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**Editor**

**MOHAMMAD ANSARI**



**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS  
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY  
HYDERABAD 500 007  
INDIA**

## 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.*

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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 Karrik 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 Karimik Language Teaching Approach, a new Indian approach developed from his Karimik 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:
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	<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>khəsh 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>ləsv</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**

*Chilukuri Bhuvaneshwar, bhuvaneshvarc@yahoo.com*

**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:

grammatical; phonological; graphological; semantic; dialectal; registral; historical. Out of these eight types, the first six from lexical to dialectal are very important as far as deviation in proverbs is concerned. Graphological deviation is restricted only to written proverbs. Phonological deviation on the other hand applies to both written and spoken proverbs and the deviation that produces sound parallelism and rhythm is favoured and that which does not is condemned. Since phonological deviation is implied in lexical deviation, it can be merged with lexical deviation and studied as a part of it. Dialectal deviation has its own importance, especially, in indexing the qualities of the writer and the occasion but it is not considered here since all the proverbs are written in only one dialect, namely, the standard dialect.

Excluding graphological, phonological and dialectal deviations, variation in the formation of original proverbs or their subsequent adaptation occurs in the following permutations and combinations:

1. Constant Lexis with Varying      a. Syntax; b. Semantics
2. Constant Syntax with Varying      a. Lexis; b. Semantics
3. Constant Semantics with Varying    a. Lexis; b. Syntax.

In 1, the same lexical items may be used in different syntactic patterns to form different syntactic classes of sentences such as the declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory, as shown in (1).

(1) Look not a gift horse in the mouth.

(original proverb - in the imperative)

a. Do you look a gift horse in the mouth?

(interrogative - a rhetorical question)

b. He looked a gift horse in the mouth!      (exclamatory)

c. People (you) do not look a gift horse in the mouth.

(declarative)

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*

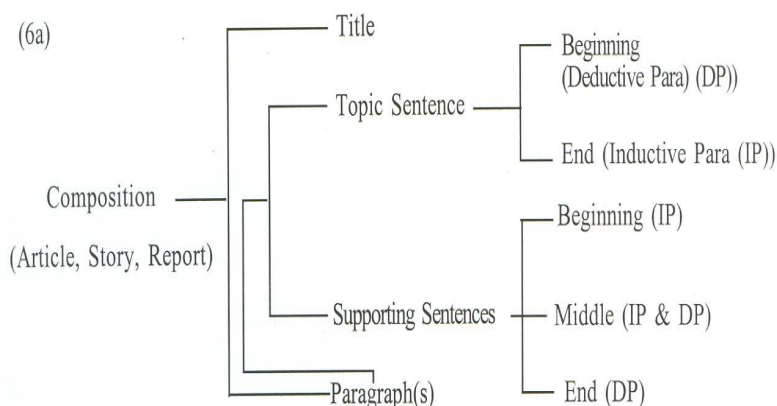
In Bhuvaneshwar (1999a: 9), the external structure of proverbs within and beyond the sentential level has been described to constitute three divisions:

1. P<sub>1</sub> the proverb (in its original form) itself;
2. P<sub>2</sub> the proverb embedded in a sentence;
3. P<sub>3</sub> 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 Categorical 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 Bhuvanewar 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.

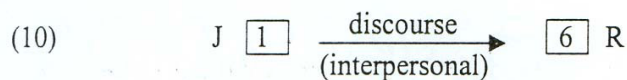
### 3. 1. 5. *A Process Model of Proverbial Titling in Journalism*

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.

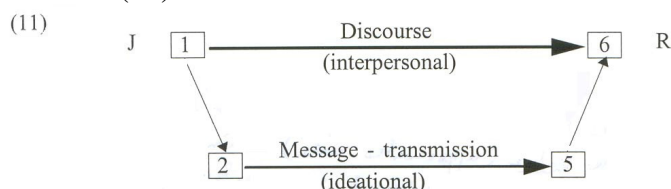
**STAGE 1:** In order for the journalist (*J*) to achieve the goal of communication with the readers (*R*), he must choose a *sense* (or the ideational content), i.e., the semantic meaning of the



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.

