote'.
- c. vo:tu ko:sam ko:ti tippalu.
crore hassles vo:ʈu for only
'Only for vote, one crore hassles'.

2. ɖoɖɖu: ɖoɖɖe: "The two are the two".
ʈʌntalu tu:tinave: tu:te: ta:te: ta:lam tatte: (for)
ʈʌntalu pu:ʈʌnave: pu:ʈʌe: ka:ʈʌe: ka:lam vaste:

Tamarinds have flowered (if or when) flowering, fruiting
time comes

tu:taka ta:taka to:na: ḍonḍu: ḍonḍe: (ḍonḍappa:) (for)

pu:jaka ka:jaka po:na: renḍu: renḍe: (renḍappa:)

flower not fruit not will not go the two the two (the two man)

Oh, the tamarinds have flowered'. (said one)

'If the flowering, fruiting time comes, will they not flower
and fruit'. (said another)

'(You) The two are (the two (both alike))'. (said the third)

(cf. Carr 1988: Supplement p.92)

This proverb has its origin in the story of three sisters who suffered from an impediment in their speech - "each thought she spoke better than either of the other two" (ibid 92). The conversation that took place between them has become the basis for the proverb and it is the last portion (the speech of the third sister) that is truncated to form the proverb in its shorter version.

d. renḍu: renḍe:. 'The two are the two.' (Vartha 10.09.99)

e. anḍaru: anḍare:. 'The all are the all.' (Vartha date not available)

f. mugguru: 'The three are the (Andhra Prabha
muggure:. three.' 6.09.99:7)

g. iḍḍare: i ḍḍaru. 'Two and only two.' (Andhra Prabha)

3. sommokaḍḍi so:kakaḍḍi.

'Money is one's, enjoyment another's.'

h. so:nia: sommuto: so:ku tʃe:sta:raṭa.

'With sonia's money (they) want to enjoy.'

(Andhra Prabha dt. not available)

i. sommu pradḍalaḍḍi so:ku so:nia:ḍi.

'Money is people's, pleasure is sonia's.' (Eenadu 23.11.99:3)

- j. pani tʃe:se:ɖi me:mu tʃiketʃlu mi:ka:?
 ‘We are the ones working, the tickets are for you’?
 (Andhra Prabha Local 18.08.99:1)
4. i. tila:h pa:pa hara: nitjam tala: piɖikeɖu piɖikeɖu
 (Eenadu 23.11.99:3)
 Sesamum sin destroy always for handful handful.
 seeds each head
- ‘Sesamum seed always takes away sin, (give) for each a handful.’
 (Carr 1988:195)
- ii. tila: pa:pam tala: piɖikeɖu.
 Sesamum sin, each a handful.
 ‘Sesam sin each head a handful’
- k. raɖɖu pa:pam tala: piɖikeɖu.
 ‘Dissolution sin each head a handful.’
 (Andhra Prabha 28.04.99:3)
- l. ka:rgil pa:pam tala: piɖikeɖu.
 ‘Kargil sin each head a handful’.
 (Eenadu 21.10.99:3)
5. e: puɖtalo: e: pam(u)uɖo:!
 ‘In what (snake) hill what snake is there!’
- m. e: peɖtalo: e:muɖo:!
 ‘In what (ballot) box, what is there!’
 (Andhra Prabha 5.10.99:1)
- n. e: bælet peɖtalo: e:muɖo:!
 ‘In what ballot box, what is there!’ (Vijetha 6.10.99:1)
6. a:ɖi lo:ne: hamsa pa:ɖu. ‘In the beginning itself swan foot’
 a:ɖi lo:ne: ‘himsa’ “In the beginning itself, ‘violence’
 o. pa:ɖu foot.”

7. $\text{ṣaṭa ko:ṭi ḍaridra:laki ananta ko:ṭi up:ja:lu.}$
 ‘one hundred crore poverties for endless crore schemes’.
- p. $\text{ṣata ko:ṭi praḍḍalaku ananta ko:ṭi va:gḍa:na:lu.}$
 ‘one hundred crore people for endless crore promises’
 (Eenadu 20.08.99:3)
8. $\text{a:ṣa la:vu pi:ka sannam}$ ‘Desire wide throat narrow.’
- q. $\text{pratibha sannam praṭṣa:ram la:vu.}$
 ‘Merit (is) narrow propaganda wide.’
 (Andhra Prabha 12.10.99 : 4)
9. $\text{renḍu paḍavalapai ka:ḷḷu.}$
 Two boats on legs.
 ‘Legs on two boats.’
- r. $\text{renḍu paḍavulapai ka:ḷḷu.}$
 Two positions on legs.
 ‘Legs on two jobs’ (Andhra Prabha 10.05.1999 : 4)
- 10 $\text{ra:dṣu ga:ru talaṭṣukunṭe: ḍebbalaki koḍava:ḥ}$
 the king wants if bashes for shortage?
 ‘If the king wants, is there a shortage for bashing?’
- s. $\text{ra:dṣu ga:ri sabhalo: ḍebbalaku koḍava:ḥ}$
 king’s meeting in bashes for shortage?
 ‘In the king’s meeting, shortage for bashing?’
 (Andhra Prabha 23.08.99 : 7)
11. $\text{ḍhaname:ra: anniṭiki: mu:lam}$
 money alone for all basis
 ‘Money is the basis for all (things).’
 (cf. $\text{ḍhanamu:la miḍam ḍṣagaṭ}$ - Sanskrit Proverb)
12. $\text{ṭṣinni na: poṭṭaki ṣri: ra:ma rakṣa}$
 small my belly for Sri Rama protection.
 ‘For my small belly, Sri Rama’s protection’.

- u. ka:ša:ja ku:ṭamiki ka:rgil rakṣa.
saffron group for Kargil protection
'For the saffron party Kargil protection'.
(Andhra Prabha 14.08.99:7)
13. vighne:svaruḍi pelḷiki vejji vighna:lu.
vinayaka of marriage to one thousand obstacles.
'For vinayaka's marriage, one thousand obstacles'.
- v. umma:redḍiki vejji vighna:lu.
Umma Reddy to one thousand obstacles.
'For Umma Reddy, one thousand obstacles'. (Eenadu 21.10.99:2)
14. morige: kukka karavaḍu.
barking dog bites not.
'A barking dog does not bite'.
- w. aritḥe: prati pakṣam. karava le:ḍu
shouting opposition party biting cannot.
'A shouting opposition party cannot bite'.
(Andhra Prabha 2.11.99:4)
15. go:ranta ḍi:pam koṇḍanta velugu.
'nail-sized lamp, mountain-sized light'.
'Nail-sized flame, mountain-sized light'.
- x. a:fajam koṇḍanta... a:ṭarana go:ranta.
ideal mountain-sized... execution nail-sized
'Mountain-sized ideal...nail-sized execution'. (Vartha 17.08.99)
16. ḍaṇḍam ḍaḥa guṇam bhavē:t.
stick ten qualities begets
'Stick begets ten qualities'.
- y. ḍaṇḍam ḍaḥa si:ṭum bhavē:t.
stick ten seats begets
'Stick begets ten seats'. (Eenadu 22.08.99:6)

3.2.1.2. Proverbs Adapted by Replacement of Adjectives

17. kalasi vunte: kalaḍu sukham.
together staying if is happiness
'If (people) stay together, there is happiness.'
- a. kalasi unṭe: kalaḍu ra:ḍaki:ja la:bham
together staying if is political profit
'If (people) stay together, there is political profit'.
(Eenadu Supplement :20.09.99.10)
18. javariki va:re: jamuna: ti:re: .
each one to himself only Yamuna bank on
'Each one for himself alone on the Yamuna shore'.
- a. javariki va: re: ... ḍhi:ma: ti:re:
each one to himself only... confidence bank on
'Each one for himself only.. on the confidence shore.'
(Andhra Prabha 17.09.99:1)
- b. javariki va:re: ṭicket ma:ke:!!
each one to himself only... ticket is for us
'Each one to himself only... ticket is for us !!'
- c. See 3h for 'so:nia: sommuto:.....'
19. ḍo:ḍu' guṭṭa:la sva:ri: .
two horses riding
'Two horses riding.'
- e. ra:ma: na:juḍu mu:ḍu guṭṭa:la sva:ri: .
Rama Naidu ('s) three horses riding
'Rama Naidu's three horses riding'. (Vartha 13.10.99:4)
20. munduṅḍi musa||a paṅḍaga.
in future lies old people's /rainy season's feast.
'In future lies old people's rainy season's feast'.

- f. mundunnaḍi appula muppu.
in future (ahead) lies debts danger.
'Ahead lies debt danger' (Andhra Prabha 24.4.99:4)
- g. munduḍi mulḷa ba:ṭa
in future (ahead) lies thorn path
'Ahead lies the thorn path'. (Andhra Jyothi 19.10.99:2)

20a. See 12u for 'ka:rgil rakṣa' and 'ka:ṣa:ja ku:ṭamiki'.

20b. See 14 w for 'arife:'.

3. 2. 1. 3. Proverbs Adapted by Replacement of Verbs.

21. inṭa geliṭi raṭṭa gelava:li.
at home by winning public meeting place win
'After winning at home, win at the public meeting place'.

- a. illu vidṭi raṭṭa kekkina pava:r.
home leaving public meeting place stepped on to Pawar
'Leaving the house the Pawar who-got-into-the-public-meeting place'.

3. 2. 1. 4. Total Replacement of Lexical Items

22. u:llo: pelḷiki kukkala haḍa:viḍi
town marriage to dogs commotion
'For a marriage in the town, commotion for dogs'.

- a. ḍe:ṣamlo: eḷaṭṭanlaki ḍjo:tiṣkulaki gira:ki: .
country in elections to astrologers to demand
'For the elections in the country, demand for astrologers'.
(Vartha 4.9.99:2)

23. ṭeppe:va:ḍiki vine:va:ḍu lo:kuva.
telling man to listening man (is) low
'For a teller, a listener is low'.

found the news item with the above mentioned caption worth communicating to the Indian readers and so published it in the newspaper. The article was contributed by Sanjay Suri from London.

Sanjay Suri has set himself the task or goal of communicating an event, namely, the survey conducted by Donna Dawson, a psychologist, for the company Sharwoods. Why he has chosen this news item and why the editor published it are peripheral to our analysis. What is central to our analysis is what does the journalist want to communicate and how does he do it.

Stage 1: Sanjay Suri wants to communicate a summary of Donna Dawson's survey (as a news report) to the readers. In doing so, he performs an illocutionary act of assertion by reporting the news with an illocutionary function of collaboration (Leech 1985:104).

Stage 2: In order to attain the goal in stage 1, Sanjay Suri chooses a message, an ideation of this illocution, i.e., he formulates a set of propositions in the form of the news report (given in the Appendix I). During these stages 1-2, Interpersonal Rhetoric enters into the message.

This speech act could have been formulated in a number of ways: for example, making modifications of quantity, quality & manner using the Co-operative Principle, and tact, generosity, approbation and modesty using the Politeness Principle, and the Irony Principle depending on the type of a newspaper in which it is communicated, and the type of readers that would read it. Again, at this stage, the innovation and contextualization principles of Proverbial Interpersonal Rhetoric come into play in that the journalist clearly relies on the reader's deriving an implicature that 'you (a person)

become what you (a person) eat' and that this derivation depends on the reader's assumption that the journalist is observing the Normal Utterance Principles in the body of the report and the Proverbial Utterance Principles in the title.

Stage 3: In order to convey the message, the journalist encodes it as a text, and the phonation of the sentences in the news report results. It is at this stage, the role of the Textual Rhetoric comes into play to determine the stylistic form of the text. The choice of the title is sociostylistic in the sense that it is the cultural character of the writer as well as the readers that prompts the journalist to choose it. Some newspapers in some languages may opt for a different choice, namely, an NU title instead of a PU title.

Once the sociostylistic choice (or a sociolectal stylistic choice for a more delicate distinction of choice) has been made, the journalist taps on the *key for the proverbial repertoire* in his 'computer brain'. When the brain opens the file he again taps on the *key for proverbial selection* (i.e., to match the proverb with the message appropriately). After the selection is processed, he presses the keys for expressivity and finally graphologization checks keeping in mind the innovation and contextualization principles of Interpersonal Rhetoric. The necessary alternations (in the form of adaptations) are made accordingly.

To instantiate this process in the proverbial text 'you are what curry you eat', the following interpretation will clarify the issue.

First, the journalist has made the sociostylistic choice of encoding the title of the message (i.e., the news report) in the form of a proverb. Second, he looks for an appropriate proverb to convey the meaning that is to be incorporated into the title.

Alternatively, the meaning of the message may automatically flash the proverbial title owing to his cultural ability of using proverbs. Whatever may be the case, when he finds the title, namely, 'you are what you eat' other variations such as : 1. Tell me what you eat and I will tell what you are. 2. Man is what he eats. are also available (Meider *et al* 1992: 174). After a rejection of the other proverbial variations, he examines it from the point of view of *expressivity*. He feels that the original is not expressive enough and therefore decides to adapt the proverb to make it novel, thereby, intending a force of *surprise*, to create *curiosity* and sustain *suspense* (by withholding the contextual meaning). This interpersonal rhetorical intention results in the textual rhetorical choice of 'curry' to be added to the proverb. Again, the textual choice of 'curry' is prompted by the sense of the message itself which is precisely and compactly expressed in the body of the report. Furthermore, the complex textual skill of choosing the word 'curry' is based on a very significant factor, the latent awareness of proverbs to describe systems of practices. This latent awareness is manifested in the symmetrical manipulation of the referential meaning with the contextual meaning to fall under the umbrella of the prototypical meaning of the proverb. Otherwise, the adaptation conveys a wrong meaning by an asymmetrical relationship and distorts the force. The Contextualization Principle is also realized by the lexical choice of the word 'curry'- 'curry' is an Indian word and the publication of this news report is in India which heightens the perlocutionary force.

After the expressivity principle is taken care of, the grapholization principle is attended to. In the case of this text, it is shown in the choice of the lower part of the first page. This choice indicates that it is important but not as important as the other news printed at the top. No other maxims of

lettering, colouring and figuring are followed, unlike in the Example Two given after this illustration, which reflects its casual importance.

Stage 4: The text of the report (published in the newspaper) is read by the reader.

Stage 5: Then the reader decodes the printed text into a message which has the same sense as the original message at stage 2.

Stage 6: Finally, the reader interprets the force of the message, which (if the transmission of the message is successful) is recognized as ‘the people (in England) are what curry they eat’ as the contextual meaning.

One more goal can also be implied in the reporting of news. It is the ‘Positive Valorization’ of the newspaper, i.e., if the newspaper conveys the news in a distinctly, interesting manner, its sales will shoot up for the readers will valorize it to be positive.

Example Two: /a:ḍi lo:ne: ‘himsa’ pa:ḍu/

Introduction: The Andhra Prabha News Bureau contributes this title for their news of the first phase polling on 5th September, during the 1999 elections. The title is printed in big, bold, red letters with the word ‘*himsa*’ enclosed in quotation marks. This title is followed by a smaller, blue lettered description of the details about the polling violence:

kaḍapa ḍi:lla:lo: ka:lpulu, ba:mbu ḍa:ḍi: aiḍuguri mruti.

kadapa district in shooting, bomb raid : five death
peoples

‘Shooting in Cuddapah, Bomb Raid: Five People’s Death’.

Above the heading, a rectangular box with a green outline enclosing the smallest red letters on a background of light red colour is printed. It starts with a sentence that uses the adapted proverb in a P₂ form:

toli	viḍata	po:ling	sanḍar	aiḍuguru
first	phase	polling	bhaNga: during	five people
maran̄int̄fa ḍamto: dying with	a:ḍi begin- ning	lo:ne: in itself	'himsa' pa:ḍu violence foot	ajin̄ḍi. became.

'During the first phase polling, with five people dying, (it) became in "*the beginning itself 'violence' foot*".

In addition to the first sentence, another sentence 'This loss to life occurred only in Andhra Pradesh' is printed as the second sentence. All other sentences are related to the polling details except the last three sentences which again give the details of the deaths. (Please see the Appendix II for the report.)

This news item comes after a known knowledge of a spate of election campaign violence that rocked the nation and created a state of remorse, uncertainty and disgust of the whole process of elections in the nation.

Stage 1: With this background, the journalists of the news bureau *collectively* communicated this news. In doing so, they performed an illocutionary act of assertion which involves reporting and complaining, and an expressive act which involves blaming also.

The parallel illocutionary functions involve the conflictive and

the collaborative. Their goal is to communicate the forces mentioned above.

Stage 2: In order to attain the goals in Stage 1, they choose a message, an ideation of their illocution, i.e., they formulate a set of propositions in the form of the news report. As mentioned in Stage 2 of Example One, the Interpersonal Rhetoric plays its role during the stages 1-2 in a similar way.

Stage 3: In order to convey the message, the journalist encodes it as a text, and the phonation of the sentences in the news report results. As mentioned in the stage 3 of Example One, the textual rhetoric plays its role during the stages 2-3. It is only at the stages of expressivity and graphologization, a change takes place as far as the title is concerned. The journalists make use of the Replacement Maxim of the Expressivity Principle instead of the Additional Maxim as in Example One. The lexical item '**hamsa**' (swan) is replaced by the lexical item '**himsa**' (violence) with a very delicate replacement of the vowel *lal* with *lil* to convey an entirely powerful contextual meaning through the referential meaning of the metaphor. An excellent example of 'replacement'! This textual rhetorical output constraint has kept the original proverb's syntactic and phonological structure intact; yet it implied compressively the force of surprise, curiosity and suspense into the title. This is further heightened by the Graphologization Principle which is amply made use of. The red colour and the quotation marks enact the bloodbath and signal the adaptation in print. This is different from Example One since it is a very serious matter. That is why it is printed at the top to convey its importance. The rectangular box and the second heading in blue letters support the heading and aid in the communication.

Stage 4: The text of the report is read by the reader.

Stage 5: Then the reader decodes the printed text into a message which has the same sense as the original message at Stage 2.

Stage 6: Finally, the reader interprets the force of the message, which (if the transmission of the message is successful) is recognized as an assertive and expressive act of reporting, complaining and blaming the poll violence.

The analyses made in Examples One and Two are only brief and can be extended further, especially, with regard to the metaphorical use of *lhimsa paḍu* and other details which are not undertaken owing to the constraints of space. All other examples listed in 3B can be analysed in a similar way.

As mentioned in the Stage 3 of Example One, the proverb is another illustration of a system of practices obtained during elections in India and the adaptation is based on this awareness.

IV. Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion of Examples One and Two, it has been shown that the foregrounding of the lexical items ‘curry’ and ‘himsa’ is based on the following factors :

1. Any adaptation of a proverb should not violate its (proverb’s) prototypical meaning as given in (9).
2. Any adaptation of a proverb should be based on an awareness of the system of practices (that are described in a proverb) which should also be reflected congruently in producing the referential and contextual meanings of the adapted version.

These two factors along with the phonological and syntactic parallelism of the adaptation with the original are crucial. They constitute the basis for a successful communication of the intended force of a written communication act as a proverb. Therefore, we can conclude that the writers exhibit an awareness of such system of practices in a proverb and that *in situ* confirm the presence of systems of practices in proverbs.

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ON DIALECTAL VARIATIONS IN KANNADA

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Abstract

Kannada Language has long history of its origin. It has undergone many changes in the course of time... These changes can be shown in three stages viz. 1. HaḷagannaDa, 2. NaDugannaDa and 3. HosagannaDa. The changes that occurred in Kannada lead to variation. The linguistic theorizing has been largely based on standardized forms of language rather than on the more variable forms of naturalistic speech. Variation is to be found in all parts of the language viz. the Lexicon, the Phonology, the Grammar and superficially at least the semantics. It is also distinguished by casual or incidental variation, which affects individual linguistic items without upsetting the system, and systematic variation, which affects the language in ways that are more fundamental. The present paper discusses about the dialectal, geographical and social variations of Kannada.

I. Introduction

Every language undergoes some changes. These changes lead to variation in the language. As Edward Sapir remarked (1921:147), "Everyone knows that language is variable". Variability in language is studied by variations. The linguistic theorizing has been largely based on standardized forms of languages rather than on the more variable forms of naturalistic speech. Variation studies now have become more technological. Earlier it was mainly focused on understanding variation and change in the structured parts of language rather than the behaviour of speakers or the nature of speakers' interaction. Now all the activities of speakers in naturalistic settings are studied in Sociolinguistics.

Variation is to be found in all parts of the language: in the lexicon, the phonology, the grammar and superficially at least the semantics. All of these are subject to change, and in all of them change can be differentially received, with resulting variation (Francis, 1983:19).

It is also distinguished by casual or INCIDENTAL variation, which affects individual linguistic items without upsetting the

system and SYSTEMATIC variation, which affects the language in more ways that are fundamental.

II. Lexical Variation

Lexical Variation is more susceptible to incidental variation than to systematic variation. It is relatively easy to add new words to the vocabulary of a language without causing a systematic upset, especially when a need is created by some new object, event, or circumstance in the world around us. We have seen the rapid growth of computer vocabulary in this decade. There is a little variation in this kind of new vocabulary. Lexical Variation Whether involving different words or different meanings for the same word is not confined to new things, which must be named. Often it deals with common matters of everyday life and goes back a longtime in the history of the language.

2. 1. Phonological Variation

The distinction is made between incidental and systematic variation. Both kinds may appear in Phonology of a language. Thus, two speakers whose pronunciation is alike in most respects may have differing Pronunciations of certain words. E.g. economics (ik- or ek-). The adoption of one or the other Pronunciation by individual speakers hardly constitutes dialect variation; it is primarily idiosyncratic.

This kind of incidental variation in pronunciation may become so widespread that differing versions are both accepted as 'correct' even within the standard dialect. The significant differences are taken cumulatively make up an ACCENT. This is common term for variant Pronunciation. As David Abercrombie puts it: "Accent and dialect are words which are often used vaguely, but which can be given more precision by taking the first to refer to characteristics of the medium (i.e.

speech) only, while the second refers to characteristics of language as well". (Abercrombie 1967:19).

2. 2. Grammatical Variation

2. 2. 1. Morphology: Generally, the grammar of any language is divided into two parts. Morphology and syntax. The former has to do with the Phonological shapes of words that adapt them to specific grammatical functions, principally by the application of various affixes or by compounding. Inflectional morphology is related to the morphophonemic rules at the end of the syntax, while derivational morphology is related to the adaptation of lexical forms to accommodate the word-class subdivision of the lexicon.

2. 2. 2. Syntax: Variation in syntax has been very little studied by dialectologists for two reasons: 1) Syntax, as a branch of linguistics has not been given much attention until fairly recently. 2) Most significant syntactic Variation requires larger samples of a language than it has been convenient or even possible to collect by the usual methods. Usually a complete sentence, often a quite long one is needed to display a variant syntactic construction. In syntactic variation the subject-verb agreement, the formation of negatives, pronoun reference and case and question formation are considered to identify the variation.

2. 2. 3. The Incidence of Variation in the Community: In this, the Particular groups or individuals in the total community of a language exhibit the above kinds of variation. It can be observed that this variation can be of three principal sorts: (1) between groups of speakers, (2) between individual speakers and (3) with in the performance of the individual speaker. The first of these can be called DIALECTAL Variation proper, the second IDIOLECTAL, and the third STYLISTIC. Here the term 'lect' is described as 'a completely non- committal term

for any bundling together of Linguistic Phenomena' (Bailey 1973a: 11) and 'dialect' is defined as 'a lect characterizing a group of speakers', an idiolect as 'a lect characterizing a single speaker' and a style as 'a lect characterizing one mode or phase of an idiolect'.

III. Dialectal Variation

Any community of speakers of a language will be subdivided into groups according to various parameters, each of which will exhibit some linguistic features different from those of other groups. Those five parameters are geography, class, racial or ethnic identity, sex, and age.

There are numerous dimensions of variation in language (e.g. Variation from one style to another, from regional or Social Variety to another, from one period in the history of a language to another and from one language to another). Of these dimensions, space and time (dimension) are said to be "natural" dimensions. Variation in space forms the subject matter of Linguistic Geography and Variation in time forms the subject matter of Historical linguistics.

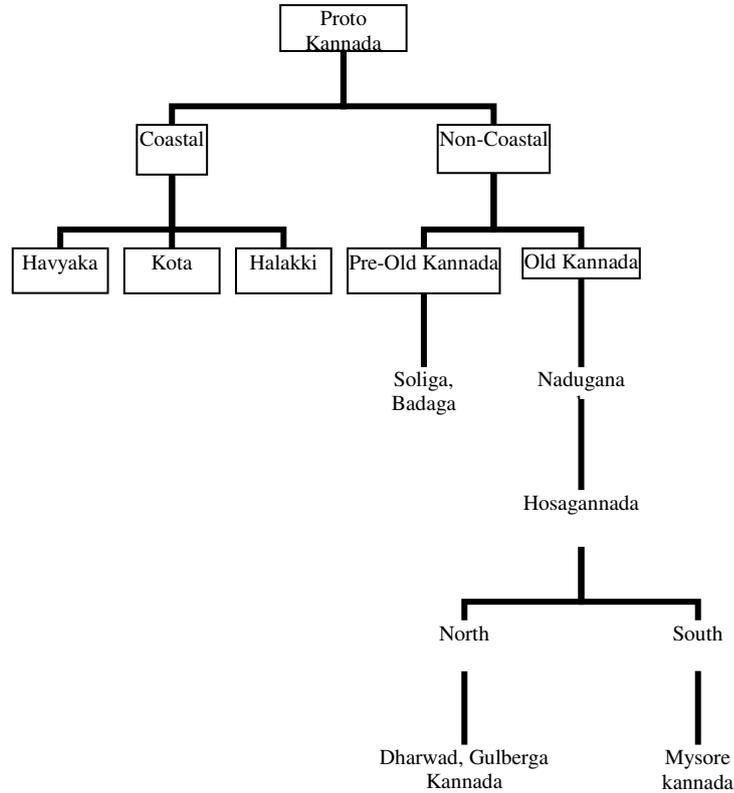
Linguistic Variation is correlated with the social status of the speaker; this may be termed a variety of Sociolinguistic Variation. Other cases of Linguistic Variation are correlated not primarily with the identity of persons (speakers), but with other factors in the Social and Cultural context. A type of variation, which is familiar in most societies, is correlated with the difference between formal and informal situations. Ferguson (1959 a) has applied "Diglossia" to this type of linguistic variation. Indian caste system exhibits the social levels with which linguistic variation is correlated the present study explains the different dialectal variations of Kannada which are evolved from the period of proto Kannada.

Kannada language spoken in Karnataka which is bounded on the north by Maharashtra, North East by A.P., East by Tamilnadu, south by Kerala and west by sea. The term 'Karnataka' is mentioned for the first time in Pampa's Mahabharata (10th c). The language 'Kannada' has long history of 2000 years. The earliest written document in Kannada is the Halmidi inscription of about 450 A.D. From that date, onwards

Kannada inscriptions are found in plenty. The language of the early inscriptions is usually termed as pre-old Kannada (Purvada haḷagannaDa). The language of Jain poets between 10thc and 13thc. is called as haḷagannaḍa. After 13thc Veerasaiva poets play an important role in creating a variety of language upto 16th and 17thc. Which is known as naḍugannaḍa. The modern Kannada or hosagannaḍa starts from 17thc. This is the time dimension to recognize the Variation in Kannada. These varieties also represent geographically to distinguish the distinction between north and south. The modern Kannada resembles mostly Mysore Kannada, which is known as southern Kannada. Naḍugannaḍa shows similarities with the variety of present day northern Kannada (mostly Dharwad & Gulberga). The coastal variety of Kannada is entirely different from south and north varieties. So, we can also show another geographical division called Purva and paschima (D.N.S. Bhat 1995:57).

There are also social dialects in the language of Kannada apart from regional dialects. The caste dialects like Brahmin and non-Brahmin (Betṭa Kurumba, Jeenu Kurumba, Havana, Hadaka, Baraga, Korana etc) Varieties differ from other varieties. The other type of formal and informal varieties is very common in Kannada. The standard varieties have been evolved for south and north separately.

The varieties of Kannada evolved from Proto Kannada can be shown below:



IV. Geographical Variation

Before advancement of the Technology like modes of Transportation and communication in 20th & 21st centuries, it was very difficult for most of the speakers who lived more than a few miles away to converse with other speakers. Even limited speakers of a speech community show the language variation due to some sort of group loyalty or identity. The single village or tribe of a few hundred people has traditionally been assumed by Dialectologists to be the first place to look for distinctive linguistic variation. Larger geographical

subdivisions, set apart by political, economic, linguistic and geographical barriers are characterized by their own dialect variation. Especially at the border places, the speakers of a language are very much influenced by the speakers of other languages. So local dialects are invariably corrupted and it further leads to another type of language (Linguistic Variation). Karnataka where Kannada is spoken is bounded by Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Goa and Maharashtra states. Hence, the Geographical Variations in Kannada are in plenty. Five major languages viz. Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Konkan and Marathi are in close contact along the border areas. The studies have been carried out by the scholars in those border areas to show the dialectal variations in Kannada (B. Ramachandra Rao, 1978).

In standard Kannada, generally oblique stems are formed by adding -d-, -in-, -ya- to the nominal bases ending in -a, -u and -i/-e respectively before the locative and ablative suffixes -alli, -aga and -inda. In border Kannada, oblique stems are formed without much rigidity. (See B. Ramachandra Rao, 1984)

<i>E.g.</i>	aḍviyoḷaga	'in the forest' (Rayachur)
	aḍayyāga	'in the forest' (Bellary)
	aḍavidalli	'in the forest' (Zaheerabad)
	aḍavidāga	'in the forest' (Bodhan)
	aḍvinalli	'in the forest' (Madanapalli)
	aḍviyāga	'in the forest' (Narayan Khed)
	aḍvidāga	'in the forest' (Tandur)
	aḍidāga	'in the forest' (Chincholi)
	aḍeyāga	'in the forest' (Bidar)
	aḍvināga	'in the forest' (Ayija)
	aḍaviyāge	'in the forest' (Gadwal)
	kāḍṇal	'in the forest' (Mysore Colloquial)

The above example shows its flexible usage in different areas

of A.P. -Karnataka border. It can also show the difference in other border areas of Karnataka. Hence, it gives scope to identify the different dialectal variations in Kannada.

Geographically, the dialects of Kannada can be classified into four classes viz. 1. South and North 2. East and West 3. Coastal 4. Border Kannada. All these classes show clear-cut differences between them (see. D.N.S. Bhat's KannaDa BhaaSeya Kalpita caritre, 1995). Among these dialects, the standard dialect has been evolved for written compositions.

We can show some examples for dialectal variation between Mysore and Gulberga

<i>E.g.Stnd. Kannada</i>	<i>Mysore</i>	<i>Gulbarga</i>	<i>gloss</i>
aḍike	aḍke	aḍki	'betel nut'
koḷe	koḷi	kwaḷi	'dirt'
kāge	kāge	kāgi	'cock'
kudure	kudre	kudri	'horse'
bāgilu	bāglu	bāgli	'door'
heggaṇa	eggaṇa	hegṇa	'bandicoot'
sāsive	sāsve	sāsvi	'mustard'
ele	yale	yali	'leaf'

In most of the dialects of Kannada, the initial h is dropped especially in border areas of A.P. and Karnataka.

<i>E.g. Stnd. Kannaḍa</i>	<i>Border Kannada</i>	<i>gloss</i>
hattu	attu/ottu	'ten'
hūvu	ūva/vūva	'flowers'
huḍuku	vuḍuku	'search'
hottu	vottu	'time'
hoge	vage	'smoke'
hola	vola	'field'
haḷḷi	aḷḷi	'village'

The glides ‘y’ and ‘v’ are also occurred before word initial vowels i, e and u, o respectively.

<i>E.g.</i>	hittu	yittu	‘powder’
	heṅṅu	yeṅṅu	‘woman/bride’
	hūvu	vuvu	‘flowers’
	huḍuku	vuḍuku	‘search’
	hottu	vottu	‘time’
	hoge	vage	‘smoke’
	hola	vola	‘field’

In Dharwad Kannada, dental pronunciation is found before word initial vowels i and a (see Hiremath 1961).

<i>E.g.</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Dharwad</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	cūre	tsūru	‘piece’
	jūju	djūju	‘gambling’
	jōru	djōru	‘fast’

In Hosur Kannada, k becomes c and g becomes j at the initial position.

<i>E.g.</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Hosur</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	kivi	civi	‘ear’
	kelasa	celsa	‘work’
	kīvu	cīvu	‘puss’
	giḷi	jiṅi	‘parrot’
	gellu	jellu	‘to win’
	gīru	jīru	‘to scratch’

In Costal Kannada s becomes c at word initial and final positions.

<i>E.g.</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Costal Halakki</i>	<i>Soliga</i>	<i>gloss</i>
	sāsive	cācavi	cācave	‘mustard’
	siḍilu	ceḍlu	ceḍilu	‘Thunder’
	soppu	coppu	coppu	‘green leaves’
	hengasu	hencu	hengacu	‘woman’

In Havyaka Kannada, the final consonant gets gemminated in trisyllabic words.

<i>E.g. Standard</i>	<i>Havyaka</i>	<i>gloss</i>
harake	harakke	'vow'
huḍuku	huḍukku	'search'
kirucu	kuruccu	'cry'
naḍate	naḍatte	'behaviour'

In Gowda Kannada, the gemmination is lost at final in trisyllabic words.

<i>E.g. Standard</i>	<i>Gowda Kannada</i>	<i>gloss</i>
nīruḷi	nīruḷi	'onions'
cikkappa	cikkapa	'younger father'
doḍḍamma	doḍḍava	'elder mother'

V. Social Variation

In the same geographical area, the different kinds of people show variations in their language. They may be labourers, farmers, craftsmen, teachers and other privileged classes. The social dialect is often used for diverse forms of class based linguistic variation. It is also called sociolinguistic variation. The Indian sub-continent is good field for the study of sociolinguistic variations. Indian caste system makes for easy recognition of the social levels with which linguistic variation is correlated. In Dharwad, there are three styles of conversational Kannada, which correspond to the three main cleavages in the social system the Brahmin, the non-Brahmin and the Harijan (McCormack, 1960). In Kannada, overlying the dialect differences, which correspond to caste and geography, there is a single formal style which all educated people use in certain situations in lecturing, in dramatic performances and in all written compositions. The following table will clearly show the formal and informal or colloquial dialects of Brahmins and non-Brahmins:

<i>E.g. Formal</i>	<i>Brahmin</i>	<i>Non-Brahmin</i>	<i>gloss</i>
hesaru	hesru	yesru	'name'
manuSya	manSya	mansa	'man'
snēhita	snēyta	sinēyta	'friend'
kSamisu	kSemsu	cemsu	'excuse'
māḍuvudakke	māḍoke	māḍakke	'for doing'
māḍuvudilla	māḍolla	māḍalla	'doesn't do'
maduvege	madvege	maduvke	'to a wedding'
baṇḍiyalli	baṇḍili	baṇḍiāgi	'in a cart'

The Brahmin and non-Brahmin dialects of Modern Kannada show historical changes from old Kannada and Medieval Kannada. There are also other variations like ethnic variations, stylistic variations etc. in Kannada language. The Baḍaga and Soliga dialects of Kannada represent mostly the naḍugannaḍa variety. The difference between r (e) and r (o) is being maintained in Baḍaga and Soliga dialects (See. K.S. Gowda, 1968)

<i>E.g. Baḍaga</i>		<i>Soliga</i>	
mari	'calf'	nari	'fox'
mūru	'three'	maru	'chest'
cere	'mud'	bēru	'root'
		tere	'open the door'
			'tide'

IV. Conclusion

The dialects of Kannada have been evolved from the period of Proto Kannada. These dialects show some historical changes. The varieties of Kannada show the flexibility of the language and help in identifying the social structure and Linguistic variation at different levels. The present study provides an understanding to recognize various kinds of dialects of Kannada.

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STATUS OF DRAVIDIAN TRIBAL LANGUAGES IN KERALA

Dr. S. Prema

Abstract

In continuation of UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley: 2010) an attempt is made in this paper to assess the endangerment of tribal languages in Kerala. UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment (UNESCO: 2003) is used to assess the endangerment of tribal languages in Kerala. Based on the preliminary assessment of comparatively less reliable secondary materials, the paper argues that except the relatively safe languages Irula, Kanikkara, Kurichya, all the tribal languages in Kerala state have undergone different types of endangerment. On the basis of this primary survey a detailed study is called for.

I. Introduction

This paper is a preliminary attempt to discuss the language endangerment in Dravidian context with special reference to the tribal languages of Kerala. First part of the paper explicates the idea of endangerment with the current state of knowledge of the issue. Secondly, the endangerment situation of Dravidian languages is discussed based on the *World Atlas of Language Endangerment* (henceforth: WALE). Thirdly, based on WALE the endangerment status of tribal languages in Kerala is assessed.

II. Language Endangerment

Endangerment is a negative term represents an unfair situation in which the natural existence of a being is under threat. In linguistics, the term represents a set of unsafe phenomenon of language vitality with different degree of endangerment where the specific language or a group of languages are potentially in danger. It was in 1991 *LSA Endangerment Symposium* held at United States initiated the discourse of language endangerment which sensitised linguists around the world followed by a number deliberations by UNESCO and other governmental and nongovernmental organisations at regional and global level. Ken Kenneth Hale article on *Endangered Languages* (Hale 1992) appeared on *Language* played a triggering role to

spread the idea among the linguists. Now the idea of endangerment is part of commonsense; number of articles, featured columns are appearing in newspapers with “hyperbolic valorization” (Hill 2002) and even with a tone of sympathy to the speakers of the languages. David Crystal (2000) *Language Death* popularised the idea even among the nonprofessionals who are not trained in linguistics and attracted them to the issue which was never been a public concern. Therefore, I can safely say that language endangerment is a public issue now. Like any other idea, which is being popularised, the idea of endangerment also lost its content, complexities and of course, the philosophical bases of the concern. As I mentioned in the beginning, the endangerment of a living language is not a state but a degree. Therefore, there exists only language death, extinction and degree of endangerment. The degree of endangerment is antithetical to the degree of the vitality of a language. The high degree of vitality of a language represents low degree of endangerment and vice versa. Therefore, degree of language endangerment can be assessed based on the degree of vitality of language. There are many standards used to assess the vitality of language. *Language Vitality and Endangerment* developed by UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages and later adopted by the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages held in 2003, Paris is the standard scale for assessing language vitality and endangerment. According to this, languages are classified into six groups as given below:

High degree of vitality	Degree of language vitality and endangerment	Low degree of endangerment
	<p>Safe: 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</p> <p>Vulnerable: Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)</p> <p>Critically endangered: The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently</p> <p>Definitely endangered: Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home</p> <p>Severely endangered: 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</p> <p>Extinct: An extinct language is a language that no longer has any speakers.</p>	
Low degree of vitality		High degree of endangerment

The above stated vitality can be measured based on nine factors: (1) intergenerational language transmission, (2) absolute number of speakers, (3) proportion of speakers within the total population, (4) shifts in domains of language use, (5) response to new domains and media (6) availability of materials for language education and literacy (7) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, (8) Community members' attitudes towards their own language and (9) type and quality of documentation; (see **Appendix: 1 for details**).

