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A PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION IN GONDI: INTERACTION BETWEEN PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

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1.0 INTRODUCTION. Proto-Dravidian (PDr.) has the following reconstructions for demonstrative pronouns of human (masculine) category: *awant̤(u)* [*awand̤u/awanṛu*] 'he (that man)', *awar* 'they (those men (and women))'; *iwant̤(u)* [*iwand̤u/iwanṛu*] 'he (this man)', and *iwar* 'they (these men (and women))'. The oblique stems of the singular forms are *awan-* and *iwan-* respectively; in the plural there does not seem to be any difference between the nominative and oblique bases. The languages of South Dravidian (i.e. Tamil, Malayalam, Toda, Kota, Kodagu, and Kannada) have a shared innovation in the loss of final *-t̤u (<**-tu)* of the PDr. nom. sg. *awant̤u/*iwant̤u* (Krishnamurti 1961: #4.44, 1975: 340-1, Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970: 35-6). Consequently the nominative and oblique stems become identical in the singular as they are in the plural, viz. sg. *awan* (nom.): *awan-* (obl.).

1.1 In the group of languages called South–Central Dravidian (hereafter SCDr.) (i.e. Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, Pengo, and Manda) as well as in the Central Dravidian (hereafter CDr.) languages, we find systematic reflexes for the final sequences of the reconstructed singular forms *-nt̤ (u)* and *-n* (for nom. and obl.) which apparently represent the retention of the Proto-Dravidian distinction between nominative and oblique case forms.

Study the following forms from the languages of South-Central Dravidian and Central Dravidian given in table 1 :

σ͵ Table 1

The reflexes of PDr. *awantu [awandu/awanru] 'he (that man)'.

LANGUAGE/DIALECT	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	NOM.	OBL	NOM.	OBL
SCDr. [awandu]/[awanru]	*awantu	*awan–	*awar	*awar–
Telugu Inscriptional				
and Early OTe. OTe. Mid. Te.	wānru ⎫ wāndu ⎬ wāni– wā̃du ⎭		wāru	wāri–
Mod. Te.	wādu	⎰wāni– ⎱wādi–(dial.)	wāllu	wālla–
Gondi (dial.)	ōl ⎫ ōr ⎬ ōR ⎪ ōnd ⎭	ōn–	ōr ōrk ōr ōr	ōr– ōr(k)– ōr– ōr–
Konda	wānru	wani–	wār	wari–
Kui	aanju	aani–	aaru	aari–
Kuttia Dial.	eyanja	eyani–	eyara	eyari–
Kuwi	evasi	evana–	evar	evara–
Pengo	avan	avan	avar	avar (i)
Manda	evan	evan–	evar	evar–
CDr	*awantu	*awan–	*awar	*awar–
Kolami	am/amd	am-/amn	avr	avr–
Naiki	avnd	avn–	avr	avr–
Parji	ōd/ōd	ōn–	ōr	ōr–
Gadaba	ōnd/ōn	ōn(d)-un	ōr	ōr-un

1.2 The comparative (dialectal) data from Gondi present the following problems: (1) It has no trace of the preconsonantal nasal of the original $-nd/-nr$ sequence in the nominative singular form. Gondi nominative singular forms given in Burrow and Emeneau, 1984 (hereafter DEDR), drawn from different dialects, are $\bar{o}l$, $\bar{o}r$, $\bar{o}R$ and $\bar{o}nd(u)$ (the last possibly borrowed from Old Telugu); the oblique stem is uniformly $\bar{o}n-$ preserving the underlying nasal corresponding to *$awan-$, (2) The alternation of $l\sim r\sim R$ in nominative singular (particularly l in $\bar{o}l$) cannot be traced to the Protoform and explained in terms of normal sound change. (3) The addition of $-k$ to the plural stems in some dialects as in $\bar{o}r : \bar{o}rk$, $\bar{o}r : \bar{o}rk$, etc. (4) The apparent lack of distinction in some dialects between the nominative singular and plural (see Sets 3a. and 3b. given in table 2).

Regarding the origin of the $-l$ form in Gondi (dial.), Emeneau (1961 : 174) says :

> 'The Gondi forms must be given separate treatment because of their uncertainty. They are in Trench $\bar{o}l$, $\bar{e}l$, $b\bar{o}l$; he records, however, (*Grammar*, p. 4) that "we hear" also $\bar{o}r$, and presumably also $\bar{e}r$ and $b\bar{o}r$. All other reporters of Go. give only forms with r, to which Lind adds a form with g (equivalent, he says, to Arabic $ghain$), . . .
>
> In the pronominals the masc. pl. $\bar{o}r$ is from PDr. *$avar$. The masc. sg. $\bar{o}l$ is in all probability from, or somehow connected with, the form that we have reconstructed as *$avanru$[4]. Both have gone through stages with loss of the second a and replacement of *$ava-$ by $\bar{o}$. The unsolved problem for $\bar{o}r$ is the loss of $-n-$; *nr normally > Go. nd (# 10.25).
>
> Trench (loc. cit.) assumes that $\bar{o}l$ and $\bar{o}r$ are interchangeable forms, giving a parallel instance and referring to interchange of l and r as "frequent". He may be right; for the moment no better explanation is at hand.'

Subrahmanyam (1968 : 178) says, 'The demonstrative pronouns $v\bar{o}r$ and $v\bar{e}r$ (3.25) are ultimately related to *$avan$ and *$ivan$.

Though at present nothing is known about the origin of the final *r*
(*l* in Chanda and Betul, see *CVGD* 441).

A comparative study of the Gondi dialect data found in
Burrow and Bhattacharya (1960) included in DEDR (1984) as well
as the field notes on Gondi dialects by Rao (1987) now seem to
provide a plausible solution to all the problems, enumerated
above.

2.0   Gondi is spoken by about 2, 197, 227 persons according to
the 1981 Census. There are apparently many regional dialects of
Gondi spread over large stretches of hills and forests in the four
adjacent states, viz., Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra
Pradesh and Orissa. The Gonds are a tribal population with a
very low rate of literacy and they are fond of maintaining their
traditional ways of life. Although we have not studied the pattern
of inter-communication among the speakers of different dialects,
it appears that the speakers of different dialects are slowly drifting
apart and there may not be much of mutual intelligibility between
the speakers of two distant ends of the Gondi speaking area.

There are a number of ongoing sound changes in Gondi
and a systematic survey of these dialects should yield rich data for
the historical linguist interested in a theoretical study of a sound
change in progress.[2] Unfortunately, there have been few reliable
and comprehensive descriptions of any of the dialects, and we are
also not certain about the true dialect profile of Gondi.

2.1   The data collected from different Gondi dialects for Proto-
Dravidian demonstrative pronouns can be presented in ten major
sets (see table 2), each set differing from the other in at
least one item.

MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF
MASCULINE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN SETS
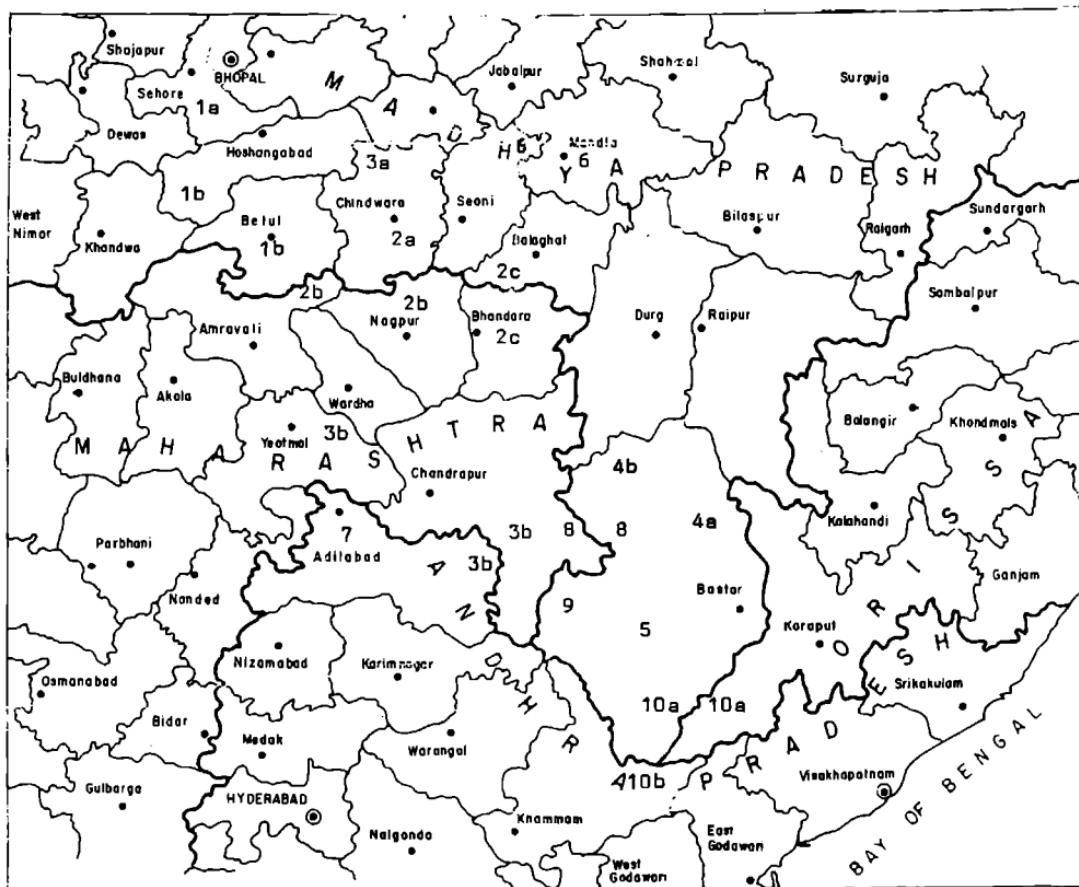
Table 2

Demonstrative pronouns 'he' and 'they' (proximal & distal)
in different Gondi dialects.