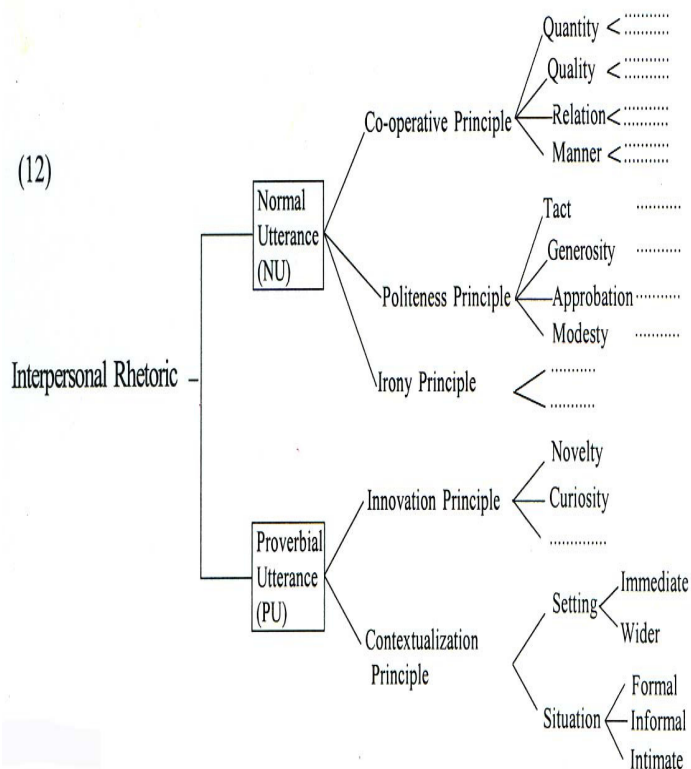
Apart from these principles adapted from Grice by Leech, two more important principles can be added to the list. They are: 1. the Innovation Principle; 2. the Contextualization Principle. The Innovation Principle imposes the constraint of making the message *innovative* implying: that the utterance should 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.

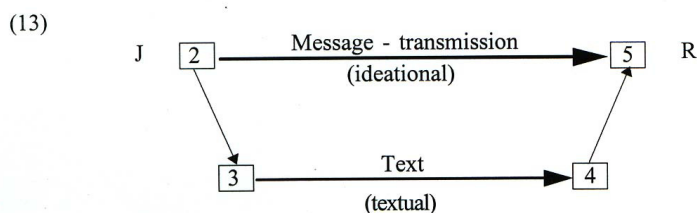
Contextualization involves placing the communication at the appropriate *time*, in the exact *space* and the required *matter* in a *setting* and a *situation*. Setting is the geographical and social environment which can be divided into *immediate* setting (the environment immediately enclosing the 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.

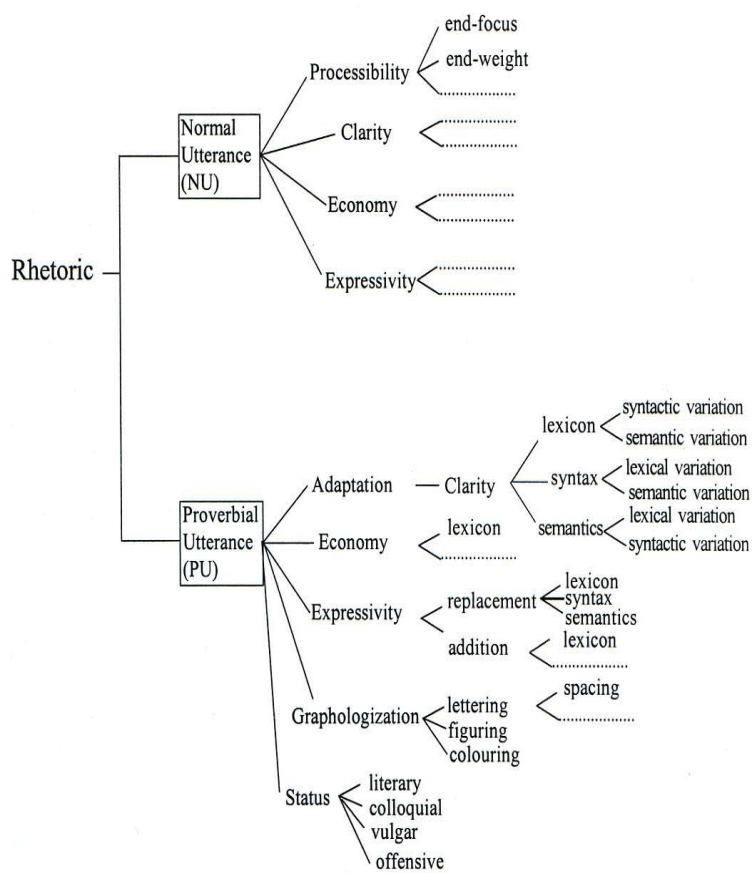
The principles and maxims and sub-maxims arrived at (12) and (14) for interpersonal and textual rhetorics can serve as the framework for a stylistic analysis of proverbs used as titles in newspapers.

**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            viɖʝalu            ku:ʈi            ko:rake:.  
ten million    educations    food            for only.  
'One crore jobs only for food'.

ii. ku:ʈi            ko:sam            ko:ʈi            viɖʝalu.  
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    viɖʝalu,    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".

ʃiɪntalu tu:tinave: tu:te: ta:te: ta:lam tatte: (for)

ʃiɪntalu pu:ʃiɪnave: pu:ʃe: ka:ʃe: 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.  $\text{ṣata ko:ṭi praḍṣalaku ananta ko:ṭi va:gḍa:na:lu.}$   
 ‘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.  $\text{pratibha sannam praṣa:ram la:vu.}$   
 ‘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.  $\text{ra:dṣu ga:ru talaṣṣukunṭe: ḍebbalaki koḍava:ḥ}$   
 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.  $\text{ṣṣinni na: poṭṭaki ṣri: ra:ma rakṣa}$   
 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: elaiṣṣanlaki 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'.