III. Engenderment of Dravidian Languages

Based on number of speakers, Dravidian family of language continues the status of the third largest family of language in the world. The numbers of Dravidian language speakers are 214 million in South Asia and represent the 20.82 percent of Indian population. Standard literature recognized 26 languages as independent languages in the family. Based on number of speakers Telugu is first in India and 14th in the world followed by Tamil. The recent article titled *Endangered language families* by D. H. Whalen and Gary F. Simons appeared in *Language* (Whalen 2012) states that Dravidian language family, in border sense *Dravidian linguistic stock* (the largest subgroups of related languages that are reconstructable) is safe from endangerment based on the fact that many of the languages in this stock has the speakers more than 3, 40,000. Following are the list of Dravidian languages listed by WALE (Moseley 2010) with different degree of endangerment;

Status	Dravidian languages
Safe	Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam (4)
Vulnerable (unsafe)	Gondi, Irula , Koda, Kui, Kurux, Tulu (6)
Critically endangered [C.E]	Gadaba , Koraga, Kota, Kurumba , Manda, Naiki, Parji, Pengo, Toda (9)
Definitely endangered [D. E]	Badaga, Kodagu, Kolami, Konda, Kuvi and Malto (7)
Severely endangered [S.E.]	No languages is reported
Extinct	No languages is reported

IV. Endangerment of Dravidian Languages in Kerala

Among the above listed endangered languages in WALE (Moseley 2010) only Kurumba and Irula are included from Kerala. It doesn't mean that other tribal languages in Kerala are safe. Therefore, an additional attempt is necessary to assess the status of tribal languages in Kerala. The first problem which is not at all settled even today is the status of tribal languages in Kerala. There are 35 tribal communities in Kerala, there is no doubt that all of them are speaking the speech forms which is different from Malayalam and some of them appear to be close to Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada. This made an inconsistency and an absence of conscience among linguists about whether these speech forms can be considered as separate language or dialects of any recognized independent languages. On the ground of this fact of inconsistency about the independent status of languages the speech forms of each community is considered here. Based on the analysis of the data collected from secondary sources (**See the data sheet Appendix: 2**) different type of language endangerment of tribal languages in Kerala is given below in the table.

Type of endangerment	No.	Name of the speech forms
Relatively safe	4	Irula, Paniyan, Kanikkar, Kurichya
Unsafe	6	Mavilan, Adiyam, Kuruman, Mannan, Muthuvan and Vettakuruman
definitively endangered	14	Karimpalan, Mudugar, Kochuvelan\Ulladan, kurumbar, Malavettuvan, Hill pulaya Kattunaikkan, Malappandaram, Malavedan, Malayan, Palaiyan, Cholanaikkan, Urali, Kadar
Severely endangered	2	Malasar, Wayanad kadar
critically endangered	8	Aranadan, Kudiya/ melekudi, Mahamalar, Koraga, Malapanickar, Malaarayan Eravallan, Malakkuravan
extinct	0	No languages reported

V. Conclusion

The idea of endangerment is discussed in the first part of the paper followed by an introduction of nine factors which determine the vitality and endangerment. This preliminary study -based on the relatively less reliable secondary materials- found that 90 percent of the tribal languages in Kerala are undergone different degree of endangerment. Irula, Kanikkar and Kurichya are the only relatively safe languages. The observed increase of language endangerment among the tribal speech of Kerala could be more or less attributed to the non-availability of literary materials for language education in their mother tongue and their active assimilation towards dominant

language and culture. The evidence from this study suggests that the status of tribal languages in Kerala is critical. Therefore, a detailed study based on primary data and extensive field work is an imperative to assess the critical situation which might have been over represented or under represented by this study.

Appendix: 1: UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission: This is an important factor appraises the vitality of a language by considering the transmission of language from one generation to the next. Endangerment can be graded on a continuum from stability to extinction.

Status	Grade	Description
Safe	5	The language is spoken by <i>all generations</i> .
unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains
Definitely Endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
critically endangered	1	The language is used by very few speakers, mostly of great-grandparental generation.
Extinct	0	There is no one who can speak or remember the language.

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers: Compared to the large group, the small speech community is more exposed to

decimate or merge with the dominant group or neighbouring group and lose their own language and culture.

Status	Grade	Number of population
Safe	5	35,000-
unsafe	4	25,000- 35, 000
definitely endangered	3	10,000- 25,000
severely endangered	2	1, 000- 10,000
critically endangered	1	500- 1000
extinct	0	below 500

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population: The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a speech community is an important sign of language vitality.

Status	Grade	Proportion of speakers within the total Population
safe	5	All speak the language
unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language
Definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language
severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language
critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language
extinct	0	None speak the language

Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains: The use of language in various domains may affect transmission of language from one generation to the next.

Status	Grade	Domain and function
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.

Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media: The adoption of the language in to the emerging new areas like media, schools, broadcast and internet expand their own language in a wider sense. If their language could not meet the challenges of modernisation, it becomes increasingly inappropriate and stigmatized.

Status	Grade	New Domains and Media
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
Coping	2	The language is used in some new domains

Minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
Inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy:

Every language community have rich and strong oral literature and education through their own language is a source of pride.

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language

Attitudes: The government may have an explicit language use policy for all minor and major languages in which the dominant language may get high official status.

Degree of support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
Equal support	5	All languages are protected
Differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious
Passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
Active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
Forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
Prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language: The attitude towards one's own language is a determining factor.

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language
5	<i>All</i> members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	<i>Most</i> members support language maintenance.
3	<i>Many</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.

2	<i>Some</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only <i>a few</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	<i>No one</i> cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

Factor 9: Type and quality of documentation: Status of documentation is classified into six based on the nature of documentation.

Nature of documentation	Grade	Language documentation
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts, and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high quality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There is one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
Fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient numbers of grammars, dictionaries and texts but no everyday media; audio and video recordings of varying quality or degree of annotation may exist.

<i>Fragmentary</i>	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings of varying quality, with or without any annotation, may exist.
<i>Inadequate</i>	1	There are only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality or are completely un-annotated
<i>Undocumented</i>	0	No material exists.

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Appendix: 2 Brief Data Sheet

Name of the speech form	Nine factors of language vitality									Grade	T. E.
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9		
Irular	Safe (R. S.)	25,000-35, 000	D. E.	<i>M. L. P.</i>	<i>R</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>All</i>	<i>FRG</i>	26	<i>R..S.</i>
Paniyan	D. E.	35,000-	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>R</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	23	<i>R..S.</i>
Kanikkaran	D. E.	10,000-25,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>FRG</i>	21	<i>R..S.</i>
Kurichyan	D. E.	35,000-	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	21	<i>R..S.</i>
Mavilan	D. E.	25,000-35, 000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	20	<i>unsafe</i>
Adiyan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>R</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	20	<i>unsafe</i>
Kuruman	D. E.	25,000-35, 000	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	20	<i>unsafe</i>
Mannan	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Most</i>	<i>INA</i>	20	<i>unsafe</i>

Muthuvan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	20	<i>unsafe</i>
Vettakuruman	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>R</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	19	D. E.
Karimpalan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	19	D. E.
Mudugar	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	19	D. E.
Kurumbar	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>FRG</i>	19	D. E.
Kochuvelan\Ulladan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	D. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	18	D. E.
Malavettuvan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	18	D. E.
Hill Pulaya	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	D. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Most</i>	<i>INA</i>	18	D. E.
Kattunaikkan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	S. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.

Malavettuvan	D. E.	10,000-25,000	S. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.
Malappandaram	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	D. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.
Malavedan	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	D. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.
Malayan	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.
Palleyan	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.
Kadar	S. E.	1, 000-10,000	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>D. D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	17	D. E.
Uraly	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	16	D. E.
Cholanaikkan	D. E.	below 500	D. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	15	D. E.
Malasar	D. E.	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	15	D. E.

Wayanad Kadar	S. E.	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	15	D. E.
Kudiya/melekudi	S. E.	500- 1000	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	13	<i>C. E.</i>
Mahamalar	<i>C. E.</i>	500- 1000	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Many</i>	<i>INA</i>	13	<i>C. E.</i>
Aranadan	S. E.	below 500	S. E.	<i>L. F. D</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Only a few</i>	<i>INA</i>	12	<i>C. E.</i>
Koraga	S. E.	1, 000-10,000	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	11	<i>C. E.</i>
Malapanickar	D. E.	500- 1000	S. E.	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Only a few</i>	<i>INA</i>	11	<i>C. E.</i>
Malaarayan	S. E.	1, 000-10,000	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Some</i>	<i>INA</i>	11	<i>C. E.</i>
Eravallan	<i>C. E.</i>	1, 000-10,000	S. E.	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Only a few</i>	<i>INA</i>	11	<i>C. E.</i>
Thachanadan moopan	<i>C. E.</i>	1, 000-10,000	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Only a few</i>	<i>INA</i>	11	<i>C. E.</i>
Malakkuravan	<i>C. E.</i>	below 500	<i>C. E.</i>	<i>H.L.D.</i>	<i>C</i>	N.Ort.	A. A.	<i>Only a few</i>	<i>INA</i>	9	<i>C. E.</i>
General pattern	94	79	78	82	70	0	35	85	38		

of vitality										
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LEGEND:

N.Ort. *No orthography;***A. A.** *Active assimilation'***INA** *inadequate;***F1** *Intergenerational Language Transmission;***F3** *Proportion of Speakers***F5** *Response to New Domains and Media***F7** *Language Attitudes and Policies***F9** *Type and Quality of Documentation***D. E** *Definitely endangered***L. F. D** *Limited or formal domains***R..S.** *Relatively safe***FRG** *Fragmentary***F2** *Absolute Number of Speakers (population range)***F4** *Shifts in Domains of Language Use***F6** *Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy***F8** *Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language***C.E** *Critically endangered***S.E.** *Severely endangered*

LEXICAL LEVEL-ORDERING IN TELUGU: A PHONOLOGICAL STUDY

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Abstract

This paper looks into the lexical level ordering in Telugu via vowel harmony. Telugu is one of the south Indian languages spoken in Andhra Pradesh of India. However, the data is taken from the dialect spoken in Krishna and Guntur districts of the state. Vowel Harmony is basic issue of investigation in the paper. Vowel lowering is the phonological cue to level-order the Telugu lexicon. Finally, the paper proposes two levels for Telugu lexicon. On level-I, affixation and inflections can be placed while compounding and inflections are placed on level-II.

I. Introduction

Kiparsky (1982, 1985), Halle and Mohanan (1985), Sailaja (1992), and others have developed the theory of lexical phonology, which deals with the interface between phonology and morphology. The basic question in lexical phonology is: Are phonetic realizations of words determined by their morphological structure or not? In this connection, Kiparsky (ibid.) proposes three levels for English lexicon based on morphological affixation processes whereas Halle and Mohanan (ibid.) examine the same English lexicon from a phonological perspective and propose four levels. Sailaja (1992) argues that level-ordering should not be based entirely on phonological criteria [as in Halle and Mohanan (1985) and Mohanan (1986)], but on morphological criteria [as in Siegal (1974), Allen (1978) and Kiparsky (1982, 1983)]. Based on this assumption, she proposes two levels for Telugu lexicon: Level -I (derivations, gerunds, compounds and plurals) and Level-II (inflections). However, the analyses made by Kriparsky, Halle and Mohanan, and Sailaja cannot be applied without problems to Telugu lexical level-ordering in view of neglecting vowel harmony. Therefore, there is a need to look afresh at the Telugu lexical level-ordering and provide a principled account based on vowel harmony.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to examine a large corpus of Telugu on vowel harmony and motivate lexical level

ordering in Telugu in the Ka:rmik Linguistic Paradigm (see Bhuvaneshwar 2013a).

II. Literature Review

In this section, English lexicon and Telugu lexicon and their level-ordering by Kiparsky (1992a), Halle and Mohanan (1985), and Sailaja (1992) are reviewed. From this review, it has been found out that there are some critical issues, which have not been adequately explained by these phonologists. These issues are also highlighted to show the inadequacies of such analyses and pave the way for Ka:rmik phonological analysis.

2.1. English Lexicon

Lexical Phonology basically proposes that the Word formation Rules (WFRs) and the lexical phonological rules can be partitioned into a series of levels or strata and that each morphological affixation process takes place at a particular stratum. For English lexicon, Kiparsky (1992a) suggests three levels. According to him, primary inflections and primary derivations will be at level-I. Primary inflections include the umlaut of tooth - teeth, the ablaut of sing - sang, and the past tense [-t] of sleep - [slep] t in addition to the primary derivational affixes in such items as [[pyramid]al], [[omen]ous], [[dep]th], [im[potent]]. Secondary derivation illustrated by the affixes in [un[happy]], [[lovely]ness], [[labor]er] will be at level-II. Regular inflections like the plural markers in [[cat]s], and [[pleat]ed] are at level-III. These are the three levels suggested for the English lexicon by Kiparsky.

On the contrary, Halle and Mohanan (1985) suggests four levels for the same English lexicon. According to them, primary inflections and derivations take place at level-I, whereas secondary derivations take place at level-III and

compounding at level-II. At level-IV, regular inflections take place.

The two important differences between these two models are:

1. Kiparsky's model puts secondary derivation and compounding at the same level whereas Halle and Mohanan's puts them at two different levels.
2. Kiparsky's model won't allow the loop, but Halle and Mohanan's allows it.

2.2. *Telugu Lexicon*

Sailaja (1992) argues that level-ordering should not be based entirely on phonological criteria [as in Halle and Mohanan (1985) and Mohanan (1986)], but on morphological criteria [as in Siegal (1974), Allen (1978) and Kiparsky (1982, 1983)]. The morphological criteria for level-ordering are feeding and counter feeding relations between word formation processes. In this regard, Sailaja claims that mutually feeding word formation processes are at the same level. To show this, she has taken derivations, compounds, gerunds and plurals of Telugu into consideration.

She claims that Telugu sub-compounds and plurals feed each other as shown in ra:ṭaballa → ra:ṭaballalu which means "writing tables" and ka||aḍḍo:ḍu which means "spectacles" in which the left stem is in the plural form. She also claims that Telugu sub-compounds and co-compounds are input to each other. Sub-compounds are inputs to co-compounds as in [picci+pullajja] + [verri+venkajja] which means "mad Pullaiah and crazy Venkaiah". And co-compounds are inputs to sub-compounds as illustrated in [ḍḍe:ṭi+maṭam] + viḍve:ḥam → ḍḍa:ṭimaṭaviḍve:ḥa:lu which means "hatred of caste and religion". Another of her claims is that Telugu derivations and gerunds feed plurals. Derivations feed plurals as exemplified in cu:pu + lu → cu:pulu which means 'looks' and gerunds feed

plurals as shown in ra:jaḍam + lu → ra:jaḍa:lu which means “the acts of writing”. She also claims that Telugu plurals feed co-compounds as in i||u:va:ki||u which means “houses and courtyards”.

She further claims that Telugu derivational affixation and sub-compounding are inputs to each other. Derivational affixation feeds compounding as in [[[ra:j]ṭa] balla] which means “writing table”. Lastly, she claims that Telugu gerunds are seen inside sub-compounds as shown in kaṭṭaḍapune:rpu “the skill of building”.

According to Sailaja all, the aforementioned morphological processes are in mutually feeding relation. Hence, she puts Telugu derivations, gerunds, compounds and plurals at the same level (i.e. level-I) and inflections at level-II.

2.3. Problematic Issues

At this juncture, this paper examines these claims to some extent. Here, two of her claims can be contested. She claims that derivational affixes and sub-compounds are inputs to each other. It means that both of these processes are in mutually feeding relation. Hence, derivational affixes and compounds will be at the same level. But there is no evidence for that the derivational affixes and co-compounds are inputs to each other. It means that in Telugu we can't find the structure as [derivational affix + [N+N]]. This is one problem with Sailaja's claims.

She also claims that Telugu gerunds are seen inside sub-compounds as in kaṭṭaḍapune:rpu which means “the skill of building”. But the Telugu suffix [-aḍam] has two forms. They are [-aḍam] the gerundival suffix and [-aḍam(u)] the nominal suffix. Sometimes -u in [-aḍam(u)] gets deleted. Here, it is not the gerundival suffix that we see in sub-compounds but the nominal suffix. Then the process will be as follows:

kattadamu | ne:rpu → kattadapune:rpu
 building skill skill of building”.

In this process, ‘m’ gets devoiced and plosivised (m→p). Moreover, this formation is not productive at all in Telugu. So, this is another problem with Sailaja’s claims. Hence, this paper examines some more details related to lexical level-ordering in Telugu.

In view of the aforementioned problems, there is a need to reexamine lexical level-ordering in a new model which is presented Section 4.

III. Materials, Methods, and Framework

For this, we would like to take the interaction between morphology and phonology into consideration. Phonological behaviour in the word-formation processes has been concentrated upon here. However, generative framework is adopted for the study.

3.1. Data

For the present morphophonological investigation, the required data has been taken from the Telugu spoken in Krishna and Guntur districts. This paper pays attention on some Telugu nouns and verbs and son morphological processes - Derivational affixation, gerundival affixation, and compounding. However, the phonological behaviour of the vowels [e:] and [e:], and [o:] and [o:] are central for the investigation. With regard to these vowels, it is postulated that there is vowel harmony among the vowels.

3.2. Vowel Harmony

The word forms in the data below are the actual written forms presented in roman script. The phonetic form is the actual spoken form presented in International Phonetic Alphabet

(IPA). All the eight words in both the sets are disyllabic words.

All the first syllables in the words *me:ku* and *pe:du* of set-I and *me:ka* and *pe:da* of set-II can be paid special attention and it can be noticed that

- their nuclei are the same in their written form, and
- their nuclei in set-I are different from the nuclei in set-II in their phonetic form.

These two observations stand true even for the other four words of the data *i.e.* *go:du* and *po:tu* of set-I and *go:da* and *po:ta* of set-II. Now, the following data can be observed phonologically.

SET I			SET II		
Word	Phonetic form	Gloss	Word	Phonetic form	Gloss
mee <u>ku</u>	[me:ku]	nail	mee <u>ka</u>	[me:ka]	goat
pee <u>du</u>	[pe:du]	billets of wood	pee <u>da</u>	[pe:da]	dung of cattle
goo <u>du</u>	[go:du]	grief	goo <u>da</u>	[go:da]	wall
po <u>o</u> th <u>u</u>	[po:tu]	male	po <u>o</u> th <u>a</u>	[po:ta]	pouring

In the above data, it is obvious that vowel lowering has taken place in the words presented under set-I and set-II. For instance, in the words ‘meeku’ and ‘meeka’, though ‘ee’ has occurred in the same phonetic environment [m - k], it is realized as [e:] in ‘me:ku’ and [e:] in ‘me:ka’. Similarly, in the case of ‘goodu’ and ‘gooda’, ‘oo’ has realized as [o:] in ‘go:du’ and [o:] in ‘go:da’ in the same phonetic environment [g - d]. If we examine the data, it can be observed that the vowel

in the first syllables of the words in the set-II is caused by the vowel in the following syllable. Hence, the following phonological rules can be established.

- A) [e:] → [e:] / $\frac{\sigma}{C _} - \frac{\sigma}{Cu}$
 B) [e:] → [æ] / $\frac{\sigma}{C _} - \frac{\sigma}{Ca}$
 C) [o:] → [o:] / $\frac{\sigma}{C _} - \frac{\sigma}{Cu}$
 D) [o:] → [ɔ:] / $\frac{\sigma}{C _} - \frac{\sigma}{Ca}$

3.3. Derivational affixation

Examine the derivational affixation in Telugu in the following words. In Telugu, - ta is a derivational morpheme as shown in the words below.

- i. [[me:j]_V ta]_N → [me:ta] ‘fodder’
 ii. [[ce:j]_V ta]_N → [ce:ta] ‘action’
 iii. [[ne:j]_V ta]_N → [ne:ta] ‘weaving’
 iv. [[mo:j]_V ta]_N → [mo:ta] ‘load’
 v. [[po:j]_V ta]_N → [po:ta] ‘pouring’

In the above candidates - i, ii, and iii, [a] in the derivational suffix - ta influences [e:] in the roots [me:j], [ce:j], and [ne:j]. In iv and v, [a] in the derivational suffix - ta influences [o:] in the verbal roots [mo:j] and [po:j]. Now, let us look into the verbal forms of the above nouns.

- vi. [[me: j] u] → [me: ju] ‘graze’
 vii. [[ce: j] u] → [ce: ju] ‘do’
 viii. [[ne: j] u] → [ne:ju] ‘weave’
 ix. [[m o: j] u] → [m o:ju] ‘load’
 x. [[po: j] u] → [po:ju] ‘pour’

It can be noticed that [e:] and [o:] in the above verbal forms are not influenced by the [u] the verbal ending. Hence, [u]

preserves the quality of [e:] and [o:] of the root forms whereas [a] affects the quality of [e:] and [o:]. Phonologically, it can be interpreted that vowel lowering of [e:] and [o:] is caused by the vowel [a] in the above context. Let us examine the phonological behavior – vowel lowering further in the context of some morphological formations.

3.4 Gerundival affixation

Verb form	Gloss	Gerundivisedform	Gloss
i. pe: nu	‘to wine’	pe:naɖam	‘twining’
ii. ne:rpu	‘to teach’	ne:rpaɖam	‘teaching’
iii. le:pu	‘to awaken’	le:paɖam	‘awakening’
iv. pe:lcu	‘to shoot’	pe:lcaɖam	‘shooting’
v. me:pu	‘to feed’	me:paɖam	‘feeding’
vi. mo:pu	‘to set’	mo:paɖam	‘setting’
vii. ʈo:pu	‘to push’	ʈo:paɖam	‘pushing’
viii. mo:gu	‘to ring’	mo:gaɖam	‘ringing’
ix. mo:ɖu	‘to beat’	mo:ɖaɖam	‘beating’
x. po:lcu	‘to compare’	po:lcaɖam	‘comparing’

In the above mentioned data, it is very clear that vowel lowering has taken place only after the affixation of the gerundival suffix. Hence, it is understood that the gerund - aɖam is in feeding relation with vowel lowering.

3.5 Compounding

i. pe:ka + a:ʈa	→ pe:ka:ʈa	‘gambling’
ii. me: ʈa + mo:pu	→ me: ʈamo:pu	‘bundle of fodder’
iii. ʈe:pa + idɖaru	→ ʈe:pidɖaru	‘every time two’
iv. ɖʒe:na + illu	→ ɖʒe:nillu	‘small house’
v. le:ʈa + i:ne	→ le:ʈi:ne	‘tender vein of leaf’
vi. ʈo:ka + i:ka	→ ʈo:ki:ka	‘tail and feather’
vii. ɖo:ma + uɖbawam	→ ɖo:mo:ɖbawam	‘birth of mosquito’
viii. go:ɖa + u:ca	→ go:ɖu:ca	‘metal bar of wall’

- xi. $\text{to:ka} + \text{uccu} \rightarrow \text{to:kuccu}$ ‘slip knot of tail’
 xii. $\text{mo:ta} + \text{baru}\text{vu} \rightarrow \text{mo:tabaru}\text{vu}$ ‘load weight’

Notice that lowering has taken place prior to compounding. They are after affixation and before compounding. Moreover, the final vowel of the first nouns gets deleted because compounding in this context is in feeding relation with vowel deletion.

IV. Conclusion

After examining all the above morphological and phonological interaction, we may conclude that Telugu lexicon needs to have derivations and gerunds at one level and compounds on the other level. In other words, all the affixations take place at one level and compounding on the other. This gives rise to the problem with the plural affixation. [-lu], since Telugu sub-compounds and plurals feed each other. The most possible explanation is that [-lu] may be permitted at both the levels since it is a structure-preserving affixation and not syntactically transparent.

So, the level-ordering for Telugu lexicon will, now, be as follows:

LEVEL - I	Derivations (except compounds) Inflections	← Vowel Harmony: Vowel Lowering
LEVEL - II	Derivations (only compounds) Inflections	← Vowel Deletion

According to this view, lexical level ordering takes place due to vowel lowering because of vowel harmony. This phenomenon of vowel lowering caused by vowel harmony has not been taken into consideration by Sailaja. As a result, her

lexical level ordering differs from the above mentioned level ordering.

Now, the vowel lowering needs to be paid attention. In the candidates like me:ṭamo:pu ‘bundle of fodder’ and mo:ṭabaruvu ‘load weight’, vowel lowering takes place after affixation and before compounding. However, in the candidates like pe:ka:ṭa ‘gambling’ and go:ḍu:ca ‘metal bar of wall’, vowel lowering can be said to be before compounding but not to be after affixation. What is more, vowel lowering does not take place in the general pronunciation of some dialects such as the Telangana dialect and in standard formal pronunciation in literary works. Therefore, the application of vowel lowering is varied. Hence, motivation of lexical level ordering through vowel lowering has to account for all these variations. In order to motivate these variations in a systematic way we need a causal approach, which is not offered by linguists in any other framework except Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory [KLT] - as far as I know. In the next section, such a causal motivation is offered in the KLT paradigm to provide a principled account of lexical level ordering with more explanatory and descriptive adequacy and psychological validity.

KLT Motivation of Lexical Level ordering in Telugu

According to Bhuvaneshwar, (2013a) language is not only *used* as a resource for the construction of Ka:rmik reality but also *created* out of it. Actional reality is the state of affairs obtained when an action is produced; dispositional reality is the state of disposition that generates-chooses-specifies-directs and materializes actional reality according to its own state of disposition which is a complex of traits, knowledge and va:sanas; and Ka:rmik reality is a state of affairs that is produced by dispositional reality for the ultimate experience of the results of action. From this perspective, all the variations

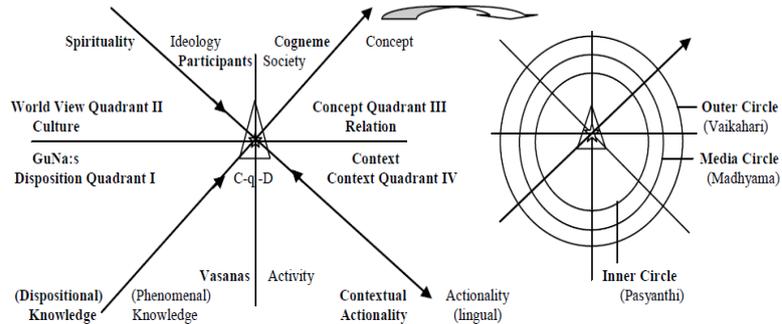
with reference to vowel lowering are a result of dispositional choices made according to the different groups of Telugu speakers. This understanding has a major fall out for analysing Telugu lexical ordering: variations in form are not *form-sensitive* but *disposition-sensitive*. Related to this issue, Bhuvaneshwar (2013b) proposes three important principles for interpreting such dispositionally Generated-Chosen-Specified-Directed-Materialized [GSDMed] variations. They are:

1. WFPs come into existence after a WFP is *dispositionally* created and established by ICCCSA and rules are induced *a posteriori* from the data of the WFP. To elaborate further, disposition GSDMs all lingual action at the individual as well as the general process level and this *qualifying* is what brings about variety-range-depth-uniformity-diversity-complexity-arbitrariness in language. As disposition rules supreme in the *gradual evolution* of the data, the rules become *disposition-sensitive* but *not* form-sensitive. As a result, the formal structure has to be modulated according to the dispositional state at the time of creating and establishing the process and the rules from it. Hence, rules are formed **disposition-sensitively** by motivating formal rules through ICCCSA and not by mere formal-structuration. *Consequently, examples are grouped together into one category according to ICCCSA taking into consideration the **dispositionalization** of formal rule ordering.* This will be clarified in the section *Ka:rmik Linguistic Motivation of Rule Application* later.
2. The rules operate within the *specific domain* and *cultural context* in which the WFP takes place.
3. The rules are *autonomously* formed with/without reference to other rules and hence they may or may not follow/violate other rules.

The same rules can be used to motivate lexical ordering in Telugu as follows.

Motivation of Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony with reference vowel lowering is described and explained in the data presented above. Vowel lowering takes place after affixation before compounding in the candidates like me:ṭamo:pu ‘bundle of fodder’ and mo:ṭabaruvu ‘load weight’. But, in the candidates like pe:ka:ṭa ‘gambling’ and go:ḍu:ca ‘metal bar of wall’ vowel lowering can be said to be before compounding but not to be after affixation - hence the anomaly. This anomaly can be resolved by dispositionalization of the formal processing of vowel lowering. The dispositionalization occurs in a sociocognitive linguistic framework as shown below in the KLT Graphs 1A and 1B according to Bhuvanewar (ibid.)



KLT Graph 1. A. Combined Triaxial Quadrants of Cognitive Actionality ; B. Tricircled D-Q-C Creating Action

In the data taken into consideration, vowel lowering took place in the first syllable due to the vowel occurred in the second syllable. The vowel /a/ occurred in the second syllable is a low vowel and the vowels /e:/ and /o:/ occurred in the first syllable are close-mid vowels. The open (low) vowel /a/ affects /e:/ and /o:/ and lowers them to /e:/ and /o:/ respectively as illustrated in the figure below.

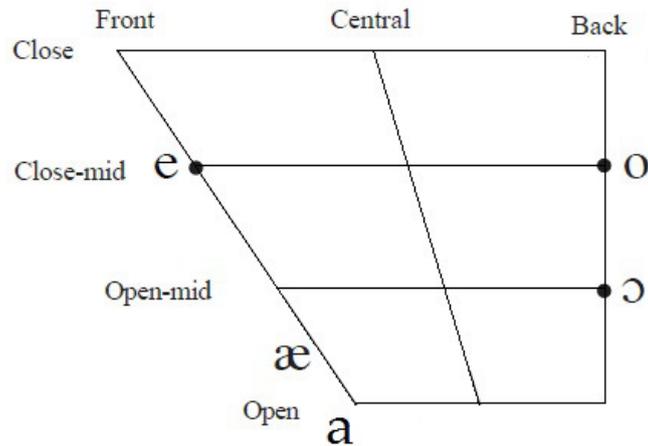


Fig.: *Vowel Diagram*

According to the dispositional choice, the speaker chose less effort as an option. The less effort causes ease of articulation, which leads to vowel lowering. Let us illustrate the dispositional choice of vowel lowering with the examples given below.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| a) | meeka | [me:ka] | ‘goat’ |
| b) | gooda | [go:ɖa] | ‘wall’ |
| c) | me:ɽa | [me:ɽa] | ‘fodder’ |
| d) | mo:ɽa | [mo:ɽa] | ‘load’ |
| e) | me:pu | [me:paɖam] | ‘feeding’ |
| f) | mo:pu | [mo:paɖam] | ‘setting’ |
| g) | pe:ka:ɽa | [pe:ka:ɽa] | ‘gambling’ |
| h) | mo:ɽabaruvu | [mo:ɽabaruvu] | ‘load weight’ |

From the above examples, three occurrences of vowel lowering (VL) can be observed: 1) it takes place before any affixation as in (a) and (b), 2) it takes place after affixation as in (c) and (d), 3) it takes place after compounding as in (e) and (f), and 4) it takes place before compounding as in (g) and (h). This can be explained with reference to the KLT graph 1A as follows.

With reference to the speaker of vowel lowering, his or her dispositional choice impels him or her to cognize the word through ease of articulation that causes vowel lowering. Thus, the above data is dispositionally produced but not derived from Universal Grammar. That is why this vowel lowering is observed in one dialect but not in other dialects (Telangana and Standard Literary Register).

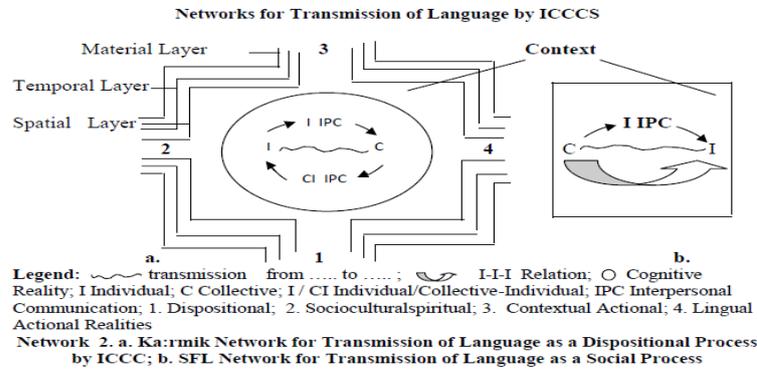
The disposition of a vowel lowering speaker can be interpreted as follows.

The *guNa:s* (traits) of the speaker are *Ta:masik* (inertial). As a result, he/she wants to perform the action of pronouncing the word *Ta:masikally*. This trait impacts on the knowledge of the word and dispositionalizes its pronunciation. In a similar way his/her *va:sana* impacts on the knowledge of the word and executes the pronunciation of the word *Ta:masikally* by the conjunction of the *guNa:s* and *va:sana*. Thus, the formal knowledge of the word gets dispositionalized. At the same time, the knowledge of the word is obtained from the world view quadrant by its reflection in the consciousness qualified disposition (C-q-D). Now, the dispositional impulsion does not take place in isolation but in a context. So, the contextual activity represented in the diagram by the diagonal impacts on the dispositionally cognized knowledge of the word. Finally, the combination of disposition, knowledge, and context get unified into a single phenomenon. This unified dispositional impulsion projects the cogneme of the word with vowel lowering for its realization in a context. In addition, the cogneme is realized with its vowel lowering in a three-stage process: 1) Conceptualization, 2) Patterning and Structure, and 3) Sound form as shown in KLT graph 1B.

As a *Ta:masik* speaker uses the word in interpersonal communication, the other speaker also accepts this pronunciation and further spreads it by analogy. As the word is

used again and again with the same pronunciation, it gets established in the cultural memory of the language community.

From that point onwards, it is transmitted and perpetuated in the language as shown in the following network.

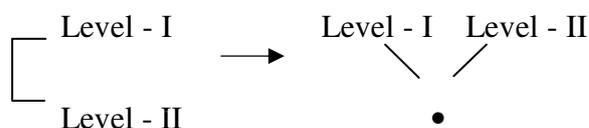


1) I-I-I networking of the word as a network within a network and integration takes place by gradual evolution.

Ka:rmik (Radial) Ordering of Telugu Lexicon

In the generative framework, the lexicon is ordered in a hierarchy. As such, the processes are not psychologically plausible, because in language different levels may be processed in a linear or parallel or cyclic manner from a dynamic perspective. However, when a linguistic process is synoptically viewed, it turns out to be a radial process. To illustrate this point, let us take the case of arrangement of phonology, lexis, syntax, and semantics. In the conceptualization process, we may think of words first and then put them in a syntactic pattern and as a parallel process imbue it with meaning. Then, all these levels will be brought together by binding into a single unified cogneme. In this cogneme, there is no hierarchy, but only an equal status for all the radii - even in creation the concept of hierarchy is an

illusion since a mountain has its own function and a blade of grass its own: none is inferior nor superior. It is captured in the following diagram.



Network 1: Hierarchical and Equi-archival Ordering of Telugu Lexicon

In view of the phenomena of Vowel Lowering and Lexical Level Ordering taking place dispositionally, such an account looks more explanatorily and descriptively adequate and psychologically valid. Hence, Ka:rmik linguistic motivation is better suited for explaining such phenomena in phonology.

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HYPOCORISTIC FORMATION IN URDU

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Abstract

In this paper, a collection of 79 Urdu hypocoristics (UHs) of people's names has been examined. The Urdu hypocoristic formation is found to fall into three broad categories by: 1. Truncation; 2. Truncation and Modification; 3. Sociolinguistic Principle of Analogy. The truncated hypocoristics are found to be essentially formed by first and last part truncation of the name. However, there are a few hypocoristics formed by addition or modification of the existing name: /mādhār/ – /māidan/; /salil/–/sāilab/ (floods). An attempt has been made to motivate the formation of UHs by using the ka:rmik linguistic theory of Bhuvaneshwar (2009, 2013a, b,) since Optimality theory and Generative Grammar cannot satisfactorily account for the randomness in their formation.

I. Introduction

There is a lot of research work going on hypocoristic formation in Australia and New Zealand and already research work has been done on hypocoristic formation in British English.

In India, not much work has been done in this area. However, in Andhra Pradesh, especially, in Telugu, such research work was already attempted by Bhuvaneshwar (2001) in the Prosodic Morphology Theory and later on it was motivated in his new theoretical model, ka:rmik linguistic theory, to overcome the problems of OT and generative grammatical analyses (see Bhuvaneshwar 2005).

Dakhani Urdu is a language spoken by many in Hyderabad and this city has been chosen as the site for conducting research in hypocoristic formation. Since Dakhani Urdu also exhibits *dispositional* variability in the choice of the hypocoristic, KLT is taken as the model to motivate the variable choices in hypocoristic formation.

II. Literature Review

According to Bhuvaneshwar (2001), no work was reported up to 2001 in Indian hypocoristic formation in the generative framework. However, research on hypocoristic formation in other languages across the world has been reported. Recently, there are many analyses on hypocoristics, especially, in Australia and New Zealand. In these countries, hypocoristic formation is very productive and spans across many areas of language (see Bardsley 2010 for details). In addition, the number of variant hypocoristics for a single name can be as big as 12: for the word *sandwich*, there are 12 hypocoristics in Australia which are *sammie*, *sanger*, *sando*, *sanbo*, *sango*, *sandie*, *sangie*, *sanguidge*, *sambo*, *sammo*, *sammidge*, and *sarnie*; for the word *afternoon*, there are seven hypocoristics in Australia which are *arvie*, *arvo*, *sarvo*, *aftie*, *arve*, *arv*, *afto*. What is more, hypocoristics are also polysemous in these countries. For example, “New Zealand hypocoristics are frequently polysemous. A familiar example is *pressie/prezzie*. *Pressie* is the form used for a member of a President’s rugby team (a team composed of players over a certain age, usually 35 years), along with the more widely used gift (present), and Presbyterian. *Scarfy* is a term for a university student (originally an Otago student) in addition to a member of the Exclusive Brethren sect (Dianne Bardsley: 2010: 8).” Another set of examples in this connection are: “*Cashie* has four uses, in addition to a plural form (car salesman, cashier, cash converter, a person who cash tax-free; *cashie* small change). Similarly, *flattie* can be flat-bottomed boats, flatmates, flat tyres, confusion (a flat spin), a low-heeled shoe, and a flat-headed nail. *Auntie* is used for a mentor, an old ewe, and for an effeminate male. *Roadie* has several applications and the *Dictionary of New Zealand English* lists several uses for *bluey* from different historic and contemporary semantic fields (ibid.)”. This is a problem for OT which is based on a model of

universal hierarchical constraint ranking. Words such as *pressie* can be formally motivated in spite of their semantic deviation but words such as *scarfy*, *cashier*, *etc.* can never be accounted formal phonologically. *Scarfy* can be ruled out as a hypocoristic of a name because this word is not derived from a base word; but *cashie* or *cashies* cannot be semantically motivated for a car salesmen or small change without dispositionalizing the formation of these words as in KLT. In a similar way, the 12 hypocoristics for sandwich can be fatal to OT. In India, hypocoristics are mainly restricted to names of people and are called *mudduperlu* in Telugu and *durfiatin* Urdu. Sometimes, the names of cities are hypocoristicized but it is not productive. For example, Visakhapatnam – Visakha, Vizag; Rajamahendravaram – Rajamahendri, Rajahmundry (Personal communication with Bhuvaneshwar)

III. Hypocoristic Formation In Urdu: A Ka:rmik

Linguistic Analysis

In Urdu, the use of hypocoristics for peoples' names is very common. They are generally used as terms of endearment, especially, for kids, and close relatives and friends. 79 hypocoristics have been collected from the Old City area of Hyderabad and first, formally analyzed and then motivated in the KLT paradigm.

Out of the 79 names and their hypocoristics, we see two dominant patterns: 1. Truncation of the Base Word at the Initial and Final positions; 2. Truncation of the Initial Part and Gemination of the Final Consonant. Let us discuss these patterns in detail in the following sections.

3. 1. Formal Linguistic Analysis of UHs

3. 1. 1. Truncation of the Base

In polysyllabic words, the base is truncated either at the initial position or at the final position in most of the words.

3. 1. 1. 1. Truncation of the Final Part of the Word

In the samples collected, only three words are truncated word finally. They are:

- (1) a. **Tahira** --- Hira /hi:ra/;
 b. **Mehpara** --- Para /para/;
 c. **Al Saba** --- Saba /səba/

3. 1. 1. 2. Truncation of the Initial Part of the Word

In the samples collected, many words have undergone truncation word initially to form the hypocoristics. However, there are variations in truncation. The following variations are observed.

3. 1. 1. 2. 1. Truncation with Consonant in the Last Position

There are many examples in this class with the consonant in the final position. Generally, it is syllabic truncation and the first syllable or the complex of the first and second syllables are truncated and made the hypocoristic.

3.1. 1. 2. 2. Monosyllabic (First Syllable) Truncation

In this class, only one syllable which is the first is truncated. However, when the first syllable ends in a vowel, the onset of the next syllable is attached to the vowel. If it ends with a consonant, the consonant is retained without any modification.