SET No.	CONTRAST SG./PL. (NOM.)	SINGULAR				PLURAL				REGION
		DISTAL		PROXIMAL		DISTAL		PROXIMAL		
		NOM.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	
1a.	l/r	ōl	ōn-	ēl	ēn-	ōr	ōr-	ēr	ēr-	Sehore
1b.	l/ṛ	ōl	ōn-	ēl	ēn-	ōṛ	ōṛ-	ēṛ	ēṛ-	Hoshangabad, Betul
2a.	r/rk	ōr	ōn-	ēr	ēn-	ōrk	ōr(k)-	ērk	ēr(k)-	Chindwara
2b.	r/rk	hōr	hōn-	hēr-	hēn-	hōrk	hōr(k)-	hērk	hēr(k)-	Nagpur, Wardha
2c.	r/ṛk	ōr	ōn-	ēr	ēn-	ōṛk	ōṛ(k)-	ēṛk	ēṛ(k)-	Balaghat, Bhandara
3a.	r/r	ōr	ōn-	ēr	ēn-	ōr	ōr-	ēr	ēr-	Chindwara (west)
3b.	r/r	ōr	ōn-	wēr	wēn-	ōr	ōr-	wēr	wēr-	Yeotmal, Chandrapur, Adilabad (east)

Table 2 *(Contd.)*

SET No.	CONTRAST SG./PL. (NOM.)	SINGULAR				PLURAL				REGION
		DISTAL		PROXIMAL		DISTAL		PROXIMAL		
		NOM.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	NOM.	OBL.	
4a.	r/r+lor	ōṛ	ōn-	ēṛ	ēn-	ōṛlor	ōṛ-	ēṛlor	ēṛ-	Northeast Bastar
4b.	r/r+lor	ōr	ōn-	wēr	wēn-	ōrlor	ōr-	wērlor	wēr-	Northwest Bastar
5.	r/ṛ	ōr	ōn-	wēr	wēn-	ōṛ	ōṛ-	wēṛ	wēṛ-	South Bastar
6.	o/u, e/i	ōr	ōn-	ēr	ēn-	ūr	ūr-	īr	īr-	Northwest Mandla Northeast Seoni
7.	o/u, e/i	ōr	ōn-	wēr	wēn-	ūr	ūr-	wīr	wīr-	Adilabad (west)
8.	R/r	ōR	ōn-	wēR	wēn-	ōr	ōr-	wēr	wēr-	Abujhmar region of Bastar, Garh-chiroli
9.	n/r	ōn	ōn-	wīn	wīn-	ōr	ōr-	wīr	wīr-	Southestern Bastar
10a.	ND/r	ōND	ōn-	wēND	wēn-	ōr	ōr-	wēr	wēr-	Malkangiri Koya
10b.	ND/r	ōND	ōn-	wīND	wīn-	ōr	ōr-	wīr	wīr-	Khammam

The area of usage of each numbered set is keyed to the same number in the map.

2.2   The Proto-Dravidian reconstructions remain unchanged for Proto – South – Central Dravidian.   However, it appears that PDr. *-nṭ [nḍ] was phonetically represented in the proto-stage of South-Central Dravidian both as [nḍ] and as [nṛ] ;   Telugu normally develops *-nṭ to -ṇḍ; in Early Old Telugu (Inscriptional) -nṛ was preserved orthographically.   In one case, it developed to -ṇḍr, e.g. *tandri* (<*tanṛi*) 'father', reflecting the affricate pronunciation of *-nḍ as [nḍr].[3] Konḍa preserves the PSCDr. *nḍ/nṛ as -nṛ, e.g. *wānṛu* 'he', *mūnṛi* 'three', and *panṛi* 'pig'. The fact that *nḍ is generally represented as -nj in Kui, Kuwi, Pengo, and Manda suggests that at the proto-stage of Konḍa, Kui, Kuwi, Pengo, and Manda, the pronunciation of *nḍ* was somewhat like an affricated *nṛ in a few lexical items.   We are, therefore, justified in writing the reconstructed form as *awanṛu* for South-Central Dravidian.

2.3   At least three successive sound changes have to be posited for the Pre-Gondi stage as follows :

    Rule 1.   *awanṛ(u) > *awaṛ(u)   Nasal loss

    Rule 2.   *awaṛ > *wāṛ   Contraction

    Rule 3.   *wāṛ > wōṛ   Vowel rounding

      Since Gondi dialects do not show the loss of -n- in -nṛ (-) after an initial long vowel[4] we are suggesting that Pre-Gondi *-nṛ became *-ṛ in the unaccented syllable before the contraction of *awa- to *wā- took place.   A similar loss of -n- of masculine singular ending -nḍ [nṛ] occurs in the etymological group (DEDR 3085) listed in table 3.

Table 3

PSCDr.	Nom. *tamb- V-nṛ (u)	Obl. *tamb- V-n-
INSCRIPTIONAL TE.	tambunṛ	
EARLY TE.	tambunḍu	
OLD TE.	tammuṇḍu	tammuni-
MID. TE.	tammūḍu	

Table 3(*Contd.*)

PSCDr.	Nom. *tamb-V-nṛ (u)	Obl. *tamb-V-n-
MOD. TE.	tammudu	tammuni̇̆-/ tammudi̇̆- (dial.)
GONDI	tammur, tammoR (< *tammuṛ)	tammun-
KONDA	tamberi	tamberi-
KUI	tambesa	tambesai-

Notice that Konda also shows the loss of *n* in this position. It seems that *n* loss took place in these two languages independently.

3.0 The entire Gondi region is divided into two areas, in terms of the development of the PDr. *ḷ*. Word initially, through apical displacement PDr. *-ḷ- > Proto-Gondi *ḷ-> ṛ- (< ṭ) in Area I, and *ḷ-* in Area II (see Map). In both the areas the Proto-South-Central Dravidian post-vocalic *ḷ* is still retained as ṭ (in some dialects it is represented by /ḍ/). This two-way development (i.e. *ḷ-/ṛ-* in different dialects requires us to reconstruct *ḷ* word initially in Proto-Gondi in the following items: PDr. *ḷ- > ḷ/ṛ ~ ṭ : DEDR 513 *ley-/rey-/ṛïy-* 'tender, young'; DEDR 510 *lēŋ-/rēŋ-* 'to be loosen, to untie'; DEDR 698b *lōn/rōn* 'house'; DEDR 698a *lopo/ropo* 'in, inside'; CVGD 3075 *lōh-/rōh-* 'to send'; DEDR 3791 *lōp-/rōp-* 'to swallow, to gulp down'; DEDR 3790 *losk-/locc-/rosk-* 'to bale out (as water)'.

It is clear from the above that in word initial position ṛ- has developed to *r-*, because *ṛ- > r-* is almost complete in all subdialects in this position.[5]

Proto-South-Central Dravidian *z̤ has developed to ṭ in all Gondi dialects. The change PDr. *z̤ > ṭ* must have been the earliest since it is also shared by the other South-Central Dravi-

dian languages, except Telugu.

The following examples show that Proto-Gondi *ḷ merged with r (< PDr. *ẓ) in all non-initial positions. (cf. DEDR 857 erj (< *eḷj), DEDR 1376 kaṛa 'threshing floor' (< *kaḷa), DEDR 5312 waṛi 'wind' (<*waḷi), DEDR 3656 nāṛi 'tomorrow' (<*nāḷi), DEDR 400 āṛ 'woman, wife' (<*āḷ) etc.). Only in initial position did Proto-Gondi *ḷ maintained its distinction from *r̤ (<*ẓ). In two cases only Proto-Gondi *ẓ developed to *ḍ word initially (e.g. DEDR 692 ḍuwwal 'tiger'; DEDR 694 ḍuppal 'deer').[6]

3.1   Proto-Dravidian *-ṭ- [ḍ] which occurred only in non-initial position had merged with PDr. *ṭ [r̤] in Proto-South-Central Dravidian (cf. DEDR 4065 *pāṛ- 'to sing' (<*pāṭ-), DEDR 442 *iṛ- 'to keep' (<*iṭ-) etc.).