- a. vine:           prasaṅgiṅṅe:va:ḍu           mari: lo:kuva.  
      va:ḍiki  
 listener to   speaker (in a meeting)   too   low.  
 ‘For a listener, the speaker (in a meeting) is too low’.  
 (Andhra Prabha 22.4.99:2)

3. 2. 1. 4. *Examples from English*

24. You are what curry you eat. (Deccan Chronicle 9.11.99:1)  
 25. Crying over split (spilt) Sharif.  
      (Deccan Chronicle 22.10.99:10)  
 26. Royalty thicker than loyalty.  
      (Deccan (Sunday) Chronicle 24.10.99:9)

3. 2. 1. 5. *A Few Original Proverbs in Telugu and English*

27. pitṭa           koṅṅem   ku:ta   ghanam.  
      the bird (is)   small     sound   great  
      ‘The bird (is) small (but) it’s cooing (is) great’.  
      (Andhra Prabha, Ranjitha 27.12.98)
28. ḍoṅḍu:       ḍoṅḍe: .  
      ‘The two (are)   the two’ . (Andhra Prabha 30.07.99:3)
29. Old habits die hard. (Deccan Chronicle 30.09.99:11)  
 30. Straight from the horse’s mouth.

(Deccan Chronicle 4.11.99:6)

Let us take a few examples from English and Telugu to carry out the sociostylistic analysis of the adapted proverbs following Leech (1985: 62).

**3. 2. 2. *A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Adapted English and Telugu Proverbs***

*Example One: ‘You are what curry you eat.’*

Introduction: The newspaper editor (Deccan Chronicle Editor)



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 P<sub>2</sub> 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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As the references of the 25 proverbs cited from the newspapers are indicated against them in III B, they are not given in this section again. Only the other references are indicated in this section.

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# ON DIALECTAL VARIATIONS IN KANNADA

*Dr. K. Ramanjaneyulu, P S T U, Hyderabad*

## **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.

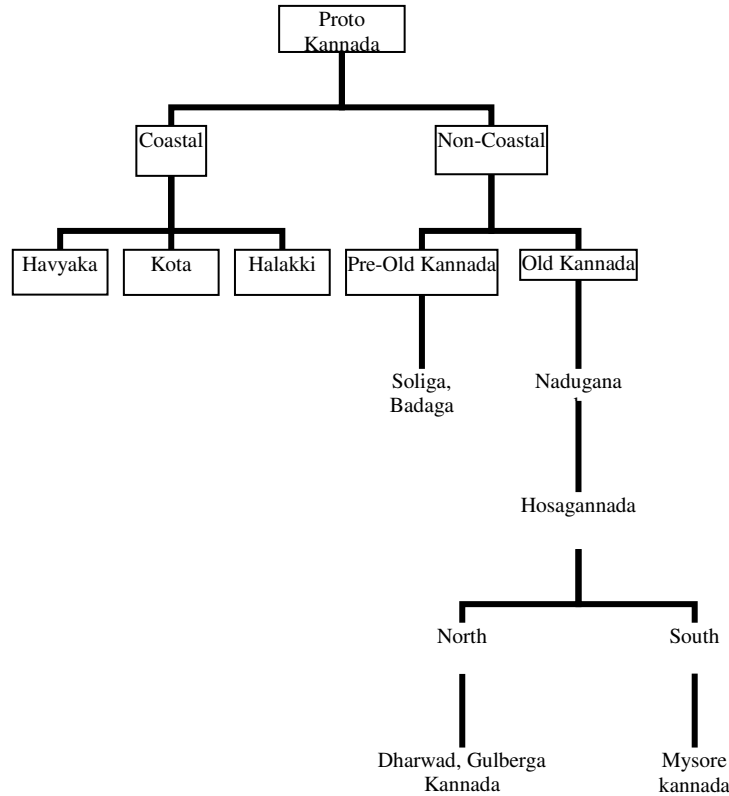
Linguistic Variation is correlated with the social status of the speaker; this may be termed a variety of Sociolinguistic Variation. Other cases of Linguistic Variation are correlated not primarily with the identity of persons (speakers), but with other factors in the Social and Cultural context. A type 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 10<sup>th</sup>c and 13<sup>th</sup>c. is called as haḷagannaḍa. After 13<sup>th</sup>c Veerasaiva poets play an important role in creating a variety of language upto 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>c. Which is known as naḍugannaḍa. The modern Kannada or hosagannaḍa starts from 17<sup>th</sup>c. 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>	hiṭṭu	yitṭu	‘powder’
	heṇṇu	yeṇṇu	‘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	jiṇi	‘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>
nīruḷḷi	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'	are	'stone'	are	'half'
mūru	'three'	maru	'chest'	iru	'ant'	iru	'to be'
cere	'mud'	bēru	'root'	tere	'open the door'	tered	'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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