- (2) a. Lateef /lət.i:f/ --- /lət/ or /ləTTu:/
 b. Wakeel /wək.i:l/ --- /wək/ or /wəkla/
 c. Naushad /naush.ad/ --- /naush/ or /naushi/
 (3) a. Saif. an --- /saif/
 b. Moazzam /moəz.zam/ --- /moəz/

[/muzzu:/, /əmmu:/, /əttu:/, /babu:/, /baba/, /choTa/, /choTi:/, /choTu:/, /bhaiyya/, /bhaijan/, /munna/, /munni/, etc. are common hypocoristics.]

3.1.1. 2. 3. *Bisyllabic (First and Second Syllable) Truncation*

In this class, a complex of two syllables is truncated. In such a kind of truncation, the first two syllables are truncated as a whole. However, there is no guarantee that the entire second syllable is truncated with the first. Sometimes, the final consonant (± vowel) may or may not be deleted.

- | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| (4) a. | Hakeem /ha.ki:m/ | --- | /ha.ke/or /həkku:/ |
| b. | Jaleel /dʒə.li:l/ | --- | /dʒa.lu/ (ja:luva:radam) |
| c. | Shakeel | --- | |
| d. | Nadeem /nə.di:m/ | --- | /na.di/ |
| e. | Wahed /wə.hed/ | --- | /wə.hi:/ |
| f. | Zahur /zə.hu:r/ | --- | /zə.ru/ |
| (5) a. | Umaiyyah | | |
| | /u.mai.yyah/ | --- | /umai/ or /ummu:/ |
| b. | Adeelah /adi:ləh/ | --- | /a.dil/ |
| (6) a. | Zarina /zə.ri:na/ | --- | /zə.ri:n/ |
| b. | /adi:ləh/ | --- | /a.dil/ |
| c. | Yu:.su.fā /ju:sufa/ | --- | /ju:suf/ |
| (7) a. | /sa.li:l/ | --- | /səi.lab/ |
| b. | /madhər/ | --- | /maidan/ |
| c. | /tai.bah/ | --- | /təbu/ |

3. 2. *Truncation and Gemination*

In this class, the first syllable is truncated and its final consonant is geminated to form the second syllable by the addition of /u/ as the hypocoristic suffix (HS) as mentioned in Bhuvanewar (2001). Very rarely, /o/ and /i/ are used as HSs. This is the most productive hypocoristic formation in Urdu giving rise to many hypocoristics. These hypocoristics can be analyzed under two sub-classes: 1. Simple and 2. Complex Truncation and Gemination.

3. 2. 1. *Simple Truncation and Gemination*

In this sub-class, the first syllable is truncated and its final

consonant is geminated. If there is no consonant in the final position, the onset of the second syllable is attracted to the first syllable to form a CVC base and this final syllable is geminated. The second geminated consonant forms a separate second syllable by the addition of the HS /u/, /o/, /i/.

- (8) a. /**ib**.rahi:m/ --- /ib. bu:/
 b. /**tən**.vi:r/ --- /tən.nu:/
 c. /**əf**.zəl/ --- /əf. fu:/
- (9) a. /**tə**.**ma**. ra/ --- /təm.mu:/
 b. /mə. **ji**:d/ --- /məj.ju:/
 c. /**sa**.jid/ --- /səj.ju:/
 d. /**mu**.ji:b/ --- /muj.ju:/
 e. /**rə**.fi:/ --- /rəf. fu:/
 f. /**nə**.waz/ --- /nəb.bu:/
- (10) a. /**rəz**.zaq/ --- /rəj.jo/
 b. /**u**.nəi.za/ --- /un.ni/
 c. /za.kira/ --- /zəkku:/

3. 2. 2. *Complex Truncation and Geminatio*

In this class, there are some internal changes in the first syllable.

i. *If there is a consonant in the final position of the first syllable followed by another consonant as the onset, the strong consonant in a hierarchy is geminated and the weaker consonant is assimilated by regressive assimilation. Generally, /r/ is assimilated into the other consonant.*

- (11) a. /**fir**.dos/ --- /fid.du:/
 b. /**ir**.fan/ --- /if. fu:/
 c. /**sər**. fə.raz/ --- /səf. fu:/

ii. *Sometimes the last consonant in a polysyllabic word is taken to form consonant gemination and the intermediate phonemes are deleted.*

- (12) a. /ʃa:jəhan/ --- /ʃən.na/ or /ʃənnu:/
 b. /zə.hu:r/ --- /zər.ru:/
 c. /sə.mi.ul.lah/ --- /ʃan.no/ /samio/ /səmmu:/
 d. /məhmo:d/ --- /məm.mu:/

/ʃan.no/ is very difficult to be motivated by a formal linguistic phonological theory.

iii. *Variant Hypocoristics: In some cases, more than one hypocoristic is formed.*

- (13) a. /sə.mi:.na/ --- /səm/ or /səm.mu:/
 b. /zə.fər/ --- /zaf.ran/ or /zəf.fu:/

(in analogical application with Imran, Irfan, etc. or in consonance with zafran used in Biriyani for colour and taste)

- c. /fir.do:s/ --- /fid.du:/ or /fərru:/

iv. *Internal Vowel and Consonant Changes*

In the case of some hypocoristics, there are internal vowel changes or consonantal additions.

- (14) a. /taiba/ --- /tə.bu/ or /ta.bu:/
 b. /madhar/ --- /maidan/
 c. /jəli:l/ --- /jalu:/
 d. /firdo:s/ --- /fərru:/
 e. /səmi:r/, /sami:na/ --- /səm/;
 f. /məsu:d/ --- /mus.su:/
- (15) a. /zəfər/ --- /zəf.ran/
 b. /sali:l/ --- /səi.lab/
 c. /səmiullah/ --- /ʃan.no/

v. *The UH is the same as the Name*

- a. /nadi:m/ --- /nadi:m/

vi. *Nicknames as Hypocoristics*

When a person has a peculiar physical feature, that feature is superimposed on the name as the UH.

3.2.3. Irregularities in the Formal Structuration of the Hypocoristics

Many hypocoristics do not exhibit conformity with the major productive hypocoristic formation patterns. They must have been initiated as new patterns but without any further application and productivity. Hence, they look odd. This is a problem for OT and generative grammar. For example,

/ʃəmi:m/ becomes */ʃəmmu/* and */ibrahi:m/* becomes */ibbu/* but not */həki:m/* and */nədi:m/* which are changed into */hake/* and */nadi:/*. Here, neither UG and PP nor constraint ranking and violation apply successfully. So also is the case with */jəli:l/* and */səli:l/*. The former gives rise to */jalu/* while the latter gives */səlab/*; again, */səli:m/* gives rise to */səllu/*.

3.3. Ka:rmik Linguistic Motivation of UHs

According to the Ka:rmik linguistic Theory of Bhuvanewar, language is neither genetically inherited nor socially constructed, nor conceptualized per se but dispositional, sociocognitive linguistically generated-chosen-specified-directed-materialized. In this view, language is not only dispositionally *used*, by living in a context, *for* living in it but it is also dispositionally *created*, for living in a context, *by* living in it. This has implications for rule-formation in language. Since language is dispositionally created but not genetically inherited, rules in language are formed *a posteriori* after patterns are established by individual-collective-contextual-conjunction and standardization of action (ICCCSA) and *ka:rmik* archically complementary in their rule application. Thus rule-formation, according to Bhuvanewar, is not *a priori* as in UG and PP or *a priori but hierarchically constrained and violable* as in OT, but *a posteriori* and *ka:rmik* archically complementary. Such a view has more descriptive and explanatory adequacy as well as psychological plausibility in

its theory and *flexibility, economy, and comprehensiveness* in its application. Let us see whether UH formation confirms this view or not.

3.3.1. Motivation of Dominant Patterns of UH Formation(UHF)

From an observation of the UHF, we find that there are two dominant patterns of UHF. They are: 1. Truncation of the Base Word at the Initial and Final Positions; 2. Truncation of the Initial Part and Gemination of the Final Consonant. From these two dominant patterns, we can infer two rules of UHF: Rule 1. UHs are formed by truncation of the base word at the initial and final positions; Rule 2. UHs are formed by truncation of the initial part and gemination of the final consonant. If we apply the generative paradigm, there will be *blocking* of the rules. For example, Rule 1 is applied in creating the UHs *Wak* (from *Wa. ki:l*) but it is violated in the formation of */səilab/* (from */sa.li:l/*) and */ʃak.ku/* (from *Shakeel*). What is more, there is no way to motivate the addition of */-ab/* by constraint ranking and its violation in OT because */-ab/* is not present in the input. It is further complicated by the formation of */ʃalu:/* (from */ʃəli:l/*) and */māida:n/* (from */madhar/*). */māida:n/* is an already existing word in Urdu which means ‘open ground’. Therefore, we can infer analogical association and may say that this UH is dispositional socio-cognitively formed. In this case both UG and PP and OT fail in providing such a principled explanation. Another example is the variation between */səli:m/ /shəmi:m/* and */nədi:m /həki:m/* which form */səllu:/ /ʃəmmu:/* and */nədi/ /hake*. */nədi/* means a river in Hindi and we do not know whether it is also *solely* formed by such association since by applying prosodic morphology theory, we can say that */-d/* is heavy enough to *not* allow gemination and so the final consonant is shifted to form the second syllable.

It is dispositional creatively chosen by cognitive association with that bound-morpheme from the lingual experiential

knowledge of the creator of that UH and its further ICCCSA by the Urdu language community.

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Appendix 1: List of Names and Pet Names

NAME	PET NAME
1. Tahera	hi:ra
2. Mehpara	para
3. Taibah	təbu:
4. Tamara	təmmu
5. Tanveer	tənnu:
6. Tasneem	təssu:

7. Unaiza	unni:
8. Sarfaraj	səffu:
9. Shahjahan	shənnə
10. Kaleema	kəllu:
11. Ibrahim	ibbu:
12. Afzal	əffu:
13. Irfan	iffu:
14. Ameen	əmmi:
15. Yasmeen	yəssu:
16. Zahor	zərru:
17. Zakia	zəkku:
18. Anees	ənnu:
19. Jebran	jəbbu:
20. Khadeer	k ^h əddu:
21. Jamsheed	jəmmu:
22. Hafeez	həffu:
23. Majeed	məjju:
24. Sajid	səjju:
25. Mannan	mənnu:
26. Hannan	hənnu:
27. Rafi	rəffu:
28. Hameed	həmmu:
29. Razzack	rəjjo:
30. Sumayya	summu:
31. Ajmal	əjju:
32. Mujeeb	mujju:
33. Fareed	fərru:
34. Sadekh	səddu:
35. Imran	immu:
36. Amer	əmmu:
37. Zafar	zəfran or zəffu:
38. Fardeen	fərru:
39. Farookh	fərru:

40. Fatima	fəttu:
41. Tarranum	tərru:
42. Makhdoom	məkku:
43. Mansoor	mənnu:
44. Masood	mussu:
45. Mukram	mukki:
46. Samiullah	shəhnnu:
47. Mukram	mukki:
48. Muneer	munnu:
49. Asana	əffu:
50. Afshan	əffu:
51. Zubair	zubbu:
52. Naushad	nəush
53. Nawaz	nəbbu:
54. Firdaus	fiddu: or fərru:
55. Sameena	səm or səmmu:
56. Saleem	səllu:
57. Sumaiyyah	summu:
58. Waqar	wəkku:
59. Sameer	səmmu: or səm
60. Sarwar	sərru:
61. Shabaz	shəbbu:
62. Shameem	shəmmu:
63. Hakeem	hake
64. Jaleel	ɖʒalu:
65. Lateef	lət
66. Moazzam	məoz
67. Saifan	səef
68. Alsaba	səba
69. Muzammil	muzu:
70. Nadeem	nədi:
71. Wakeel	wək
72. Madhar	məedan

73. Yousufa	yu:suf
74. Umaiyah	uməi
75. Zarood	zəro
76. Zareena	zəri:n
77. Adeelah	adil
78. Salil	səilab
79. Wahed tammu:	wəhi:

MORPHOSYNTAX OF FINITENESS AND THE EVOLUTION OF AGREEMENT IN DRAVIDIAN

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Abstract

The notion of finiteness in Dravidian is closely analyzed in this paper to explain the evolution of agreement (AGR). Firstly, finiteness is defined as a morphosyntactic (MS) feature. For this, the role of AGR in the assignment of nominative case to the subject in Dravidian is examined. Instead of AGR, tense (T) is identified as a licenser of nominative case assignment. Therefore, T is placed as the core property of finiteness. Secondly, based on Mirror Theory, the syntactic irrelevance of AGR in Dravidian is re examined. Based on the close analysis of the reflection of syntactic derivation on morphology, it is argued that the syntactic irrelevance of AGR is reflected on morphological inflection. Finally, it is argued that the complete dropping of AGR in Modern Malayalam and infrequent dropping of AGR in other languages are considered as syntactically triggered MS change.

I. Introduction

Dravidian languages are very rich in morphology, show high degree of agglutinating features; express grammatical relation only by suffixation and compounding and with relatively free word order in SOV pattern. Sanford B. Steever, the pioneer of morphosyntactic studies in Dravidian observed that “Dravidian morphology encodes a fair amount of information that in other languages would be considered syntax” (Steever 1998a: 32). Based on Steever’s (1988, 1993) insights, of course in a different direction, an attempt is made in this paper to consider the finiteness in Dravidian as a morphosyntactic (hereafter MS) feature. An unnoticed correlation of the tense inflection of finite verb with the assignment of nominative case is the focal point of departure in this study.

1.1. Structure of the paper: Two subsequent arguments were developed in this paper. First part of the paper argues that the finiteness in Dravidian is a MS feature. Secondly, finiteness in Dravidian is presented as a MS feature of the verb against agreement (*hereafter AGR*) in the assignment of nominative case. This is an alternation of the basic view about the nominative case assignment in Government and Binding

framework proposed by Noam Chomsky (1993: 170). Finally, by considering the predominant MS role of finiteness in nominative case assignment and the theory of Mirror Principle (Baker 1985: 373-415), I argue that, morphological inflection of finiteness in Dravidian directly reflects the syntactic derivation. Therefore, the complete dropping of AGR in Modern Malayalam and infrequent dropping of AGR in other languages are considered as syntactically triggered MS change.

1.2. Morphosyntax: MS deals with the structure of word in relation to syntax. The marking line between morphology and syntax is not easily accessible in highly agglutinative languages like Dravidian and Altaic etc. The interaction between syntax and morphology is not unilateral, but mutual (Steele 1989: 157-75). MS features are defined as morphological forms which are correlates with different syntactic contexts. In contrast to the Lexicalist Hypothesis (Chomsky 1970), configuration, agreement and inherent features of words are considered as the properties by which morphology and syntax interrelated (Anderson 1982: 571-612). The notions of government and agreement of GB framework is used in this study to analysis the correlation of finiteness with the assignment of nominative case in Dravidian. Syntactic data is used only from major Dravidian languages; Tamil (Ta.), Old Tamil (OTa), Telugu (Te.), Kannada (Ka.) and Malayalam (Ma.). Leipzig Glossing Rules standard is followed for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing. A web based software tool phpSyntaxTree is used to generate graphical syntax trees throughout the paper.

II. Finiteness in Dravidian

Even after two decades of Steever's (1988) advanced treatment of the notion finiteness in Dravidian, still finiteness has been

treated as morphological feature in Dravidian linguistics (Subrahmanyam 2009: 304-5, Krishnamurti 2003: 307-330). Krishnamurti (2003: 279) stated that:

Morphologically a verb may be finite or non-finite. A finite verb has the structure stem + tense-mode + (g) np (gender-number-person) marker which normally agrees with the head of the subject noun phrase (NP), Ta. *nāṅ cey-t-ēṅ* 'I did', Koṇḍa *vāṅṛu ki-t-an* 'he did'..... A non-finite verb has two components, the verb base +tense/ aspect, e.g. Ta. *cey-tu* 'having done', Koṇḍa *ki-zi id.*, perfective participle or gerund in both the languages; syntactically, it heads a subordinate clause. In unmarked word order the verb, finite or non-finite, occupies the end position of the clause.

In his recent publication Subrahmanyam (2008: 304) observes: The structure of a finite verb, which is a sentence-ender, may be symbolized as follows: V (erb) B(ase) (+ Transitive Suffix) (+ Causative Suffix) + Tense/Negative Suffix + Personal Suffix (non-finite verb do not have a personal suffix....(307) The non-finite forms may be divided into relative participles (since they function as adjectives, they are also called verbal adjectives) and the others, most of which serve as head of subordinate clauses.

Steever (1988: 18) stated that [finiteness] "it is a syntactic property that is subsequently interpreted in morphological terms". In addition to Steever's advancement treatment, there exists only one instance of the morpho- syntactic and semantic treatment of finiteness in Dravidian linguistics by Ramakrishna Reddy (2003: 337-355). This study, of course should be specially noted because this study places Manda morphology as a centre of interaction of different levels of language from phonology to pragmatics based on field data. Based on the characteristics of Manda verb, he concludes that; "[Manda]

verb morphology is the exponent of an interface between morphology and syntax on the one hand, and morphology and pragmatics-driven semantics on the other”. None of the above mentioned observations, except Steever’s, and Ramakrishna Reddy cited above is not adequate enough to treat the complexity of finiteness in Dravidian. Therefore, an advance treatment is necessary for further advancement of the notion finiteness. To define the finiteness of verb, three properties are cross linguistically observed (Nikolaeva 2010: 1176-1189). They are (i) tense marking, (ii) subject agreement and (iii) the autonomy of the verb form to make independent or depended clauses. See the Table (1) below;

Table.1: Properties of finiteness

Three properties of the finiteness of verb			Dravidian languages
Morphological	i	Tense marking	YES
Syntactical	ii	Subject agreement	YES except Modern Malayalam
	iii	Autonomy of verb to make independent vs dependent clause based on finiteness	YES

Verb in Dravidian languages inflects for (i) tense, (ii) agreement markers of person, number and gender and (iii) form independent clauses with finite verb and depended clauses with non-finite verbs. Among the three, (i) is morphological, (ii) is a co-variation based on the agreement of verb in VP with the subject in NP. The third one (iii) is syntactical. Therefore, based on the above presented properties finiteness in Dravidian languages can be considered as a MS feature. This argument

earlier proposed by Steever (1988: 3-7, 111-14) based on the three rules he proposed on the distribution of finite predicates (1988: 5). In addition to Steever's observations, it can be proposed that agreement and government are the two values of MS features. In terms of Corbett (2006: 4-5) advance treatment of agreement, the 'value' of agreement is already attested in the property (ii) where verb belong VP 'domain' is the 'target' of agreement by the 'controller' noun belongs NP domain. However, this value of agreement is not applicable in Malayalam, where there is no agreement of number gender and person between subject and the verb. Based on this peculiarity of Malayalam, Steever (1988: 122fn) stated that personal agreement imply the presence of other grammatical categories like tense, mode, aspect etc but not vice versa. Dravidian languages show that the sentence final verb is the head of the constituent which govern the other verbs in the same constituent. The governing verb is the finite verb which is not governed by any other and it governed other verbs which are non finite. Finite and non finite verbs in Dravidian are the reflection based on the absolute syntactic features of agreement and governance. Therefore, it can be safely argued that, finiteness in Dravidian is morphological in appearance and syntactical in nature. In continuation of the Steever's advancement cited above, the existing notion of the treatment of the finiteness of verb in Dravidian can be revised as a MS feature. In the following discussion on nominative case, we will see how finiteness in Dravidian is functioning as a determining MS variable in MS level.

III. Nominative Case

Gender, number and case are the three major grammatical categories of noun in Dravidian. See in the table (2) how these grammatical categories are manifesting in morphological and syntactical levels.

Table 2: Manifestation of Grammatical categories

Grammatical categories	Level of manifestation	
	Morphological	Syntactical
Gender	Morphologically reflected	Not syntactical
Number	Morphologically reflected	Not syntactical
Case	Morphologically reflected	Syntactically licensed

Among the three grammatical categories, case is more exposed to syntax and it is much governed by syntax. Case is generally considered as a means of formal marking of grammatical relations on noun or an inflectional property of a word. Krishnamurti (2003: 217) stated that “Case relations in Dravidian are expressed either by bound morpheme or by grammaticalized noun or verbs, called post position”. This indicates that case is majorly considered as a morphological feature in Dravidian. In GB framework, case is considered as syntactical and case theory deals with assignment of abstract case and its morphological realisation (Chomsky 1981: 6). Two types of cases are proposed in GB. They are structural case and inherent case. Former is assigned by a case assigner like verb, agreement to the position that it governs. The latter is assigned by a particular case assigner to a lexically specified argument. We will examine the assignment of nominative case in Dravidian in detail.

3.1. Case assignment: Typologically Dravidian is a Nominative- Accusative language. In Nominative accusative languages the distinction between grammatical subject and grammatical object is marked by means of the opposition between nominative and accusative case (Dixon 1979: 59-138). The object of transitive verb is differently marked from

the subject. In Dravidian nominative is unmarked and function as Subject, Predicate, Subject compliment, Object compliment, and Object (Agesthalingom & Kushalappa Gowda 1976).

According to the case theory in GB (Chomsky: [1993]1981: 170);

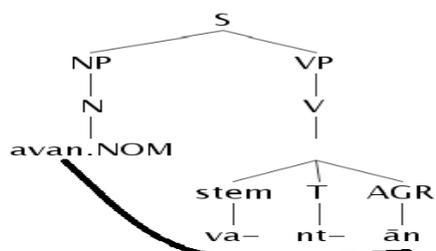
(i) NP is nominative if governed by AGR

We can examine how nominative case is assigned by AGR in Dravidian. See the Tamil sentence below (1) followed by its derivation (1.a,1.b.).

1.Ta. avan va- nt- ān
 he.NOM come- pst- 3m.sg (AGR)
 ‘He came’

1.a. [S[NP[N[avan.NOM]]] [VP[V[[STEM[va-]][TENSE[nt-]]
 [AGR[ān]]]]]]

1.b.



[NP[+NOM]] ← [VP [+AGR]]

The same governance can be observed in the following expressions of Te. (2) and Ka (3).

2. Te. wāḍu wacc- ā- ḍu
 he.ACC come- pst- 3m-sg (AGR)
 ‘He came’

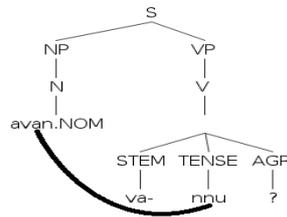
3. avanu ba- nt- ā
 Ka. he.NOM come- pst- 3m.sg (AGR)
 ‘He came’

4. avan va- nnu
 Ma. he.NOM come- pst (NO AGR)
 'He came'

Among above expression, there exist AGR in (1, 2 and 3). Therefore, the proposal of nominative is assigned by the AGR is valid in Ta. (1), Te. (2) and Ka. (3). In the above three, AGR licences the nominative case. There exists no agreement in Malayalam (4). How it can be explained? When there is no AGR, what can be considered as the licenser of nominative case in Malayalam (4)?

4.a. [S[NP[N[avan.NOM]]] [VP[V[[STEM[va-]][TENSE[nnu]]]] [AGR[NIL]]]]]

4.b.



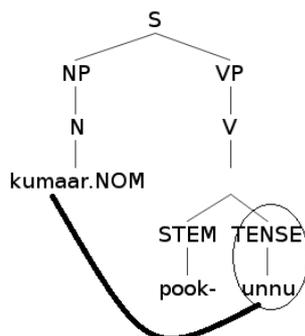
Instead of AGR, tense is functioning as a licenser of nominative case in Malayalam (4.b). See the below expressions in Malayalam (5 and 6) followed by the derivation of 6 in (6.a, 6.b).

5. kumār pō- yi (Verb root+ past tense)
 Ma. Kumar go- pst
 Subject NOM **finite V**
 "Kumar left"

6. kumār pōk- unnu (Verb root + present tense)
 Ma. Kumar left- prs
 SubjectNOM finite V
 "Kumar is going "

6. a. [S[NP[N[kumār.NOM]]] [VP[V[[STEM[pook-]] [TENSE [unnu-]]]]]]

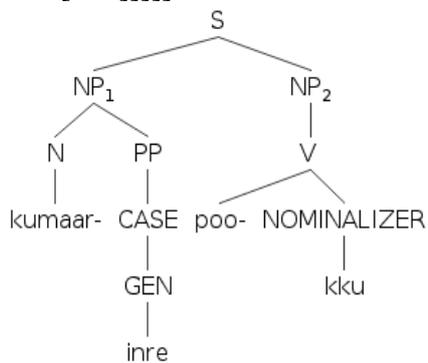
6.b.



In the above expressions of Malayalam (6 and 6a), tense is functioning as the licenser of nominate case assignment. See the following expression in Malayalam (7) followed by the derivation where there is no tense inflection.

7. kumār- n̄re pō- kkə (Verb root + nominalizer)
 Ma. Kumar- gen go- Nominalizer
 Subject (gen) non finite V
 “Kumar’s going ”

[S [NP[N[kumaarin-]][PP[CASE[GEN[re]]]]][NP[V[poo-][NOMINALIZER[kku]]]]]



In the above expression subject is assigned genitive case. Is it because of the absence of T inflection? See the other expressions in Ta. (8) and Ma.(9);

8. kumār- aṭu paṭi- kkal (Verb root + nominalizer)
 Ta. Kumar- gen study- noml
 Subject (gen) non finite V
 “Kumar’s study ”
9. kumār aṭi- um (Verb root + fut. tense)
 Ma. Kumar know- fut
 Subject NOM finite V
 “Kumar will know ”

In the above Malayalam expression (9), the verb is fully inflected for future tense, whereas in the expression (8) verb is not inflected for verb. However, see the other counterpart (10) which is ungrammatical because inflected tense on the head and dative case on the subject is not correlates grammatically.

- 10.Ma. *kumār- ṇə aṭi- um (Verb root + fut tense)
 Kumar- dat know- fut
 Subject (dat) finite V
 “Kumar’s will know ”

The above expressions in Malayalam show that the nominative case is assigned to the subject only by the verb which is fully inflected for tenses. We can test this tense- nominative case correlation in other languages. See the Telugu (11 and 12) and Old Tamil (13 and 14) expressions;

11.	wāḍu	wacc-	nu			
Te.	he.NOM	come-	pst			
	“He came”					
12.	āme	wacc-	nu			
Te.	she. ACC	come-	pst			
	“she came”					

13.	ikal-	vanai	mēval-	an	taṅṭ-	āt-u	vīc-	um
OTa.	fight	act	like-	he	restrict-	not.	through-	fut
	-					VM		
“He who likes the act of fighting will give without restriction” (Rangan & Suseela 29, Patirrupattu: 60-2)								

14.	am-	mā	ariva(y)-um	var-	um-ō?
OTa.	beautiful-	black	coloured girl	come-	fut- q
“Will that beautiful black coloured girl come?” (Rangan & Suseela 29, Kuruntokai 63:3)					

The above discussed expressions of Malayalam, Telugu (11 and 12) and Old Tamil (13 and 14) show that a fully inflected verb for T licences the nominative case in Dravidian even without AGR. There are instances from Dravidian languages on the assignment of non nominative cases specifically dative to the subjects even with presence of T inflection on verb (Sivashanmugham 2003: 226-227, Amritavalli 2004: 1-24, Jayaseelan 2004: 227-244, Subbarao and Bhaskararao 2004: 161-196). This shall be specially clarified. Presence of tense inflection on the head verb is necessary for the assignment of nominative to the subject, but not vice versa.

[NP [Nominative]] ⊃ [VP[T. inflection]]

Nominative case on subject imply the tense inflection of verb

[VP[T. inflection]] ⊄ [NP [Nominative]]

Tense inflection does not imply the presence of nominative case on the subject

Non finite inflections are assigning cases other than nominative to the subject. Therefore, it can be argued that it is ‘the degree of finiteness’ resulted by the T inflections determine the assignment of nominative case to the subject in

Dravidian. Therefore, the definition of finiteness in Dravidian linguistics shall be revised, this we will discuss in the last part of the paper. Based on the above discussion the theory of nominative case assignment in GB can be revised as;

(ii) NP is nominative if governed by AGR is not true in Dravidian

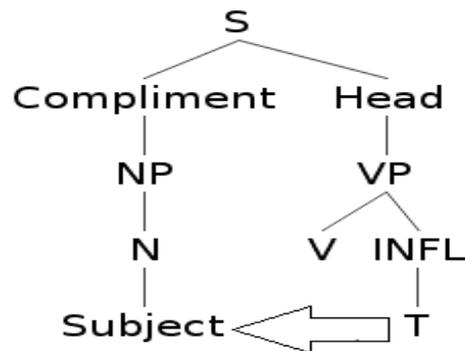
(iii) NP is nominative if governed by tensed verb

Only tensed verb can be finite. Only a finite verb can take AGR. Therefore it can be proposed that only a finite verb can assign nominative subjects.

(iv) NP is nominative in Dravidian if governed by the T inflection in finite verb

This can be represented as below;

Now it is proved that finiteness in Dravidian is a syntactic licenser even though it is morphologically expressed. Based on this we can conclude the finiteness in Dravidian is a MS feature.



IV. Finiteness Mirror Syntax

In the first part of the paper we argued that finiteness in Dravidian is a MS feature. While discussing the nominative case assignment, we replaced the AGR with finiteness based on its capacity to function as a syntactic licenser to assign nominative case to the subject. Steever's (1988) observation on the optional nature of AGR is relevant here. He stated that (1988:122fn) "The presence of personal ending on a predicate is a good indicator that the predicate is finite, because personal endings generally imply the presence of other grammatical categories, but the other categories do not imply the presence of personal endings". A verb inflects for agreement only after inflecting to tense. Even after inflecting for tense, AGR is not obligatory. This inflectional priority of verb for T over AGR reflects the syntactic derivation on morphological inflection. A verb cannot directly inflect to AGR without inflecting to T. A tensed verb is the only and only target for AGR. A tensed verb is the only and only source of nominative case assignment to its complement. Therefore, it can be argued that the priority of T over AGR of the head in assigning nominative case reflects the obligatory nature of verb inflection for T. The properties of finiteness in syntactical derivation and morphological inflection compared below.

Properties of finiteness		Syntactical	Morphological
I	Tense	obligatory property of head in Nominative case assignment	obligatory property of verb in a nominative construction except imperative
II	AGR	optional property of head in nominative assignment	optional property of inflection

III	Autonomy	A verb with tense makes autonomous clauses	A verb with tense makes autonomous words
		A verb without AGR makes autonomous clauses	A verb without AGR makes autonomous words

Following observations can be made based on the above comparison as isomorphism of syntax and morphology in Dravidian:

I. There exists a syntactical correlation between tensed verb and nominative subject in Dravidian. This correlation is moderately reflected in morphological inflection of verb.

II. The occurrence AGR on verb is syntactically not an obligatory requirement in nominative construction. This is reflected in the morphological inflection of non finite verbs.

III. a. A verb with tense can make an independent clause. Same is the case of morphology too. A verb with tense can make an independent word.

III. b. A verb without AGR can make an autonomous clause. Same is the case of verb inflection too.

The above observations (I, II and III (a) and (b)) can be examined based on the Mirror principle (Baker 1985: 373-415).

vi. Mirror Principle: Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa).

vii The Mirror Principle: The order of affixes reflect the order in which the associated syntactic ‘operations’ apply.

viii. The Mirror Principle: The priority of affixes among the number of affixes of a governing head of sentences reflects the priority of affixes in a word of the same sentence.

We will examine each hypothesis with expressions from Dravidian;

vi. Mirror Principle: Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations and vice versa.

See the syntactic derivation of the Tamil sentence (15) given below which is compared to the morphological inflection of the finite verb *va-nt-āṇ* “(he) came” in the same sentence;

15.Ta.	kumār	va-	nt-	āṇ	
	he	come-	pst-	3m.sg (AGR)	
‘Kumar came’					

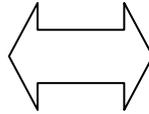
Syntactical derivation	Morphological inflection
<pre> graph TD S --> NP S --> VP NP --> N N --> kumaar VP --> V V --> va- VP --> IP IP --> T T --> nt- IP --> AGR AGR --> aan </pre>	

[S[NP[N[avan. NOM]]] [VP[V[[STEM[va-]][TENSE[nt-]] [AGR[ān]]]]]] “Kumar came”	[WORD[STEM[va-]][SUFFIXES[TENSE[- nt]][AGR[aan]]]] “(he) came”
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------

The above syntactical derivation of a nominative construction and morphological inflection of a finite verb are appears as isomorphic. See the isomorphism of rewriting rules of both given below.

Syntactical derivation

VP > V IP
 V > va-
 IP > T, AGR
 T > nt-
 AGR > ān



Morphological inflection

Word > Stem, Suffix
 Stem > va-
 Suffix > Tense, AGR
 Tense > nt-
 AGR > ān

By the above comparison it is clear that morphological inflection of the finite verb directly reflects syntactical derivation.

vii The Mirror Principle: The order of affixes reflect the order in which the associated syntactic ‘operations’ apply.

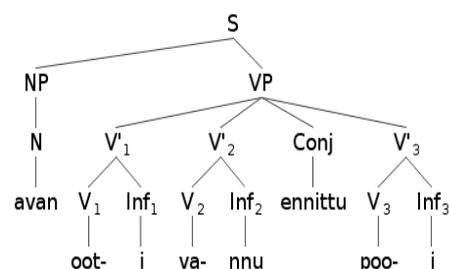
See the syntactic derivation of sentence with consecutive participle (16) and it’s morphological alternant (16a). Both are co existing in Malayalam.

16. Ma. *avaṅ ḍṭ- i va- nnu enniṭṭə pō- i*
 he run- pst come- pst then go- pst
 ‘He came by running and left’

16a. Ma. *ḍṭ- i va- nni- ṭṭə*
 run- pst come- pst- pp
 ‘came by running and’

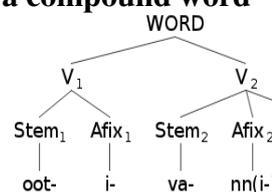
See the order of syntactic operation of (16a) and order of affixation of the compound word (16a).

Order of syntactic operation



avan̄ oṭ-i va-nnu ennittə pō-i

Order of affixes in a compound word



#ōṭivannittə#

Even after the grammaticalization of *ennittə* “then” as *-ittə* “past participle” the order of syntactic ‘operations’ of the sentences is reflected in the order of affixes in the compound word which represents the same meaning ‘after coming by running’. This is an ideal Dravidian instance of the morphological mirroring of the order syntactic operation.

b. The Mirror Principle: The relevance of affixes among the number of affixes of a governing head of sentences reflects the relevance of affixes in a word of the same paradigm.

See the relevance of affixes of a verb in a nominative construction of Telugu (17,18) and Malayalam (20) and how the same relevance is reflected on morphology.

17. Te. wāḍu wacc- nu
 he.NOM come- pst-
 “He came”

18. wāḍu wacci- n(u)- du
 Te. he.NOM come- pst- AGR
 “He came”

There exist two varieties of Telugu sentences (17 and 18) without and with AGR respectively. In the second sentence (18) AGR is syntactically a redundant category when there is no PRO drop. See the derivation of both sentences given below;

In both sentences, 17 and 18 nominative is assigned by the tensed finiteness of the verb. Then, what is the syntactic relevance of the AGR in the sentence 18? Is AGR is a redundant category? Is it syntactically irrelevant category? How this syntactical irrelevance reflects in morphology? See the Malayalam sentence below (19).

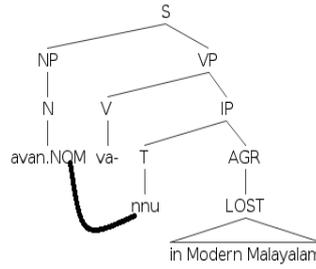
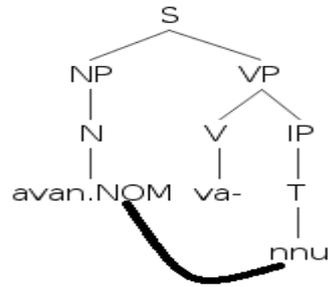
19. Ma. avan va- nnu
 he.NOM come- pst
 "He came"

Syntactically relevance to T	Syntactically non relevant AGR
<p>wāḍu waccnu "He came" [S[NP[N[wāḍu]]][VP[V[wacc-]] [IP[T[nu]]]]]</p>	<p>wāḍu wacci-n-du "He came" [S[NP[N[wāḍu]]][VP[V[V[wacc-]]] [IP[T[nu] [AGR[ɖI]]]]]]]</p>

The above Malayalam sentence (19) represents the syntactically permissible absence of AGR. Therefore, the absence/ the historical loss of AGR in Malayalam is syntactically permissible. The less relevance of AGR is determined by the syntax. Therefore, it is morphologically dropped in Modern Malayalam. See the below contrast;

The contrast given below shows that the relevance of AGR is syntactically secondary. This is reflected in morphology also. There are number of instances were reported in Dravidian languages other than Malayalam where AGR is not morphologically reflected, loss and even gradually dropping. After having a detailed study of AGR in OT and MT Rangan and Suseela (2003: 28-50) observed that “A comparison of OT and MT clearly shows that MT has lost a number of agreement markers for I P and II P. Even in III P, the MT has fewer markers compared to OT. The lose of forms has been shown clearly”. The existence two types of finite verbs in Kollimalai dialects of Tamil (Karunakaran 1971: 131), i.e. person-gender-number and person- number distinction is also symptomatic. The same types of development of the lose of AGR in word level are reported in the Coimbatore dialect of Tamil; *vāṅga* ‘I/we/you/he/she/it/ they bought’ (Andronov 2001 []:227). The optional use and gradual loss of the AGR is syntactically permitted. Therefore, the tendency of optional use and the gradual loss of AGR in Dravidian reflect the syntactical irrelevance of AGR.

Syntactically relevant Tense **Syntactically relevant AGR** **deleted non relevant AGR**



[S[NP[N[avan]]][VP[V[va-]]
[IP[T[nnu]][AGR [Φ]]]]

[S[NP[N[avan]]][VP[V[va-]]
[IP[T[nnu]][AGR [Φ]]]]

V. Conclusion

We have discussed only two possibilities of the study of the relation between syntax and morphology based on finiteness in Dravidian. This is only an introductory attempt. Two consequent arguments were developed here. Former is about a synchronic phenomenon. Later is an explanation of a diachronic phenomenon based on the former. Firstly, finiteness in Dravidian is stated a MS feature. Assignment of nominative case in Dravidian is licensed not by AGR but by T inflection. It is called degree of finiteness, which can be defined not in terms of AGR but exclusively based on the T inflection which is prior to AGR inflection. Secondly, the argument developed in the first part of the paper, especially the syntactic irrelevance of AGR is placed in the Mirror theory. It is moderately shown that syntactic order of derivation, syntactic priority of relevancy are directly reflected in morphology, it is clear isomorphism of syntax and

morphology. Finally, it is argued that loss of AGR is syntactically permissible. Based on the above discussion, I propose that finiteness in Dravidian is an interface of morphology and syntax where syntax meets morphology, and morphology mirror syntax. Above all, these introductory observations remind us Talmy Givón's (1971: 413) formulation of "today's morphology is yesterday's syntax"; which is much relevant in the historical study of Dravidian languages and finiteness can be considered as a focal MS field where we can have an archeologist's field trip to access yesterday's syntax.

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PROTO-DRAVIDIAN FEATURES OF MALAYALAM PRONOUNS

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Abstract

Proto-Dravidian is assumed to be the parent language of the present day Dravidian languages disintegrated into three sub groups. The Protolanguages of these three are called Proto South Dravidian, Proto Central Dravidian and, Proto North Dravidian.

Proto South Dravidian disintegrated in successive stages into separate languages. Proto-Tamil Malayalam got separated into later Tamil and Malayalam (Subrahmanyam, PS (1971).

*Pronouns anaphorically refer to nouns and can be substituted for them. They are subclass of nominals since they are distinguished for number and gender and carry case markers. Pronouns are subdivided into three classes, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. It is found that in Malayalam some Proto-Dravidian features are retained in pronouns. For instance, the first person singular pronoun in the nominative form is 'naan' 'I' which is similar to the Proto South Dravidian *naan. The reflexive pronouns singular and plural are 'taan' and 'taam' which are similar to the Proto-Dravidian forms. Other pronouns are derived from the Proto forms by phonological changes.*

I. Introduction

Proto-Dravidian is assumed to be the parent language of the present day Dravidian languages disintegrated into three sub groups. The Proto languages of these three are called Proto South Dravidian, Proto central Dravidian and Proto north Dravidian. Proto South Dravidian disintegrated in successive stages into seven languages. Proto Tamil Malayalam got separated into later Tamil and Malayalam (Subrahmanyam, P.S. 1971).