This change is evidenced in Telugu to some extent (cf. DEDR 1942 ceḍu 'to perish', ceṛucu 'to kill' (<*keṭu), but has spread extensively after Telugu had split off from the subgroup consisting of Gondi-Koṇḍa-Kui-Kuwi-Pengo-Manḍa. Eventually we get only one set of reflexes for both PDr. *-ṭ- and *-ṭ- as *r̤. For all practical purposes, so far as Gondi is concerned, we can take r̤ [ḍ] as the pool of Proto-Dravidian *ṭ [ḍ] and *ṭ [ḍ]. Proto-Gondi-Manḍa *r̤ [ḍ] must have been preserved in all Gondi dialects until recently as a separate phoneme; it is still retained in Hill Māṛia Gondi (a dialect of Gondi spoken in the northwest of the Indravati river) as /R/ (uvular fricative): cf. DEDR 3693 niR 'ash' (<*nir̤), DEDR 5159 ēR 'water' (<*ēr̤), DEDR 3638 nāR 'village, country' (<*naṛ <*nāṭu) etc. In the rest of the dialects *r̤ has merged with r. Notice that, before the plural suffix -k, Go -r̤ alternates with h only when it is preceded by a long vowel, traceable to a Proto-Gondi alternation *r̤~*h. The latter is still retained in Modern Koṇḍa as R, a voiceless trill, (cf. Krishnamurti 1969).

3.2   One may suggest that Proto-South-Central Dravidian *awa-developed to wō- in Pre-Gondi, which is quite possible. In that case the w- in wōr found in some of the dialects could be treated as a glide on the word-initial rounded vowel as it is common in South-Dravidian. The difficulty in accepting this development is

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the fact that proximal demonstrative forms for masculine are *wēṟ
/*wēn- (sg.), *wēr/*wēr-(pL) traceable to *ewaṟ/*ewan- (sg.), *ewar-/
*ewar- (pL), where the addition of an automatic glide w- on an
unrounded initial vowel cannot be justified. These latter forms
also correspond to Konda wēnṟ (u)/weni- (sg.), wēr/weri- (pL), and
Telugu wīḍu (O. Te. wīṇḍ Inscriptional Te. winṟu >) (sg.), and wīru
(pL). In order to maintain parallel developments in proximal and
distal forms we must assume the following steps between Proto-
South-Central Dravidian and Pre-Gondi.

		PSCDr.		PRE–GONDI		PROTO–GONDI	
		NOM. :	OBL.	NOM. :	OBL.	NOM. :	OBL.
SG.	DIST.	awanṟu :	awan	awaṟ :	awan		
				> wāṟ :	wān	wōṟ :	wōn
	PROX.	ewanṟu :	ewan	ewaṟ :	ewan		
				> wēṟ :	wēn	wēṟ :	wēn
PL.	DIST.	awar :	awar	wãr :	wãr	wõr :	wõr
	PROX.	ewar :	ewar	wēr :	wēr	wēr :	wēr

Note that PDr. i,u > e, o before Ca in the next syllable at a com-
mon stage of South Dravidian and South-Central Dravidian
(Krishnamurti 1975 : 347, 1981).

    The Proto-Dravidian pattern is still preserved clearly in the
distinction between singular and plural forms of demonstrative
pronouns (masculine) despite the loss of -n- in -nṟ. The contrast
was then restricted minimally to ṟ in singular and r in plural.
Apparently this distinction remained undisturbed until recently as
attested by the Hill Mãṟia dialect in -R (sg.) vs. -r (pL).

4.0 We can now explain the different changes that have affected
the above inherited Proto-Gondi pattern in various dialects. The
sound changes leading to the split (acting on the output of Rules 1
to 3, see #2, #3 above) of different Gondi dialects should be
chronologically ordered as :

    Rule (4) r > ṟ / V _ (V)

Proto-Gondi noninitial r became ṟ, e.g. (v)ōr > (v)ōṟ 'they (dist.)',

mara > *maṛa* 'tree', *taras* > *taṛas* 'snake'. This change is found in the dialects of Hoshangabad, Betul, Amraoti, Bhandara, Balaghat, Notheast of Bastar and Southeast of Bastar.

Rule (5)   *ṛ* > *r* / *V_ (V)* #

Proto Gondi *ṛ* became *r* in most of the dialects. As a phoneme'. *ṛ* is retained in Hill Māṛia Gondi (phonetically a uvular fricative [*R*]).   Rule (4) should precede Rule (5) in time, because *r* which results from Rule (5) does not become *ṛ;* consequently the Proto-Gondi contrast of *ṛ* : *r* was maintained as *r* :*ṛ* (see, the sets 5, 2c, and ? 1b, Table-2).

Rule (4́)   *r* > *ṛ* / *V_ (V)* #

This looks like Rule (4) recurring after Rule (5). But it could also be said that in some dialects of Gondi (see set 4a, Table 2) Rules (4) and (5) were re-orded as Rule (5) followed by Rule (4́), though this led to no simplification of the grammar (Kiparsky 1982 : 37).

4.1   In set 5 of Table 2 we see the singular versus plural contrast as *ōr* : *ōṛ* which indicates that after *r* > *ṛ* in plural, *ṛ* of sg. became *r,* for the latter is not affected by the earlier rule (also see sets 1b and 2c). There are dialects in which Rule (4) did not take place, but only Rule (5) occurred. In such dialects the contrast between PGo. sg. *wōṛ* and pl. *wōr* would be lost (see sets 1a, 2a, 2b, 3, 4b, 6, 7, and 9).

The change *ṛ* > *r* seems to have taken place independently in different Gondi dialects with the exception of Hill Māṛia Gondi where *ṛ* phonetically changed its point of articulation from alveolar to uvular and is thus phonemically maintained as distinct from *r* of the plural form.

The PGo. *r* has remained *r* in all dialects in the initial position. But in the noninitial position it tends to freely vary with *ṛ* in a number of subdialects of the dialect area I (Hoshangabad, Betul, Amraoti, Balaghat, and Bhandara), i.e. *ṛ*- area. e.g. : *taṛas* 'snake', *maṛa* 'tree', *aṛmi* 'buffalo', *iṛup* 'Basia latifolia' etc.   This sound change (*r* > *ṛ*) has spread into the dialect area II (*l*- area), i.e. northeast and southeast of Bastar, to some extent, in nonini-

tial positions. Proto-Gondi *ŗ which developed to r in almost all
the dialects in all the three positions i.e. #-, V-V and -# does not
further change to ŗ, as do the reflexes of PGo. *r. This distinction
seems to reflect the historic fact that the proto *ŗ and *r retained
their contrast in all the three positions until recently. The
independence of r (< *ŗ) is also reflected in its alternation with h
in plural formation deriving from the underlying /ŗ/.

5.0 The multiple mergers from *ẓ, *l, *ṭ [ḍ], *ṭ [ṛ], and *r which
can be seen in table-4 have complicated the morphological dis-
tinctions in most of the dialects. The resulting homophony has
led to innovations in various dialects to maintain the morphologi-
cal distinctions between singular and plural masculine demonstra-
tive pronouns. The interaction between the phonological and
morphological processes and the consequent pattern that has
emerged from these are explained below :
5.1. The developments of *awa- > *wā- and *ewa- > wē- are also
found in Telugu, Gondi and Koṇḍa (cf. Te. wānṛu, wāṇḍu, wāḍu;
Koṇḍa wānṛu). At this point it is difficult to say whether this is an
independent isogloss or a shared innovation at a common stage of
the three languages ; for the latter assumption there is not enough
of evidence. After the metathesis and vowel contraction rules
have applied to these forms the Pre-Gondi *wā-must have
changed to wō (vowel rounding) because the latter change is
inherited by all the Gondi dialects. Subsequently the singular dis-
tal and proximal forms wōṛ and wēṛ became wōr and wēr prac-
tically in all the dialects (except for Hill Māria Gondi). This
change ṛ > r appears to be typological rather than historical;
attributed to a more recent time (i.e. after r > ŗ in certain
dialects).

5.2 Following the loss of contrast between the singular and the
plural, each dialect has innovated a different method of rein-
troducing the contrast; this suggests that the loss of the distinction
between singular and plural was a recent phenomenon. Notice
how the innovations proceeded (see table 2).

(1) set 1 a.   ōl (sg.)   : ōr (pl.)

     set 1 b.   ōl (sg.)   : ōṛ (pl.)

The form *ōl* as the nominative singular has an *-l* taken from the singular masculine derivative suffix *-(a)l* which occurs in the language (e.g. : *muriyal* 'father in law', *wartal* 'a guest', *pēṛal* 'a boy' etc.). It is, therefore, not a sound change of *r > l* but a substitution of *l* for *r* in order to reintroduce the contrast between homophonous sg. *ōr* and pl. *ōr*. There is, however, no problem between the oblique forms of singular and plural which contrast by *-n* vs. *-r*.

(2) The second type of innovation reflected in sets 2a, 2b, and 2c is by the addition of a plural morpheme *-k* to the plural stem in nominative and optionally in oblique; *-k* is a non-masculine plural suffix which occurs in typical forms like *marsk* 'axes', *kālk* 'legs', and *kayk* 'hands'.

(3) The third type of innovation as seen in the sets 4a, and 4b is by the addition of the masculine plural suffix or the suffix sequence *-lor* {*-l + -or*} in the nominative only. Note that the oblique does not take the suffix since the contrast is not disturbed. The suffix *-lor* is wrongly analyzed from a composite form in which it is a sequence of *-l*(sg. masc. derivative suffix) plus *-ōr* (masc. pl. ending).

(4) The fourth type of innovation is by changing the quality of the vowel in the plural stems from mid to high. *ōr* is changed to *ūr* and *wēr* to *wir*. This is found in sets 6 and 7. The proximate forms with original *ē* which replaced it by *ī* in the plurals of sets 9 and 10b look as if they were formed under the inluence of neighbouring Telugu where the corresponding forms are *wiru/ wiri-*.[8]

(5) In the set 9 the nominative singular *ōr* is replaced by the corresponding oblique *ōn* so that the contrast between singular and plural is maintained as *ōn : ōr*, although the nominative and oblique contrast is lost.

(6) In the sets 10a and 10b the singular forms are restructured as *ōnḍ* and *wēnḍ* which correspond to Middle Telugu *wānḍu* and *wē nḍu*.

(7) There still remain some islands where the nominative forms
of masculine demonstrative pronouns do not seem to exhibit any
distinction between the singular and plural (see sets 3a
(Chindwara west) and 3b (Yeotmal, Adilabad east and Chan-
drapur)).   Consequently the singular *ōr* and plural *ōr* have
remained homophonous.   It would be interesting to see if any
effort is being made to introduce a distinction between the
singular and the plural by making a more extensive survey
of this area.

6.0 CONCLUSION. The foregoing study enables us to make the
following observations :

1. A sound change may lead to homonymy in a devastating
manner even in basic vocabulary as it has happened in the Gondi
dialects where *ṛ* merged with *r* thereby removing the distinction
between masculine singular and plural.

2. Such a sound change is immediately followed by pro-
cesses both phonological and morphological which reintroduce
the lost contrasts. The Addition of plural suffixes -*k* and -*l* + *or* to
plural, and the extension of the oblique to the nominative in set
9, and the change of *ōr* to *ōl* are all morphological processes ;
whereas the replacement of mid vowels by high vowels in sets 6
and 7 is a phonological innovation.

3. The traditional notion that a sound change is deterred by
threatened homonymy does not seem to have much to suggest in
its favour from these data.

4. The fact that there are as many as six or seven different
innovations in different dialects indicates that the merger of *ṛ*
with *r* which led to the collapse of the singular and plural contrast
was a recent change, which is not a shared innovation by these
dialects from Proto-Gondi.   In the literary languages viz. Tamil,
Kannada, and Telugu *ṛ* gradually merged with *r* independently
in each language under different historical conditions and with
different results.[9]

This paper, while throwing light on some important
theoretical issues, solves the problem of reconstruction of Proto-
Gondi forms of the third person masculine singular and plural,
and interprets a wide range of variation in differentdialects.

Table 4

Reflexes of PDr. *z, *ḷ, *ṭ, *ḷ, *ṛ, *r in various Gondi dialects

Proto-Dravidian phoneme	Environment	SEHORE	HOSHANGABAD	BETUL, AMRAOTI	CHINDWARA, NAGPUR	N.SEONI, MANDLA	ADILABAD	BALAGHAT, BHANDARA	N.W. BASTAR, NARAINPUR	N.E. BASTAR, KESKAL	ABUJHMARH, GARCHIROLI	SOUTH BASTAR	SIRONCHA	S.E. BASTAR, SUKMA TL.	DORLA OF S.W. BASTAR	SOUTH BASTAR, KONTA TL / MALKANGIRI TL.	BHADRACHALAM (KOYA)

NOTES

[1] This paper was to be submitted to a volume edited by George Cardona to felicitate Professor H. M. Hoenigswald, on his seventieth birthday in 1986. However, we could not submit it in time for inclusion in the Festschrift. Krishnamurti was Professor Hoenigswald's student at Pennsylvania in the early fifties. Rao is a student of Professor Bh. Krishnamurti. Both of them had got their insights in historical linguistics from the scholarly contributions of Professor H. M. Hoenigswald. To this great teacher and scholar, we humbly dedicate this paper.

[2] Gondi dialects exhibit a number of ongoing sound changes like s → h → φ, e/o → a, e/o → i/u, r → ṛ, ṛ → r etc. Instead of using the "Brugmannian innovations" in which case an historical linguist is concerned only with the presence or absence of a rule, the *extent of the operation* of a particular sound change could be exploited usefully in subgrouping various Gondi dialects.

[3] The masculine singular suffix '-nṛu-' changed into '-ndu-' by the 7th century, although it was preserved orthographically upto the 10th century (Radhakrishna, 1971 : ixxxvi).

[4] Proto-Dravidian *-nr- >nd/nd in Gondi, e.g. DEDR 2920 Ta. ñānṛu 'time, day', Ma. ñannu, Te. nẽ̃du 'today', Kon. nenṛu, Pe. nenje, Ku. nenju, Kw. ninju (Isr.), nenju (P), Go. nẽndu. DEDR 5052 Ta. mūnṛu 'three', Ma. mūnnu, Ko. mūnd, Kod. mūndi, Tu. mūji, Te. mūn̄u (inscriptional) mūdu, Kon. mūnṛi, Ku. mūnji, Nk. mūndi, Ga. mūnd, Kur. mūnd, Go. mūnd (northern-western dialects), mūnd (south-eastern dialects).

    Hence, we may have to explain the following reconstructions in which the -nṛ is not apparently simplified to -ṛ but has developed to -nd/-nd DEDR 2819 *serunṛu : Go. serundu 'brother-in-law' : DEDR 2492 *maṛunṛu : Go. marundu 'father's sister's son or mother's brother's son'. It appears that in the above two cases the morpheme -(u)nṛu was added to free forms (secondary derivation), viz. ser(i) and maṛi, whereas -nṛu in *awanṛu and *tambunṛu is a bound gender-number suffix (i.e. primary derivation). A parallel to this would be Telugu manci (w)ādu good person, vs., alludu 'son-in-law' where -(w) ādu and -du do the same function but have different structures as derivative morphemes.

[5] r- initial forms occur only in Adilabad dialect of Gondi. Even in this dialect it occurs only in one cognate group riyyor 'young man', riyya 'young lady', DEDR 513 *iḷay-'tender, young'

[6] The forms lup(pi) 'deer' and dig- 'to descend' occurring only in South-Bastar

Gondi dialect need to be explained. An initial -*l* corresponding to PDr. $^*z$ is not attested in any other similar correspondence, therefore, may be considered a stray correspondence. The latter form with an initial *ḏ* is considered as a loan from Telugu.

[7] The Telugu form *wiḍu* (< *wiṇḍu* < *wiṇṛu*) was derived from the Pre-Telugu *wēnṛu* (< *iwanṛu*) on the analogy that *i/i* indicates proximity contrasting with *a/ā* which indicates distal relation.

[8] The sets 9 and 10 b are attested by South Bastar Gondi and South-eastern Gondi which show strong influence of Telugu in their phonology and morphology.

[9] There is inscriptional evidence to say that Telugu (4-5 century A. D.), Kannada (12 century A. D.), and Tamil (10 century A. D.) lost PDr. *ṯ recently. It is preserved only in Malayalam and certain dialects of Tamil, Toda and Konda (cf. Krishnamurti 1961 : 44-46).

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TENSE AND ASPECT IN MANDA

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INTRODUCTION. The grammatical categories of tense and aspect
are not always clearly distinguished in traditional descriptive
accounts of Dravidian languages. This lacuna may be either due
to lack of theoretical principles at the grammarian's disposal or
due to the very complex nature of the inter-relationship between
tense and aspect, or both. Most of the grammars talk of two
divisions of simple and compound tenses, wherein the latter is
intended to refer to some of the aspectual distinctions. In other
words, tense is a familiar term for an ordinary working gram-
marian, whereas aspect is yet to be delineated. Even in the
general grammatical theories, interest into the aspectual systems
was reinforced only when data from the Slavonic languages
became pertinent to theory construction, as is evident in the
works of Lyons (1968), Comrie (1976; 1985) and others.

In contemporary linguistic theory a considerable attention
has been paid to the definition and explication of the notions of
tense and aspect. The common characteristics so postulated are
exemplified from languages across the world (cf. Anderson 1973;
Chung and Timberlake 1985; Comrie 1976 and 1985; and Lyons
1968 : 304–307 and 1977 : 677–718). Both tense and aspect deal
with the (pre-theoretical) notion of time as it is reflected in the
grammar and lexicon of natural languages. Tense is a deictic
category in that it locates the time of an event, process, act or state
identified by the verb with reference to the time of speaking (i.e.
speech event). Just as place deixis indicates and classifies entities
and individuals in terms of their proximity and remoteness from
the central location of the speech-act participants, time deixis
indicates and classifies situations in terms of their proximity or

remoteness to the moment of speaking. In both, the relative loca-
tion (of the speaker) acts as the deictic centre, pointing to the spa-
tial and temporal distinctions respectively.