II. Pronoun

Pronouns anaphorically refer to nouns and can be substituted for them. They are sub class of nominals since they are distinguished for number and gender and carry case markers. Pronouns are divided into three sub classes. 1) Personal Pronouns 2) Demonstrative Pronouns and 3) Interrogative pronouns.

Personal pronouns occur in first and second person and in the reflexives. These are distinguished only for number and not for gender. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are distinguished for number as well as gender. Etymologically also there are differences between these sub classes. The demonstrative pronouns are derived from deictic roots meaning 'this', 'that', while the interrogative pronouns are derived from the interrogative root meaning 'what?' or 'who?'. The personal pronouns are primary forms and are not derived from other roots. Morphologically all pronouns carry case markers and postpositions. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns are used syntactically in correlative constructions.

2. 1. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns pose phonological and morphological problems in Dravidian.

2.1.2. The First Person

In Malayalam the first person pronoun in the nominative form is *ñān*. The Proto-South Dravidian form is * *ñān*. The oblique form is formed by shortening the long vowel of the nominative. In Malayalam 'en' is the Proto-Dravidian form. It is well established that the vowels **a*/**e* alternate after reconstructed palatal consonants **y* and **ñ*. So * *ñān* > *an* > *en*. There were in Proto-Dravidian two plurals in the first person, one including the person addressed, called the inclusive plural, and the other excluding the person addressed, called the exclusive plural. The first person plural exclusive in Proto-Dravidian is **ya-m* /**yā-m*, oblique form **yam*. In Tamil nominative form is *yām*, *yāñkaḷ* the oblique form is *-em*. In Malayalam no form is attested for nominative, and the oblique form is *eñ-ñal*.

This can be derive from **yām*. Oblique is formed by replacing the long vowel of the nominative by corresponding short vowel. While in Proto-South Dravidian i.e. in Tamil the nominative plural (exclusive) form is *nañ-kaḷ* and in

Malayalam, it is *ñāñ-ñāḷ* and oblique form is *ñāññāḷ*. The nominative plural inclusive form, *nām* and the oblique form *nam* are common to both Tamil and Malayalam. In the inclusive form no language show **ñ*, however the alternation of *ā/ē* (in Telugu *nēmu*, *manamu*) suggest an original **ñ*. Malayalam preserves this *ñ* – forms in plural exclusive (*ñāñññāḷ* ‘we’ (exclusive)). Other South Dravidian languages have no **ñ* in plural exclusive form. It is clear that the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive forms got disturbed mainly in the case of forms with a nasal initial. For this irregularity, Bhadriraju Krishnamurthi (2003) suggests that in Proto - Dravidian there was one singular form **yān/*yan*-‘I’ and two plural forms, **yām/*yam*- ‘we (exclusive)’ and **nām/*nam* ‘we (inclusive)’. These are preserved in some central and north Dravidian languages. In Proto-South Dravidian, a second singular **ñān/*ñan*- was analogically created through back formation from the plural exclusive **ñām/*ñam*-. The addition of *-kaḷ* to the inclusive/exclusive plural **ñām/*yām* to mean an exclusive was a shared feature of Tamil- Malayalam. The singular-plural difference is signaled by the final consonants, *-n* for singular and *-m* for plural.

2.1.3 The Second Person

The second person singular form in Malayalam and Tamil are *nī* which derives from the reconstruction **nūn/*nin*. The loss of final *-n* in the nominative is a shared innovation of South Dravidian that there was a final *-n* is attested by its presence in the oblique form, *nin*. The second person plural forms are derivable from Proto-Dravidian **nūm/*nim*, with the addition of common plural-‘*kaḷ*’ to the plural form, as an alternative to the basic form, perhaps as a polite expression in South Dravidian

2.2. Reflexive Pronouns

'The reflexive pronouns refer to the third person singular and plural. It cannot be used for the first and second person anaphorically, except in specialised cases' (Bh. Krihnamurty p-252). Like the personal pronouns it is not distinguished for gender but carries number and is inflected for case. The reconstructions *tān/*tan (sg) 'he, she, it.....self., *tām /*tam-'they'(plural all genders)....selves' do not present any problems. In South Dravidian the singular form -tanne is used as an emphatic clitic as well as a reflexive pronoun. There are two other plural forms; Tamil and Malayalam add the common plural suffix kaḷ to the plural stem as in the case of other personal pronouns. Another polite plural by adding -ar to the plural stem *tām occurs in South Dravidian. In Tamil, the forms are, tām, tām-kaḷ, tām-ar., in Malayalam it is tām, taṅ-kaḷ, taṅ-ṅaḷ, and tām-ar. The oblique form in Tamil and Malayalam is tam which is similar to the Proto-Dravidian form *tam.

2.3. Demonstrative and Interrogative pronouns

These are etymologically and morphologically different from the other personal pronouns. They are derived from deictic bases, reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian *atu 'that' (distant) and *itu 'this'(proximate). The interrogative pronouns are derived from *yātu/at 'which'. The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns carry gender and number and are inflected for case. It must be noted that gender and number are distinguished in Dravidian only in the third person. The Proto form for 'he' is *awantu and for 'she' is *awaḷ. In Tamil and Malayalam it is avan and aḷaḷ respectively. For the other forms, it, (non human), they (human), they (non human), the protoforms are *atu, *awar and *away respectively. Both languages Tamil and Malayalam retains the protoforms, *aḷaḷ, *atu, *avar and *avai.

The demonstrative pronouns are PDr. *atu/*ā 'that' (remote),

*itu / *ī ‘this’ (proximate). They are syntactically adverbial but are morphologically treated as a subclass of nominals since they can be inflected with cases/postpositions. Many forms can be reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian. Some forms are given below:

	Malayalam	Tamil	
a-/ā adjective ‘that’	a- ṅṅu a-nnu	a-ṅku a-nru/a-nr-ai	‘there’ ‘that day’
i-/ī adjective	ip-pō ḷ innu	ip-poḷutu i-nru	‘this time’ ‘today’

The Proto-Dravidian interrogative root is *yat/yāt underlying words meaning who, which, what etc. The vowel following *y represents neutralisation a and e hence it is indicated by ā. In Tamil and Malayalam there exists the forms, yāv-an/ ēv-an ‘which man’, yāvaḷ /ēvaḷ ‘which woman’, ēvar/ yā-r/ ā-r, ‘which people’, yā-tu/ ētu ‘which thing’, eṅṅu ‘where’ and et-tira ‘how much, ep-pōḷ ‘when’, ep-puṅam ‘which side’.

III. Conclusion

It is noticed that some Proto-Dravidian features are retained in Malayalam pronouns. The first person pronoun in the nominative form in Proto South Dravidian * ṅṅān and the Proto-Dravidian first and second persons oblique form *en- and *nin. The Proto-Dravidian first person two plurals inclusive and exclusive exists in Malayalam also. The Proto-Dravidian *ṅṅ retains in the first person. The reflexive pronouns *tan, * tam., the demonstrative pronouns –*atu, *itu, *avaḷ, *avar; interrogative pronoun *yātu are also retained in Malayalam. This shows that Malayalam might have developed from a Proto Tamil Malayalam stage.

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THE NATURE OF ŚABDA IN INDIAN GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

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Abstract

According to Indian grammatical Tradition, there are two groups among vaiyākaraṇas: those who hold that śabda is nitya (immutable) and others who argue that the same is kārya (mutable). This aspect is discussed right from Samgraha of Vyāḍi down to the latest works on vyākaraṇa. Since it is difficult exclusively to support either side, Pāṇini resorted to both the sides while compiling his Aṣṭādhyāyī.

In the light of above, this paper aims that how to understand the concept of word, which is flavoured with philosophy.

I. Introduction

According to Indian grammatical Tradition, there are two groups among vaiyākaraṇas: those who hold that śabda is nitya (immutable) and others who argue that the same is kārya (mutable). This aspect is discussed right from Samgraha of Vyāḍi down to the latest works on vyākaram.

II. Review of Literature and Discussion

Under ‘sthānivadādeśo’nalvidhau (1-1-56)’, Patañjali widely discusses the ‘śabdanityatva’. He takes up the following vārtika in the first place- ‘anityavijñānam tu’ and comments thus-

“anityavijñānam tu bhavati. nityāḥ śabdāḥ. nityeṣu nāma śabdeṣu kūṭasthai ravicālibhirvarṇairbhavitavyam, anapāyopajanavikāribhiḥ. tatra sa evāyam vikṛtaścetyetan nityeṣuśabdeṣu nopapadyate”. (it means that the śabdās are mutable).

In case we accept the norm ‘ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat, chinnapucche śuni śvatvavyavahāraḥ’ (slight deformation doesn’t cause change of nomenclature, although the tail is cut the dog is a dog). It insinuates that śabdās are anitya and this is acceptable in kāryaśabdavāda but the śāstra (system)

is started on the premise that śabdās are nitya (siddhe śabdārthasambandhe).

If we claim that śabdās are nitya then the varṇas are supposed to be kūṭastha, i.e. immutable like an anvil and should not move away nor should there be any loss, production or change in the form. In such a case, having a different form is against the norm of immutability.

Further, Patañjali elaborates another vārtika-
*‘anupapannam sthānyādeśatvam nityatvāt- sthānī ādeśa
 ityetannityeṣu śabdeṣu nopapadyate. kim kāraṇam?
 nityatvāt, sthānīhi nāma yo bhūtvā na bhavati. ādeśo hi
 nāma yo’bhūtvā bhavati. etacca nityeṣu śabdeṣu
 nopapadyate yatsato nāma vināśaḥ syāt, asato vā
 prādurbhāva iti’.*

The arrangement of sthānī and ādeśa (replacement) is insensible.

Sthānī- ādeśa, such a thing is not reasonable while the śabdās are immutable. What is the reason?, due to immutability, sthānī means which was not there but going to be, this is not possible in terms of śabdās, which are immutable, which also means the existing will perish and a new thing happens.

Further Patañjali endeavours to justify the concept of ‘sthānī- ādeśa’ with in the terms of ‘śabdānityavāda’.

Here is another vārtika-

*“siddham tu yathā laukikavaidikeṣvabhūtapūrve’pi
 sthānaśabdaprayogāt”. “siddhametat. katham?, yathā*

laukikavaidikeṣu kṛtānteṣu abhūtapūrve'pi sthānaśabda prayogo vartate. loke tāvad-' upādhyāyasya sthāne śiṣyaḥ' ityucyate, na ca tatra upādhyāyo bhūtapūrvo bhavati. vede'pi- 'somasya sthāne pūṭikatṛṇānyabhiṣuṇyād' ityucyate. na ca tatra somo bhūtapūrvo bhavati''.

It is possible just like in loka and veda, the term sthāna is employed even in the case of a thing that was not there earlier, it is possible how?, just like in the process pertaining to loka and veda, the usage of the term sthāna is there. Firstly, in loka, it is said that the disciple will be in the place of the teacher but no teacher is found earlier.

In veda too pūṭikatṛṇa (a kind of grass) has to be ground in the place of soma- is the statement, but soma is not there earlier.

Patañjali quotes another vārtika, which finally puts all the doubts to rest.

'kāryavipariṇāmādvā siddham'-

“athavā kāryavipariṇāmātsiddhametat. kimidam kāryavipariṇāmāditi?, kāryā buddhiḥ sā vipariṇamyate. nanu ca kāryāvipariṇāmāditi bhavitavyam. santi caiva hyauttarapadikāni hrasvatvāni. api ca 'buddhiḥ sampratyaya ityanarthāntaram'. kāryā buddhiḥ, kāryaḥ sampratyayaḥ. kāryasya sampratyayasya vipariṇāmaḥ kāryavipariṇāmaḥ kāryavipariṇāditi.

parihārāntaramevedam matvā paṭhitam. katham vedam parihārāntaram syāt? yadi bhūtapūrve sthānaśabdo vartate. bhūtapūrve cāpi sthāno vartate. katham? buddhyā. tadyathā kaścitkasmaicidupadiśati-

“prācīnam grāmādāmrāḥ” iti. tasya sarvatrāmrabuddhiḥ prasaktā. tataḥ paścādāha- “ye kṣīrino’varohavantaḥ pṛthuparṇāste nyagrodhāḥ” iti. sa tatrāmrabudhyā nyagrodhabuddhim pratipadyate. sa tataḥ paśyati- budhyā āmrāḥcāprakṣyamāṇān. nyagrodhāḥcāpadhīyamānān. nityā eva ca svasmin viśaye āmrāḥ, nityāśca nyagrodhāḥ. buddhistasya vipariṇamyate. Evamiḥāpyastirasmāyaviśeṣeṇopadiṣṭaḥ. tasya sarvatrāstibuddhiḥ prasaktā. saḥ “asterbhūḥ” ityanenāstibuddhyā bhavatibuddhim pratipadyate. sa tataḥ paśyati- buddhyā astim cāpakṣyamāṇam, bhavatim copadhīyamānam. nityā eva ca svasminviśaye’stirnityo bhavatiśca. buddhistvasya vipariṇamyate.”

On the other hand, it is possible due to the change in the mind. Otherwise, this is possible due to change in the mind. What is kāryavipariṇāmāt?, kārya means buddhi (intellect), that is undergoing change. But it should be due to no change in the mind. Certainly there are shortening etc. that one effected in the latter word, also buddhi and sampratyaya are synonyms, kāryābuddhiḥ means kāryaḥ sampratyayaḥ, that means change of buddhi i.e. it is said kāryavipariṇāma. This is stated as a different solutions, when the term sthāna is

employed in the sense of bhūtapūrva also, katham, through mind/intellect i.e. how, certain person preaches someone there are mango trees east of the village, then his mind takes it that there are mango trees everywhere. Again the former

says- those with milk downward roots and big leaves are banyans, then the latter would get the image of mango trees first banyan trees next, then he looks that some mango trees are replaced by banyans through intellect. As a matter of fact, both mango trees as well as banyans themselves are immutable like this- ‘asti’ is preached without any exception and for the disciple’s intellect, ‘asti’ is there everywhere, thereby the sūtra “asterbhūḥ”- he would get ‘bhavati’ after ‘asti’ in his intellect, then he looks through intellect ‘asti’ being replaced by ‘bhavati’. Rather, the fact is that, both ‘asti’ and ‘bhavati’ are immutable by themselves only the intellect is mutable.

Therefore, one has to understand the śabdanityatva as follows:

Pāṇini came across a word *asti* and also another word *bhavati* which is quite different in other words both are independent, immutable and there is no any relation whatsoever between the two. Rather he instituted a sūtra “*asterbhūḥ*”, which means *asti* is replaced by *bhavati*. The sūtra insinuates that śabda is kāryā and not nitya. This process apparently looks to be self-contradictory, i.e. the system of vyākaraṇa built on the premises of śabdanityatva.

Whereas the sūtras such as the one quoted above imply “śabdānityatva”. It is against this background, that Patañjali illuminated the concept of śabdanityatva.

The thesis is that, there will be change that is intellectual rather than real and therefore the theory of śabdanityatva is not at stake.

In Paspasāhnikā, Patañjali rakes up the question as to whether śabda is nitya or kārya?.

“kim punarnityaḥ śabdāḥ, āhosvit kāryaḥ?”-

The question employed is that in case śabda is nitya, the system of vyākaraṇa is in vain. Mīmāṃsakas opine that varṇas suggested by the articulated sounds is śabda and it is immutable. Vaiyākaraṇas hold that padasphoṭa, which is different from varṇa is acceptable still some vaiyākaraṇas advocate vākyasphoṭa as the real candidate. Vaiśeṣikas hold that the sound itself is śabda and it is kāryā as nothing else, other than the same is available. Patañjali shows the way out of the impasse by the following paragraph.

Under the first sūtra ‘vṛddhirādaic’, Patañjali substantiates the theory of ‘śabdanityatva’ by the following paragraph.

The following is the context-

The samjñā (designation), vṛddhi is given to the three letters ā, ai and au. The samjñā can be given to the existing varṇas, if varṇas do exist then only the samjñā can be given. Thus, both the things are interdependent (itaretarāśrayatva).

Then Vararuci offers the following vārtika as a solution;
 “Siddhantu nityaśabdatvāt” (since the śabdās are immutable, there will not be interdependency), following is Patañjali’s bhāṣyam-

“Siddhametat katham? nityaśabdatvāt. nityāḥ śabdāḥ, nityeṣu śabdeṣu satāmādaicām samjñā krīyate. na ca samjñayā adaico bhāvyante.”

It is possible how? as śabdās are immutable the samjñā is being given to ā, ai and au, which are already there, but the letters are not being named (injected).

Then Patañjali quoting another vārtika, replies the question as what is the purpose of śāstra? while śabdanityatva is being advocated.

“yadi tarhi nityāḥ śabdāḥ, kimartham śāstram?. kimartham śāstramiti cen-nivartakatvātsiddham. nivartakam śāstram. katham?, mṛjirasmāyaviś- eṣeṇopadiṣṭaḥ. tasya sarvatra mṛjibuddhiḥ prasaktā. tatrānena nivṛttiḥ krīyate. mṛjerakīnitsu pratyayeṣu mṛji prasaṅge mārjiḥ sādhubhavadīti”.

If śabdās are immutable, what is the purpose of śāstra? It is required for exemption, exempting, how? The root mṛji is taught to this man without any exception, his intellect spreads everywhere in the form of mṛji, then by this, it is being exempted when mṛji is taken up, mārji will be the perfect one, if not followed by suffixes that are kit, git, nit.

Bhartrhari’s statement ‘nityāśśabdārthasambandhaḥ tatrāmnātā maharṣibhiḥ’ is made keeping the quoted lengthy discussion in mind.

At this juncture, it may be of some interest to compare the Indian dichotomy between name/śabda, and sense/artha with the western concept of meaning.

Writing on the concept of meaning in linguistics, Stephen

Ullmann says, “Among the definitions of meaning evolved outside linguistics proper, two lines of thought have proved particularly fruitful in their application to language; the analytical and the operational approach to the problem”. The best-known modern attempt for the analytical type of definition of meaning is the basic triangle designed by ‘Ogden and Richards’ basic triangle.

The author lay down a tripartite relationship between three terms, ‘symbol’, ‘referent’ and ‘reference’. In simple terminology we shall call the symbol the ‘name’ which is the phonetic word; thought or reference, the ‘sense’ which corresponds to the name, referent, ‘the thing’ thing or ‘object’ to which the word refers. These three terms stand at the three apices of the triangle, but the symbol (the name) and the referent (the thing) are connected by a dotted line. It means, there is no direct relationship between the symbol and the referent and the relation is imputed.

On the other hand, Saussure says “the combination of a concept and a sound image”, is a sign.

In Saussure’s terminology, the word ‘sign’ means the whole, concept and sound image.

He replaces these two words, concept and sound image by the term ‘signified’ (signifie) and ‘signifier’ (signifiant). And thus by ‘sign’, Saussure means the whole the result from the association of the signifier with the signified. The bond between signifier (sound-image) and the signified (concept) is arbitrary. In other words the relationship of word and it’s meaning is arbitrary (the word has no natural connection with the object it denotes). Thus, the artha or sense is signifie in Saussure, thought or reference is Ogden-Richards and apoha according to Buddhists.

III. Conclusion

It can be concluded that Śabdanityatva seems to be a philosophical concept of Indian scholars. In modern linguistics word is a concept of ever changing form as a unit and Language as a whole. But to correlate the two different aspects, it is essential to accept that they are complementary. The different meaning of a word evolved due to semantic changes is an evidence of śabdanityatva only.

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**IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
TEACHING AND EFFECTIVE
COMMUNICATION SKILLS PROBLEMS AND
REMEDIAL MEASURES**

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Abstract

English is now a global language and owing to the increasing demand of English in the industrial environment, there is a need to design an industry-useful language curriculum and implement it in an effective way. In this paper, the importance of English as a global language for engineering students has been examined and various problems faced by students and teachers in engineering colleges have been discussed and appropriate solutions are given to remedy the poor standards of communication and soft skills.

***Learning without thought is labour lost;
Thought without learning is perilous.***

– Confucius

Language is the most important medium of communication among human beings. Man has been using language as a tool of communication since time immemorial. It has enabled him to interact with the environment and to regulate his social behaviour. Man reciprocates his feelings, ideas, thoughts, notions etc., with others employing language as the most widely used instrument.

The word 'communication' is derived from the Latin term 'communicare' which means 'to share'. But communication is not only transmission of meaning from one person to another through symbols but also implies that the system of communication is commonly owned, accepted, and recognized by the members of a community. It enables them to acquire, exchange, store, retrieve and process information. Therefore,

communication is essentially a social affair. (Mohan & Banerjee 3)

The communication is possible when the cooperation between two parties, one active or at the giving end and the other passive or at the receiving end, is established. In the world of today, which is veritably a global village, communication skills are of paramount importance as the means for development and empowerment. The art of effective communication involves mastery of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing (LSRW). Every professional in the making needs to be competent enough in communication to make an indelible impression on the global movement. It is very essential that “the ability to communicate effectively, both verbally and in writing, to peers, the employer, client and the community’ are the desirable skills and attributes in the formation of an engineer.” (Nguyen 73) The English language has been gaining greater importance for the global communication. It is also called the lingua franca of the world. It is no longer just a library language or language of science & technology or a window to the world but a language of opportunities. A fairly high degree of proficiency in English language and excellent communication skills enhance students’ rate of employability.

The professionals have to be able to communicate the purpose and relevance of their work, both orally and in writing. Effective communication skills are often needed to get a good job in the first place. If one is clear in expressing one’s thoughts, and articulating one’s accomplishments and attributes, an interviewer is more likely to form a favourable impression on one’s skills. Mr. Kiran Karnik, the then President of NASSCOM (National Association of Software and Services Company) told in 2006, “Currently, only about 25% of technical graduates and 10% to 15% of general college

graduates are suitable for employment in the outsourcing industry, according to NASSCOM of Delhi. Even if they are technically qualified, they may lack good communication skills or the ability to speak or write well in English.” (Kiran Karnik, quoted in web sources)

Communication is the most important function of a human being in his/her academic/social life. Communication helps to build strong relationship and better understanding which are very important in our personal and professional life. To be successful in any field of activity one should communicate effectively. Most of students of engineering colleges are not ‘industry ready’ because they lack communication skills. In the global context, students of engineering and technology need a specific set of language skills for their success in education and professional career. Industries are also voicing their concerns about the need for better communication skills among students of engineering. ‘In a survey of employers, undergraduates, graduates and university administrators, graduates were said to be lacking in “personal qualities and communication skills are not able to market themselves.” (Shuib 1) The professional profile of a modern qualified engineer should include well-developed communication skills and high English language proficiency to help him achieve success in the modern highly competitive global work arena.

THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

English has become a global language, a connecting link, a language of modern science” and technologies, a language of latest sciences, like Information technology and space science, a language of all competitive examinations - be they the state level, national level or international level. Whether we realize it or not, we are now living in the world of information and communication technology. In this digital age, computers can

be seen populating everywhere. Eighty percent of computer data are processed and stored in English. Scientists have found out that five thousand newspapers, more than half of the newspapers published in the world, are published in English. Even in many countries where English is a minority language, there is still at least one newspaper in English. It has become the language of international affairs and international correspondence. It has become a language of International commerce and trade, a language of status and symbol. Nay, English is window to the world. "English has been widely accepted as the most widespread language in the world." (Tattersall 38-44)

By the end of 20th century English began to emerge as a global language. It has a great acceptance at social, economical and political levels. "English is cited as the ...major language of international business, diplomacy, science and professions." (Riemer 2) The outlook behind the us, age of English has been changing significantly. In our country middle class is also not keeping itself in isolation by neglecting the importance of English. In India after the economic reforms, there is a paradigm shift towards the learning of English language but it is sorry state to note that still there is a great dearth of engineering professionals who can have higher-level proficiency in communication skills.

It is found that basically engineering students need effective communication skills for the following reasons:

1. To express and share their knowledge, ideas, thoughts and experiences in an effective manner for the common benefit of the society.
2. To aspire a bright academic career growth.
3. To sharpen presentation, writing, negotiation, intrapersonal skills etc.

4. To be successful in the job interviews.
5. To pursue higher level of studies.
6. To work in a globalized and multilingual culture.
7. To secure a higher level of position in the related jobs.
8. To lead the team from the front.
9. To harness a better understanding and harmony.

In the era of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization effective communication skills are the keys to unlock the doors of success. Professionals having strong hold on communication – skills are considered an asset for any business or industrial organization. Such professionals set higher levels of standards and add value to the organizational set-up. At present, besides technical knowledge employers are looking for sound communication skills in an engineering graduate. Thus^ the professional profile of a modern qualified engineer should include good command of communication skills. The urgent need to improve technical students' communication skills has been emphasized by educationists as well as employers. In an exclusive interview with Mr.Narayanan, Vice Chairman of Cognizant Technology Solutions and the then Chairman of the NASSCOM, answered a question put forth him by Shobha Warriar regarding the talent demand and supply gap and the role of the NASSCOM to help the industry bridge the gap:

The current situation is that, in terms of availability of talent, the numbers are good. The problem lies in the suitability of people. The industry has moved forward rapidly and technology also has changed but the educational institutions and the curriculum have not changed that rapidly. So, we have to bridge the gap by providing additional training to the people

who are coming out of colleges so that they are industry-ready.

He further extended by telling that the English teachers at professional colleges should undergo paradigm shift, and cease to be mere teachers of grammar and structure; they are expected to play the role of communication and soft skills trainers. Engineering professionals who are proficient in communication skills have a considerable edge over those who have not. Lack of communication skills will certainly make an engineering professional handicapped, and certainly fall short of resources. It has been revealed that engineering professionals face several tough challenges in the global job market if their communication skills are poor. The main reasons behind this are below average proficiency in English language, lack of exposure and low level of confidence, less emphasis on reading skills, scarcity of skillful trainers and students' very casual attitude towards oral and written communication skills.

Thus, it seems that the imparting of communication skills/ soft skills training is of paramount importance for each and every engineering college especially where the students from rural and Telugu medium background are studying. Technical institutes that keep themselves well stocked and well equipped in terms of communication skills will only be able to meet the language requirements of the globalized world. Even the employers require "a number of competencies, with an emphasis on an increased ability to communicate.... and good foreign language skills." (Jensen 35-42) The dexterity in communication is considered the most indispensable trait in the making of a global professional engineer.

THE CURRICULUM, DESIGN OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN ENGINEERING COLLEGES AFFILIATED TO JNTU, HYDERABAD: A STUDY

In view of the growing importance of English as a tool for global communication and the consequent emphasis on training students to acquire communicative competence, the syllabus has been designed to develop linguistic and communicative competence of Engineering students. The prescribed books and the exercises are meant to serve broadly as students' handbooks. In the English classes, the focus should be on the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, and for this the teachers should use the text prescribed for detailed study. For example, the students should be encouraged to read the texts/selected paragraphs silently. The teachers can ask comprehension questions to stimulate discussion and students can be drilled to write short paragraphs/essays etc. based on the discussions. The text for non-detailed study is for extensive reading for pleasure. Hence, it is suggested that they read it on their own with topics selected for discussion in the class. The time should be utilized for working out the exercises given after each section, as also for supplementing the exercises with authentic materials of a similar kind i.e., from newspaper articles, advertisements, promotional material, etc. However, the stress in this syllabus is on skill development and practice of language skills.

All the universities of engineering & technology have included the English language as one of the fundamental subjects in the first year. These universities have also included language lab. As far as theory is concerned, in JNTU there are Detailed and Non-Detailed Text books. They are as follows:

FOR DETAILED STUDY

- First Text book entitled *Enjoying Everyday English*, Hyderabad: Sangam Books.

FOR NON-DETAILED STUDY

- Second text book *Inspiring Speeches and Lives*, Guntur: Maruthi Publications.

EXERCISES ON COMPOSITION

- Reading and writing skills, Reading comprehension, Situational dialogues, Letter writing, Essay writing

PRACTICE EXERCISES ON REMEDIAL GRAMMAR

- Common errors in English, Subject-verb agreement, Use of Articles and Prepositions, and Tense.

VOCABULARY DEVELOPMENT

- Synonyms & Antonyms, One-word substitutes, Prefixes & suffixes, Idioms & phrases, Words often confused.

OBJECTIVES

1. To improve the language proficiency of the students in English with emphasis on Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing (LSRW) skills.
2. To equip the students to study academic subjects with greater facility through the theoretical and practical components of the English syllabus.
3. To develop the study skills and communication skills in formal and informal situations.

Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University (JNTU), Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh always felt that the gap between the academics and industry should be abridged. Considering fact, it has changed the theory and lab syllabus of English language to cater to the needs of students. It also designed the Advanced English Lab syllabus for the third year students

high is quite useful for students. It has sufficient pragmatic relevance to the industrial needs. English Teachers of engineering colleges have to take initiative to mould the students in their language proficiency. The contents of the syllabus advise and instruct students to focus their primary attention on the four basic skills (LSRW).

LISTENING SKILLS

English language learning begins with listening skills. Students should be motivated to develop their listening skills so that they may improve their pronunciation and intelligibility. In this regard, students have to be well equipped with necessary training in listening so that they can comprehend the speech of people of different backgrounds and regions. Students should be given sufficient practice in listening to the sounds of the English language to be able to recognize them, to distinguish between them to mark stress and recognize and use the right intonation in sentences. It is a very important skill which is ignored by the learners. The purpose of learning the listening skills can be Served by the following methods like listening for general content, listening to fill up information, intensive listening, listening for specific information, etc. Students should be motivated to cultivate the indispensable habit of watching English news channels like NDTV, BBC, CNN, etc., on a regular basis with a focus on communication skills.

SPEAKING SKILLS

English teachers have to develop awareness regarding the role of speaking in English and its contribution to their success. These skills are important as they have to learn how to express themselves fluently and appropriately in social and professional contexts. The main purpose of learning this skill is as mentioned below. Students can get mastery over speaking skills as when they are resolved for oral practice, participate in

exchanging situational dialogues, debate, role play - individual/group activities (using exercises of the prescribed text: *Learning English: A Communicative Approach.*), *Just A Minute* (JAM), etc.

READING SKILLS

English teaching community should develop awareness about the significance of silent reading and comprehension. English teachers should also develop the ability of students to guess the meanings of words from context, and grasp the overall message of the text, draw inferences, etc. Students can improve their speaking skills if they follow a few measures like skimming the text, understanding the gist of an argument, identifying the topic, inferring lexical and contextual meaning, understanding discourse features, recognizing coherence/sequencing of sentences, etc.

WRITING SKILLS

An awareness should be developed among students about writing as an exact and formal skill. Students should be equipped with the components of different forms of writing, beginning with the lower order ones. Students can improve their writing skills following the methods like writing sentences, use of appropriate vocabulary, paragraph writing, coherence and cohesiveness, narration/description, note making, note taking, formal and informal letter writing, report writing, essay writing, editing a passage, etc.

Effective communication skills can be developed by rigorous training programmes with persistent efforts. Primarily, students should become very active listeners as listening is the most important and, of course the most neglected skill. English language learning is possible only when the students learn the

basics of English grammar with a practical bent of mind, and by developing voracious reading and interpretative skills. Students can acquire the grammatical awareness, critical thinking skills, develop vocabulary contextually, analytical skills and comprehending ability by avid reading skills. They should also habituate themselves to reading all English newspapers, general and technical journals and magazines, novels and short stories. This will certainly help the students learn speaking and writing skills if they practise what they have learned by listening. They can also learn these skills by interacting with the teachers without inhibition of fear using only English language in and outside the class room. But this kind of encouraging language learning environment is found to be absent in most of the engineering colleges.

The other relevant areas of greater concern to students are listening to famous speeches in order to get mastery over the art of oral presentation, by actively participating in technical and general presentations, seminars, workshops, conferences, group discussions, debates, etc. "To be an effective speaker, familiarity with one's audience is necessary." (Rizvi 92) As students do not get opportunity, they are unable to get exposure without which the question of being familiar with audience does not arise. All students are not expected to have the gift of speaking on any topic or occasion without any prior preparation. The above said learning process is absent in the students of almost all engineering colleges. These constructive learning measures, if followed attentively, may prove to be very fruitful in the learning of communication skills at undergraduate level.

Students should be trained in reading skills using the prescribed text for detailed study. They should be examined in reading and answering questions using 'unseen' passages which may be taken from the non-detailed text or other

authentic. texts, such as magazines/newspapers' articles.

TEACHER-CENTRED CLASS/LEARNER-CENTRED CLASS?

Majority of English teachers follow the traditional methodology of teaching in teacher-centric class room where the teachers play an active role and the students play a passive role. This is where the students do not get an opportunity to learn or exhibit their skills except written part. This inappropriate methodology does no good for any student aspiring to learn communication skills. This is happening in good number of engineering colleges while teaching the text and non-detailed text books as mentioned above. The teachers merely complete their syllabus in a teacher-centric class room. Therefore, students are unable to learn effective communication skills. The class room should be transformed into learner-centric so that the students get umpteen numbers of opportunities for their communicative exposure, to ensure growth in the level of confidence, to dispel the inhibition of fear and jitteriness. After a fair amount of practice like this, students will be able to assess their level of communicative competence. The role played by an English teacher is that of a facilitator or manipulator. Be that as it may, an English teacher is supposed to give the requisite inputs to the students from time to time.

It is important to diagnose a patient's illness before prescribing medicine to him/her. Teachers often complain that students have communication problems. What do they mean when they say that their students have communication problems? Do they mean that students lack speaking skills or they are reticent or they are shy or they lack certain skills to communicate effectively? Or do they mean that students do not have

adequate language proficiency? Yes, it may be right to some extent considering the fact that good number of students come from rural/Telugu medium background. But •what about other students having the capability and showing a certain degree of interest in learning the English language? The English teacher should know -where exactly the shoe pinches so that he/she can come up with remedial measure accordingly. Students too share their woes and aspirations. “I’m not comfortable facing the audience.” “I’m scared of taking part in group discussions.” “I don’t feel at home when I meet strangers.” “Sir, please don’t ask me to propose vote of thanks. I can’t do that. I’m very nervous.” The fact is that most students have communication apprehension and that acts as a hurdle for them to communicate freely and effectively. Here, the English teacher should instill confidence in students by making them realize the importance of effective communication skills.

Students present their papers in student-technical seminars, and participate in Just a Minute or Brainstorming Sessions. The process of evaluation of the above said events is quite erratic. It only assesses the students’ memory and presentation skills. No focus is laid on the core area of English language learning. The task-based English language teaching can also prove to be a very useful methodology to improve the communicative competence among the students of engineering colleges. “The Task-based language teaching has a number of purposes. Willis identifies eight purposes” (Willis 35-36):

1. To give learners confidence in trying out whatever language they know;
2. To give learners experience of spontaneous interaction;
3. To give learners the chance to benefit from noticing how others express similar meanings;
4. To give learners chances for negotiating turns to speak;

5. To engage learners in using language ‘purposefully and cooperatively’;
6. To make learners participate in a complete interaction, not just one-off sentences;
7. To give learners chances to try out communication strategies;
8. To develop learners’ confidence that they can achieve communicative goals.

PROBLEMS AND REMEDIAL MEASURES

In Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University, Hyderabad, the advanced English language lab is also a part of the syllabus for the third year students of Bachelor of Technology. But unfortunately most of students do not attribute as much importance to the English language learning as to their core subjects. Students take the most important acquisition of oral and written communication skills in a very lighter vein, and study this subject only to pass in the exam. Majority of students are least bothered about knowing how important learning communication skills is to be successful in their career. The true realization of the importance of English among the students will be envisaged only when they start attending JKC-IEG on campus/off campus interviews conducted in their colleges or outside colleges.

Though students have studied English for twelve years, prior to their under graduate course of study, in their school, they are miserably failing even when they are asked to answer a question, i.e. “Tell me about yourself”. This question is the first question asked by any employer. Regarding the sad plight of language learners H. G. Widdowson argues that “students, especially in developing countries, who have received several

years of formal English teaching, frequently remain deficient in the ability to actually use the language, and to understand its use, in normal communication, whether in the spoken or written mode.” (Widdowson 117)

Language learning is an everlasting and creative process. No one can get mastery over communication skills in a day or two. It is an academic imbroglio for the students lacking in effective communicative skills. At this critical situation one can only say that developing one’s language is a herculean task. Who is responsible for this situation? Students themselves are responsible for this kind of calamitous situation. The students who do not pay special attention towards learning communication skills feel at a time that he/she has fallen into a pit dug by himself or herself. This is a self-made misery. The given opportunities are denied and no steps are taken to develop their language skills during their studies. Therefore, English teachers have to provide the requisite orientation and direction to students in making them realize how important effective communication skills are in any engineering college or MNC. The very syllabus designed for English by a few universities is not catering to the needs of the student community.

In the existing scenario, the success of any student of an engineering college in the on/off-campus recruitment is mainly based on their exhibition of communication or soft skills. In most of the engineering colleges, English language communication is the most common problem faced by students. Most students are not “industry ready” because they lack communication skills. There is no effective communication between the faculty-student and student-student. No effective training is imparted to the students who are very poor at communication. Much importance is being given to the technical skills ignoring the most indispensable communication skills. To perform effectively in the business

world or organization, communication plays a pivotal role. One who is good at effective communication thinks soundly, enjoys self-esteem, dignity and gets respect in society, academic or profession. People with effective communication skills are more confident, because they know that they can tell other people exactly what they need. In order to communicate effectively, one has to think ahead and organize' one's thoughts. In order to have the technical know-how and other related skills, students of engineering colleges should learn to develop the competence in the application of the English language.

MAIN BARRIERS TO COMMUNICATION

Initially, students are asked to disclose their language learning problems and sufficient time is given to think over them. The next day, the brainstorming sessions are conducted where the students have listed problems. The most important problems are negative criticism, lack of interest, inhibition of fear & shyness, poor practice, inadequate word power, etc. If a student does not develop interest in learning communication skills, the new methods applied by the teacher cannot be worked out. Although the students are motivated thoroughly in this regard, the level of interest is developed initially, and cannot be sustained throughout. After certain period, the interest starts to diminish. Being self-motivated appears to be the only visible solution. "Developing the right attitude and preparing adequately are crucial to effective communication in the international market place." (Murphy 9) Additionally, motivational classes conducted by seasoned personality development/soft skills /communicate on skills trainers may prove to be beneficial to the student community. These training programs can be imparted with the help of power point presentations. These programs can arouse curiosity

among the students with regard to learning communication skills. Once the students start realizing the importance of communication skills they will find learning them on the priority basis.

INTERNAL BARRIERS

A few students encounter with the internal barriers. These exist within the sender and the receiver of information. These prevent the undistorted flow of communication. In other words, they tend to distort communication, and hence they are called as 'filters'. The feelings that exist inside both the parties, like shyness, superiority complex, inferiority complex, disinterestedness, perceived notions or opinions, rigid attitudes, anger, disappointment, sorrow, inhibition of fear, uncontrollable emotions, etc., are the examples for the internal barriers/obstacles. Students encounter with their psychological problems in language especially, in front of august gathering. More surprisingly, the students who are considerable good at their core subjects are falling prey to the internal barriers. It is the onus on the part of English teacher to dispel all the internal obstacles. He/she should instill confidence among students by being amicable with them. The teacher should resist the temptation of finding faults with the students in the beginning when they come forward to perform one activity or the other. After a few sessions are conducted the teacher can give fine-tuning to the communication skills of the participants. Follow-up activities greatly instill confidence among students and help them learn communication skills.