The temporal nuances are traceable in the lexicalization of
time adverbials, which in turn may be reflected as tense in the
verb inflections.   In other words, tense is a process of
morphologization of time in individual languages.   From this
point of view, tense can be interpreted as an agreement feature, in
that it represents the syntactic linkage of time adverbial to that of
the verb morphology. The source of tense is the temporal adver-
bial, just as the source of subject agreement on the verb is the
subject NP in a given context. The unacceptability of *John gives
me a book yesterday and *John gave me a book tomorrow lies in the viola-
tion of underlying collocational restrictions between the verb and
the time adverbial (cf. Anderson 1973 : 39–46).

If tense is concerned with situation external phenomenon,
aspect is concerned 'with the temporal constituency of a situa-
tion', i.e., aspectual distinctions are based on the internal tem-
poral structure of a given event, process, act or state. Apart from
the traditional dichotomy of perfective and imperfective, the
aspectual oppositions are postulated on the basis of such semantic
notions as duration, instantaneity, frequency, initiation, comple-
tion, habituality, iteration, momentariness, inception and ter-
mination.   The   aspectual   system   of   a   language   may
grammaticalize these semantic distinctions through various
mechanisms or may regroup some of them altogether, thereby
making room for gaps and innovations.

.   The present paper attempts to describe certain aspects of
the morpho-syntactic mechanisms that manifest the temporal and
aspectual distinctions in Manda. For this purpose, the method of
proceeding from form to meaning is adopted thereby focusing on
the grammatical structure of the language to explain its semantics
in some detail. The systems of tense and aspect in Manda will be
compared and contrasted with other members of the South-
Central Dravidian, chiefly the Kondh' languages (Kui, Kuvi,
Pengo, and Indi-Awe) on the one hand and Telugu on the other,

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Even from a cursory look at the paradigm, it can be observed that
the past tense is represented by -t- in all persons[3] except in the
non-masculine singular, where there is no overt tense marker. In
a contrastive paradigm such an absence is also significant in that
the absence itself indicates the intended underlying features.
When we turn to the non-past markers, they fall into three sets : (i)
-d- with all pariticipant (I and IIP) pronouns except the I P sg, (ii)
-n- with all non-paritcipant   (III P) pronouns except non-
masculine singular, and (iii) a zero marker with the singulars of I
P., and III P. non-masculine.   It is to be noticed that the
allomorphs -d- and -n- are grammatically conditioned, the rules of
selection being controlled by the pronoun that the subject NP
refers to (i.e. the distinction of participant versus non-
participant pronouns).

     The two-term distinction of past and non-past is maintained
even in the negative counterparts of the constructions, as illus-
trated in (3).

		PAST NEG	NON-PAST NEG
(3)			
I P	sg	*tum–va–t–u*	*tum–v–u*
	Pl (excl)	*tum–va–t–uη*	*tum–v–uη*
	Pl (incl)	*tum–va–t–uhu*	*tum–v–uhu*
II P	sg	*tum–va–t–i*	*tum–v–i*
	Pl	*tum–va–t–ir*	*tum–v–ir*
III P	masc sg	*tum–va–t–un*	*tum–v–un*
	masc pl	*tum–va–t–ir*	*tum–v–ir*
	non-masc sg	*tum–va–y*	*tum–v–u*
	non-masc pl	*tum–va–t–iη*	*tum–v–iη*

The structural pattern of these negative finite forms can be for-
mulated as in (4) (a) and   (b) for past and non-past
respectively.

     (4) (a) Verb root + neg + tense + pronominal ending

          (b) Verb root + neg + pronominal ending.

Whereas the past tense is formally represented by *-t-* throughout
the paradigm except with the non-masculine singular, the non-
past is signalled by the absence of any corresponding marker in
the negative sentence. This is true of other Kondh languages such
as Kui (Winfield 1928 : 65–85), Kuvi (Israel 1979 : 160–164),
Pengo (Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1970 : 72) and Indi-Awe
(Ramakrishna Reddy 1979-81; Ramanaiah 1982 : 114). In the
Telugu negative constructions neither the past nor the non-past is
formally explicit.

> (5) (a) *raamuḍu polam dunna leedu*
> field plough be not it
> 'Rama did not plough the field'
>
> (b) *raamuḍu polam dunn-a-ḍu*
> plough not be he
> 'Rama will not plough the field'

Both in Telugu and the Kondh languages the non-past negative
has no morphological marking. The past negative is sys-
tematically represented by a suffix *-t-* (or its variants) in all the
Kondh languages, whereas Telugu uses a periphrastic construc-
tion to indicate the past negative, with no discernible past
tense marker.

The equivalents of the existential verb 'be' in Kondh
languages and Telugu exhibit certain distinct characteristics in
their tense systems both in the affirmative and negative. Apart
from the two-term system of past vs non-past, a three-term dis-
tinction of past, present and future is grammaticalized sys-
tematically in some contexts. In Manda, for example, the verb
man 'to be, to exist, to remain, to stay' morphologises a two-way
tense distinction in the affirmative, but a three-way distinction in
the negative, as in (6) and (7) respcetively.

(6) (a) *Sanaatan inja ma-s-un*   'Sanatan was in the house'
        house in be past he
    (b) *sanaatan inja man-(n)-un* 'Sanatan is/will be in the
            be non-past he   house'

(7) (a) *sanaatan ineliŋ inja laa-va-*
     t-un⁴
       yesterday be neg. past he
     'Sanatan was not in the house yesterday'

(b) *sanaatan nɯyã̃*
     inja laa-v-un
       now house in be not he
     'Sanatan is not in the house now'

(c) *sanaatan viŋge inja man-v-*
     un
       tomorrow be not he
     'Sanatan will not be in the house tomorrow'

(7a) negates (6a), whereas (6b) is negated both by (7b) and (7c), which means that the non-past is further divided into present and future in these instances. Of the other Kondh languages, only the Rayagada dialect of Kuvi (Ramakrishna Reddy 1979-81) shows the three-way tense marking in the negative.

(8) (a) *hil-ʔa-t-esi*   'He was not (there)'

(b) *hil-ʔ-esi*   'He is not (there)'

(c) *man-ʔ-esi*   'He will not be (there)'

All the other languages Kui, Pengo, some dialects of Kuvi and Indi-Awe maintain just a two-term system of tense in the negative also.

The situation in Telugu is somewhat different from the Kondh languages. The existential verb *uṇḍu* 'to be' shows variation in tense-system depending on the dialect. In the so-called standard dialect of the coastal Andhra Pradesh there is a two-way distinction of future vs non-future in affirmative constructions.[5]

(9) (a) *aayana iṇṭloo unnaaru*   'He is/was at home'
       he house in is/was he

(b) *aayana iṇṭloo uṇṭaaru*   'He will be at home'

The negatives of (9) (a) and (b) can be obtained by replacing the finite verb by *leeru* 'he is not' and *uṇḍaru* 'he will not be' respectively, which shows that the marking of future vs non-future holds good for the negative (existential construction) as well. The Rayalaseema dialect of Telugu, on the other, shows a three-way tense distinction in the affirmative.[6]

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
(10)			
(a)	*uṇḍinaamu*	*uṇḍaamu*	*uṇṭaamu*
	'we were'	'we are'	'we will be'
(b)	*uṇḍindi*	*uṇḍaadi*	*uṇṭundi*
	'she was'	'she is'	'she will be'

but a two-way system of future vs non-future in the negative (in consonance with other dialects).[7] However, by bifurcating the non-future into past and present, the Rayalaseema dialect clearly demarcates the distinction of past and present which is carried into progressive and perfective (i.e. past perfect, present perfect, future perfect, past progressive, present progressive and future progressive). We will come back to this point later on to demonstrate how the tense-distinctions in an existential auxiliary verb contribute to some of the finer distinctions in the aspectual system of a language.

A common characteristic of the Dravidian is that the adjectival clause precedes the head noun, in its attributive function. The modifying verbal adjective preserves the basic distinction of past and non-past, which it inherits from the underlying structure of the construction. The concatenation of elements in a prenominal verbal adjective is:

- (11) verb stem + tense + adjectival marker +head noun

- (12) (a) *vaa-t-i-   kaṛde*   'The boy who came'

      (b) *vaa-n-i   kaṛde*   'The boy who comes'

This type of adjectivalization is a productive process in all the languages of South-Central Dravidian group, as can be gathered from the following Manda examples

- (13) *aan   tati   preye   tinje   mana*
       I   brought adj rice   eat simul.   be
       'Keep eating the rice that I brought'

    (14) *ee   taakuyke   tisi   kulya*

        those   his fowls ate adj fox

        'The fox which ate his fowls'

    (15) *purti   laavi   veera*

        earth   be not adj time

        'The time when there was no earth (in existence)'.

When the head noun of structures like (11) is replaced by an appropriate pronominal ending, there arises a set of pronominalized and tensed forms which behave like nouns in their morpho-syntactic properties. For example the constructions in (12) give rise to those in (16)

    (16) (a)   *vaa-t-an*   'He who came'

        (b)   *vaa-n-an*   'He who comes'

and this is a very productive syntactic mechanism in Manda and other Kondh languages.

So far we have been concerned mainly with the manifestation of absolute tense in Manda. As noticed above, tense-distinctions can be invoked not only on the basis of the 'time of speaking', but also on the basis of time involved in a particular context. The time-markers so derived are secondary or relative tenses. In Manda(and other languages) in a coordinate construction only the main verb (in finite form) indicates tense but the subordinate (non-finite) participial construction derives its tense from that of the finite one.

    (17) (a) *teeli   maajanka   trakhe   peeytun*

        oilman richman-acc beat conj chased

        'The oilman beat and chased the rich man'

        (b) *teeli maajanka trakhe peeynun*

        'The oil man will beat and chase the richman'.

ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS. Manda, like most of the Indian languages, employs compound verbs to express some semantic aspects of aspect, especially for perfective and progressive. These constructions are referred to as compound tenses in conventional grammars. The general structure of these periphrastic constructions involves two verbs – the first in participial form and the second in finite form. In case of the perfective and progressive the second (or auxiliary) verb is invariably the existential *man* 'be' or its various inflected forms.

PERFECTIVE. The perfective in Manda is constructed out of a combination of two verbs the first representing the main lexical meaning of the situation and the second (auxiliary) *man* modifying the temporal contour of the main predicate. The structural pattern of perfective can thus be formulated as

> (18) (a) Main   verb   +   participle   +   *man*   +   tense   +
> pronominal ending
>
> (b) Main verb + nominalizer + *man* + tense + pronominal ending

Structures (a) and (b) in (18) are in complementary distribution, in that (a) occurs in all the contexts where the subject of the sentence is any pronoun other than the III person feminine or neuter singlular and (b) appears when the subject is III person feminine or neuter singular. The main difference between (a) and (b) is that the former uses a past participial marker whereas the latter uses a nominalized form.   Observe the following instances

> (19) (a) *evan*   *eey*   *ta-ta*   *ma-s-un*
> he   water bring parti. be past he
> 'He had brought some water'
>
> (b) *eed*   *eey*   *ta-ydi*   *mani*
> It   water   bring nominalizer   was it
> 'It had brought some water'

(c) *edel   eey   ta-yidel   mani*
   she   bring nominalizer   was she

   'She had brought some water'.

The formal composition of nominalizer in (b) and (c) transparen-
tly indicates its agreement (both in shape and meaning) with the
subject pronoun, i.e. with IIIP singular neuter and feminine
respectively.

The perfective again reflects a two-way distinction of past
(perfect) and present (perfect). Both the structures are built on the
combination of elements as detailed in (18), the main difference
between them being the tense distinction that goes as part of the
inflection of *man* 'to be'. Before proceeding any further, let me
present the relevant data, first of all on the past perfective

(20) (a) *raja   duveerita   kuh-ta   masun*
         king   door at   sit past was he

         'The king had sat at the gate' (lit: The king having sat
         down at the door, he was there)

     (b) *eeyka   iske   ah-iidi   mani*
         water-acc fire   catch nominalizer   was it

         'The fire has caught the water'   (The water
         was on fire)

     (c) *eemi   rund   paan-ta   masuhu*
         sister   one   obtain past part. were we

         'We had obtained a sister'.

The past perfective forms indicate 'a past in the past', as it were;
for example (20a) tells us that some situation existed prior to the
moment of utterance, as it is clear in *masun,* then the past stem of
the main verb in *-ta* refers to an earlier event that took place,
namely *kuh* 'to sit'. The total meaning, thus amounts to a past
situation in relation to another past situation. Something like 'he
sat and he had been there even before the attention of the speaker
is turned on to him'. And this entire semantic effect is expressed

with the help of the periphrastic construction, in a fixed serial
order of main verb and the auxiliary.

So is the case with present perfective with the difference that
it refers to 'a present in the past', as can be seen from the follow-
ing sentences.

(21) (a) *niyā̃   niitaaka   vaa-ta   manir*
         now   your near   come past   are they
         'Now they have approached you'

   (b) *naa guṛa   teeligaṇa   bitra   put-ta   manji*
        my   horse   oil press   inside   insert past   are you
        'You have inserted my horse into the oil press'

   (c) *iin   pene   huṛ-ta   laavi*
        you   route   see past   are not you
        'You have not seen the way'.

In these instances the past situation has a present relevance and
these two notions are manifested through the past participle of
the lexical verb and the tense marking on the auxiliary respect-
ively. One might ask what is the evidence to treat the sentences in
(21) as present perfect rather than future perfect? This question
is entertainable due to the fact that the opaque non-past on *man* is
sometimes prone to both the interpretations of present and
future, as in (7) and (8) above. But notice that the negative aux-
iliary in (21c) marks the present, but not the future which itself is
an indicator of relevance to the present tense. Had it been a
future perfective (21c) would have appeared with *manvi* 'will not
be', rather than *laavi* 'are not'.

PROGRESSIVE. The notion of an event, process or action being in
progress overlapping with the moment of utterance can be
understood as the present progressive aspect, and a situation
located in progress before the moment of speaking indicates the
past progressive on the basis of contextual tense. In other words
like many shades of aspect, progressive is closely bound with
tense. In Manda we can notice a past progressive and non-past
progressive expressed through the syntactic mechanism of com-
pound verb structures, as in (22).

(22)   Verb + simult. + *man* + tense + pronominal ending

What is labelled as simultaneous on the main verb stands as dura-
tive marker and the past or non-past tense is marked on the aux-
iliary *man* 'to be'.

(23) (a) *evan eey   ta-s   masun*
         he   water   bring simul   was he

         'He was bringing (some) water'

     (b) *evan eey ta-s manun* 'He is bringing some water'

The (a) instance unambiguously refers to past progressive whereas
the (b) can capture the meaning of not only present progressive,
but also a habitual or future progressive.

There is another construction in Manda which is used more
frequently and productively for the non-past progressive, as
in (24).

(24) (a) *ii   kuyke   inakidek   uun-d-i-ba*
         these fowls   what for   carry non-pst you progr.

         'Why are you carrying these fowls?'

     (b) *evan vaa-n-un-ba*   'He is coming'
         he come non-past he

The structural composition of this type of progressive construc-
tion is that a clitic -*ba* which has acquired this additional meaning,
is suffixed to the non-past finite verb both in the affirmative and
negative. And the particle -*ba* is an invariant element being in
sensitive to any phonological conditioning. Its use as an aspectual
marker is restricted to the non-past. This structural pattern is also
used in contexts where the reference is definitely to some
future time.

(25) *naalhi   anne ee   naay   hal-i-ba*
      tomorrow   I   that village go non-past progr.

      'I shall be going to that village tomorrow.'

It also indicates a continuous action spreading over a long period
of time

(26) *evan*   *naaṇaveeṛa*   *kama*   *ki-n-un-ba*
     he   night day   work   do tense he progr.

     'He is working day and night'.

IMMEDIACY OR INSTANTANEITY. Within the non-past paradigm,
the notion of 'right now' or 'immediately' is grammaticalized in
Manda by suffixing an invariable particle (or clitic) *-ta* to the finite
verb. For example *vaa-n-un-ta* means 'he will come *right now*'. In
other words, the *-ta* particle signals that a situation should obtain
immediately or an action should be carried out right now. Notice
the instantaneous sense in the following.

(27) (a) *baara*   *uuṇ tinje*   *huṛ-i-**ta***
         wild   pork having eaten   see non-past immed.

         'I will taste the pork right now'

     (b) *maa daadar*   *eek-ta-n-ir-**ta***[8]
         our brothers   scold me they immed.

         'My brothers will scold me right now'

This kind of morphologization of immediate future is peculiar to
Manda and Pengo.

    It is clear that in the simple non-past, Manda shows three
different aspectual systems accommodating certain distinctions
that have developed in the intersection of tense and aspect. The
non-past has developed a paradigm of the type

(28) (a) *vaa-n-un*   'He comes, he will come'

     (b) *vaa-n-un-ba*   'He is coming'

     (c) *vaa-n-un-ta*   'He comes right now'

The derivational history of the meaning and form of these particles
deserves the attention of historical interpretation.

ITERATIVE. If any event, process or action is repeated, or if it is
carried out by more than one actor, this repeated action is incor-
porated into the verb morphology of Manda and other Kondh

languages (Ramakrishna Reddy 1980 and Winfiled 1928).

(29) (a) *ee   maaŋgeheka   dee-pa*-t-ir
        that sambar-acc   cut repeat past they

         'They cut the sambar'

    (b) *evan dinapati   neelta   hal-ba-n-un*
        he   daily   field in   go repeat tense he

         'He goes to the field every day'.