NEGATIVE FRAME OF MIND & ENGLISH SPEAKING ENVIRONMENT

If the students are criticized in the very beginning, they develop a negative frame of mind. They feel that they are isolated from the creamy layer of students which, at all costs,

is to be eschewed. This certainly prevents them from practicing any language event. The English teacher has to take due measures to curb this problem. Yet another problem student's face is that they hardly employ English language inside and outside the class room. They tell that they are absolutely comfortable with their Mother Tongue. Some of them say that they do not have interest to speak in English. Whereas most of them blame the environment in which they are. They say that they are deprived of English speaking environment. It is an acknowledged fact that practice is very much found wanting. Upon asking them, they express their own reasons for their problems. The English teacher should explain them how important it is for them to create English speaking environment. That is the only difference between the colleges established in metropolitan cities and the colleges established in semi urban/ rural areas. The students of metropolitan city colleges use English language more often than not. But the same is not the case with the colleges of semi urban/rural areas. A few brainstorming sessions can be very handy in these situations.

VOCABULARY DEVELOPMENT

Another important aspect of learning for a student of B.Tech. is vocabulary building. Broadly defined, vocabulary is knowledge of words and word meanings. Today's students of professional institutions do not even possess basic vocabulary. In the beginning they do not pay any attention at all towards learning vocabulary. The primary reason is nothing but the students do not have the reading habit. When students are in the final year of their academic course of study, they begin to develop interest to learn vocabulary as they wish to take the test of GRE (Graduate Record Examination). This examination is taken by those who are interested in going abroad in

particular country like the U.S.A. to study M.S. Programme over there. If the students are not good at vocabulary, their scores will be so less that they cannot get an opportunity to pursue their higher studies in a well-reputed university. So the students who aim at going to the U.S.A to study M.S. Programme should start learning vocabulary from the very first year of B.Tech. course. The English faculty members should teach the roots, suffixes, prefixes, one-word substitutes, homonyms, synonyms and antonyms. The vocabulary tests are to be conducted to evaluate the students' learning of vocabulary. The students are to be taught to know the meaning of the word and its application as well. The students can also improve their vocabulary browsing internet. So much of information regarding vocabulary is available there.

As far as writing skills are concerned, majority of students do not possess these skills. Today students are not even in a position to write a personal letter or a leave application which they have been learning since early schooling level. They commit so many grammatical, spelling and punctuation errors. English teachers should teach the importance of writing skills. As a part of syllabus teachers teach essay writing and letter writing in the class room. The teachers should give good number of exercises to students as a part of practice. The more students are made to practice writing, the better the writing skills be. To serve this purpose, students have to be voracious readers. English teachers should also teach basics of English grammar, paragraph writing, report writing, resume preparation, covering letter, report "writing, descriptions on any person/place/thing either in the class room or English laboratory.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION SKILLS LABORATORY (ELCSL)

English Language Communication Skills Laboratory, a course

for undergraduate engineering and technology students studying at colleges affiliated to the Jawaharlal Nehru Technology University, Hyderabad, India was introduced in August 2005. The main objective of the course is to develop students' communication skills and send them for campus placement or recruitment. It would help not only for the rural and regional medium background students but also English medium students to improve their communication skills. Many students are turning out to be fiasco in the campus placements as they are unable to speak well because of inhibition of fear and jitteriness. They are found to be in utter hesitation and worry to come on the dais to present a research paper.

Therefore, it is quite necessary to understand the detailed picture of the English lab syllabus as designed by JNTU, Hyderabad, its objectives and advantages for students in the lab. The main objective of the lab is to prepare the students for campus recruitment. The lab makes the students cultivate the habit of listening and speaking with accurate pronunciation. Students can record their own voice and play back for self evaluation. It acts as a platform for learning, practising and producing language skills through interactive lessons and communicative mode of teaching. Language laboratories are for drills and for listening comprehension. It is also used for consolidating the learning. Language lab may have the following objectives, purposes, functions to work upon.

Though we have students who are quite experienced in the use of 'computers', we also have a few students who have seldom used a computer. They lack in the basic knowledge such as how to operate a mouse or open a folder; and lack in the basic vocabulary, reading, and listening skills to follow instructions for using the computer. We know that most of students have the communication problem. Sometimes they do not have

adequate language proficiency. Communication and soft skills and ability to learn on their own are very important for those who wish to join any company. English teachers have a cumbersome responsibility to help the students in overcoming their fear of communicating, and to assist students in developing more positive perceptions of communication activities. “The complexity of teaching and learning - is a systematic research .The technical-details of the mouse are simple but the teaching principles are complicated; for that reason we need to consider, the effectiveness of learning through multimedia” -D. Healy (An extract from: Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) -www.Monografias.com) Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) is a relatively new and rapidly evolving academic field that explores the role of information and communication technologies in language learning and teaching. If it is put to proper use the students will be benefitted immensely.

The English Language Lab focuses on the production and practice of sounds of English language and familiarizes the students with the use of English in everyday situations and contexts.

OBJECTIVES

1. To expose the students to a variety of self-instructional, learner-friendly modes of language learning.
2. To help the students cultivate the habit of reading passages from the computer monitor, thus providing them with the required facility to face computer-based competitive exams such GRE, TOEFL, IELTS, etc.
3. To enable them to learn better pronunciation through stress on word accent, intonation, and rhythm.
4. To train them to use language effectively to face interviews, group discussions and public speaking.

5. To initiate them into greater use of the computer in resume preparation, report writing, format-making, etc.

LANGUAGE LAB SYLLABUS

The following course content designed and developed by JNTU ((2009) is prescribed for the English Language Laboratory sessions:

1. Introduction to the Sounds of English- Vowels, Diphthongs & Consonants.
2. Introduction to Stress and Intonation.
3. Situational Dialogues / Role Play.
4. Oral Presentations- Prepared and Extempore.
5. Just A Minute' Sessions (JAM).
6. Describing Objects / Situations / People.
7. Information Transfer
8. Debate
9. Telephoning Skills.
10. Giving Directions.

THE ADVANTAGES OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE LAB

As mentioned earlier, listening skills are very crucial in language learning. Language lab helps learners develop good listening skills. Using headsets in the lab, the learners can learn the correct pronunciation (Received Pronunciation) which is globally accepted. Students, having sharpened the pronouncing skills, can learn to be intelligible while speaking to others. Individual headsets provide privacy to students in the lab. It is a great source of encouragement for those who come from rural background. Students can recurrently practise the

pronunciation without feeling shy or apprehended. They can practise the phonetic sounds according to British Received Pronunciation which help them, speak with correct pronunciation. Students can be supervised individually through the teacher console so that their doubts can be clarified easily. In theory classes, the students usually stop speaking when teacher communicates with an individual learner but in a lab they will continue working without interruption. The students can improve their language skills effectively by listening to the material in the lab.

The use of language learning' system encourages learner to talk freely and dispel the inhibition of fear/inferiority complex/shyness while speaking in front of the gathering. They can test their voice by articulating the phonetic sounds. Students can test themselves without fear, and thus focus on learning English. The recording facility is available in the lab. The learners record their own voices in contrast with the standard pronunciation. Each learner can work interactively on different segments/student consoles within the same programme or work with completely different programme material. English lab faculty is responsible for assessment of students' learning communication skills in the laboratory.

IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED BY ENGLISH TEACHER

ROLE PLAY: The students are asked to form into groups of three to five students and participate in the role play. In the beginning, they are given the situation and are asked to come prepared' to participate in role play in the next session. Accordingly, the students prepare themselves on the given topic/situation, and perform in the class. After this initial activity, they are assigned situations on the spot and they have to perform at the very same time. In this way students are

trained to participate in it extemporaneously. The teacher listens to the performances given by the students and evaluates the individual performances. He points out the errors of the individual students and gets them corrected.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS: Students are asked to prepare on a topic assigned to them by the English teacher, and present the same orally in the class. This takes place in between the discussion/debate activity. Students make formal oral presentations. Each presentation is followed by a question and answer session. It ends with teacher's remarks on the individual presentations.

GROUP DISCUSSION/ DEBATE: This is the most important activity. Even the MNCs ask the applicants to participate in group discussion as yardstick to assess the applicant's communication skills. "Far too often students do little questioning in our classes, and less tough thinking. Discussions ^ can help them learn how to learn." (Rao 278) The students are asked to participate in a formal/informal discussion/debate activity on a given topic. This activity is completely student-led, i.e., students play all the roles (organizer, observer, group presenter and participating members). It is more appropriate to call this activity a "discussion/debate" activity because it includes both group discussions and debates, including a little bit of oral presentation. By these activities students' communication skills, management of time, leadership qualities, presence of mind, etc., are evaluated. After the performance, students are given feedback individually. They are also informed about the errors they committed. Having rectified the errors committed in the previous performance, they get mentally prepared for the next one. In this way they improve a lot gradually.

Improving students' communication skills is a process, and

cannot be accomplished overnight by any manners of means. Trying to improve or change too many things at once will be counterproductive. The English teacher will become discouraged and overwhelmed if one attempts to change one's entire personality all at once. Teachers have to choose one or two traits at a time and work on those over a period of time. Students should be motivated to take advantage of their personal strengths and make a positive impact on others. Students have to maximize their positive personality traits and use them in their interactions with others. They can learn how to improve their communication skills primarily by developing excellent listening skills, learning to resolve problems and •conflicts, understanding body language, and accepting responsibility for their own negative, behaviour. Determination and self-awareness will make every student's desire to improve his communication skills a reality.

IMPORTANCE OF NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

The ability to understand and -use nonverbal communication is a powerful tool that will help one connect with others, express what one really means, navigates challenging situations, and builds better relationships at home and work. Nonverbal Communication is usually understood as the process of communication through sending and receiving wordless messages. Such messages can be communicated through gesture; body language or posture; facial expression and eye contact; object communication such as clothing, hairstyles or even architecture; symbols and info graphics. Speech may also contain nonverbal elements known as paralanguage, including voice quality, emotion and speaking style, as well as prosodic features such as rhythm, intonation and stress. Likewise, written texts have nonverbal elements such as handwriting style, spatial arrangement of words, or the use of emoticons. If the words, the tone, and the body language are all in step or in synchronization, then the communication is said to be

the core technology and excellent command of English congruent. If any of the above elements is in dissonance, not in synch, then the communication becomes non-congruent. The message becomes unclear to the listener, and a wrong meaning is carried away because of this non-congruent message.

What percentage of message is conveyed by words, what percentage by tone, and what percentage by body language? A research was carried out on this aspect, and it was found that only 7% of message is conveyed by words, 38% of message is conveyed by tone of voice, and 55% of message is conveyed by body language. In total 93% of communication is nonverbal. Peter F. Drucker, American Management writer, says that “The most important thing in communication is to hear what isn’t being said.” (The Importance of Non verbal communication as mentioned in the web sources.) Students are not familiar with these nonverbal skills till they begin to study any professional course of study. While communicating, most of students fail to impress the employers in the application of nonverbal communication skills. These skills are of greater importance in higher academia and industrial circles. Following are a few important examples of nonverbal behaviour and interpretation.

Examples of Nonverbal Behaviour and Interpretation

NONVERBAL BEHAVIOUR	INTERPRETATION
Brisk, erect walk	Confidence
Standing with hands on hips	Readiness, aggression
Sitting with legs crossed	Boredom
Sitting legs apart	Open, relaxed
Arms crossed on chest	Defensiveness

Walking with hands in pockets/	Dejection
Shoulders hunched	
Hand to cheek	Thinking, evaluation
Touching, slightly rubbing nose	Rejection, doubt, lying
Rubbing the eye	Doubt, Disbelief
Hands clasped behind back	Anger, frustration, apprehension
Locked ankles	Apprehension
Head resting in hand eyes downcast	Boredom
Sitting with hands clasped behind head, legs crossed	Confidence, superiority
Stroking chin	Trying to make a decision
Biting nails	Insecurity, nervousness
Pulling/tugging at ear	indecision

Nonverbal communication, or body language, is a vital form of communication. When we interact with others, we continuously give and receive countless wordless signals. All of our nonverbal behaviours—the gestures we make, the way we sit, how fast or how loud we talk, how close we stand, how much eye contact we make—send strong messages. The way one listens, looks, moves, and reacts tell the other person whether or not one cares and how well one listens. The nonverbal signals one sends either produce a sense of interest,

trust, and desire for connection—or they generate disinterest, distrust, and confusion. (Non Verbal Communication as mentioned in web sources).

The components comprising nonverbal communication include *kinesics* (posture, body movements, synching and the degree of relaxation or tension), *gesture* (intended movements), *facial expressions*, *spatial relations*, *touch and display* (appearance). It is that part of the message which cannot be expressed in words that is conveyed by nonverbal communication. The components of each type of communication also determine the difference in intent of the two. Nonverbal communication intends to put more meaning into verbal communication. In some cases, the use of words or manipulation is not enough to emphasize the emotions or thoughts behind the message. The use of other objects, facial expressions and hand gestures provides a different kind of clarity. Nonverbal communication provides clues and hints to the real meaning behind the words

used. Even the employers test these skills in each and every applicant. The English teachers should make students realize importance of nonverbal communication from the beginning of their professional career.'

A FEW TIPS TO ENHANCE FLUENCY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Mr. Amardeep Kumar gives a few tips to enhance fluency in English language. They are “reading fairy tales everyday at least for 10 minutes, reading cartoons or jokes in English and practicing to write one’s personal diary. Watching cartoon channels, movie channels like cartoon network, HBO etc., and trying to talk in English with one’s friends or standing in front of the mirror and thinking that one’s friend is on the other side of the mirror and start talking about any interesting topic” will

prove to be greater contributing factors to enhance fluency in learning English language.” (Amardeep Kumar: Importance of English as cited in the web sources) As a result of survey conducted in the engineering colleges in the region of north Telangana, Andhra Pradesh state on the English language teaching and learning in the class and English language laboratory, it was learned that most of the English teachers are only ensuring very good pass percentage in English. But when it comes to pragmatic learning of English language, huge number of students are lagging far behind. Either the teachers are at fault or students. The English teachers do not personally monitor students’ progress in the class as well as lab. Merely taking students to laboratory doesn’t suffice. They express their helplessness as students in some places do not evince any interest in learning communication skills.

Abdul Kalam says, “If the student is ready, then the teacher appears.” Students at this level are expected to be self-dependent and self-oriented, and they should have got mastery over the basics of English grammar, phonetics and developed sustained interest in learning communication skills. If it is so like this, the English teacher has a smooth sailing. But it is not happening to the expectations of English teachers. By and large, it is equally important that English teachers have to develop interest among students to learn communication skills through effective motivation and training so that they can vie with the fellow competitors in this world of cut-throat competition in not-too-distant-future. As students are from different backgrounds, there has been good number of causes for finding poor communication skills in the students of engineering colleges. The findings of a survey conducted in the North Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh regarding English language teaching and learning in engineering colleges are as follows:

THE FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

1. One of the main causes for poor communication skills is that they come from Telugu medium background. They do not get proper guidance or direction. It is only at the school level they ought to have got the much needed practice in learning to speak and write well in English language.
2. Another cause is the family background of the students, specially the educational background of the members of the family. The parents of most of the students themselves have their educational background in Telugu medium. This being so, the parents have not cultivated the habit of speaking to their children in English. Students think that acquisition of English language skills is a gift by, God and they never try to practice speaking in English just because they develop inferiority complex.
1. Another grave area is the lack of exposure to English speaking environment. In some schools students do not fall short of guidance but they do not get good opportunities for exposing themselves to public speech in English or even in Telugu. Even at Intermediate level the case is same. In some native places students lack the basic facilities like library, book shops, etc. For schooling most of students opt to study in Telugu medium in government schools as they could not afford to study in English medium in private schools as they are poor. While there is great appreciation for education and the benefits good education brings in terms of jobs, economic and social status, parents of these students often feel helpless.
2. Till most of students take admission in engineering colleges to study B.Tech course there has been no exposure to them to speak in English as they have been speaking in their mother tongue Telugu since very childhood or schooling.

Suddenly, if they are asked to use English for their academic communication, they feel absolutely handicapped and disappointed. Interviews are only held in English in which they have turned out to be failure.

3. Lack of confidence is another reason. Some of the students who can speak English well are unable to speak it due to lack of confidence. Lack of confidence results in hesitation and evading communicative situation.
4. Maximum students try to translate their thoughts from Telugu into English and most of them do not succeed in this attempt. To overcome the above said problems, English teacher has to play a pivotal role. As a matter of priority, the English teacher has to devote a few lab sessions to explain the significance of the oral communication skills. Students should participate in the sessions to improve their communication by leaps and bounds. Students should be suggested to learn English through English only.

CONCLUSION

This research paper throws ample light on the importance of teaching English language to the students of engineering colleges, and the problems faced by the language teachers and students. This paper also provides remedial measures for the problems faced by English teachers and students. The classroom work should be more of practical application than of theoretical explication. Question papers should be totally application-oriented. Instead of asking the students to concentrate on their gathering of information, they may be furnished with all details and asked to reframe and rewrite to exercise their presentation skills.

The success of Indian technologists for the last one decade has

been attributed to the fruitful mix of their strong knowledge in the core technology and excellent command of English language skills. Simultaneously, huge number of technical graduates are losing opportunities for employment due to the lack the same English language skills. There is always scope for improvement and advancement in any field and for any subject. It has to be accomplished with unswerving dedication, the sustained interest and enthusiasm. The English teachers have been habituated to the traditional teaching methods. It is high time that our teaching methods underwent a radical change by transforming the teacher-centred class room to learner-centred class room. The learner-centered or learner-based curriculum differs notably from the traditional curriculum in that it is based primarily on collaborative progress between teachers and learners rather than on a number of rules and norms imposed from outside. Kain explains that in learner-centered approaches, the construction of knowledge is shared, and learning is achieved through learners' engagement with various activities. The idea of focusing on the learner rather than the teacher requires that teachers' and learners' roles be reexamined in the learning process. Teachers need to consider a paradigm shift from a teacher-centered teaching style to a learner-centered one." (Kain 104-108) Unless the new technology is adopted in English language teaching, we cannot impart language skills in our learners at the rate of growing competition. Comprehensive language learning (language along with skills) is possible through both classroom and language lab teaching as applied for science subjects. Students should get mastery over the basics of English grammar and four basic skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing.

An engineering student's success in the on /off-campus recruitment is mainly based on their demonstration of

communication skills. The English teachers have a responsibility to help their students in overcoming their inhibition of fear regarding communication and to assist them in developing more positive perceptions of communication activities. The English teaching community should shoulder the responsibility of developing the students' communication skills taking all kinds of .backgrounds of students into their consideration. Engineers need to be able to communicate their thoughts, ideas and plans to many other specialists in many different fields. Effective communication depends on how we use our verbal and non-verbal skills.

If one wants to be effective in using English for our communication purposes, we need to have a fairly well grounded ability to speak English, and also manipulate the vocabulary appropriately along with clear pronunciation. This can be achieved through conscious training. A successful speaker has some characteristics like highly motivated, a great degree of aptitude, flexible and adapt his/her style and beliefs to meet the demands of the task or the learning situation and also be aware of importance of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. Moreover, he/she has complementary receptive skills (reading and listening) as models for what he/she wants to say, and she/he uses writing as a means of preparing for speaking encounters. For today's students to become technocrats or cosmopolitans of tomorrow, learning English language and effective communication skills are the need of the hour. It is better to prevent and prepare than to repent and repair.

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**KA:RMIK LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGY 1
DEFINITIONS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING
STRATEGY: A KA:RMIK (LINGUISTIC)
LANGUAGE TEACHING APPROACH (KLTA)
REVIEW**

Chilukuri Bhuvaneshwar

Abstract

According to KLTA, derived from the ka:rmik linguistic theory, language is learnt holistically by I-I-ling all the LSRW skills by gradual evolution through the construction of ka:rmik learning reality. Most of the teaching approaches and methods are atomic in their learning approach (Bhuvaneshwar 2013 a, b) as they are derived from atomic linguistic theories highlighting functionalism as in the communicative language teaching approach and cognitivism in the cognitive language teaching framework and hence the learning strategies are also atomically described; they are not packaged into a holistic plan with a specific set of procedures, techniques, and tactics in a rigorous linguistic framework to achieve specific goals in the spatiotemporalmaterial (STM), socioculturalspiritual (SCS), inclinational-informational-habitual (IIH) context of learning the language by the learner. Such a holistic integration is necessary because without such integration, it is unlikely that LLS will function effectively as indicated by Griffiths (2004).

In this first article, in the Ka:rmik Language Learning Strategy (KLLS) Series, an attempt has been made to review the definitions given by the major ELT practitioners who look at strategies as techniques and suggest a new definition in the Ka:rmik Linguistic Paradigm as a plan:

“A Language Learning Strategy (LLS) is a specific, overall plan with a specific set of procedures implemented through specific means from a specific cause (of a process) in a specific manner to attain a specific goal”. It is the whole plan with implied parts and is derived from a dispositional choice of procedures from the Universal Sciences of [Action-Living-Lingual Action]. It is dispositional, contextual, and experiential.

Keywords: disposition, LL (language learning), atomic, holistic, LLS, Universal Science of Action, Universal Science of Living, Universal Science of Lingual Action.

I. Introduction

Research on language learning strategies is increasingly gaining prominence in English Language Teaching and Learning nowadays. However, the very term *strategy* is

loosely used without a standard definition and both tactic and strategy are interchangeably used by many ELT practitioners.

Setting aside this anomaly, strategies are not analyzed systematically and comprehensively by such writers as Rebecca Oxford (2001). For example, she classified the strategies into direct and indirect and then further classified the direct strategies into memory, cognitive, and compensation strategies and indirect strategies into metacognitive, affective, and social strategies under the communicative language teaching approach model. However, such a type of classification is confusing and not comprehensive if we take the overall picture of strategy planning into consideration. *First*, the term *strategy* is basically a term that is applied to imply planning of a set of procedures in a specific type of arrangement for their implementation so that a desired goal is reached successfully - with maximum benefit and feasibility and minimum effort, time, cost and difficulty. If the strategies are not well planned with the right procedures, the goal may or may not be reached successfully, and the strategy may fail or it may not produce the desired affects in full, or more effort, time, cost and difficulty will be experienced in reaching the goal. In her analysis, strategies are not viewed as such, but as actions or steps and at the same time, metacognitive strategies include planning which is taxonomically above the level of action. *Second*, the treatment of strategies is not comprehensive since it does not deal with different types of learners and their *learning styles*: *what* strategies in *what combinations* should be used by *what type* of learners with different learning styles of their own are not dealt with. *Third*, there is no specific categorization of the types of learners as well as the learning strategies in the sense of plans. *Fourth*, her approach is communicative which is atomic since it does not integrate form-function-meaning-discourse-choice in a holistic framework. In view of such a scenario, there is a need to

revisit the analysis of strategies from the perspectives of: the *learners' status* and rethink *strategy planning* from such a focal point; the *nature of the content* and its selection-gradation-presentation-repetition-evaluation; the *qualification of the teacher* and the resources available for teaching; and the *administrative capacity* of the management to I-I-I the learning-teaching-materials network in an efficient way.

In this article, language learning is examined under the ka:rmik linguistic theory of lingual action and how learning takes place is illumined in that light. From that perspective, the concept of strategy is motivated and shown to be rather *plan-oriented* and not *action-oriented*. What is more, it is also found out that language-learning strategy becomes *Ka:rmik (Linguistic) Language-Learning Strategy (KLLS)*.

II. Literature Review

In the literature available on the understanding and use of the term *strategy*, there are two ways. One is in the field of military, business, and games and the other is in language learning and teaching. Let us briefly discuss these two views.

2.1. Meaning of Strategy in Military, Games and Management Theories

2.1.1. Military Theory: The term *strategy* is derived from the Greek word *stratēgia* which means the "art of troop leader; office of general, command, generalship" (Strategy as defined in Wikipedia's article on strategy (Liddell)). It is understood as a high level plan to achieve one or more goals under conditions of uncertainty, especially, with inadequate resources to achieve the desired goals. "In military theory, strategy is "the utilization during both peace and war, of all of the nation's forces, through large scale, long-range planning and development, to ensure security and victory" (Random House Dictionary).

2.1.2. Management Theory: In management theory, the Chandler definition is typical: "... the determination of the basic long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise, and the adoption of courses of action and the allocation of resources necessary for carrying out these goals". or, more simply, "strategy is about shaping the future [...] while brilliant strategy is the shortest route to desirable ends with available means."

2.1.3. Game Theory: In game theory, a *strategy* refers to the rules that a player uses to choose between the available actionable options. Every player in a non-trivial game has a set of possible strategies to use when choosing what moves to make.

A strategy may recursively look ahead and consider what actions can happen in each contingent state of the game - e.g. if the player takes action 1, then that presents the opponent with a certain situation, which might be good or bad, whereas if the player takes action 2 then the opponents will be presented with a different situation, and in each case the choices they make will determine our own future situation.

Strategies in game theory may be random (mixed) or deterministic (pure). Pure strategies can be thought of as a special case of mixed strategies, in which only probabilities 0 or 1 are assigned to actions. Strategy based games generally require a player to think through a sequence of solutions to determine the best way to defeat the opponent.

From the knowledge of the term strategy in military, business, and games, as presented above, we understand that strategy is a plan, generally, a long term plan. However, in language learning and teaching, it is understood as an action, operation, or step which is different as discussed below.

2. 2. Strategy in Traditional Literature on LLS

There is a large corpus of literature on language learning strategies that deals with their definition, classification and application. However, the LLS field, according to Griffiths (2004), “continues to be characterised by ‘confusion’ with ‘no consensus’ (O’Malley *et al*, 1985, p.22) while Ellis (1994, p.529) comments that the language learning strategy concept remains ‘fuzzy’ ”. In view of this lack of consensus, there are three important issues that need to be reviewed in LLS literature to gain a proper perspective of the state of LLS research. They are: 1. Problem of Definition; 2. Choice of LLS by Learners; and 3. Need for a (W)holistic Strategy Design.

To begin with, different ELT practitioners have proposed different definitions for language learning strategies (LLS) and it is confusing to understand what LLS are from these definitions. Among them, Rubin (1975, 1982), Stern (1975), Ellis (1986), O’Malley *et al* (1985), Brown and Palinscar (1982), Naiman (1978), Oxford (1990) and Chamot (2004) are very important because they have proposed language learning strategy inventories. Let us look at some of these definitions and related literature to know the confusion caused in understanding LLS.

2. 3. The Problem of Definition and Some Important Definitions of LLS

2. 3. 1. Rubin’s Strategies as *Techniques* or *Devices*

One of the earliest definitions proposed is that of Rubin (1975: 43). It is further modified by Rigney (1978) and later on adopted by O’Malley, *et al* (1985) and further extended by Oxford (1990). According to this definition, LLS are “the techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge”. In this definition, LLS are considered *techniques* or *devices* but not *plans* that *use a sequential group of procedures*. Based on this understanding, she has divided LLS

into two types: direct strategies and indirect strategies of learning (ibid. 1981: 124-126). Direct strategies are further divided into six types: *clarification/verification, monitoring, guessing/inductive inferencing, deductive reasoning, memorization, and practice*; and indirect strategies are further divided into two types: *creating opportunities for practice and production tricks*. In this classification, she considers 'communication strategies' as production tricks which is contested by other critics. For example, Brown (1980: 87) distinguishes *learning strategies* (where learning is the input) from *communication strategies* (where communication is the output). He argues that in communication, there is message avoidance or abandonment that does not result in learning even though similar strategies such as rule transference are used in both learning and communication.

Bialystok's (1978) definition of LLS as "optimal means for exploiting available information to improve competence in a second language" also considers LLS as *means* which is broad but her four categories of LLS which are *inferencing, monitoring, formal practicing, and functional practicing* are *not* plans in the sense of military or game *plans*.

2. 3. 2. Stern's Ten LLS Strategies

Stern (1975) proposed a list of ten strategies which are considered to be characteristic of good language learners. Among them, he placed 'personal learning style' at the top of the list. According to him, strategies are "broadly conceived intentional directions" (1992: 261). This definition is similar to the definition of *style* as proposed by Willing (1988), and Nunan (1991). At the same time, Stern defined techniques as "the behavioural manifestations of the strategies" (1992: 261). But this definition of *techniques* is similar to the definition of Rubin's *strategies*. Hence, there is a contradiction in the understanding of the term *strategy* by these two writers.

2.3.3. Naiman's Plan of LLS

Naiman *et al* (1978) studied the strategies used by *good language learners* and came up with a list of five important LLS: 1. active involvement by performing language learning tasks; 2. developing or exploiting an awareness of language as a system; 3. understanding language as a means of communication and interaction; 4. coping with affective demands and managing them; and 5. monitoring their performance in the target language. These five strategies are included in a later classification into six strategies by Oxford (1990).

Naiman *et al* (1978) have also proposed the most frequently used techniques by *Good Language Learners* but some of them are not applicable to most of ESL speakers in India and Africa. For example, *keeping in touch with native speakers of English, using bilingual vocabulary charts, and having pen pals*. Of course, many ESL speakers may use *bilingual dictionaries* but *preparing and memorizing bilingual charts* is rare. Using *grammar books/textbooks for getting the rules of the language* is the most common practice followed by *repeating aloud after the teacher*, if the teacher uses this practice. *Listening to radio, watching the T.V., etc. and reading newspapers and magazines* is also common among good learners. Nowadays, getting glued to T. V. and watching English channels is the norm, especially, in India, if these facilities are available.

2.3.4. Information Processing Approaches in the Cognitive Linguistic Model

In McLoughlin *et al* (1983), an information processing approach has been proposed in which the learner is viewed as an active organizer of incoming information with processing limitations and capabilities and the learner's cognitive system is considered central to processing. A learner is able to store

and retrieve information depending on the degree to which the information is processed. It has been observed by them that “learners actively impose cognitive schemata on the incoming data in an effort to organize information”. In their view, automaticity in learning can be achieved by processing the information either in a top-down process (or knowledge governed system) in which internal schemata are made use of or in a bottom-up process (or input governed system) in which external output is used. In either case cognition is involved but the degree of cognitive involvement is set by the interaction between the requirements of the task and the knowledge and mental processes used by the learner.

Spolsky (1985) developed a model of second language acquisition based on preference rules in which cognitive processes play an important role. Using social context conditions such as the learning setting and opportunities, and learner factors such as capability, prior knowledge and motivation, he proposed three conditions for second language acquisition to occur: *necessary conditions* that are required for learning to occur such as target language input, motivation and practice opportunities; *gradient conditions* such as getting into *contact with a native speaker* to a greater or lesser degree or *fine tuning a strategy* to a learning task - which are frequently recurring conditions which make learning more likely to take place; and *typicality conditions* - such as *risk taking* by outgoing personalities in using or learning the language - are typical but not necessary for learning to take place.

2. 3. 5. Tarone’s Inclusion of Motivation or Intention to Define LLS

Tarone (1980: 419) considers communication strategies as helpful in producing learning since the learner gets familiar with the input of language when he uses language for

communication. Thus, a communication strategy will become an LLS if the motivation or intention is rather to learn than to communicate. However, this distinction is impractical since a learner may have both the intentions, namely, to communicate and learn, and therefore it becomes difficult to use this distinction in practice.

2. 3. 6. Ellis' Learner Strategies

Ellis (1986) includes both the *learning* and *using* strategies as two manifestations of a general strategy which she calls *learner strategies*. Under this rubric, unlike Tarone, compensation strategies are considered to be a hurdle in language learning since pragmatic compensation of 'lack of linguistic knowledge' may decelerate the need for learning. What is more, she considers the definition of strategies as 'fuzzy' (ibid. 1994).

2. 3. 7. Adaptation of Rigney's Definition by O'Malley, et al and Oxford

According to Rigney (1978), language learning strategies are "operations or steps used by a learner that will facilitate the acquisition, storage, retrieval, or use of information". In this sense, LLS are *operations or steps* but again not *plans*. Strategies are understood in the same sense by O'Malley et al (1985) who accept this definition of Rigney as well as Oxford (1990: 8) who accepts this definition but expands it as "(learning strategies are) specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more effective, and more transferrable to new situations".

O'Malley et al (1985) developed their own taxonomy of LLS by dividing them into three categories of *metacognitive* (knowing about learning), *cognitive* (specific to distinct

learning activities), and *social (or socio-affective* (related to interactional strategies of learning)) and identified 26 strategies in all. The first two strategies are somewhat similar to Rubin's indirect and direct strategies and the third strategy is an addition bringing in interaction into the system.

2. 3. 8. Expansion of Earlier Definitions by Oxford

In the case of Oxford (1990: 14, 15-21), she expands on the existing classification made by O'Malley (1985) to make it "more comprehensive and detailed... linking individual strategies as well as strategy groups, with each of the four language skills". She reclassifies the direct and indirect strategies in the system into six groups by adding *memory, compensation, and affective strategies* as distinct categories. Nonetheless, Oxford opines that it is very difficult to know or classify strategies and observes that there are hundreds of learning strategies. What is more she feels that learning strategies may overlap each other. For example, a metacognitive strategy of learning deals with planning but planning involves reasoning and therefore can be a cognitive strategy; in a similar way, looking for synonyms when an exact word is not known can be both a learning strategy and a communication strategy.

In addition, she takes care of the five strategies proposed by Naiman et al (1978). For example, in memory strategies, which are divided into *creating mental images, applying images and sounds, reviewing well, and employing action*, employing action involves using *physical response or sensation* (which physically acts out a new expression such as going to the door) or *meaningfully relating a new expression to a physical feeling or sensation* such as warmth and using *mechanical techniques (which are creative but tangible such as moving or changing something which is concrete in order to*

remember new target language information, for example, writing words on cards and moving cards from one stack to another when a word is learned). In a similar way, cognitive strategies are divided by Oxford (p. 44-51) into *practicing, receiving and sending messages, analyzing and reasoning, creating structure for input and output*. In analyzing and reasoning, there is a set of five strategies which are: *reasoning deductively, analyzing expressions, analyzing contrastively, translating, and transferring*. These strategies develop an awareness of language as a system. Oxford (p.136 ff) divides indirect learning strategies into metacognitive, affective and social strategies. Social strategies are further divided into *asking questions, cooperating with others, and empathizing with others*. These strategies help learners to understand language as means of communication and interaction. The affective strategies of *lowering anxiety, encouraging oneself, and taking one's emotional temperature* help a good learner to cope with affective demands and manage them. Finally, the metacognitive strategies are divided into a set of three strategies: *centering, arranging and planning, and evaluating learning*. The third strategy of evaluating learning which consists of self-monitoring and self-evaluating takes care of monitoring performance in the target language.

2. 3. 9. Reciprocal Teaching by Brown and Palinscar

According to Doolittle et al (2006), "Reciprocal teaching is an instructional strategy based on modeling and guided practice, in which the instructor first models a set of reading comprehension strategies and then gradually cedes responsibility for these strategies to the students (Brown & Palinscar 1989; Palinscar 1986; Palinscar & Brown 1984). Specifically, reciprocal teaching consists of three main components, (a) the teaching and learning of specific reading comprehension strategies, (b) the dialogue between instructor and students where the instructor models why, when, and

where to use these reading comprehension strategies, and (c) the appropriating of the role of the instructor by the students, that is, students begin to model the reading comprehension strategies for other students. Thus, the goals of reciprocal teaching are for students to learn the reading comprehension strategies, learn how and when to use the strategies, and become self-regulated in the use of these strategies.” There are four reading comprehension strategies proposed by Palinscar and Brown (1984) which are: 1. Questioning; 2. Summarizing; 3. Clarifying; and 4. Predicting which are processed through dialogue and appropriation. This basic model of Brown and Palinscar (1984) has been further modified in three more ways: using different reading comprehension strategies (the strategy of visualization by the MERIT project of the Miami-Dade County Public Schools), modeling to different sized groups (whole class reading comprehension strategy model by De Corte et al (2001), and teaching the reading comprehension strategies directly and at different times relative to the dialogue by Palinscar et al (1990).

2. 3. 10. Chamot’s Definition

According to Chamot (2004), “Learning strategies are the conscious thoughts and actions that learners take in order to achieve a learning goal. Strategic learners have metacognitive knowledge about their own thinking and learning approaches, a good understanding of what a task entails, and the ability to orchestrate the strategies that best meet both the task demands and their own learning strengths”. In this definition also, strategies are considered ‘conscious thoughts and actions’.

2. 3. 11. Conclusion of Andrew Yau-hau Tse

In his Definition of Language Learning Strategies (p. 30), Tse (2011) points out that LLS are defined from the two perspectives of the features of the strategies themselves (Elements) or the purposes for which learners intend to use

these strategies (Purposes) as observed by Tamada (1997) and “there is little agreement on the definition of learning strategies”. Wenden et al (1987) consider them as *techniques, tactics, potentially conscious plans, consciously employed operations, learning skills, basic skills, functional skills, cognitive abilities, language processing strategies, problem-solving procedures* (p7); Ellis (1994) views them as *a mental process, and both observable and unobservable behaviour*; Bialystok’s (1978) definition considers them as enhancing language competence; Chamot’s (1987) definition considers them as facilitating language learning. Finally, Oxford (1990) elaborated the definition by including an affective purpose. Hence, the purpose of developing language learning strategies has changed from becoming good or successful learners who speak a second language fluently, to becoming intelligent learners who know very well about how to learn a second language more successfully (Tamada, 1997:4).

Without limiting the definitions of language learning strategies, MacIntyre (1994) held a different view:

The definition of learning strategies...is sufficiently broad to encompass elements that might be better considered as other types of variables, such as personality or situational factors. It will be argued here that the theory and research related to language learning strategies should pare down the definition of ‘strategies’ to focus on techniques to facilitate language learning that are deliberately chosen by the learner. Personality and social factors can be included in a broader system that describes strategy use and the factors that influence it (p185). This notion has given an impetus to linking language learning strategy studies with the social and psychological domains: it also has connected language learning strategy studies with other variables.”

Tse further comments (p.31) that there are problems in classifying language learning strategies and shows five groups of classifications: 1) systems related to successful language learners (Rubin, 1975); 2) systems based on psychological functions (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990); 3) linguistically based systems dealing with guessing, language monitoring, formal and functional practice (Bialystok, 1981); 4) systems related to separate language skills (Cohen, 1990); and 5) systems based on different styles or types of learners (Sutter, 1989). He finally concludes that the "existence of these distinct strategy taxonomies is a major problem in research on L2 learning strategies as there is a lack of a coherent, well accepted system for describing them".

From the discussion of the various approaches to learning strategies, we find that only two important theoretical models, namely, the *cognitive linguistic model* by O'Malley and Chamot (1985), and the *functional linguistic model* (communicative language teaching approach) by Oxford (1990) have been made use of in defining and classifying LLS. One major problem in such approaches is their atomic perspective of language learning (see Bhuvaneshwar 2009, 2010, 2013 a, b). By looking at language and language learning as *functional* or *cognitive* action, they have overlooked the critical role played by *form, meaning and disposition* in language learning. Consequently, their strategies are limited to only these areas. For example, *dispositional modulation* and *I-I-ling the various strategies* into an integrated package are missing in their treatment. Language learning is not achieved by an atomic process of learning the function or cognition of language - it has to be holistic and therefore the LLS should also be holistic and not given piecemeal.

Furthermore, their understanding of the term strategy is both confusing and not comprehensive. A strategy is considered either a technique or a device or a learning style or means (actions), or processing, or condition, or operation/step, or modelling and guided practice (i.e., techniques). Nonetheless, the sub-strategy *meta-cognitive strategy* is included in indirect strategies along with the other direct and indirect strategies by Oxford (1990) which is not systematic: planning is different from action by being super-ordinate to action which is subordinate in a taxonomical hierarchy; every plan is about how to organize action to attain a goal, but not the action itself. Memorization, or cognition, or compensation, or socialization, or control of emotions is an action, but not a plan. For example, *employing action* - a memory strategy - involves using *physical response or sensation* (which physically acts out a new expression such as going to the door) which is an action and not a plan; so also translating, which is a sub-strategy of analyzing and reasoning in the cognitive strategies, is an action but not a plan; so also are asking questions (social strategy), and lowering anxiety. On the other hand, arranging and planning the learning activity (a metacognitive strategy) belongs to the domain of strategic planning whereas evaluating learning is not planning even though it can be planned in a particular way.

From the perspective of viewing strategies as actions, even though it is defective, again, there is a lop-sided understanding of the term strategies. The strategies should deal with learning the fundamental components of language which are its *form, function, content, style, and context* in their variety-range-depth (see Bhuvaneshwar 2013 a, b, c, d for details). To elaborate further, the purpose of a strategy is to learn or acquire these five components both individually and collectively as an I-I-Ied holistic network in a *planned* way through a set of *procedures and techniques*; mere presentation

of techniques is simply inadequate - it is like telling the actions to be taken for driving a car without giving a plan of how to coordinate these actions in driving: instructing to *apply brakes to stop the car* is an action, but *when, where, and how (place, time, manner) to apply brakes to stop the car* involves strategic planning. In a parallel illustration, asking questions is an action but *when, where, and how (place, time, and manner) to ask questions (in learning a language) involves strategic planning*. This strategic planning should be I-I-Ied with the four levels of *teaching (teacher)-learning (learner)-instruction (materials)-administration (institution)* related to the *actors* on the one hand and the four LSRW skills related to the *action* on the other hand via the strategic planning related to the *process* of learning. Without that, LLS planning or training becomes defective. Thus, first, they look at strategy as an operation, as a step, as conscious action but *not* as a plan with a set of procedures that involves a conscious manipulation and movement towards a goal (by dispositional choice), which meaning is generally used in military, games, and business; second, clubbing both 'plan' and 'action' together in the conceptualization of the term strategy is illogical (as in Oxford 1993); rejecting the original meaning of *strategy* as *a plan* and rethinking it as *an operation or action* brought no additional advantage since the strategies mentioned by Oxford (ibid.) can be more systematically explained as *techniques* without confusing them with the metacognitive strategies. Therefore, by taking this meaning into consideration and rethinking and analyzing LLSs in terms of ka:rmik linguistic action, the confusion that is created in understanding and defining the term *strategy* can be better overcome as it is done in the *Ka:rmik Language Learning Strategy (KLLS)*. In KLLS, a strategy is defined succinctly as done in the *abstract* of this paper or elaborately as *an overall or general plan that is dispositionally designed to achieve a specific effect/goal(s) (of*

learning LSRW skills) through specific means (of dispositional modulation, knowledge acquisition, and va:sana (internalized

habit) formation)) from a specific cause (of a process of LSRW). It is the whole, dispositionally designed plan of execution of action (with implied parts) to achieve a specific goal in a specific manner through specific means.

In the next section III, KLLS is briefly described in terms of a method consisting of an approach, design, procedures, techniques, and tactics.

2. 4. Choice of LLS by Learners

There are many strategies (in the sense of operations or specific actions) for language learning according to experts dealing with LLS. From the sociolinguistic research of ELLS available, it is observed that certain groups of students in certain cultures and countries use certain ELLS more and don't use others. This means that there is a choice in the use of LLS. This may be due to their *ignorance about the LLS* or may be due to their *preference of one strategy over the other*. What is more, since there are numerous strategies, it is virtually not possible for all the learners to use all the strategies. That is a problem since what strategies are essential and what are not cannot be easily determined without a clear cut classification and analysis of them.

In a similar way, without a proper understanding of the term *strategy* as a plan to solve a problem by a critical path analysis - taking into consideration the learner's abilities and drawbacks - of the content's demands from the learner to learn the content, and the teacher's approach to the treatment of the content, there is every possibility for the learner to be confused, misguided and frustrated.

2. 5. Need for a (W)holistic Strategy Design

One very important drawback in the existing language learning

strategy inventories is that they are given piecemeal as individual items (check?) and **not** *grouped together in packages according to the learner's abilities*. To explain further, a learner needs not only memory strategies for remembering the language items such as vocabulary, meaning, and sentence patterns but also needs cognitive strategies for analyzing, and classifying the language and the content, metacognitive strategies for planning his learning process, social strategies for practicing his LSRW skills, and affective and compensation strategies as well for stress management and communicative purposes. As such, he needs all these strategies as a whole; however, he may not be able to use them all efficiently since he may not be *capable* to do so - a person with weak memory cannot use the memory strategy well; a person with less analytical ability may not use the cognitive strategy well; a very sensitive person may not manage his emotions well; an introvert or selfish person may not interact as desired; and so on. Therefore, different strategies are required to help such learners according to their disposition.

Another major problem is about the understanding of the very nature of language and its learning. *Behaviourism*, *Innateness Hypothesis (of Chomsky)*, *Building up the Knowledge System (of Cognitive Linguistics)*, *Looking at Language as Interaction* are all atomic in their approach and ignore the fundamental nature of language as an integrated system of form-function-meaning-disposition. Therefore, they are unnatural.

Taking into consideration, all these issues, it is reasonable to assume that the field of LLS should be revisited and re-examined from the traditional understanding of strategy as *a plan* and then work out a definition as well as analysis and classification of LLS. In the next section, such an attempt is made from the perspective of Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory

perspective and propose a new definition for *Ka:rmik (Linguistic) Language Learning Strategy (K(L)LLS)* in the Ka:rmik Language Teaching model.

III. Planning LLS for ESL Learners: A Ka:rmik Language Learning Strategy (KLLS) Design

Language Learning Strategy is defined as mentioned earlier by taking into consideration the important factors of *learning*, *learner*, and *knowledge* in the teacher-learner-materials-administration network to impart the LSRW skills. Their nature and characteristics are briefly explained below for arriving at a definition of the term strategy and LLS.

3. 1. Types of Learning

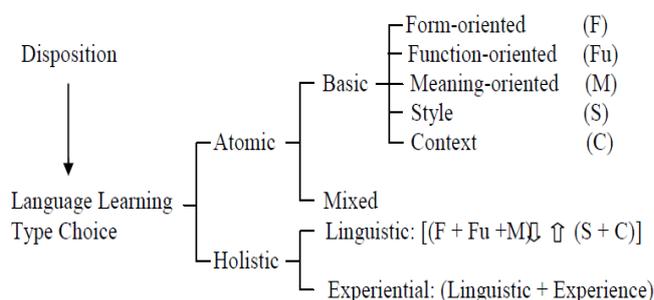
Learning can take place from a number of *directions* but what is required is a critical path approach that saves time, effort, and cost; sustains interest according to the context; and gives maximum results. In the LLS literature available, the strategies that are mentioned except the meta-cognitive strategies do not focus on these directions and the way in which they have to be I-I-Ied as a *plan* to constitute the strategy. In KLLS design, there is a focus on these directions and the learner's aptitude, the nature of learning, and the desired outcomes are I-I-Ied in a systematic procedure. In addition, the terms *plan*, *strategy*, *sub-strategy*, *procedure*, *technique*, and *tactic* are more clearly distinguished and identified than in other models.

Generally, there are two basic types of language learning: 1. Atomic; and 2. Holistic. Atomic learning can be visualized from three basic perspectives and the fourth one is obtained by a mixture of these three in varying degrees according to the choice of the learner: 1. *Form-oriented*; 2. *Action-oriented*; 3. *Meaning-oriented*; and 4. *Mixed* with any two of these three types. In *form-oriented learning*, more emphasis is put on the *form* of language through *participants* (in an activity) and

learning is achieved by mere memorization and less reasoning, logic and intellection and practice than in action-oriented and meaning-oriented learning; it is characterized by rote learning (*rote-learning* with low activity, less thinking, and least interpretation and integration). In *action-oriented learning*, more emphasis is laid on the *function* of language through *action* (in an activity), and learning is achieved by more practice (and less analysis) through which memory is gained. Obviously, action-oriented learning implies an understanding of the form-aspect but its emphasis is not on form. In *meaning-oriented learning*, semantic or cognitive oriented learning can be proposed. More emphasis is laid on the propositional content of language (*meaning*) through the *relationships* (in an activity) in semantic-oriented learning, and learning is achieved by analyticity of the form and function of language through meaning. In this cognitive-oriented learning, language learning is conceptual-oriented. In mixed-type of learning, any two of these three types are mixed and learning is achieved by a combination of the two types of activities.

In addition to these three types of form-function-meaning oriented learning, learning can also take place from the perspective of *style* and *context*. In such a stylistic approach of language learning, language is learnt from its *formal*, *functional*, and *semantic appeals* on the one hand and *socioculturalspiritual*, *contextual* and *aesthetic appeals* on the other hand in the context of its use and experience. For example, it is very much used in language for specific purposes learning. At the level of context, language is learnt from such levels as *formal*, *informal*, and *intimate* as well as *genre and register*. Since style is superimposed on the basic grid of form-function-meaning in the context of its use, both *style and context* are *implied* in the form-function-meaning grid. Consequently, in mixed type of learning, they are also

implied. In holistic learning, at the linguistic level, form function-meaning are I-I-Ied to create *linguistic holism*; whereas in *ka:rmik (cause-effect experiential) holism*, *form-function-meaning-style-context are unified as a whole in speech and used for realizing a goal or purpose and its results are experienced*. This kind of *ka:rmik* learning is the learning obtained in real life and so it should be the ultimate goal in teaching, learning, preparing educational materials and administration. This is with reference to learning the language from *within* or *the lower level (level-below)* and this basic language learning taxonomy is captured in a network as follows.

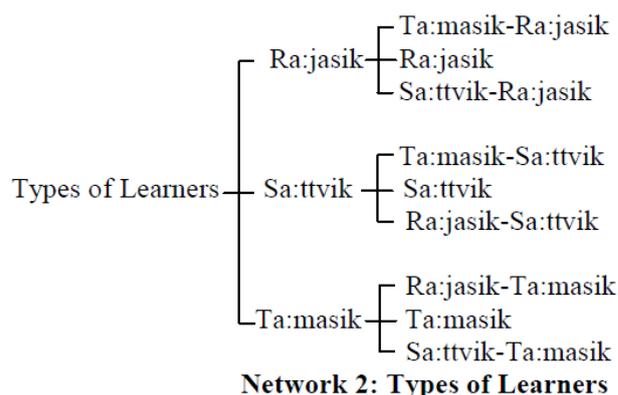


Network 1: Basic Language Learning Type Choice Network

Legend: ∩ superimposed on the following components; ∪ superimposed on the preceding components; ∩ ∪ mutual superimposition (i.e., one component is superimposed on the other and vice versa)

3. 2. Types of Learners

At the level-around (middle level), the character of the learner comes into play in learning the language. Applying disposition as the basis, three basic types of learners can be identified according to their personality: 1. *Ta:masik (inert or form-oriented)*; 2. *Ra:jasik (active or function-oriented)*; and 3. *Sa:ttvik (luminous or whole-oriented)*. However, these learners



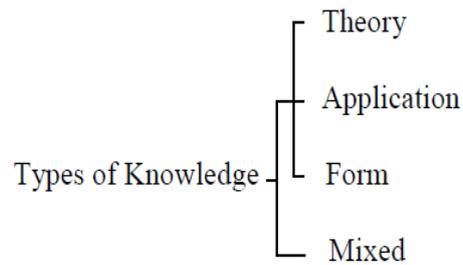
not be so neatly cut out and generally we get more mixed types of learners who share features from other types in addition to their own. As a result, we also get: *Ra:jasik-Ta:masik*; *Sa:ttvik-Ta:masik*; *Ta:masik-Ra:jasik*; *Sa:ttvik-Ra:jasik*; *Ta:masik-Sa:ttvik*; and *Ra:jasik-Sa:ttvik*. There is a systematic correspondence between the type of the learner and the learning-strategy. To elaborate further, ta:masik learners are more inclined towards form-oriented learning; ra:jasik learners towards action-oriented learning; and sa:ttvik-rajasik learners towards meaning-oriented learning; and finally the sa:ttvik learner towards *I-I-Ied experiential learning* by networking form-function-meaning-style-context in a critical path. This is with reference to learning the language from *within* or *the lower level (level-below)*.

The network 2 given above captures the choice of LLS by various types of learners.

3. 3. Types of Knowledge (Learned Phenomena)

Just as there are three types of learners and learning, the learned phenomenon is also tristratal: 1. Theoretical (Conceptual); 2. Applied (Productive or Practical); 3. Formal (Descriptive) with an additional fourth one, which is Mixed. In

knowledge which is theoretical, the content of language deals with the theory of action: *why* (the Causality) an action takes place, its nature, and its principles and concepts. For example, in physics, theoretical physics deals with the nature of matter and its concepts, principles, and laws; in applied physics, in knowledge of physics which is applied, the content of language deals with its application: how (the process in terms of manner (how), where (place), and time (when); its procedures (how a theory is implemented). For example, applied (practical) physics deals with *how* these laws and principles can be applied in real life for our use; and 'formal' physics - even though it is not given as a separate branch - deals with *what* the form of matter is; and it is mainly descriptive in its content. The *theory* behind the working of a fan leads to the *application* of that theory in the innovation of a fan; the application leads to how the pattern and structure of the fan is constituted in terms of (*what*) *matter* and gives us the *formal* knowledge of the fan. Language is capable of expressing *the theory, the application, and description of objects, states of being, and action in their entire variety-range-depth in addition to expressing ideas*. The point is that *theoretical* content is different in its linguistic conceptualization, structure and pattern, and form from the *application* content as well as *formal* content but at the same time application implies theory and form implies both the application and the theory successively and I-I-Ily. In addition to these three basic types, we also have the fourth type which is *Mixed Knowledge*. In this type, the language contains *theory, practice, and formal description* not as isolated but as a mixture of more than one type of knowledge. This is more complex and varied in its variety, range and depth.



Network 3: Types of Knowledge

3. 4. Theory of Action

Language learning is one type of lingual action that is derived from the Universal Science of Living in which desires are generated-specified-directed-materialized by *Svabha:vam* (disposition). *To learn a language* is one such desire that is impelled as a sub-desire to fulfil the major desire to use that language for *observation-interpretation-identification-representation-creation-initiation-communication-coordination-experience (O³C³RE)* of action. As a result, efforts are made to *learn a language* through another sub-desire *to teach the language* and two minor desires *to teach and learn the language through strategies*. As an offshoot of these desires, the field of LLS is created and developed. In this ongoing process, KLLS emerges as one product among others. All these activities follow the simple foundational Principle of Action and the Principle of Choice of Action in the Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory as given in the following equations (1) - (3).

(1) Principle of Action:

Disposition → Desire (for Learning a Language) → Effort (to Learn a Language)
 → [Language Learning Strategy] → Learning Action → Result → Experience

(2) Principle of Choice of Action:

Disposition → Dispositional Bias (for LL) → Response Bias (for LL) →
 Choice (of LLS) → Variation (in LLS) → L. Action → Result → Experience

(3) Principle of Creation of Strategy:

Disposition → Desire (for the Goal) → CEM → Choice of PTT →
 Critical Path Mapping → Plan of the Strategy → Creation of the Strategy
 [L (Language); LL (language learning); LLS (LL Strategy); CEM (Contextual Exploration of
 Means); PTT (procedure-technique-tactic)]

3. 4. 1. Components of Action

Any activity consists of a set of actions ranging from a single act to many. A single act consists of a single action. An *action* consists of *participants* to perform the *action* by getting into a specific *relationship* with one another. Hence, *participants*, *action*, and *relation* (between the participants in forming the action) are the three *internal components* of action. An action is performed in a *context* by a specific *choice* of its internal components by the *Traits* component of Svabha:vam (Disposition). Hence, context and svabha:vam are the two *external components* of action. In addition, choice creates another component *style* by a specific choice of performing an action in a particular manner. In the case of lingual action, all these components can be grouped together under five categories: *Form*, *Function*, *Content*, *Style*, and *Context* with their *sub-categories*. *Form* gives rise to phonetics/phonology-lexis-syntax; *Function* gives rise to the five speech acts (assertives or representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations)); *Content* gives rise to subject, topic, etc., *Style* to its formal, functional, semantic, and contextual features, and *Context* to its [Inclination-

Informational-Habitual], Socioculturalspiritual, and Spatiotemporalmaterial features in which lingual action takes place (see Bhuvaneshwar 2013 a, b, c, d).

In the case of LLSs, the *action* is the *strategic planning*, i.e., planning how to perform the action of language learning which gives a *strategy* for LL; the *participant* is the *learner* in self-directed learning, or the *participants* in teacher-directed learning are the *teacher and the learner(s)* as well as the *administrators* - they are the *direct participants* and *indirect participants* respectively; and the relationship between the learner and the content (of learning) constitutes the *direct action* of learning and *how* (manner, time, and place) it is done constitutes the *indirect action*. This HOW to carry out the *learning action* is influenced by WHY (*cause*) to carry out the learning action - *learning action* is the WHAT and also the *goal*. Since our focus is on *how*, this *how* becomes the goal (WHAT) instead of the learning action and the cause (WHY) will be the *desire to learn the content in the best possible way* (HOW) for the learner, where the best possible way is decided by a dispositional, contextual and experiential process. Whether a learner likes it or not, he has to make conscious or unconscious choices about *how* to learn the language and hence he involves himself in strategic planning of learning. To ignore this obligatory planning and call *techniques* and *procedures* strategies is nothing short of violating a natural process in learning and making an unnatural and incorrect classification.

3. 4. 2. Taxonomy of Performance of Action by Planning

Once a desire to perform an action arises and a language learning action is chosen, the selected language learning action is performed through certain *tasks* in a particular *manner* by adopting a particular *strategy*, *sub-strategies*, *procedures*, *techniques*, and *tactics* according to the learner's disposition.

(4 a) *Desire to Perform an Action* → *Choice of an Action* → Selected Action
(4 b) *Manner of Performing the Action:*
Strategy → Sub-Strategy → Procedure → Technique → Tactic → Task

These terms are defined below to distinguish a strategy from a sub-strategy, a procedure, a technique and a tactic. After clarifying the concepts, Ka:rmik Language Learning Strategies are divided into a *General KLLSs* for preparing a syllabus content as well as teaching it and *Specific KLLSs* for use by learners for learning the syllabus content.

3. 4. 2. 1. Plan, Procedure and Process

According to Wikipedia, “A **plan** is typically any diagram or list of steps with timing and resources, used to achieve an objective . . . It is commonly understood as a temporal set of intended actions through which one expects to achieve a goal....A very basic example of a plan: Perhaps you want to go see a movie at a specific time, that is the plan. The **procedure** (emphasis mine) to accomplish the plan would define the steps to be taken in order. First, you would look on a web site for listings of movies in your area, then you would decide which one looks good (if any). Then you would secure transportation thereto, optionally but almost certainly also inviting one or more acquaintances to join you. You may have to adjust your time to when the movie actually starts. A plan defines what you are going to do. A procedure defines how you are going to do it.”

A plan implies a procedure: *what* (i.e., effect) you are going to do implies *how* (i.e., manner which involves a sequence of steps, place and time) you are going to do it; again, what you are going to do is caused by *why* you are going to do it. In other words, the *why* determines the *what* and *how* of what you want to do. In ka:rmik language teaching, the what and the

how are both causally determined and derived from the seed of dispositional experientiality.

A process is the material execution of an action. A plan and procedure determine how the process takes place.

3. 4. 2. 2. Strategy and Sub-Strategy

3. 4. 2. 2. 1. Strategy

Language learning is an action of *learning* the system of language that has five levels of form-function-content-style-context in an I-I-I network and each level has its own sub-levels. Learning the system involves *analysis (knowledge), memory, and practice* of the five levels *individually (i.e., each level separately), collectively (i.e., all the five levels together in a parallel process) and as a whole in a single process (i.e., all the five levels in an I-I-I network as a single unit in usage)*. Since these levels and processes are amenable for modulation according to the likes and dislikes of the learner, learning can be achieved in a particular way (*manner*) by making *choices* in these five levels and the three *processes* of analyzing, memorization, and practicing through different combinations and selection of different *techniques, tactics* and *tasks*. For example, learning the system can be carried out by memorizing the form (one angle) instead of analyzing the content (another angle) or giving more emphasis to one level (e.g., function) than the other (e.g., meaning) or choosing one technique (e.g., translation) or tactic (e.g., repetition) or task (e.g., reading) than the other. In a similar way, different *plans* can be visualized in learning a language for different *purposes* through different *procedures* by making dispositional choices in the selection, gradation, and arrangement of the various levels of language and learning them through different means and ways. Thus, there is an inherent scope for learning a language in a variety of ways through different choices and co-

combinations with different *goals* through different *means* for different *causes*.

The abilities and limitations of the learners corresponding with the type of knowledge that is to be acquired demand different plans, procedures, techniques, and tactics to acquire the knowledge. For example, a learner with weak memory but with critical analytical abilities requires one type of a plan, procedure, techniques and tasks to acquire the same knowledge than another learner with weak analytical abilities but with good memory. The former can be taught more successfully by putting more emphasis on analysis and practice - thus naturally reinforcing his memory more in that process - than by putting more emphasis on rote-memorization at which he is weak. In other words, the proverb *Different horses for different courses* created with reference to courses should be modified with reference to horses as *Different courses for different horses* to suit the learner-centred approach.

By taking into consideration the abilities of the learners and the nature of the linguistic content, our perception of learning as a process of acquiring the knowledge of the linguistic system by using memory, cognition, compensation, and social interaction changes to a dispositional sociolinguistic cognition of the linguistic content through traits, knowledge, and *vasanas* (internalized habits) of the learner's disposition (personality). In such a new perception, knowledge of the linguistic system is not imparted in a monolithic structure for all types of learners, but it is imparted and acquired through 'different plans' by using the same tools of memorization, analysis and practice (which are variously described as direct and indirect strategies in Oxford (1990)). Thus, a new level of organization is introduced in KLTA. This is the level of strategy. In that sense, strategies are the different courses to

reach the destination of learning the system of language for different learners: *Different strategies for different learners.*

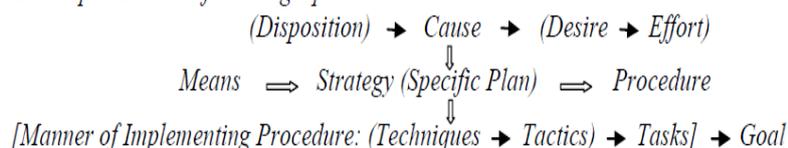
Let us illustrate this concept with examples. For example, you want to be an interpreter, a journalist, etc., or you want to master EST vocabulary of your subject, say, engineering or medicine or law - these are your *goals* or *aims*. To attain your goal, you want to learn two languages to *interpret for two different language speaking politicians*; you want to learn to *write an editorial for a newspaper or a weekly*; you want to learn the *vocabulary of pathology or architecture or criminal law* - these are your *objectives*. To fulfil your objective, you want to *understand the style of discussion of your politician* or the *ideological views and logic of argument* on the topic of *Indo-Pakistan wars* or the *specific vocabulary of diseases and their symptoms* - these are your *plans*. Let us take the plan of learning a language for the specific purpose (goal) of bilingual translation. One cause may be to facilitate communication of ideas between two politicians who do not understand each other's language. It is achieved through the means of bilingual knowledge, memory of bilingual equivalents, and practice of automaticity in bilingual translation and trait formation for such activity to achieve the specific goal of translating discussions of politicians; bilingual knowledge of economic terms and their bilingual equivalents and practice of automaticity and trait formation for such activity to achieve the *objective of translating discussions on economic cooperation*. In addition, it can be achieved by giving more importance either to memorization or analysis or practice and thus planning the learning activity through certain procedures, techniques, and tactics. One kind of such a *plan* gives rise to one type of a language learning *strategy*: a plan defines what you are going to do with a procedure and a procedure defines how you are going to do it (what), while a strategy defines how

you are going to do it with a *specific* procedure. In other words, a change in strategy implies a change in procedure also. That strategy is the *optimal strategy* which makes you reach the goal in the shortest time possible with the least effort and cost and maximum enjoyment. From that perspective, a strategy can be defined in an elaborate way as follows:

A (Ka:rmik) Language Learning Strategy ((K)LLS) is defined as a *dispositionally conceived whole plan - with a specific set of procedures, implemented through specific means (of dispositional modulation, knowledge acquisition, and va:sana (internalized habit) formation)) in a specific manner - from a specific cause (of a process of LSRW) to achieve a specific effect/goal(s) (of learning LSRW skills).*

It is the whole plan with implied parts and is conceived through a dispositional choice of procedures from the Universal Sciences of [Action-Living-Lingual Action]. It is dispositional, contextual, and experiential.

It is captured in the following equation:



3. 4. 2. 2. 2. Sub-Strategy

A sub-strategy is a specific sub-plan (or fragmentary plan) that serves to implement the strategy in a systematic manner. Sub-strategies are *interchangeable* and can be replaced by other sub-strategies to implement a strategy for achieving a specific goal. Just as a strategy has a specific set of procedures, sub-strategies also have their own specific sub-procedures to be followed to realize the sub-strategy. Sub-strategies are integral parts of the (whole) strategy like the spokes in a wheel.

3. 5. Technique

A technique implements any procedure in a strategy or a sub-strategy. It is a kind of a trick or contrivance that facilitates the execution of a procedure. Oxford's strategies are more or less techniques.

3. 6. Task

A task is an act that is performed with a technique and a tactic to implement a procedure.

IV. Conclusion

It has been shown in the Introduction and Literature Review how the term *strategy* is understood as *action or operation* by the ELT practitioners which is different from its general sense as a *plan*. It has been further shown why such a view is defective from a ka:rmik linguistic perspective. In addition, it has been also shown that the two linguistic models – functional linguistic model giving rise to the Communicative Language Teaching Approach which is followed by Oxford (1990) and the Cognitive Linguistic model followed by Chamois are atomic but not holistic in their approach and so not comprehensive. Consequently, the term *strategy* has been re-examined and redefined as a *specific plan* and three basic strategies (and 6 mixed strategies) have been proposed from the perspective of the learners in the ka:rmik linguistic paradigm. It is hoped that this new understanding will serve as a spring board for further research and development in language strategy studies.

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A SEMANTIO-PRAGMATIC STUDY OF 'CĀHIYE' AND 'PAṚ' AS MODAL AUXILIARIES IN HINDI

Prashant Mishra

Abstract

Yamuna Kachru(1966), Van Olphen(1970), Amar Bhadur Singh (1978), Verma (1978) and Arya (1979) are some of the grammarians and linguists who explored the category of modal auxiliaries in Hindi. However these studies were based on the notional and morpho-syntactical criteria. In Hindi apart from lexical items modals are also used to express various semantic notions like offer, promise, assurance, wish, willingness, suggestions, compulsions, obligations, ability, prediction, intention etc. Due to multi-propositional nature, modals are ambiguous in Hindi also. The semantic categories expressed by modals are often influenced by various sociological and pragmatic factors and hence can not be interpreted in isolation. Since language functions in socio-cultural setting, it seems that the semantic notion of modality should be dependent on socio-cultural factors rather than on syntactic or formal ones. Grammatical and semantic analyses are inadequate to interpret the real intent of the speakers. Our utterances are often shaped by social and situational factors and not the grammatical and linguistic ones. We, therefore, propose to apply the semantico-pragmatic parameters developed as a result of the works done by Austin (1962), Searle (1969), Leech (1973) and other functional grammarians and philosophers. Austin and Searle contributed to the pragmatic paradigm by regarding utterances as speech acts and communication as a goal-directed activity. A speech act is actually a verbal act that takes place in a particular socio-cultural situation. Hence an important aspect of speech acts is that they have a close affinity with the socio-cultural background of the speakers and listeners. These verbal acts perform various social functions like promising, ordering, requesting, congratulating, suggesting, offering, thanking, predicting etc. Philosophers like Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1993) and Leech (1983) suggest some politeness strategies to smoothen the course of communication in order to achieve the desired goals. The classification of speech acts and their functions depend largely on politeness strategies adopted by the speakers. Linguists like Boyd and Thorne (1969), Halliday (1970.a) and Lyons (1977) have acknowledged that various modal verbs possess illocutionary force and to confine the study of modals only to semantic and formal analyses without taking into consideration their illocutionary potential will be a partial study. Therefore, the present paper proposes to explore the semantico-pragmatic

aspects of 'paṛ', and 'cāhiye' as modal auxiliaries in Hindi applying the following semantico-pragmatic parameters (1) Meaning (2) Speech Acts (3) Speech Functions (4) Politeness Principles. The data for the study has been taken from the contemporary one act plays written in Hindi as plays provide us the context to understand the intended meaning of the utterance which if interpreted in isolation reflect the inherent ambiguity of the modals.

Keywords: Modals, Speech Acts, Politeness Strategies, 'paṛ' and 'cāhiye', Pragmatics

I. Introduction

Unlike English, not much scholarly attention has been paid to modality in Hindi. However, recently some Hindi grammarians like Kachru (1966), Van Olphen (1970) and Amar Bahadur Singh (1978) explored this category in Hindi. There seems to be considerable disagreement among scholars on the list of Hindi modals. Based on the available scholarly material, my attempt in this section is to focus on auxiliary verbs that function as modals in Hindi.

Yamuna Kachru (1966) recognises 'sak' and 'cuk' as the only modals in Hindi. However in her later study she rejected 'cuk' and included 'paṛ' and 'cāhiye' in her list of modal verbs. Van Olphen (1970) identifies only three modals in Hindi 'sak', 'pā' and 'cuk'. Amar Bahadur Singh (1978:184) grouped auxiliaries in Hindi into temporal and non-temporal categories. Modals like 'ho / hotā' which represents contingent / unreal belongs to the temporal whereas modals like 'pā' and 'sak', representing accomplishment and ability respectively, belong to the non-temporal group. Apart from temporal and non-temporal categories, Singh also talks about a third category called obligatory. He puts it under the non-temporal class. 'cāhiye' representing a moral idea and 'hai' and 'paṛ' representing compulsion are treated under this category. But Singh does not recognise obligatory as a modal category (1978:185). Arya (1979) discussed the works of the above-mentioned

grammarians and used the notional and syntactic criteria for the identification and classification of modals in Hindi. He rejected 'cuk' as a modal auxiliary and regarded it as an aspect marker in Hindi. Arya included 'gā' in his list of modals as it is ambiguous in use in the same manner as the other epistemic modals 'sak' and 'cāhiye' are used. 'gā' like 'sak' and 'cāhiye' refers to the event of the proposition in the past, present and future. It can be used with both past and non-past tenses. 'cuk' fails to pass the test of ambiguity and functions only as an aspect marker along with the modal auxiliary (1979:336). Hence it does not find a place in Arya's list of modal auxiliaries in Hindi. Arya included 'gā', 'sak', 'cāhiye', 'paṛ' and 'pā' in his list of modals.

Controversy regarding inventory apart, we propose to discuss in detail the functions of 'cāhiye' and 'paṛ' as modal auxiliaries in Hindi. We believe that various semantic categories like desirability, necessity, obligation, inference, insistence and potentiality etc. expressed by the use of modals 'cāhiye' and 'paṛ' in Hindi are universal in nature. However, these notional categories which are manifested through the formal means of modal auxiliaries are often influenced by various sociological and pragmatic factors. We, therefore, propose to confine our study to the functional aspect of 'cāhiye' and 'paṛ' as modal auxiliaries in Hindi.

The Earlier Approaches: Structuralism and Transformational Generative Grammar:

All the earlier approaches to the study of language confined their studies to the semantic and formal aspect of language. Traditional grammar defined some grammatical categories on the basis of their meaning and some on the basis of their forms and functions. Nouns, verbs, tense, number, gender and modals

are the various grammatical categories which have been treated by using semantic criterion whereas adjectives and adverbs are the grammatical categories which have been defined using functional criterion. Structuralists criticized the mixing of criteria by traditional grammarians and based their studies exclusively on the form of words. They completely avoided relying on semantic criterion as it was thought to be outside the scope of scientific analysis due to its arbitrariness and introspective nature. They endeavoured to make the study of language a purely objective discipline and were interested in collecting and analyzing data, classifying form of various grammatical categories and formulating general principles which could be applicable to the data of language. While Structuralism confined itself to the description of the data, Transformational Generative Grammar went a step further and took into consideration native speaker's intuitive knowledge of the language as the data. Generative linguists regarded language as a mental phenomenon which is acquired and not inherited and the data for its study is available through intuition. Generative Grammars have attached priority to syntax and completely ignored the social aspect of language. "But by accepting ambiguity and synonymy as among the basic data of linguistics, Chomsky opened a door for semantics" (Leech1983:2). However, Chomsky missed the important point when he confined his study only to the linguistic competence of the native speakers and refused to go beyond it.

II. Framework: Semantico-Pragmatic

J.L. Austin(1962) contributed significantly to the pragmatic paradigm by relating meaning to its illocutionary force. He believes that a person utters a sentence not only to convey something but also to perform some act. Austin looked at communication system through the goal-oriented pragmatic

point of view. He made a distinction between constative and performative utterances. In his work “How to Do Things with Words”, Austin (1962) says that constative utterances refer to the statements that are used to describe some events to evaluate something as true or false whereas performative utterances are used to do something with the help of language. Another philosopher who enriched the speech act theory is Searle(1969). According to Searle ‘A theory of language is a part of a theory of action’ (Searle 1969:17). Searle regards that there are two types of Speech acts – direct and indirect and both of them are performed at the same time and the performance of one leads to the performance of the other. In a direct speech act, a speaker believes that the hearer understands his message and this understanding of the message will lead him to perform the desired action. Searle defined indirect speech acts as “cases in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another” (Searle 1979:60). Apart from classifying speech acts into direct and indirect, Searle also classified illocutionary acts into various categories. His classification is based on the politeness principles. According to him, “Assertives commit s to the truth of the expressed proposition” and are “neutral as regards politeness” (Leech1983:105). Assertives include stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, claiming, reporting and belong to the collaborative category of illocutionary function. Directives are the speech acts “intended to produce some effect through action by the hearer: ordering, commanding, requesting, advising and recommending are examples “(Leech: 106). These acts in most of the cases belong to the competitive category of illocutionary functions. In the next place comes commissives which “commit s to some future action: e.g. promising, vowing, offering. These illocutionary acts are related to convivial function of politeness. Expressives express “the speaker’s psychological attitude towards a state of affairs

which the illocution presupposes: e.g. thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, condoling etc. Expressives like commissives also belong to the group of convivial as “the illocutionary goal coincides with the social goal” (Leech: 104).

The last category in the classification of illocutionary acts based on politeness maxims is the class of declaratives. Declaratives “bring about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality” (Leech: 106) e.g. resigning, dismissing, christening, naming, excommunicating, appointing, sentencing etc. Declaratives, according to Searle (1969), are institutional acts and do not involve politeness.

All verbal utterances take place in various types of socio-cultural situations. Hence an important feature of speech acts is that they have a close affinity with the socio-cultural background of the speakers and listeners. Several linguists including Boyd and Thorne (1969), Halliday (1970.a) and Lyons (1977) have acknowledged this fact that various modal verbs possess illocutionary force and to confine the study of modals only to semantic and formal analyses without taking into consideration their illocutionary potential will be a partial study. Philosophers like Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1978) and Leech (1983) suggest some politeness strategies to maintain harmony and to strengthen the bond of friendship among individuals. However In the present study we confine ourselves to the politeness maxims enunciated by Prof. Leech. Leech (1983) contributes to the Politeness strategies by discussing various maxims of politeness with regard to the process of minimization and maximization. His maxims, which are primarily based on showing concern and respect for others, are grouped into six categories. These six types of Politeness maxims, according to Prof. Leech, are as follows (1983:132):

- (i) Tact Maxim (in impositives and Commissives)
 - a. Minimize cost to other. [(b) Maximize benefit to other.]
- (ii) Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
 - a. Minimize benefit to self [(b) Maximize cost to self.]
- (iii) Approbation Maxim (in assertive and assertive)
 - a. Minimize dispraise of other [(b) Maximize praise of other]
- (iv) Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
 - a. Minimize praise of self [(b) Maximize dispraise of self]
- (v) Agreement Maxim (in assertives)
 - a. Minimize disagreement between self and other
[b Maximize agreement between self and other]
- (vi) Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)
 - a. Minimize antipathy between self and other
[b Maximize sympathy between self and other]

The politeness maxims dealing with the interpersonal rhetoric include two participants – self and others. The speaker represents self whereas others include the hearer as well as third parties expressed by third person pronouns.

The above discussion about speech acts, speech functions and politeness maxims help us in evolving Semantico-pragmatic parameters – meaning, speech act, speech function, and politeness principle which explain the pragmatic uses of modals in various speech situations. Therefore, after presenting a brief account of the theory of speech acts and the politeness maxims which relate meaning to the illocutionary force of the utterance, in the next part of the paper we propose to apply the same on ‘cāhiye’ and ‘par’ as modal auxiliaries in Hindi applying the following Semantico-pragmatic parameters: (1) meaning (2) speech act (3) speech functions and (4) politeness principles.

III. Methodology and Data Collection:

Controversy regarding the inventory of modals apart, we propose to discuss in detail the functions of ‘cāhiye’ and ‘paṛ’ as modal auxiliaries in Hindi. As an auxiliary modal ‘cāhiye’ and ‘paṛ’ are used to express various semantic notions like desirability, suggestions, necessity, obligation, inference, insistence and logical conclusion. We believe that these semantic notions are often influenced by various sociological and pragmatic factors. We, therefore, propose to study the semantico-pragmatic aspect of ‘cāhiye’ and ‘paṛ’ as modal auxiliaries in Hindi applying the semantico-pragmatic framework and parameters proposed by us on selected samples in the following part of the paper.

Functions of ‘Cāhiye’

Modality, according to Halliday, is a form of participation by the speaker in the speech event (Halliday 1970). In Hindi, the addresser uses ‘cāhiye’ as a modal auxiliary to remind the addressee of his legal and moral obligations. One of the characteristic features of ‘cāhiye’ is that its form does not inflect and remains neutral for all the persons, numbers and genders. A sentence constructed with ‘cāhiye’ in most of the cases is addressed to a second person or a third person. Only in few cases, it is addressed to the first person. ‘cāhiye’ is basically a {+desirability} verb generally used by an addresser to express his wish or to suggest the addressee to behave in a particular way in accordance with the legal and moral norms set up by the society (Verma 1978). In some cases the addresser wishes the addressee to behave in a particular manner as it is necessary for the welfare of the addressee himself. Sometimes a negative is placed before ‘cāhiye’ to advise him not to do something as it is against his personal as well as social interests. Wish, advice, suggestion, exhortation, intentions are recommendatory in nature. In the illocutionary

act, the addresser, who may be an elderly or wise man, recommends the addressee to behave or act in a particular manner as it is necessary for the welfare of the addressee as well as society. 'cāhiye' is also used for indicating inference when the speaker draws his inference from the situation in which he experiences something. The semantic categories underlying a 'cāhiye' construction express various semantic features including 'desirability', 'necessity', 'obligation', 'inference' and 'potentiality'. These semantic categories are expressed at the surface level by the use of modal 'cāhiye'.

1. tumhe isse kabhī shadī nahīm karnā cāhiye.
 You her marry never should.
 You should never marry her.
 (*cakkardār sīḥiyām aur andhera*)

Context of the Utterance:

Mahārāj : *maim to nahīm - magar ab vah merai bagair*

Maharaj : I can not - but now she me without
nahīm rah saktī
 not live can.

Maharaj : I can't ---but now she too can't live without me.

manohar : *hūm āi think tumhai issai kabhī shādī*

Manohar : Yes! I think – you her marry
nahīm karnā cāhiye shashi
 never should Shashi

Manohar : Yes! I think –you should never marry her Shashi.

mahārāj : *mere man kī tasvīr bilkul sāf he. mainai ek*

Maharaj : my mind of picture quite clear is. I one
jindgī ko sudhārne kā nishcay kiyā hai maim umā
 life to reform of decided did have I Uma
ko samāj maim vahī pratishṭā dilāūmgā jo ki
 to society in the same reputation get shall that
merī patnī ko milnī cāhiye.
 my wife to given should.

Maharaj : The picture in my mind is quite clear. I have decided to reform a life. I shall / will make sure that Uma gets the same respect/status that is due to my wife.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Suggestion, recommendation, advice.

Illocutionary Act : Directive.

I recommend you never to marry Uma.

Illocutionary Function : Competitive.

Attitude of the Speaker : Speaker wishes that the hearer follows the suggestion given in the propositional content.

Speaker wishes the hearer never to marry Uma.

Politeness Principle : Tact Maxim

2. *niḍ il istemāl karne ke bād toṛ denā cāhiye.*

Needles using after break should.