COMPLETIVE. The notion of completed action or event is expressed in Manda by the combination of two verbs, the first as a lexical verb and the second as an auxiliary standing for the sense of 'completion'. As with *man*, it is the auxiliary that is inflected for tense and pronominal markers. Two such auxiliaries are *-tuh* and *-hii.*

(30) (a) *evanka   paagje   tuk-t-ir*
        him   kill having past they

         'They killed him (completely)'

    (b) *kulya   kuykeka   tinaatin   tuhi*
        · fox   fowls acc eat emph. complete

         'The fox ate (away) the fowls'

    (c) *kulya   naa kuykeka   tinji hii-da-y*
        fox   my   fowls acc. eat   gave me it

         'The fox has eaten away my fowls'.

SUMMARY. A descriptive account of the morphosyntactic processes manifesting the system of tense and aspect in Manda has been our main aim in the present paper. The distinctions (of tense and aspect) in Manda are compared with those found in the other South Central Dravidian languages, particularly Telugu. It is shown that the earlier grammars of these languages do not postulate aspect as a distinct category which practice has lead to some confusion between tense and aspect. Further in this study an attempt has been made to establish   tense   and   aspect   as   separate   categories   for

Manda and to explicate their structural properties, within the
framework of a modern linguistic theory (cf. Anderson 1973,
Comrie 1976; 1985 and Lyons 1968; 1977).

The common two-way tense system of past versus non-past
prevalent in South-Central Dravidian, turns into a three-way dis-
tinction of past, present and future in the morphology of certain
lexical items such as the equivalents of the existential 'be', and in
certain construction types such as negatives. The aspectual
notions of perfective and progressive are manifested by an auxil-
iary *man* 'to exist' and its tense morphology in Manda. The
notion of 'completion' is also carried out by an auxiliary verb. It
is a unique feature of Manda and other Kondh languages to
employ certain particles (occurring either immediately after the
verbal base or after the finite verb) to indicate some aspectual dis-
tinctions such as habitual, present progressive, iterative and
instantaneity. Thus the nuances in the tense and aspect systems
of Manda deserve the attention of both the Dravidian syntactician
and the general linguist.

NOTES

[1] The tribal people of Central India known as Kondh or Khond or Kond
inhabit the Koraput, Kalahandi, Phulbani and Ganjam districts of Orissa
and scattered in the Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra
Pradesh. This culturally homogenous group is linguistically divergent in
speaking five different, but related, languages – Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda
and Indi-Awe. I am using Kondh as a generic term to refer to all these five
languages, though there is sufficient linguistic evidence to identify them as a
distinct branch within the South-Central Dravidian (cf. Ramakrishna Red-
dy, 1981). My fieldwork on these languages is supported by the UGC Spe-
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this paper.

[2] There are also other markers on the verb indicating agreement to personal
object, distant action, plural action and others. A detailed discussion of
these facts is given in Ramakrishna Reddy (1980).

³ The past tense marker -*t*- has other phonologically determined variants -*c*-, -*s*- and -*ṭ*- depending upon the type of final sound of the verbal base, that immediately precedes.

⁴ *man* 'to be' has a suppletive *laa* in some of the negative paradigms, just as *uṇḍ* has *lee* in Telugu.

⁵ It may be mentioned here that with all other verbs, Telugu maintains the past vs non-past, both in the positive and negative paradigms.

⁶ Professor Bh. Krishnamurti suggests that this dialect might have acquired these features under the influence of Tamil (Personal dicussion).

⁷ Some of the temporal features of the Rayalaseema dialect are discussed in Ramakrishna Reddy (1986).

⁸ Though this -*ta* particle resembles the person-object marker in shape, they have different senses and both of them can occur even within a single paradigm (see Ramakrishna Reddy 1980).

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CONSTRAINTS ON CONSONANT SEQUENCES ACROSS SOME INDIAN LANGUAGES: A TYPOLOGICAL VIEW *

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1. **INTRODUCTION.** This paper is an attempt to study and describe, with a comparison of English, the salient distributional patterns and restrictions of consonant combinations in Telugu, Hindi, Kharia and Purki belonging to the Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Munda and Tibeto-Burman family of languages respectively, in light of the typological universals proposed by Greenberg (1978).

It is a well known fact that every language does not exploit all the possible combinations of its phonemes in the word and the syllable or the morpheme. For instance, the types of consonant clusters or combinations permitted are subject to certain constraints. As it is pointed out by Sigurd (1968) "there might be languages with identical phoneme inventories but greatly different ways of combining the phonemes". According to him "the permitted phoneme sequences are generally much restricted and only a fraction of the combinations which can be formed by combining the phonemes in all possible ways occurs. The restrictions vary greatly between languages and given only the set of phonemes it is not possible to produce acceptable words". Moreover, we need more information about all aspects of pronunciation, i.e. the nature of phonemes and their combinatorial possibilities as

there are language specific and universal constraints operating across languages, in order to classify them as like or unlike, otherwise typology would be incomplete. That is, an account of phonemes and their combinations could be used to order languages on a scale of similarity and difference in their use and combination of the phonemes.

The present study restricts its observations to the consonant combinations within isolated monomorphemic lexical items (both native and borrowed) and thereby excludes the sequences that might arise across word boundaries as a result of Sandhi, because the consonant sequences that result due to Sandhi across word or morpheme boundary, particularly in Telugu or Hindi, require an elaborate analysis of its own and they are too numerous to deal with.

The sequential constraints, therefore, are stated in terms of their patterning in a word. The word, rather than a syllable (though the syllable has been strongly recommended, for instance, by Sigurd 1955 : 9–10), is used as the basic frame of reference because this choice is based on the fact that a high proportion of words in Telugu particularly are of polysyllabic structure and many more consonant combinations occur at syllable boundaries in polysyllables. There are very few monosyllables in Telugu and they do not represent all possible structure types in polysyllables (see for details, Nagamma Reddy 1980 and 1981). The size of the sequences also differs depending on their place in the word structure than in a syllable. Moreover, in order to state the constraints in terms of syllable structure, one should also know its exact boundaries in the word which is often a problem and this is based on an arbitrary decision as to where the division should be made (cf. Nagamma Reddy 1979, 1985 and 1986).

The consonant combinations compared (i.e. analysed) here are taken from various sources, mainly Ohala (1983) on Hindi, Nagamma Reddy (1980) on Telugu, Biligiri (1965) on Kharia and Rangan (1979) on Purki. As a heuristic procedure, independent listing of clusters in words for each language are tabulated. The tables are used as the basis for generalizing the structural patterns

of consonants in a given sequence. For details regarding two-consonant patterns, the reader is suggested to see the respective tables in Nagamma Reddy (1980) for Telugu, Ohala (1983) for Hindi, Biligiri (1965) for Kharia and Rangan (1979) for Purki.

Before stating general points on the clustering/sequencing patterns of consonants in each language, it may be pointed out that it is possible that certain sequences may have been excluded or included in the analysis of a particular language. For instance, /hw–/ which Dixit (1963) lists in Hindi is excluded by Ohala (1983 : 45). Certain medial consonant sequences in Telugu words also arise due to vowel elision. For example /a : rpu/ 'to extinguish', or /e : dpu/ 'weeping' with –rp–, and –dp–, occur due to vowel deletion in their alternative forms of. /a : rupu/ and /e : dupu/. Not all lexical items with similar syllabic structure, however undergo such a process (e.g. /arupu/ 'shout' — */arpu/). Problems also arise due to variant pronunciation and if one treats certain complex segments as biphonemic rather than mono- or unitory phonemes. For instance, the diphthongal offglide as an independent consonant increases the number and variety of per-missible consonant combinations. Even for one and the same language we find alternative analysis of the segments as well. Aspirated consonants in Kannada, for instance, are treated as two phonemes by Bright (1958), and a similar case could also be made for Telugu (cf. Nagamma Reddy 1986).

The phonological status of certain segments or sequence types also need, thus, some clarification as there are different kinds of analyses depending on the language under discussion with respect to its structural pattern, this is not discussed here since the details can be found in the source material of each individual language. A large number of clusters which have not been included are also possible in a fast tempo of speech. Before we discuss the patterning of consonants with each other, let us first look at the consonant phonemes (i.e. system) in each language, as the presence or absence of a particular phoneme may bring out the difference in consonant patterns.

2.   CONSONANT SYSTEM. The consonant phonemes of each
language is shown on Table 1. The list includes phonemes occur-
ring in borrowed words as well. It is clear from the table that
each language has many similarities, but differs from the other in
its total inventory of consonants. Any two languages appear to
differ in the sound system in a number of ways. Altogether there
are only about 12 consonants (p, b, k, g, m, n, s, h, l, r, w and y)
which are common to all the four langauges. Each language is
characterized by a unique set of phonemes. Hindi consists of 33
+ (3) consonant phonemes, Telugu 32 + (1), Purki 33 + (1),
Kharia 31, and English only 24. There is no difference between
the languages in the system of semivowels but there are variations
in the other classes or groups of phonemes according to their
place as well as manner of articulation.