After using needles, we should break them. (*subah jarūr āyegī*)

Context of the Utterance:

rājū : mujhe chūnā nahīm dākṭar aṅkal mujhe –

Raju : me touch do not doctor uncle me –

Raju : don't touch me, Dr.uncle, don't

dākṭar desāi : tumheṁ eḍ huā hai tumse kisne

Doctor Desai : You aids suffering are you who told *kahā ki tumheṁ chūne se eḍ s hotā hai* that you touches aids affect will

Doctor Desai : You are suffering from aids. Who told you that aids will affect one who touches you?

rāv sāhab : sabhī kahte haim

Rao Saheb : All say

- Rao Saheb : All say.
ḍākṭar desāī : *nā samajh haiṁ, galat kahte haiṁ. dekho*
 Doctor Desai : unwise are, a lie tell. see
beṭe tumheṁ chūne
 my son you touching
se tumhāre kapre pahne se, tumhārī thālī
meṁ khānā khāne se eḍ s
 by your clothes wearing by, your plate in
 eating by aids
kā prasār nahīṁ hotā. sirf seks aur blaḍ in
do hī mādhyaṁ se
 spread not does. only sex and blood these
 two means by
iskā failāv hotā hai. ājkal to dispojebal niḍ
il istemāl karte hai tāki
 it spreads these days disposable needles use
 so that
eḍ s na ho. isīlye niḍ il istemāl karne ke
bād taṛ denā
 aids does not affect. therefore needles using
 after break
cāhiye.
 should.
- Dr.Desai : They are unwise, they tell a lie. See, my son,
 by touching you, or by eating in your plate,
 aids doesn't spread. It spreads only by means
 of sex and blood. These days we use
 disposable needles so that aids does not affect
 others. Therefore, after using, the needle must
 be broken.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning: Inference, logical conclusion.

Illocutionary Act: Assertive.

I infer that after using needles, we should break them.

Illocutionary Function: Collaborative.

Attitude of the Speaker: Speaker assumes the information given in the propositional content on the basis of the events or circumstances described in the propositional content.

Politeness Principle: Neutral towards politeness.

3.

Manohar : *ye pāgal sacmuc daivtā hote haiṁ, mahāraj*
 Manohar : these lunatics really Godly are, Maharaj

*kumār inhaiṁ vahī prem, vahī shradhā vahī
 bhāv denā cāhiye*

Kumar they same love, same respect same
 reverence given should

jo bhakt apnai bhagvān ko daitā hai
 that devotee his God to give s.

Manohar : These lunatics are really Godly, Maharaj
 Kumar. They should be given the same love,
 the same regard and the same reverence that a
 devotee gives to his God. (*cakkardār
 sīrhiyāṁ aur andherā*)

Context of the Utterance: Same as above.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Advice, suggestion, recommendation.

Illocutionary Act : Directive.

I wish you to pay the same love, the same respect and the same
 reverence to lunatics that you pay to your God.

Illocutionary Function : Competitive.

Attitude of the Speaker : Speaker wishes the hearer to follow
 the suggestion given in the
 propositional content.
 Speaker wishes the hearer to pay the

same love, the same regard and the same reverence to lunatics that he pays to his God
 Politeness Principle : Tact Maxim and Sympathy Maxim.

4. *hamem ek aurat ke khun se apne hath nahim rangne cahiye*
 we a woman of blood with our hands not colour should.
 We should not colour our hands with the blood of a woman.
 (*itihās aur satya*)

Context of the Utterance:

number pācm : tum mūrakh ho. main aurat par vishvās nahim kar saktā. vah bahut

Number five : you a fool are. I a woman believe not can. she very
khatarnāk hotī hai. akele hī sakrom puruṣo ko ullū banāne kī shakti usmeṁ
 dangerous is. Alone hundreds men of befool to the power she
hai.
 has.

Number five : You are a fool. I can't believe a woman. She is very dangerous. She alone has the power to befool hundreds of men.

number chār : lekin fir bhī hamem ek aurat ke khun se apne hath nahim

Number four : Even then we a woman of the blood with our hands not
rangne cahiye.
 colour should.

Number four : Even then, we should not colour our hands with the blood of a woman.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Advice, moral obligation.

Illocutionary Act : Directive.

I suggest that we should not colour our hands with the blood of a woman.

Illocutionary Function : Competitive.

Attitude of the Speaker : The speaker wishes that the hearer follows the suggestion given in the propositional content.

The speaker wishes the hearer not to kill a woman.

Politeness Principle : Tact maxim and Sympathy Maxim.

Functions of 'par'

In English 'will', 'shall', 'must', 'have to', 'have got to' are used to express insistence, obligation and compulsion of various kinds. In Hindi 'par' is used to express the same semantic categories. There are social situations in which an addresser is bound to impose some obligatory actions on the hearer. The addresser, who may be a senior to or older than the addressee, uses his authority or superior rank and position to impose some obligatory action on the hearer. In Indian social system, obligations are generally imposed by a person who has the official or legal authority to do so or by an elder who is bestowed authority by the society or the family. 'par' is also used in Hindi to express some of the compulsions that the addresser or the addressee had to undergo in the past or shall have to bear in the future. 'par' is used in Hindi when the speaker arrives at a logical conclusion which is inferred from some known premises or information. In English 'must', 'have to' and 'have got to' are used to express the semantic notion of insistence. In Hindi like 'gā', 'par' is also used to imply the same notion.

5. *ghaṅṭe bhar ke bād mujhai calā jānā paṛegā*
an hour after I go will have to.

I will have to go after an hour. (*sindūr kī hoī*)

Context of the Utterance:

murārīlāl (apne nokar māhir alī se) : kahām cale gaye the jī, sāṛhai nau

Murarilal(his servant Mahir Ali to) : Where gone had you, 9:30

ho rahā hai. āj mukadme adhik haim ghanṭe bhar ke bād
is. Today cases a number of have an hour after

mujhe calā jānā paṛegā aur tumhārā patā nahīm

I go have to shall and you untraceable

Murarilal (To his servant Mahir Ali): Where had you gone. It is almost 9:30 now. To-day, we have a number of cases. I shall have to go after an hour and you were untraceable.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Inference, logical necessity.

Illocutionary Act : Assertive.

I infer that I have to go after half an hour as I have to attend more cases today.

Illocutionary Function : Collaborative.

Attitude of the Speaker : The speaker believes in the truth of the propositional content as it is inferred from the circumstantial evidence available to him.

Politeness Principle : Neutral towards politeness.

6. *lāj sharam choṛkar sarkār ko yah sab karnā paṛtā*
shame setting aside government this all do has to
hai. tāki eḍ s ke peshenṭs pedā na ho.
so that aids of patient born not are.

The government has to do all this setting aside all
shame so that the patient of aids are not born.

(*subah jarūr āyegī*)

Context of the Utterance:

dādājī desh videsh me vigyān me itnī pragati huī

Grandfather our country foreign in science in a lot of progress been

hai. yahā tak ki insān cānd tak pahūnc gayā hai kyā eḍ s

has. So much so that man moon even reached has. aids

kā ilāj nahīm nikālā jā sakā

of treatment not find can.

Grand Father : There has been a lot of progress in science in our country and in foreign countries too, so much so that man has reached the Moon.

Can't we find the treatment of aids?

dāktar : nahīm bābūjī, āe din ham dekhte hai ki T.V. par

Doctor : No babuji, everyday we see that T.V. on *nirodh, kaṇḍom ke vigyāpan khuleām dikhāe jāte hai. lekin*

condoms, condoms about advertisement openly shown are. But

is rog ki bhayāvahatā kī vajah se lāj sharm choṛkar

this disease of the terrors of because shame setting aside

sarkār ko yah sab karnā parṭā hai, tāki eḍs ke peshenṭs

the govt. this all do has to, so that aids of patients

pedā na ho.

born not are.

Doctor : No, Babuji, every day we see that the advertisements about condoms are openly shown on T.V. But because of the terrors of this disease, the government has to do all this setting aside all shame so that the patients of aids are not born.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Strong necessity.

Illocutionary Act : Assertive.

I assert that in order to prevent aids it is very necessary for the government to exhibit advertisements of condoms and other means of safe sex.

Illocutionary Function : Collaborative.

Attitude of the Speaker : The speaker believes in the truth of the propositional content as it is based on the reasons given in the context.

Politeness Principle : Neutral towards politeness.

7. *yahā use har ek ka ādar karnā partā he, har ek se*
 here she all people respect has to all
dabnā partā he.
 to yield has to

Here she has to respect all people, has to yield before all.
(sukhī dālī)

Context of the Utterance:

Dādā : *mujhe yah jānkar barā dukh huā hai ki choṭī*

Grandfather : I this to know very unhappy am that
 younger

bahū kā man yahā nahīm lagā. vah ek
barē ghar kī

daughter- in- law mentally here not happy .
 she a high family of

beṭī hai bahut parhī -likhī hai. yahā use
har-ek kā ādar karnā

daughter is highly educated is. here she all
 people respect

partā hai, har-ek kā hukam mānnā partā
hai - yahā uskā

has to, all of the orders follow has to - here
 her

vyaktitav dabkar rah gayā hai
personality suppressed been has.

Grand-father : I am very unhappy to know that the younger daughter-in-law is not mentally happy here. She is the daughter of a high family, and highly educated too. She has to give respect to all people living here; has to follow the orders of all; her personality has been suppressed here.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Compulsions in the present.

Illocutionary Act : Assertive.

I affirm that here she has to give respect to all the people and to follow the orders of all.

Illocutionary Function : Collaborative.

Attitude of the Speaker : The speaker is sympathetic towards the hearer due to the compulsions imposed on her.

Politeness Principle : Sympathy Maxim.

8.

cittaur kī rakshā me tumhe talvār ke sāth hī sonā paṛegā.

Chittor of the defence for you sword with sleep have to shall.

For the defence of Chittor, you shall have to sleep with your sword. (*dīp dān*).

Context of the Utterance:

udaysing (rūthe hue svar me) : main talvār ke sāth hi so jaūgā.

Udai Singh (angry voice in) : I the sword with sleep shall.

Udai Singh (In an angry voice) : I shall sleep only with my sword.

pannā abhī vah samay nahīm āyā, kumWar.

Panna : so far that time not has come, Kumwar.
*cittaur kī rakshā me tumhe talvār ke sāth hī sonā
 paṛegā*
 Chittor of the defence in you sword with sleep
 have to shall

Panna : That time hasn't come so far, Kunwar. For the
 defense of Chittor, you shall have to sleep with your
 sword.

Sociological and Pragmatic Parameters:

Meaning : Obligation.

Illocutionary Act : Directive.

I order you to sleep with your sword for the defense of Chittor.

Illocutionary Function : Competitive.

Attitude of the Speaker : Speaker insists that the hearer
 performs the action described in
 the propositional content.

Speaker asks the hearer to sleep with his sword in order to
 defend his country.

Politeness Principle: Violates politeness maxim.

IV. Conclusions

The analysis of the above samples extracted from the one-act plays of Hindi substantiate our premise that context of utterance that includes the socio-cultural and background knowledge is very essential to understand the semantics of Modals. The theory of Speech-Act selected for the present study and the pragmatic parameters used by us help us in understanding the real intent of the speakers and in exploring the various communicative acts and functions performed by the modals. The paper shows that modals in Hindi are not only multi-propositional but also multi-functional. The study shows that when 'cāhiye' semantically refers to suggestion, recommendation and advice as we see in examples No.1,3 and 4 it performs directive speech act as the speaker asks the hearer

to perform the action(suggestion) given in the propositional content. Since the illocutionary goal competes with the social goal, it belongs to the competitive category of illocutionary function. Similarly in example No. 8, when 'paṛ' is used to express the notional category of moral obligation, it performs directive speech act and performs competitive function. Semantic categories like obligation, compulsion and suggestion expressed by means of modals 'cāhiye' and 'paṛ' belong to directive class of speech acts. In a directive, the goal of the speaker is to ask the hearer to perform the action described in the propositional content. In a directive generally the illocutionary goal competes with the social goal. Hence directives belong to the competitive category of illocutionary functions. When 'paṛ' as we see in examples No. 5, 6 and 7 implies inference, guess, strong necessity and compulsion it performs assertive act as the speaker expresses/states inference/guess or affirmation about the truth of the propositional content. In the above examples we notice that assertive merely convey the addressee the information described in the propositional content. Assertive are neutral towards politeness as the goal of the speaker is merely to inform the hearer about the propositional content. Since assertive are neutral towards politeness, they belong to collaborative category of illocutionary functions. An analysis of the above samples also reveals that politeness plays a very important role in determining the illocutionary functions of modals. When 'cāhiye' and 'paṛ' are used as assertive to merely convey the addressee the information described in the propositional content, they remain neutral towards politeness and perform collaborative function. Similarly when 'cāhiye' and 'paṛ' are used as directives where the illocutionary goal competes with the social goal, they perform competitive function. Hence speech functions are determined by politeness maxims used by the speakers.

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APPENDIX

Selections of Hindi One- Act Plays as Sources for Illustrative Material in this Study.

Ashka, Upendranath.(1993). *Sukhi Dali*. Ekanki Sankalan. Ed. Kamala Prasad and Vinay Dubey. 5th ed. Bhopal :M.P. Hindi Grantha Academy.

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TRANSLATOR VS. POET TRANSLATOR: A STUDY OF TWO DIFFERENT TRANSLATIONS OF GUY DE MAUPASSANT IN TELUGU

H. Lakshmi

Abstract

Translation studies in recent years has seen a “sociological turn” or “social turn” , following “cultural turn” of the 80s and with it the researchers are focusing more on the study of ‘habitus-mediated relations of norms’ and opting for ‘socio-cognitive approach to cultural process and outcome’ (Simeoni 1998,p.34). The object increasingly being studied by translation studies scholars has, thus, become the human agent, the translator. This is, of course, not to say that translations as cultural products are no longer being studied, rather that the emphasis has been shifted from texts and contexts, to the agents who produce the texts and the relation between the two.

Andrew Chesterman (2006) divides the sociology of translation into three areas - The sociology of translations as products, the sociology of translators and the sociology of translating, i.e. the translation process. The sociology of translators covers such issues as the status of the translators in different cultures, the public image of the translator’s profession, their rates of pay, working conditions, role models and the translator’s habitus, field research on translators’ attitudes to their work, translators’ ideologies and translation ethics, professional organizations, accreditation systems, translators’ networks, copyright, and so on.

I. Introduction

In this paper, I would like to examine two different translations of the short story “Suicides” by Guy De Maupassant from French into Telugu with a view to study the two translators and their translation process. Of the two translations, one is by a very famous Marxist poet and well-known literary giant, Sri Sri (Srirangam Srinivasa Rao) who is also known as the father of modern Telugu poetry; and the other is by an unknown person, an academic by profession, Pulluri Sampath Rao.

While Sri Sri’s translation was published in June, 1945 in a monthly Telugu magazine called ‘Suryaprabha’, the other translation was published in February, 1998 also in a monthly magazine called ‘Racana’. Neither of them knows any French and both translated the story into Telugu through English (Therefore I focused only on the English translation of the

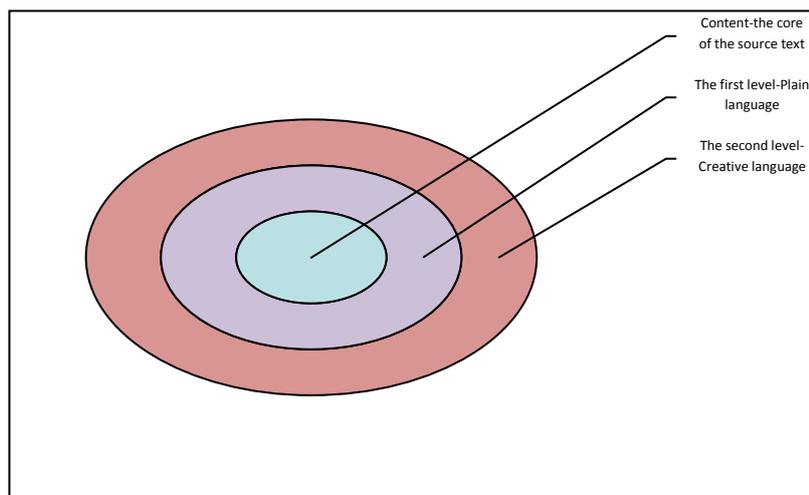
story as it is the source text for both the translators) . The entire original collection of short stories by Maupassant have been translated into English by a team of three translators- ALBERT M.C.McMASTER, A.E. HENDERSON and MME. QUESADA and others (see www.gutenberg.org/files/3090/3090-h.htm).

The aim of the present paper is twofold. In the first place, I would like to see if there are any significant differences between a translator and a poet translator in terms of the translation strategies that they employ; the kind of aesthetic sensibilities that they possess and the level of understanding that they exhibit in following the source text. And secondly, I would like to study the Telugu language diachronically to observe the changes that have taken place in the language over the period, as there is a gap of fifty three long years between the two translations.

Further, this study also made me wonder whether the language of literature underwent some radical changes over the last fifty years, from a highly creative flowery language to mundane day to day language used by the ordinary folks in their day to day life. It is not a question related to the debate in Telugu between the *grandhika bhasha* and *sistavyavaharikam*. One can be creative even in *sistavyavaharikam*. Yes, to make literature accessible to the common man it has to be in a simple language. Fine, but then, what about the aesthetic character of literature? Is it not required to be pleasing to one's senses? Basically it is understood that a literary text, whether it is originally written in a language or translated into it, has to have the basic character of a literary text. This is where, I believe, the difference between a poet translator and a non-poet translator makes a world of difference. While the poet translator also becomes an artist and makes his text sound musical, the non-poet translator merely tries to reproduce the

content of the source text as closely as she/he can and does not move beyond this goal. In other words, we can say that there are two levels in which the poet translator operates. First, s/ he grasps the sense of the source text and then works on it to put it as creatively as s/he can in the target language as though s/he was writing her/his own text. On the other hand, the non-poet translator functions at only one level-s/he tries to grasp the sense of the source text and then puts it across in the target language mechanically without polishing it to make it creative. One can extend this argument further and state that the process of translating followed by a poet translator is no different from what s/he does while composing her/his own works. In both cases s/he takes the raw material and moulds it into a beautiful artifact. On the other hand, in the case of the non-poet translators, the source text gets conveyed in the target language in a plain language as understood by the translator. In this context we can also consider the process of translation given by Nida (1968), where he talks about the three steps involved in the process of translation-**analysis, transfer and restructuring**. Here we could say that while the poet translator's process involves restructuring where the language is made creative and appealing to the target readers, the process of a non-poet translator has only two steps- analysis and transfer. As a result, the latter, to use the two terms popularized by Gideon Toury, may be satisfactory in terms of its adequacy to the source text, but it may not score well in terms of its acceptability by the target readers. Due to this difference between the two, while the language employed by a poet translator sounds poetic and creative, the one used by the other appears insipid and lackluster.

This process can be shown figuratively as follows.



Different levels of translation

Using language creatively and slightly on a higher plane is something that comes naturally and perhaps effortlessly to a poet, but not to the others. Whether one is writing something originally in a language or translating into it, the language naturally becomes highly creative. Although anyone can translate, one can observe a marked difference between poet translators and non-poet translators. There is no doubt that the aesthetic component of a text gets enhanced when language is used creatively.

Another aspect to be noted is that when we read a translation as an independent text in isolation, we may not pay much attention to its language as we will be more concerned with other aspects, both from the source perspective and the target perspective. But when we go for a comparative analysis of two or more translations of the same text in the same target language, the language dimension also becomes one of the important parameters for comparison. The shortcomings or

inadequacies of a translation would become apparent when it is pitted against another.

Let us first look at the two translators in more detail. Sri Sri is a well-known progressive and Marxist poet who has contributed to all genres in Telugu, though his major forte was poetry. And he also worked for some time in Moscow for Progressive Publishers and translated several works from Russian into Telugu. He is also widely known for his innumerable translations from various foreign languages and English into Telugu. Most of his translations from foreign languages into Telugu are through English. He has also translated some of his own poetry into English. He has written dialogues and songs for about 1200 dubbing movies and several originally made movies as well in Telugu.

The other translator is Pulluri Sampath Rao. He is a doctorate in Political Science and is in teaching profession. He runs two colleges in Jammikunta of karimnagar district of Telangana. It is said that he is interested in literature, particularly short fiction. He seems to have translated one or two stories of Maupassant and Sadant Hasan Manto into Telugu. Due to the different profiles of the two translators, we find a marked difference between the two translations at different levels.

Let me state at the outset two important points about these two translations:

- a) An interesting dimension to the present case study is that while Sri Sri's translation was published in 1945 in a monthly magazine called 'Surya Prabha', the other translation was published in the February 1998 issue of 'Rachana', also a monthly magazine dedicated to direct translations of short stories from different Indian and Foreign languages into Telugu (but this particular

translation is not a direct one and it is clearly acknowledged as so). So the time gap between the two translations is a good 53 years. This is an important point to be noted as the Telugu language itself has undergone a lot of changes in the meanwhile. As a result we can expect some significant differences between the two translations in terms of the language employed due to this temporal gap. We can, for instance, expect an increased use of English words in the latter translation.

- b) Secondly, going by the profiles of the two translators in question, we can also expect some marked differences in the way the language is employed for creative expression. While Sri Sri is a creative writer and an experienced translator, the other translator is not even a literature student, but someone who is interested in literature with only two or three translations to his credit. This aspect might also be important when we consider the translation strategy employed by the translator and the way they treat their work and their attitude towards it. It is generally observed that experienced translators and writers who already have a great name and fame of their own and thus have an established credibility in the market, get a little casual with their translations and go for free renderings reproducing the essence of the source text rather than closely following the source text in terms of its structure or style or thought process. This would result in translations that read like original texts written in the target language rather than translations. In such translations, it is often difficult for one to establish correspondence between the source text and the target text at the formal level. On the other hand, the novice translators are observed to go for a faithful reproduction of the source text, often going for literal rendering of it.

Going by this assumption, we can expect a free rendering from Sri Sri and a faithful and close translation from the second translator in the case under consideration.

Let us now examine the two translations in detail and compare them with one another and with the source text in English, in order to see how far we are justified in making the above observations and also to take our quest further.

1. First, let us see how many English words have been employed in each of these translations. As it is common knowledge that new English words are being added into the Telugu language every passing day, we can only expect more English words in the second translation.

In Sri Sri's translation we find the use of only four English words: these are 'revolver', 'drawer', 'master' (for teacher) and 'circus'. Of these, the first one has been repeated three times and the second one two times. For the first three of these words Telugu equivalents are available, but for the last one 'circus' there is no Telugu word. And the word, 'master' appears as 'maastaru' as this is how it is said in Telugu.

On the other hand, in the other translation we find the use of the following twenty four English words:

Mr. X (it has been used two times), *apartment*, *pistol* (two times), *load*, *mystery*, *fashion*, *light*, *circus ring*, *jokes*, *candles*, *gas lights*, *desk* (two times), *ring*, *cover*, *gown* (two times), *silk*, *school*, *master*, *revolver*, *table*, *load*, *slippers*. Of these words, *pistol* appears as '*pistool*' and *master* as '*maastaru*' which are actually the nativized forms of the respective English words. All these English

words appear in the translations, Of course, not in Roman script but in transliteration in Telugu script.

We can arrive at the following conclusions on the basis of the above data.

- i) The point which is obvious is that the use of English words has increased phenomenally in a span of 50 years. The literate and the semi-literate Telugu speakers mix the English words freely while speaking in Telugu without making any discrimination between the two languages. It is something naturally happens, often without our being conscious of it. We often experience instances where the illiterate or semi-literate fail to understand a Telugu word, but when we use its English counterpart they do. People even joke that when we use, for instance, a Telugu word like 'kaaleeyam', the listeners would ask us to use the Telugu word and when we say promptly 'liver' they at once understand it. This makes clear how the English language has become a part and parcel of our day-to-day lives, thanks to our colonial legacy.
- ii) Secondly, we may all agree that the situation is not such that we cannot help using English words or we are forced to use them for want of equivalents in Telugu. It is only that we freely use English words without taking the trouble of finding our own words, and if we want we can avoid the use of most of the English words that we use in our day today life. This reflects the general tendency prevailing in the country as most of the educated Indians comfortably code-mix English words in their mother tongue and it has become the natural way of speaking or writing. This is more of our attitude towards our language and perhaps the colonial legacy that we happily carry forward. In this context, I think, we, the Telugus, must learn a lesson or two from our Tamil brothers and sisters

who have the reputation of coining new terms in their language whenever they come across a new concept, new invention or a new term, rather than simply borrowing it from English as we generally do.

- iii) The creative writers have a rich vocabulary and more resources at their disposal and use the language more creatively, originally and ingeniously, even in their translations. This point will be elaborated later in a little more detail.
2. Sri Sri's greatness as a gifted writer gets reflected in the translation in his highly creative use of the language, in his aesthetic sensibilities and his high command over the target language resources in general.

The comparative analysis of the source text in English and the two target texts reveals that Sri Sri is a very serious and meticulous translator and perfectionist who is not only good at understanding the text but also in faithfully and creatively translating it without taking any liberties with it. He rendered the text with utmost care and he also tried to retain even the sentence structure and followed closely the thought process of the writer and translated it exactly in the same manner. All this shows his commitment and attitude to his work. It is perhaps possible only to a poet to step into the shoes of another poet while translating a piece of literature. We can also deduce his translation strategy from an analysis of his translation.

Consider the following extracts taken from the texts:

- a) Source Text (ST): "My dream lasted a long time. The last veil has just been torn from my eyes."

Sri Sri : caalaa kaalaM saagiMdi naa swapnaM. ippuDee naa
kaLLaku kappabaDDa aakharu tera
ciMpiveeyabaDDadi.

PSR: naa kala caalaakaalaM konasaagiMdi. Kaani daani civari bramalu ippuDee tolagipooyaayi.

b) ST: “Oh! If you cherish life, never disturb the burial place of old letters!”

Sri Sri: oohoo! miiku jivitaM miida aasaMTuu vuMTee paata uttaraalanu vaaTi samaadi stalaM nuMci ennaDuu kadapabookaMDi.

PSR : miiru jivitaaniki viluviccee vaLLayitee paata uttaraalunna peTTenu gaani, deskunugaani teravaDaaniki saahasiMcakaMDi

c) ST: “I am seven years old today. It is the age of reason. I take advantage of it to thank you for having brought me into this world.”

Sri Sri: ii dinaM naakeeDoo saMvatsaraM vastuMdi. Idi gnaanaM vikasiMcee vayassu. ii avakaasaM tiisukuni bhuumi miidiki neenu raavaDaaniki kaaraNabhuturalayina niiku krutagnataa puurvaka vaMdanamulu samarpistunnanu.

PSR: naakippuDu eeDu saMvatsaraalu. Idi aalooCiMcadagga vayassu. nannie prapaMcaMlooki tuusukoccinaMduku miiku krutagnata telapaalanukuMtunnaanu.

d) ST: That letter was from my dearest friend, the companion of my youth, the confidant of my hopes; and he appeared before me so clearly, with his pleasant smile and his hand outstretched, that a cold shiver ran down my back. Yes, yes, the dead come back, for I saw him! Our memory is a more perfect world than the universe: it gives back life to those who no longer exist.

Sri Sri: aa uttaraM naa praaNasneehutuni daggaranuMDi vacciMdi. ataDu naa yevvanakaalaMnaaTi sahacaruDu. naa aasalaku guptapiiTika. ataDu naa kaLLa yeduTa sirispaTaMgaa kanipiMcaaDu. Aa haayikuurcee maMdahaasaMtoo, caacukunna ceetulatoo! Naa vennupuusa nuMDi siitalaMgaa oka kaMpaM praakiMdi. Avunu avunu caccinavaaLLu tirigivastaru. eemanagaa neenatanni cuusaanu. bhautika prapaMcaM kaMTee tadhyamainadi mana smruti jagattu. gatiMci pooyinavaaLLaku tirigi praNapратиSTa ceestuMdi.

PSR: idi naa priyamitruDi nuMDi vacciMdi. Naa yavvanaMloo naa aasalu, aasayaalu annii telisina nammakamaina vaaDatanu. ataDu tana amruta hastaalato, sneehapuuritamaina cirunavvutoo naa kaLLa muMdu spasTaMgaa pratyakshamayyaaDu. avunu! canipooyina vaaDallaa tirigi kanapaDutunnaaDu. neenatanni cuusaanu. maa gnaapakaala prapaMcaM ii nijajivitapu prapaMcaanikannaa saMpuurnamainadi. adi eMta saMpuurnamainadaMTee canipooyinavaariki saitaM praaNaannistuMdi.

e) ST: And the first kiss-that endless kiss which makes you close your eyes, which drowns all thought in the immeasurable joy of approaching possession!

Sri Sri: mari aa pradhama cuMbanamoo? aMtaMleeni tolimudduloo nii kaLLu muusukupootavi.

PSR : aa maTlaaDee cuupulu, veegaMgaa koTTukunee guMDe cappuLLu, pedaalanaMdiMcee cirunavvulu annii iccee aa pedaal- aa tarvaata aMtuleeni aanaMdaM tappa maree aalocana leeni modaTi muddu - annii naa kaLLamuMdee kadalaaDutunnayi.

3. But as expected of Sri Sri (going by the experience of reading some of his translations from Russian into Telugu where he would generally adopt the source text to suit the target culture) we find two instances of adaptation of the French cultural specificities into Telugu in this translation as well. These are the following:

a) SL : “Yes, I suddenly saw again all my mother’s old gowns, the different styles which she adopted and the several ways in which she dressed her hair”.

Sri Sri : awunu, akasmaattugaa maa talligaari paata ciiralannii kaana vaccaayi. rakarakaala ciiralu. aaviDa enni paddhatulugaa tala duvvukoneedoo annii kanabaDDaayi.

PSR : awunu! ennoo eeLLakritaM maa ammagowneesukoovaDaM, kottarakaalugaa veMtrukalni muDeesukoovaDaMtoo paaTu vividha rakaalugaa tayaaravaDaM neenu cuusaanu.

As it can be observed from the above, ‘the gowns’ of the SL text has been translated as ‘the sarees’ by Sri Sri to suit the Indian context. But the other translator has retained the SL text intact.

b) In another case the name ‘Robert’ has been changed into “Babu” by Sri Sri, but not by the other translator. The two other cases where Sri Sri has adopted the SL text to suit the target culture and as observed earlier, not the other translator, are the following:

SL: ...she said, “ Robert, my child

Sri Sri: Babuu! Babuu!

PSR : Robert! Robert !

4. In terms of the form of the language employed by these two translators, the following observations can be made:

- a) One of the significant changes that has taken place in the writing system by the mid 20th century is related to the disappearance of 'rutwam' or 'kravaDi' in the written language to be in tune with the spoken form. This can clearly be observed in these two translations. While Sri Sri has used rutwam, PSR has not used it. The following words taken from the two translations will illustrate the point:

Sri Sri: In Sri Sri's translation we find the words like *vraayu, prakkana, praaku, krammina, bratuku, and krotta*

PSR: On the other hand in PSR's translation we find them written like *pakkana, raasina, raata, kotta* etc.

- b) Similarly we can also observe in these two translations a change in the finite verb endings which are also generally sentence endings in Telugu. They illustrate how the written forms have undergone changes to be close to the spoken forms over the years.

Sri Sri: *gocaristunnadi; yatniMcaanu; digulu kolpiMdi; patteenu; unnawi; vaccinadi, kramminavi;; niMpi veecaanu*

PSR: *toostunnaayi, kaligistuMdi; uMdi, vacciMdi; cuupaayi , pedaalu, puulu, unnaayi*

Likewise we find 'pedawulu' (lips) and 'puwwulu' (flowers) in Sri Sri's translation and 'pedaalu' and 'puulu' in PSR's translation.

- c) When it comes to the use of passive forms, while Sri Sri has used four passive forms in his translation - **vraayabaDu** ; **ciMpiveeyabaDu** ; **likhiMpabaDu** ; **kalpiMcabaDu**; PSR has used only one passive form, **raayabaDu**.

In order to understand why the passive forms are generally avoided in contemporary Telugu we need to go into the history of the language a bit.

We have clear indications that in the early decades of the 20th century there was no move against the use of passives and some newspapers like 'Andhra Patrika' had been using it quite liberally . But later writers and journalists stopped using it stating that it appears awkward and unnatural. It is stated that the passive entered Telugu through the translations from Sanskrit and first appeared in *kavya bhasha* but later when there was a movement against *grandhika bhasha* that promoted the use of *vyavaharika bhasha* in all forms of writing, it had fallen into disuse. As we moved closer towards spoken language that replaced the earlier forms of writing that were markedly different from spoken forms, the written form has undergone drastic changes to get closer not only to the spoken form of Telugu but also to the common man.

According to K.K. Ranganathacharyulu (2000), "passive constructions never appear in *Sasana bhasha* (the language of the inscriptions). As they do not appear in *Sasana bhasha* which is supposed to be close to the spoken language, we can say that this construction is not natural/native to Telugu but only entered *Kavya bhasha* in Telugu due to the influence of Sanskrit." (p.202, translation mine).

According to C. Rama Rao (2000), the passive morpheme is actually 'padu' but when it is added to a verb, it becomes 'badu'. This 'badu' form can be observed in passive verbs and

in some other verbs like 'tiragabadu', 'kanabadu' and 'vinabadu'. The credit for the movement against the use of passive verbs goes to the earliest proponents of the spoken language. Gidugu Ramamurty and Gurajada Apparao tried to bring the spoken language and written language closer as they became very distant and they considered this 'badu' form as something that is a characteristic of the Granthika Bhasha and a mere archaic form and hence waged a war against it. Following these scholars, others like Sitapathi, Narla Venkateswara rao also propagated the same argument. To avoid the use of 'badu' people have been deliberately using sentences like 'kalavaTaM jarigiMdi', 'ceppaTaM jarigiMdi', 'ceeyaTaM jarigiMdi' and so on.

C.Rama Rao (2000) also refers to Nallan Chakravartula Ramanujacharyulu (he has translated Valmiki's Ramayan into Telugu) who said to have stated that there are many 'badus' in Nannaya; much less in Tikkana; and their number increased by the time of Srinadha and it became many fold in Prabhandha literature. In modern poets, Viswanatha Satyanarayana used it without any hesitation. Look at the following lines in his Andhra Prasakthi:

etaganina buurvapallava nrupacaritalee
vraayabaDi paaDabaDi giyabaDi yupanya
ciMpabaDi srootapriyama cennu daalce
nii yatiMdriya sakti naakeTTu labbe!

Sri Sri also in his 'kavitha O kavitha' used this 'badu' sentence- "uri tiyabaDDa sirassu ceppina rahasyaM".

C. Rama Rao (2000) questions thus - when you do not have any problem in using "paDu" in verbs like saMtooshapaDu,

dukhapaDu, kasTapaDu, bayapaDu, vicaarapaDu, aascharyapaDu why do you find it objectionable to use “badu” in passive sentences?

To sum up, it is felt that whether the passive is native to Telugu or not, there is nothing wrong in using it wherever it is required if it does not sound odd or awkward in the given context. We do not have to invent ways and means to avoid the passive usage in Telugu.

d) Another interesting observation is that Sri Sri never uses the word ‘mariyu’ (and) anywhere, either in his own writings or translations. But PSR has used it in his translation once. This word ‘mariyu’ is a new entrant into the language, thanks to the influence of English ‘and’ and Hindi ‘aur’. This word never appears in any original writing in Telugu, but only in translations. Actually this is an unnecessary and redundant conjunction in Telugu as Telugu has its own mechanism to express co-ordination either between words or phrases or between clauses.

To conclude, let us return to the main argument of this paper. This analysis helped us understand the translation strategy employed by Sri Sri. Though he was a well known writer and translator he remains close to his source, respecting even the formal features of the text. Secondly, going by our tradition of aandrikaranaM (Andraization), wherever there is a cultural mismatch or clash, he domesticates the text by replacing the source cultural features by those of the target culture. As Spivak argues, the translator has to surrender to the source writer, and here Sri Sri, despite being a literary giant himself, surrenders to the source author and the text. This clearly shows his attitude and his ethics as a translator. We can even say that only a writer can know how another writer functions and thus can easily step into the shoes of the source writer in translating it into another language. This is what we observe in Sri Sri’s translation. And finally, he makes his translation appear as

creative as his original writings by choosing flowery, highly creative and aesthetic language. To sum up, we could argue that, yes, one need not be a writer /poet her/himself in order to translate a literary piece, but there will be a world of difference both in following the thought process of the source writer and in reproducing it in the target language between a writer/poet-translator and a non-writer/poet-translator.

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REDUPLICATION IN SAVARA LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This paper presents the reduplication processes in Savara language, a South-Munda language spoken in the Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh. In reduplication, a phonological-cum-morphological process, there is repetition or copying of the base word or syllable either exactly or with partial change in the phonological or morphological structure and the reduplicant (copied part) is affixed to the base element in order to bring some modification in the semantic interpretation of the base element or to convey some special meaning. It is a widely used feature in Savara and full/total, partial, and discontinuous reduplications are attested which represent various meanings such as continuation, manner, medium, etc.

In this paper, the grammatical phenomenon of word reduplication is comprehensively presented, analyzed, and motivated in the Ka:rmik Linguistic Paradigm, probably, for the first time by examining a corpus of 250 reduplicatives in Savara which are given in the Appendix 1.

I. Introduction

Savara language is spoken by the Savaras, a large and primitive tribe in the zigzag hill ranges of the great line of Eastern Ghats in Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts in Andhra Pradesh. They have a population of 1, 22,979 in Andhra Pradesh as per the 2001 census. The Savara language speakers also live in the hilly areas of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar on the hills of Koraput, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Cuttack, Ghanjam, Gajapathi districts of Orissa. The total literacy rate of Savaras as per 2001 Census report is 13.68.

The research on Savara language is not extensive in spite of the attempts made a long time by Gidugu Ramamurti. He has collected a large corpus of more than 500 reduplicative words in his lexicon with a brief account of **causative reduplication owing to infixation....** The latest is by Chandrasekhara Rao (2010) who wrote a Savara grammar in Pyke's model of Tagmemic grammar with only a few reduplicative words without their treatment. Therefore, there is a need for such a

detailed analysis both from a purely linguistic perspective and a revitalization of Savara perspective as it is an endangered language.

In this paper, such an attempt has been made for the first time to analyze the 500 reduplicative words collected in Gidugu Ramamurti's seminal collection with my own additional collection of 25 words in a systematic manner. Representative samples of only 150 out of the 500 words are listed in the Appendix for want of space. In addition, they have been motivated from the Ka:rmik Linguistic Paradigm on a theoretical footing.

1. 1. Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to collect reduplicative words in Savara from various resources and analyze them in a descriptive linguistic model.

The objective of this research is to study reduplication in Savara and its three types which are total (complete), partial, and discontinuous reduplications.

1. 2. Materials and Methods

The materials for this research were collected mainly from Savara dictionaries and the manual of Ramamurti (1931) and personal interviews with Savara people when the author (V Muralidhar) undertook his field work in the year 2010 as a part of his ongoing research for his Ph. D. Owing to logistic difficulties, reduplicatives in compounds could not be collected. Hence, their analysis is not undertaken in this research.

The methodology of collecting these reduplicatives is through library research and personal interviews with the native speakers of Savara. The data collected were classified

according to the model provided by Abbi (1992) and motivated using the Ka:rmik Linguistic paradigm.

1. 3. Hypothesis

Savara language exhibits evidence of all reduplication processes as found in natural languages.

1. 4. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of this study is reduplication in Savara and is limited to complete, partial, and discontinuous reduplication without an analysis of compounds in detail. **Only bimodal reduplication is treated owing to lack of data on other types.**

1. 5. Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it offers for the first time an in depth study of Savara reduplication with a list of 250 reduplicatives mainly collected from Gidugu Ramamurti (1931). It can be a reference for future research on reduplication in Savara.

1.6. Definition of Technical Terms

1. Word-formation Processes

In linguistics, **word formation** is the creation of a new word. Word formation is sometimes contrasted with semantic change, which is a change in a single word's meaning. The boundary between word formation and semantic change can be difficult to define: a new use of an old word can be seen as a new word derived from an old one and identical to it in form. Word formation can also be contrasted with the formation of idiomatic expressions, although words can be formed from multi-word phrases.

II. Literature Review

Ramamurti is the pioneer of research on Savara language and

has written many important works that include two dictionaries of English-So:ra (1937, 1986), Sora-English (1938) and one manual of So:ra (1931). In addition, Sankara Reddy (1993) wrote a book on learning Savara language and Stampe (1963) worked on Proto-So:ra-Parengi phonology. Chandrasekhara Rao's work (2010) is a major contribution to the understanding of Savara language. He uses Pyke's Tagmemic grammar to provide a comprehensive description of the Savara language. However, in none of these works, no comprehensive linguistic analysis of reduplication as a word-formation process is made.

In the next section, reduplication and its types are presented, analyzed, and motivated in a systematic manner.

III. Reduplication in Savara Language: Its Description and Analysis

3. 1. Reduplication and Its Taxonomy

Savara language belongs to the Southern Munda subgroup of the Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic language family, and is closely related to Bondo, Gadaba, and Juang. This family includes a number of Southeast Asian languages, especially Mon-Khmer.

Reduplication, a morphological-cum-phonological process of repeating the root/ the part of it, is much prevalent in the Savara language. It's an inflectional process used in inflections to serve many functions like **numeration**, continuation, manner, and intensification. As a morphological process, it is also useful for the creation of new lexical items.

According to Abbi (1992), reduplication is divided into two types, namely, morphological reduplication and lexical reduplication. Morphological reduplication is where the minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes are constituted of an iterated syllable which constitutes a single

morpheme. Morphological reduplication which is only expressive in Savara is further divided into onomatopoeic, sound symbolisms, mimic and imitative words including idiophones.

Words formed either by duplicating syllables, or by duplicating single words (phonological word) partially or completely constitute lexical reduplication (Abbi: 2001). It occurs in three different ways in Savara. They are: *echo formation, compound word and word reduplication*. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives are often repeated twice or more to form *lexical* reduplication.

The taxonomy of reduplication is captured in the following diagrams.

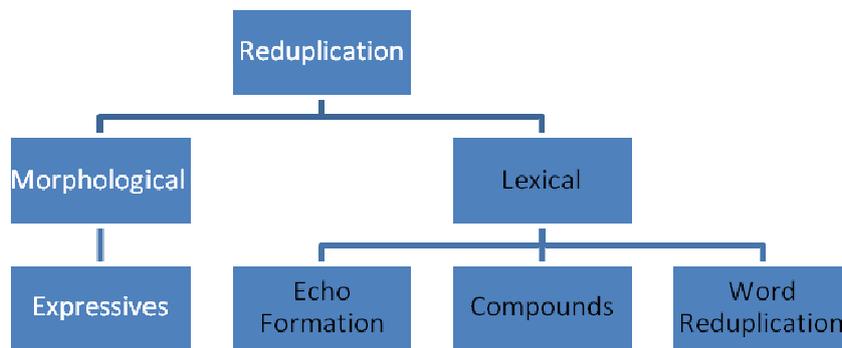


Diagram 1: Types of Morphological Reduplication
 (Source: Anvita Abbi 1991:14)

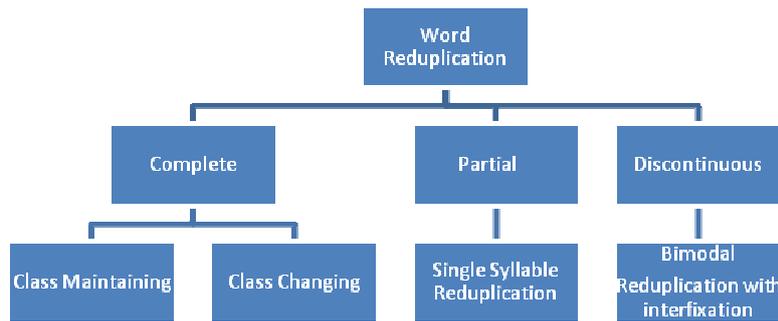


Diagram 2: Types of Word (Lexical) Reduplication

(Source: Anvita Abbi 1991: 27)

3. 2. Types of Reduplication in Savara: A Descriptive Linguistic Analysis

As has already been explained, reduplication in Savara can be broadly divided into morphological reduplication and lexical reduplication from *a qualitative formal linguistic perspective* and three types of complete, partial, and discontinuous reduplication from *a quantitative formal linguistic perspective*.

3. 2. 1. Morphological reduplication

3. 2. 1. 1. Acoustic noises:

3. 2. 1.1.1. Noises by human

takei takei	‘sound of coughing’
kaḍur	‘sound of snoring’
kem kem	‘sound of roaring laughter’

3. 2. 1. 1. 2. Noises by natural phenomenon

rajō rajō	‘rain pattering’
reb reb	‘crushing sound of a falling tree’

3. 2. 1.1. 3. Noise by animals

umm	‘cry of a owl’
aip	‘yelping of a dog’

bud	‘chatter of a ape’
jadub	‘the bellowing of an ox’

3. 2. 1.1. 4. Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects

dam dam	‘the knocking sound of doors’
pikab	‘the sound of cracking’
rad rad	‘the noise produced by the wheels of a carriage’

3. 2. 1. 2. Sense of Sight

These types of expressive are used in Savara to talk about the glimmering, glittering aspects of the object.

kadir loge	‘brightly’
pidur pidur	‘in a glittering manner’
killai killai	‘flashing light’

3. 2. 1. 3. Sense of Touch

These types of expressive are used in Savara to talk about the sense of feelings. In this complete reduplication is taking place.

ruted ruted	‘the sense of friction caused by a bland razor’
sib sib	‘pinching sensation’

3. 2. 1. 4. Sense of Taste

sue ue	‘the hotness of taste’
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3. 2. 1. 5. Sense of Taste

so?o	‘bad smell of water’
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3. 2. 2. Onomatopoeia

pekon pekon	‘cry of a pea hen’
bo?Eb bo?e	‘squeal of the pig’
kajeb kajeb	‘the cry of birds’

3. 2. 2. Lexical Reduplication

3. 2. 2. 1. Echo formation

aṅal maṅal	‘firewood etc’
əraamle boramle	‘gathering together’
boNkoDe baNkoDe	‘crooked’
bukkal bakkal	‘falsely’
jeelu meelu	‘flesh etc.’
kāja māja	‘unconcerned’
obuNten abuNten	‘rolls lazily’
poDDeD ten paḍḍeḍ ten	‘twists the neck’
poṣeḡe pəṣeḡe	‘in whispers’
rōḍen bōḍen	‘quarrel’
sōra mōra	‘soras and others’
tanoi manoi	‘witch craft’
taṅli maṅli	‘cattle etc.’
umeN əmeN	‘active’

3. 2. 3. Word Reduplication

Word Reduplication (WR) may be defined as “total or partial bimodal reduplication there by repetition of the base of the word or of the stem or of a syllable or of a larger constituent of word or of the whole word may iterate. Whatever the unit of repetition the result is a new word, which has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart” (Abbi, 1992). The Word reduplication may be further divided into three types. Complete word Reduplication (CWR), Partial Word Reduplication (PWR) and Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DCWR).

3. 2. 3. 1. Complete word reduplication

In Savara language, complete word reduplication may be at the stem level or at root level. The reduplicated form may be of the following forms, which consists of two identical roots.

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3. 2. 3. 1. 1. Class maintaining CWR

3. 2. 3. 1. 1. 1. Nouns:

gorjāṅ 'village' gorjāṅ 'every village'

3. 2. 3. 1. 1. 2. Verbs:

beḍ 'to drink' beḍ beḍ 'to feel thirsty'
 kib 'to bite' kib **kib** 'to hold one's breath'
 laḍ 'to stretch' laḍ **laḍ** 'to spread like a leaf'
 goḍ 'to paw' goḍ **goḍ** 'to make a hole with palm'

3. 2. 3. 1. 1. 3. Adjectives:

pēluḍ 'dim' pēluḍ **pēluḍ** 'to become dim'
 paled 'light' paled **paled** 'every morning'

3. 2. 3. 1. 1. 4. Adverbs:

kota 'there' koten **koten** 'then and there'
 tetten 'there' tetten **tetten** 'then and there'
 pāled 'light, not dark' pāled **pāled** 'early morning'
 aṅāte 'when' aṅāte **aṅāte** 'sometimes'
 tetten 'there' tetten **tetten** 'now and then'

3. 2. 3. 1. 2. Class Changing CWR

3. 2. 3. 1. 2. 1. Nouns: Nouns are after reduplication changing it category to adjectives,

N laNkān 'high' Adj laNkālaNkān 'superficial'

3. 2. 3. 1. 2. 2. Verbs:

Vt tol 'to bind' təoltolən 'to live together'
 Vt tub 'to share' tənubtubən 'a share'

Vi teḍ 'to swing' t̄neḍteḍən 'a swing act of swinging'

Vi ken 'to sing' kenken 'a song'

Vt mō 'to swallow' marmomōm 'the gullet'

Vi loN 'to lurk' Adv loNloN 'lurkingly,

Vt oḍē 'to accept' oḍēoḍē 'all right'

3. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3. **Adjectives:**

Adj mojeḍ 'day before yesterday'

Adv mojeḍmojeḍ 'recently'

Adj lupur 'loose' Vi lupurlupur 'to be loose'

Adj jin 'high' pre. jinjin 'higher than'

3. 2. 3. 2. **Partial reduplication**

In this type of reduplication, the first syllable of the root and also second syllable of the root is partially reduplicated.

3. 2. 3. 2. 1. **Single Syllable Reduplication**

ḍaj 'to ascend' ḍaḍaj 'ascent'

areṅ 'stone' areṅ reṅ 'rocky, full of stones'

jāṅ 'mother' jā jāṅ 'fathers younger brothers' wife'

ijjā 'nothing' ijjā jā 'anything whatever'

jīn 'to bind' jījīn 'a bundle'

guḍən 'to scratch' guguḍən 'scratching'

ḍur 'to run away' ḍurḍur 'flattering steps'

jo jō tai 'eating' jōtai 'to eat'

3. 2. 3. 3. *Discontinuous Word Reduplication (DCWR)*

3. 2. 3. 3. 1. **Bimodal Reduplication with interfixation**

bōte	‘some’	bōte dōŋ bōte	‘any’
ēŋā	‘as’	ēŋā pōŋ ēŋā	‘somehow;
jaŋ	‘mother’	jaɾjāŋ	‘step mother’
teɖ	‘to swing’	təreɖteɖ	‘cradle’
gaj	‘to fry’	gəɾaj gāj	‘frying pan’
gam	‘to say’	gəram gam	‘meaning’
ter	‘light’	tərer ter	‘torch’
gā	‘to drink’	gənā gā	‘drink’
jum	‘to eat’	jənum jum	‘food’

3. 3. **Motivation of Savara Reduplication in the KLT Paradigm**

According to Bhuvanewar (personal communication, 2011) this division is *overlapping* since in morphological reduplication, reduplication can be *complete* as in the examples of noises by human beings such as *takei takei or kem kem* or partial *sue ue* or discontinuous as in *bo?Eb bo?e*. Consequently, he suggests a merger of these two into a single framework in which either framework should be integrated into the other framework. To explain more, instead of having two reduplication frameworks, it is better to have a single framework such as the Morphological Reduplication in which morphological and lexical reduplications can be grouped together and then sub-divide them into complete, partial, and discontinuous reduplications. Alternatively, take the Quantitative (or Constituent) Reduplication as the main framework and divide it into morphological and lexical reduplications. The Savara people have used their dispositional creativity and entered into interplay between morphology and mathematical quantification to create new words in an I-I-I network of US [A-L- LA].

Let us briefly discuss how reduplication is formed in Savara by a dispositional sociocognitive linguistic motivation in the Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory.

3. 3. 1. KL: Some Important Principles and Concepts

3. 3. 1. 1. The Concept of Ka:rmik Reality and Its Construction

The basic concept of ka:rmik linguistic theory is that language is not only *used* dispositionally *for* living in a context by living in it but it is also *created* dispositionally *by* living in the context for living in it. To explain more, language is used as a resource for the construction of *dispositional reality* (i.e., the state of affairs constructed according to and reflecting disposition). This dispositional reality is the *middle* (around the phenomenon) reality and is constructed by constructing *actional reality* (i.e. the state of affairs constructed according to and reflecting triple action – mental, vocal, and physical). This actional reality is the *lower* level reality which is *generated-specified-directed-materialized* according to the *choices* made by disposition. Thus, it becomes dispositional, actional reality. Since we perform lingual activity to coordinate the coordination of activity, according to our disposition for the fulfillment of our desires and the experience of the results of action as pleasure and pain, we can say that all activity (which is none other than dispositional activity) is performed for this causal experience of pleasure and pain. Hence, this dispositional actional reality constructs *ka:rmik reality* (i.e., the state of affairs constructed for the fulfillment of desires by the experience of the results of dispositional action as pleasure and pain). Put differently, language is used as a resource for the construction of ka:rmik reality. This can be captured in the following equation:

$$(1) \text{ Disposition (al Reality)} \rightarrow \text{Action(al Reality)} \\ \rightarrow \text{Ka:rmik Reality}$$

Since disposition is a product of *Karma* (fruit-bearing impressions of past actions realized through disposition; note the spelling with a capital K; *karma* with a small k means ‘action’), we can rewrite this equation by bringing ka:rmik reality to the front in a top-down process at the higher level:

**(2) Ka:rmik Reality (Higher Level) →
Dispositional Reality (Middle Level) → Actional Reality**

3.3.1.2. The Concept of Dispositional Reality & Its Construction

In Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory, *svabha:vam* (disposition) consists of three components: *guNa:s* (Traits) which are likes and dislikes that decide choice; *knowledge* which is the knowledge of the world stored in the language user’s mind; and *va:sana:s* (internalized habits) which are impressions of action-patterns (skills) that decide how an action has to be performed.

Svabha:vam generates-chooses-specifies-directs-materializes (GCSDM)s all activity. Since language is used for the coordination of coordination of action (CCOA) for the fulfillment of desires and the experience of the results of action, each action performed is according to the choices made by the speaker and *not anyhow*. This applies across the board and therefore all lingual action in its *form-function-meaning-style-context* is also (GCSDM)ed by *svabha:vam*. To elaborate more, language is used as a *means* in a *cause-means-effect* model in this CCOA and this means is further subject to the control of disposition. What is more, this means is also a *tool* (when used as discrete symbols in the initial stages of language evolution) which becomes a system [when these symbols are systematically interconnected-interrelated-interdependent (I-I-I) in a network] which becomes a resource (when this system is used as a language resource) for the construction of ka:rmik reality via dispositional reality via actional reality.

Consequently, reduplication as a word-formation process (WFP) and Savara reduplication as an instantiation of such a WFP become a part of the Savara linguistic system. As a system, it is also bound by svabha:vam in its variety-range-depth. How svabha:vam (GCSDM)s reduplication can be explained by examining the creation, production, application, transmission, retention, and perpetuation of actional reality, i.e., reduplication in Savara.

3.3.1.3. The Concept of Actional Reality & Its Construction

We have already mentioned that svabha:vam GCSDMs all activity in its variety-range-depth in a cause-means-effect model. There are different ways of constructing actional reality for different functions: *creation; production; application; transmission; retention; and perpetuation*. There are different ways in which disposition functions in constructing these different types of actional reality.

3.4. Creation of Savara Reduplication for Construction of Actional Reality through Savara Language

As we have already noticed, there are mainly three types of reduplication (total, partial, and discontinuous) which can be morphologically divided into morpheme and word reduplication. According to Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory, any word-formation process starts in a phased manner by gradual evolution in a system. For example, for reduplication to take place, there should already a single word formation process in the first place. Therefore, for Savara reduplication also there should be single words in the first place.

3.4.1. DFP for Reduplication in Savara

Owing to dispositional functional pressure (DFP) to express a particular meaning with a particular function to coordinate the coordination of action (CCOA) for the fulfillment of desires

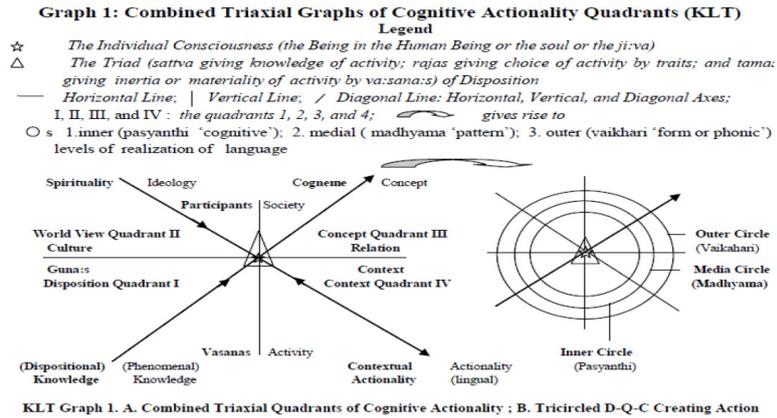
and experience the results of action, a speaker embarks upon Exploration of Variables (EV) available and rejects them as they are not suitable. Then, he looks for a new variable to suit the required purpose and exerts for the creation of a new variable (CNV) through his dispositional creativity. In this way, the Savara speaker must have embarked upon EV and must have found that the existing word-formation processes are not suitable to express such functions as *numeration, continuation, manner, and intensification*. Consequently, he must have *observed, interpreted, and identified* a naturally occurring language phenomenon of *repetition* of language units in conversation owing to irritation, frustration, etc.. By a dispositional choice for such type of structure, he must have chosen it to form a new type of words in that manner of repetition to fulfill his communicative needs.

This process of CNV can be captured in the following equations:

- (3) EV → Rejection of Vs → Search for a New Variable
 (4) Disposition → Dispositional Bias → Response Bias
 → Choice of Reduplication → Variation in WFP
 → New WFP

3. 4. 2. Formation of a Desire for Reduplication in Savara

As a speaker observes the naturally occurring process of reduplication, a desire arises in him to use this pattern to form new words. This desire is created because of his trait for novelty and creativity and his *va:sana* (internalized habit) for doing creative activity. This can be shown in a graph as in Graph 1 given below.



There are four quadrants in the graph each representing one stage in the conceptualization of reduplication as a WFP in the Consciousness-qualified-Disposition at centre of the graph – D-q-C is indicated by a star enclosed in a triangle and becomes C-q-D in action which is indicated by a triangle enclosed in a star. In the graph, only D-q-C is shown because it is the basis for C-q-D. All cognitive action takes place in the C-q-D while verbal action takes place through the vocal organs and is realized in a context. In the first quadrant called the Disposition Quadrant, desires are impelled by the impact of traits on va:sana:s in the Consciousness-qualified-Disposition (C-q-D) indicated by the enclosed star in a triangle as D-q-C which becomes C-q-D in action: *the desire to do X by Y*. The second World View Quadrant in which the spirituality and ideology of the community are shaped by the interaction of the participants with its cultural knowledge in a society impacts on the desire and contentualizes X and Y to be so and so in such and such manner in the C-q-D: *the desire impelled in the first quadrant to do X by Y is now invested with the content of forming words (X) by reduplication (Y)*. This desire is shown by the diagonal in the first quadrant which is formed by a resolution of traits and va:sana:s into Dispositional Knowledge (DK) and the superimposition of phenomenal knowledge

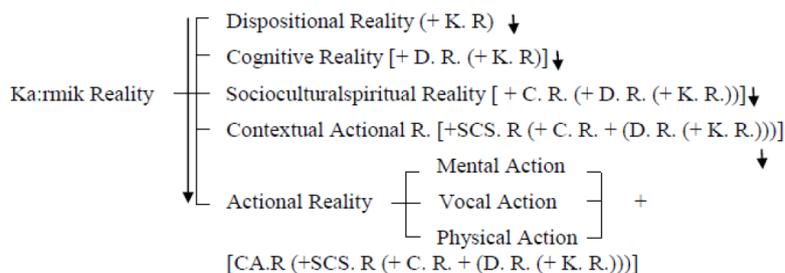
(shown by the *knowledge-diagonal* formed by a resolution of the participants' choice of phenomenal knowledge (PK) as cultural knowledge in the second quadrant) on dispositional knowledge. DK and PK form the two sides of the *desire-diagonal*. This desire to form words by reduplication triggers exertion to form reduplicatives.

3. 4. 2. Exertion for Lingual Action by Cogneme Cognition

When the desire for reduplication in Savara erupts, the speaker of Savara exerts himself to fulfill his desire of forming reduplicatives in Savara. But how? He needs a pattern and structure for the reduplication words. So he uses his power of analyticity and dispositional creativity and embarks upon the lingual adventure of exploration of variables and in the process explores various mathematical processes for creation of the reduplicatives. In that process, he stumbles upon total, partial, and discontinuous patterns and cognizes reduplication in those patterns and structures. In addition, he also makes use of the morphological variations and includes morphological and lexical reduplication as variations at another level. Finally, he cognizes reduplicatives as *reduplication cognemes* in a context shown in the fourth quadrant as the Context Quadrant which impacts on the cognition of the cogneme at the C-q-D. Thus, the cognition of the *concept-pattern and structure (madhyama)* of the reduplication cogneme shoots up in a flash in his C-q-D as indicated by the outward pointed arrow. Its evolution from a concept (*pasyanti*)-to-pattern and structure (*madhyama*) -to-material form (*vaikhari*) is captured in the KLT Graph 1B.

3. 5. Production of Savara Reduplication for Construction of Actional Reality through Savara Language

It is axiomatic in Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory that language is used as a resource for the construction of ka:rmik reality via dispositional, cognitive, socioculturalspiritual, contextual actional realities as shown in the following network 1 in an a:nushangik manner.



Network 1: Network of Five Realities

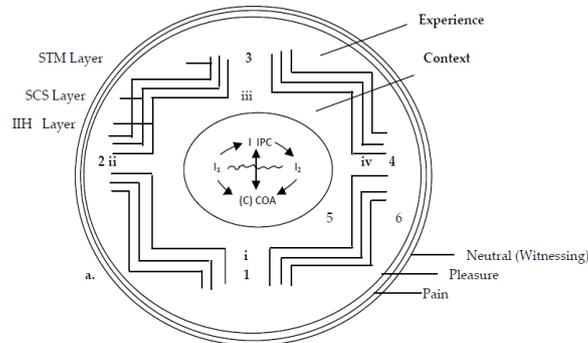
In the case of Savara reduplication, we motivate its creation by proposing that in order for the Savara speakers to construct their ka:rmik reality via dispositional-to-contextual actional realities, the lingual actional reality of using reduplicatives to perform their intended functions is constructed by a dispositional choice of that form in so and so structures to be used in such and such manner in discourse.

3. 6. Application-to-Perpetuation of Savara Reduplication for Construction of Actional Reality through Savara Language

Once the reduplication cogneme is cognized, it is ready for production and application. When there is a need for using the reduplicative in discourse in a context, it is cognized and then materialized in a context as shown in the context quadrant of the graph 1. It is more graphically represented in the ICCCSA Chakram Network 2 given below.

As a cogneme is cognized and used in individual interpersonal communication (I IPC) with another individual, it is applied as a spoken/written word in a context. The context in Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory is realized as a complex of three layers: 1. spatiotemporalmaterial layer; 2. socioculturalspiritual layer; and 3. inclinational-informational-habitual layer. They are represented as three walls with four doors that stand for the four realities: dispositional, socioculturalspiritual, contextual

actional, and actional and four desires: material, social, intellectual, and spiritual. The space within the four walls enclosed in an oval is the fifth layer of cognitive reality and the space outside the oval but inside the three walls is the context whereas that which is outside the outer wall and inside the inner circle is experience.



Legend: ~ transmission from to ; O 5 Cognitive Reality ; 6 karmik reality;
 I Individual; (C) COA Coordination of Coordination of Action; IPC Interpersonal Communication;
 1 Dispositional; 2 Socioculturalspiritual; 3 Contextual Actional; 4 Lingual Actional Realities;
 i Material ; ii Sociocultural; iii Mental (Intellectual/Emotional/Experiential); iv Spiritual Desires;
 O Cognitive Space; [] Contextual Space; () (Contextual Result) Experiential Space
 STM Spatiotemporalmaterial; SCS Socioculturalspiritual; IIIH Inclination Informational Habitual

Network 2: ICCCSA Network

When an Individual (I₁) enters into I IPC with another individual (I₂), he does so to coordinate the coordination of action to fulfill his desires and experience the results of action as pleasure/pan/witnessing. The three outer circles indicate this ultimate goal of all activity as well as living. In this CCOA, he uses reduplicatives as they are dispositionally chosen to fulfill the desired functions. When this I IPC continues with other individuals and the reduplicative is used again and again, it gets standardized by Individual-Collective-Contextual-Conjunction-and-Standardization of Action (ICCCSA) at the collective. From the collective, it is again used in Collective to Individual IPC and thus transmitted from one individual to another individual. As it is transmitted, it is perpetuated in culture and retained in cultural memory.

IV. Conclusion

In the analysis of Savara reduplication conducted above, we find that reduplication like any other WFP of Savara is created, produced, and applied as a tool, as a sub-system within a system within a system, and as a resource for the construction of one's dispositional reality and not mere meaning-making or communication of ideas.

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Appendix 1: A Checklist of Savara Reduplicatives

1. aīṅ ‘the yelping of a dog’
2. anḍəlāi sunḍəlāi ‘the sound of the bubbling of water’
3. anriḍ anriḍ ‘little by little’
4. aṅān ‘when’ aṅān aṅān ‘now and then’
5. aṅāte ‘juat’ aṅāte aṅāte ‘whenever’
6. aṅal maṅal ‘firewood etc’
7. areṅ ‘stone’ areṅ reṅ ‘rocky, full of stones’
8. bab reṅ ‘the squeak of a rat’
9. baḍe ‘to cease’ baḍe baḍe ‘enough’
10. baḍor ‘yelling’
11. bai ‘to vomit’ bai bai ‘vomiting’
12. baṅēḍ baṅēḍ ‘the chattering of the monkey’
13. bariJ ‘to fill’ bariJ bariJ ‘fullness’
14. bariY ‘to sound’ bariY bariY ‘harsh sound’
15. beḍ ‘to drink’ beḍ beḍ ‘to feel thirsty’
16. biṅ biṅ ‘a ringing sound’
17. boʔeb boʔe ‘squeal of the pig’
18. boNkoḍe baNkoḍe ‘crooked’
19. bōte ‘some’ bōte **dōṅg** bōte ‘any’
20. buḍ ‘the chatter of a ape’
21. buḍu buḍu ‘the rapidity of movement in dancing’
22. buēb buēb ‘the squeal of the pig’
23. bukkal bukkal ‘falsely’
24. buṅ buṅ ‘the humming of bees’
25. būkər būkər ‘the chirping of the birds’
26. ḍaJab ‘thud’
27. ḍoləi ḍoləi ‘hunger’
28. duṅan duṅan ‘while entering’
29. ḍa ‘to water’ ḍa ḍa ‘watery’
30. ḍaḍaṅ ḍaḍaṅ ‘the sound caused by cutting wood by an axe’
31. ḍaḍiṅ ḍaḍiṅ ‘the sound of the tinkling of coins’
32. ḍaj ‘to assend’ **ḍaḍaj** ‘ascent’

33. *ḍam ḍam* ‘the knocking sound of doors’
ḍaragam ḍaragam ‘separately’
34. *ḍaragam* ‘to be separate’
35. *ḍeb ḍeb* ‘the sound of drumming’
36. *ḍē* ‘to become’ *ḍē ē* ‘it is most likely’
37. *ḍəpub ḍəpub* ‘the puff of smoking’
38. *ēṅā* ‘as’ *ēṅā pōṅg ēṅā* ‘somehow’
39. *əramle boramle* ‘gathering together’
40. *gā* ‘to drink’ *gəṅā gā* ‘drink’
41. *gām* ‘to say’ *gəram gām* ‘meaning’
42. *gāmātā gāmātān* ‘to say repeatedly’
43. *gab* ‘to bundle’ *gəṅabgab* ‘a bundle’
44. *gabroi gabroi* ‘shame’
45. *gai* ‘to dig’ *gai gaiəṅ* ‘digging tubers’
46. *gaj* ‘to fry’ *gəraj gāj* ‘frying pan’
47. *garum* ‘the cry of a buffalo’
48. *giJ* ‘to see’ *giJgiJ* ‘window’
49. *gob* ‘to sit’ *gobagoba* ‘a seat’
50. *gObəṅ goble* ‘sit sit’
51. *goi goi* ‘to murmur’
52. *gorjāN* ‘villages’ *gorjāN gorjāN* ‘each village’
53. *gu* ‘to call’ *gugu* ‘calling’
54. *guḍəṅ* ‘to scratch’ *guguḍəṅ* ‘scratching’
55. *gum gum* ‘sobbing’
56. *guṅ guṅ* ‘buzzing sound’
57. *gutntur guntur* ‘the cry of a falcon’
58. *iḍ iḍle* ‘writing continuously’
59. *iḍe iḍe* ‘the chirping of the cricket’
60. *ijjā* ‘nothing’ *ijjā jā* ‘anything whatever’
61. *iṅā iṅā* ‘the cry of the new born baby’
62. *jaḍub* ‘the bellowing of an ox’
63. *jāl jāl* ‘to lick’
64. *jam jāṅ* ‘heard in the city of a grail’
65. *jāṅ* ‘mother’ *jā jāṅ* ‘fathers younger brothers wife’

66. jāṅ ‘mother’ jāṅjāṅ ‘step mother’
67. jar jar ‘around’
68. jēlu mēlu ‘flesh etc.’
69. jeṅ jeṅ ‘to blow gently as a breeze’
70. jīn ‘to bind’ jījīn ‘a bundle’
71. jōḍa jōḍan ‘every stream’
72. Jōḍ ‘to smear’ Jərōḍjōḍ ‘ointment’
73. jum jum ‘to cover body with cloth’
74. jum ‘to eat’ jənum jum ‘food’
75. kā kā ‘the cawing of a crow’
76. kaḍir loge ‘brightly’
77. kaḍur ‘the sound of snoring’
78. kāja māja ‘unconcerned’
79. kajeb kajeb ‘the cry of birds’
80. kal kal ‘difficult’
81. kaṅ ‘to scold’ al kaṅ kaṅ ‘to abuse on another’
82. kareb kareb ker ‘the cry of a hen’
83. ke ke ‘the scream of a peafowl’
84. kem kem ‘the sound of roaring laughter’
85. ken ‘to sing’ kenken ‘a song’
86. kib kin ‘to gnaw’
87. killai killai ‘flashing light’
88. kōb kōb ‘the cry of a crane’
89. kuḍ ‘to give birth’ kuḍ kuḍ ‘relating to birth’
90. kudu kudu ‘the cry of a female cuckoo’
91. kuṅ ‘the sound of snapping’
92. kuṅ ‘to shave’ kuṅ kuG ‘shaving’
93. lām ‘to fence’ lām lām ‘fencing’
94. labur ‘bursting into a flame’
95. lakkāḍāb lakkāḍāb ‘the sound of boiling of water’
96. lankān ‘high’ lankān **lankān** ‘superficial’
97. lənoḷōn ‘protection’
98. lasō lasōneti ‘settle the food’
99. latob latob ‘the flow of tears form the eyes’
100. leb leb ‘the cry of a wild goat’

101. lēṅ lēṅ 'very arrogant'
 102. lo lōba 'place of rest'
 103. lupur 'loose' lupur **lupur** 'to be loose'
 104. mənēl mənēl 'examination'
 105. mojeḍ 'day before yesterday' mojeḍ **mojeḍ** 'recently'
 106. ṅago ṅago 'the sound of thumping'
 107. ṅakur ṅakur 'the sound of chewing'
 108. ṅiḍur ṅiḍur 'in a glittering manner'
 109. ṅəniiniin 'purchase'
 110. obuNten abuNten 'rolls lazily'
 111. oḍe oḍe 'allright'
 112. omḍa an omḍāle 'abandoning'
 113. par par 'blazing hot'
 114. pəraḍpaḍ 'crossing the stream'
 115. pata pata 'the sound of burning'
 116. pekoṅ pekoṅ 'cry of a pea hen'
 117. pekoṅ pekoṅ 'the cry of the peahen'
 118. piḅeb piḅeb 'the cry of birds'
 119. pikab 'the sound of cracking'
 120. pikub 'the sound of snapping'
 121. poḍḍeḍ ten paḍḍeḍ ten 'twists the neck'
 122. poḅege pəḅege 'in whispers'
 123. pui 'the sound of snorting'
 124. raḍ raḍ 'the noise produced by the wheels of a carriage'
 125. rai 'to sing' rai rai len 'singing'
 126. rairai leḅi 'to cut repeatedly'
 127. rajō rajō 'the pattering sound rain'
 128. ram ram 'the cry of a singing bird'
 129. raḅo raḅo 'the pattering of drops of water'
 130. reb reb 'the crushing sound of a falling tree'
 131. rəḍub rəḍub 'the sound of crunching'
 132. rənurūn 'serving food'
 133. riḅo riḅo 'the sound of clanking'
 134. rikeḍ rəkeḍ 'the sound of a falling body like a beam'

135. rɨʃb rɨʃub ‘the sound of frying’
 136. rōḍen bōḍen ‘quarrel’
 137. roŋ ‘to be feeble’ rənoŋ rənoŋ ‘delibility’
 138. rutedʒ rutedʒ ‘the sense of friction caused by a bland razor’
 139. sənusū ‘end’
 140. se ‘to hatch’ se sē ‘to hatch more than one egg’
 141. sēdānsēdan ‘selection’
 142. sib sib ‘pinching sensation’
 143. sīrruŋ sīrruŋ ‘in every marriage’
 144. soʔō ‘bad smell of water’
 145. sōra mōra ‘soras and others’
 146. sub ‘to tell lies’ sub **sub** ‘falsely’
 147. sue ue ‘the hotness of taste’
 148. takei takei ‘the sound of coughing’
 149. tanoi manoi ‘witch craft’
 150. taŋli maŋli ‘cattle etc.’
 151. tappuḍ ‘the sound of an arrow’
 152. tapub ‘the sound of slapping violently’
 153. teḍ ‘to swing’ taredʒteḍ ‘cradle’
 154. tem ‘to sell’ tem **tem** ‘sell’
 155. teŋ ‘to cuff’ teŋ teŋ ‘joints’
 156. ter ‘light’ tərər ter ‘torch’
 157. toḍ ‘ti forget’ abtoḍtoḍ ‘to ignore’
 158. tud tud ‘the sound of thunder’
 159. tul ‘to support’ tənultul ‘to set as a support’
 160. tum ‘to gather’ tənum **tum** ‘collection’
 161. tuŋ ‘to cuff’ tuŋ tuŋ ‘cuffing’
 162. tur ‘to watch’ **tutur** ‘watching’
 163. **umeŋ** əmeŋ ‘very active’
 164. umm ‘the cry of a owl’
 165. ʃab ʃab ‘to adjure’

166. jaḍir ‘the pattering of drops of water’
 167. jakkab ‘a kind of a click’
 168. jarrub jarrub ‘the roar of a tiger’
 169. jarui jarui ‘the sound of churning’
 170. jēḍ jēḍ ‘peeping of small birds’
 171. jēj jāṅ ‘the cry of a mina’
 172. jin jin ‘to increase’
 173. jiṅ jiṅ ‘the cry of a squirrel’
 174. joṅ joṅ ‘equal’
 175. juttab juttab ‘the sound of munching’

Conversations:

demmadu: si?in leṅṅan ben
 house in your
 jenjen janotaroiḍi daku?
 what what animal (pl). are there?
 How many animals are there in your house?

bennadu: si?in len ipēn
 house leṅṅan my
 āyaṅtāṅ, kinsō, ramēṅ daku.
 cow dog cat there
 There are cow, dog and cat are in my house.

gundu: sarōlēṅṅan ṁṁṁge dā
 field in how to be
 ruṅru le ṁṁsale tamdāle.
 serving food

“How do you share food in the field while working’

addayya: ṁlīn, ḡarāḡā teji,
 liquor food
 jēlūn darajṅṅan kappuṅ
 meat horse gram split pulse
 jarumjum bartub
 eat rdp to share

	dēlē	ḵənaḵdēn	dərakku teji.
	finished	though	to be

we distribute liquor, food, meat, horse gram, split pulse
among us in the field during the festival.

bennadu:

jiten	āsan	aman
what	your pain	you
āspitāl	su ūḵan	aniyad

hospital go must
what is the reason for going to hospital

gundu:

rūbān	namā dina	takar takar
yester day	night	shevering
yūna	asū	dēliḵ
to	pain	occurred tme

I had soaring shivering last night

Story of Bear and Snake:

Meaning of the story:

There was a snake king on the Dagadu shaped hill. It alone maintaining its kingdom on the hill. and it is also frightening other animals on the hill. One day two bears from other place came to the hill and reside on the hill. One day snake knowing about new bears, it try to frightened the bears. After attacking the bears it coupled one bear and started fighting. After some time, bear tear the snake with its sharp nails. And freed the other animals in the hill.

<i>kani</i>	barū barū	<i>iyate</i>	<i>ja?āḵan.</i>
this	sound of going	coming	snake

alāḍam *dakole*
tail by *to be*

Snake arrived making the sound baru baru with its tail
 namate **ḍakaḍaka** de?te. suḍaṇṇlele ḍakān! ajanam

tordele. jaṣaṇ gāmle **kaj kaj** jumtai gāmle oḡandḍiti

ja?āḍan.

ētegān ḍakōle ja?āḍan. bodinnāte abōj kambu

jōmjōm nāba anta ḍagaḍubar ijete.

aragaḍab ḍelo kimmēḍaṇom alibḍegōm kani kimmeḍaṇji

aboleṇḍāsan ja?āba antenāsan. kani aragaḍaban

ji alibanji ḍiyele. **abolām** gāmle kani kambuḍan āḍō iyeti

sāyile. **sāyile sāyile** kambuḍan āyite gāmle appaḍiye.

raviin giijḇijle āspitāl ban ille
 ravi having seen Hospital to wet
 Having seen the Ravi I went to Hospital

tulaban
anin ja?aḍāḍan aḡiJēten pāratikui kaḍibān puJān puile
 he snake saw sōn after sword drew

bāgu gaḍgaḍ abse ēten

two cut repeatedly he.

As soon as he saw the snake he drew the knife and cut it in
 two.

Departmental News

Dr. Ramesh Kumar has taken over the responsibilities of Head of the Department from 16th June, 2011.

Mr. Mohammad Ansari assumed the responsibilities of the Chairperson, Board of Studies in Linguistics from 09th August, 2011.

Academic activities of the Faculty

Prof. D. Vasata

Publications

- 2011 Vasanta. Verbs of motion and language use: Reflections on research frameworks (PP. 158-177) In R.K. Mishra and N. Srinivasan (Eds.). Language-Cognition Interface: State of the Art. Lincom studies in Theoretical Linguistics 44.
- 2011 Vasatna. D. Review of the book, "Multilingual Education: Globalizing the Local by Ajit Mohanty et al published by Orient Black Swan, New Delhi. Contemporary Education Dialogue 8:2, 2011
- 2011 Vasanta, D. (Re)searching Multilingualism: Review of critical concepts. Journal of the Indian Speech and Hearing Association, Vol. 25, 71-81

Seminars / Conferences / Workshops

Post-doctoral research project (completed)

2009 -2012

D. Vasanta has been selected by the Department of Science and Technology (DST), Govt. of India as one of the 26 investigators representing 16 major institutions around India to work on an interdisciplinary research initiative on "Language and brain organization in normative multilinguals in India" as part of the 11th Plan Initiative in Cognitive Science. She has worked with a neurologist from Nizam's Institute for Medical

Sciences and a professor of Computer Science from the Hyderabad Central University on a project related to spatial semantic knowledge and use among Telugu-Hindi/Urdu-English speakers, both normal and neurologically impaired. The project was initiated in July 2009 and concluded on Dec. 31, 2012. Including the salary of a JRF who worked with her, an amount of Rs. 13.5 lakhs has been allotted for this project. The project expenditure has been audited and final technical report has been submitted to the DST.

Prof K.Ramesh Kumar

Publications

Published a paper entitled 'aandhra pradeeS girijana saamskrutika amsaalu- maatra bhaaSalloo praathamika vidya, drusya sravaNa parikaraala paatra' in *Osmania Journal of Arts* Vol.2, No.2. pp 162-172. January-June2011.

Seminars / Conferences / Workshops

Attended and edited Malayalam-Telugu dictionary compiled by Dr. Sarath Chandran Nair, in the Malayalam-Telugu dictionary Workshop conducted by Southern Regional Language Centre, CIIL, Mysore from 15-3-11 to 23-3-11.