While all languages have voicing contrast in the plosives and
affricates, English has a three-way system of simple unaspirated
plosives, Purki has a five-way contrast and the rest of the
languages (i.e. Kharia, Hindi and Telugu) have a four-way con-
trast. All these languages differ not only in terms of number of
places of articulation, but also in the exact place of articulation.
Purki has an interesting situation in having an alveolar stop like
English, dental stop like other Indian languages, besides an
uvular plosive of its own. Similarly, while Hindi, Telugu and
Kharia have both aspirated and breathy stops, Purki has only
(voiceless) aspirates and English has none. Purki appears to have
a system of its own resembling in certain aspects to English and
some other aspects to other Indian languages. While all
languages have palatal/alveopalatal affricates, Purki alone has a
contrast between alveolar and palatal affricates.

Among the nasals, m and n are common to all languages,
while Telugu has a retroflex nasal phoneme, the others have a
velar nasal. Only English, Purki and Hindi have voicing contrast
in fricatives. Telugu stands alone from the rest of the languages
by containing a retroflex lateral but not including the flap (i.e. r)
as a separate phoneme in its system.

Each Indian language, unlike English, has geminate con-

Table 1. Consonant Phonemes

ENGLISH	HINDI	TELUGU	PURKI	KHARIA
p t k	p,ph t̤,th ṭ,ṭh k,kh	p,ph t̤,th ṭ,ṭh k,kh	p,ph t̤,th ṭ,th kkh,q	p,ph t̤,th ṭ,ṭh k,kh
b d g	b,bh d,dh ḍ,ḍh g,gh	b,bh d,dh ḍ,ḍh g,gh	b d d g	b,bh d,dh ḍ,ḍh g,gh
č	č,čh	č,čh	c,ch,č,čh	č,čh
ʄ	ʄ,ʄh	ʄ,ʄh	ʄ	ʄ,ʄh
f θ š h	f s š h	(f)s ṣš h	(f) s š×h	s h
v ð s z ž	z ž	z ž ṛ		
m n η	m n (ṇ) (ñ) (η)	m n ṇ	m n ñ	m n ñ
				η
l	l	l l	l	l
r	r ṛ	r	r	r ṛ
w	y w	y w	y w	y w y

sonants (which could be treated phonetically as long consonants, but functionally, structurally and distributionally, as two identical consonants). These are quite common type of consonant sequences in Telugu in particular.

Thus, though all languages draw upon the total stock of sounds and sound features that the human vocal tract is capable of producing, each language has its own special sound system. Furthermore, each language has its own specific sequential and positional constraints. For instance, the retroflex nasal or lateral, like the velar nasal in English, do not occur in initial position of a word. Languages are distinct not only in terms of selection of sounds, but also in relation to their combinatorial possibilities as mentioned earlier.

3. CONSONANT COMBINATIONS. There are no word-initial or final clusters in Kharia, whereas in Hindi and Purki, like in English, consonant clusters occur in all the three positions of a word. Contrary to Kharia on the one hand and Purki and English on the other, Telugu has only word-initial and medial occurrence of consonants in sequence (i.e. there are no word-final consonant clusters in native vocabularly and even in borrowed words of Telugu unless there is an apocope of the vowel, which is rare, e.g. /po : st/~/po : st u/ 'post'). The number and the nature of consonant clusters also differ from one language to another. Word initially, a maximum of three consonants (with the exception of Kharia) is allowed in all languages. Word finally there are no consonant clusters in Telugu or Kharia, but there are two-consonant clusters in Purki and three-consonant clusters in Hindi and English. Upto four consonants are permitted but only word-medially (English and Kharia exempted). The following sections will give details regarding the two-, three-, and four-consonant sequences in each position of a word across all the languages that are under comparison.

3.1 TWO CONSONANT (CC) COMBINATIONS. The Tables cotaining all possible word-initial and medial two-consonant combinations in Telugu (Nagamma Reddy 1980) word-medial combinations in Kharia (Biligiri 1965) and word-initial, medial and final com-

binations in Hindi (Ohala 1983) reveal the following : All initial
consonant clusters in all languages occur word-medially, but not
vice versa. Most analyses of consonant combinations in the litera-
ture appear to be confined to the initial and final ones, on the
assumption that 'all medial combinations can be analysed into
sequences of permissible final cluster plus permissible initial clus-
ter' (Yasui 1962 : 108).   But, for instance, in a language like
Telugu, where there are no final clusters, but only a few initial
and a large number of medial combinations, the discussion of the
clusters without considering the medials would not provide
enough information on the possible combinations.

3.1.1 INITIAL TWO CONSONANT (CC) CLUSTERS. In Purki only the
plosives, fricatives, nasals, laterals, and trill can occur as the first
member of two consonant structure. Lateral, trill and semivowel
occur as the second member only when the plosive occurs as a
first member. The following is the general patterning of initial
two consonants in Purki :

    (1)   plosive + liquid, or semiconsonant

    (2)   fricative + non-fricative

    (3)   nasal + semiconsonant

    (4)   liquid + obstruent or semiconsonant

Telugu and Hindi on the other hand have the following
patterns :

    (1)   plosive or nasal + liquid or semiconsonant

    (2)   fricative + non-fricative

    (3)   bilabial semiconsonant + trill or palatal semiconsonant

    (4)   voiced unaspirated affricate + semiconsonant

There are certain restrictions in these patterns : The fricative can
be followed by a plosive but not vice – versa. The trill can occur
after a variety of consonant types, but not after an affricate. There
are many such further restrictions in Telugu.

    It is quite clear from the above patterns that there are a
number of similarities in the patterns of initial clusters of the

three languages except that Purki alone can begin a word with a liquid as the first element of the structure of a cluster (e.g. /rdut/ 'devil', /rgenskor/ 'fence', etc.).

3.1.2   MEDIAL TWO CONSONANT COMBINATIONS.   All languages (excluding English) have a larger variety of sequence types in medial position than in word-initial or final position.   Since each language has an inventory of phonemes of its own, there is also an expected difference in the combinatorial possibilities.   For instance, only Purki can form a cluster with a uvular consonant.   In all languages no aspirate is found occurring with another aspirated plosive agreeing with Swadesh (1937) who stated it "as a general rule of Sanskrit".

The following are some of the sequential constraints of consonants in general : Semiconsonants do not occur before breathy voiced stops or aspirates.   Similarly, nasals do not occur after breathy voiced stop in Hindi and Telugu, but that is possible in Kharia.   Fricatives also do not occur after aspirates or affricates. Semiconsonants do not occur after affricates. If the second consonant is h, the first consonant can never be aspirated.   While in Hindi if C_1 is a semiconsonant, then C_2 should not be a glide but this is possible in Sanskrit loans only in Telugu.   In Hindi the flap (ṛ) does not combine with another consonant, but in Kharia this is possible.   Both initially and finally, two stops of the same point of articulation do not follow each other in all the four languages. A number of identical consonant clusters, but only in word-final position, are possible in some other languages as shown elsewhere by Ramakrishna Reddy and Nagamma Reddy (1986a).

3.1.3   FINAL TWO CONSONANT CLUSTERS. Purki has only fricative followed by plosives or nasal, or plosive followed by fricative. However, in Hindi a large variety of word final consonant clusters is possible, but their status is a controversial issue.   There are no final clusters in Hirdi according to Dixit (1963).   He posits [∂] after all the clusters.   There seems to be an audible release after most final clusters but phonologically this release should not be considerd to be a final vowel in Hindi. The clustering patterns of word-finals (listed in Ohala 1983) are in no way different from

word-initials or medials which is contrary to the observations made on clusters in South Central Dravidian languages (See Ramakrishna Reddy and Nagamma Reddy 1986b).   In these languages word-final clusters are mutually exclusive with word-initial clusters. The word initials are mostly heterorganic type and the word-finals are homorganic type.   All languages have two identical consonants in a sequence but confined to word-medial position only.   None of the languages begins a cluster with a nasal followed by a polosive.

3.2   THREE CONSONANT (CCC) CLUSTERS/SEQUENCES. Among all the Indian languages, only Hindi has three consonant clusters in all positions of a word.   Telugu has them only in word-initial and word-medial positions. In both the langauges (Hindi and Telugu) the word-initial three-consonant clusters are borrowed from Sanskrit or English. Even the word-final three-consonant clusters in Hindi occur in Sanskrit loans only (see Ohala 1983 : 43) However, Dixit (1963) does not consider Hindi to have any final three–consonant clusters as in the case of two-consonant clusters.

3.2.1 INITIAL CCC CLUSTERS. These clusters in all languages form a simple pattern when compared to word-medials or word-finals. The choice of the elements in initial cluster appears to be some-what different in Purki when compared to other languages.   The patterning is the same for both Hindi and Telugu.   This may be due to their barrowing from the same source, Sanskrit.

PATTERNS OF INITIAL CCC CLUSTERS:

English   **Hindi/Telugu**   **Purki**
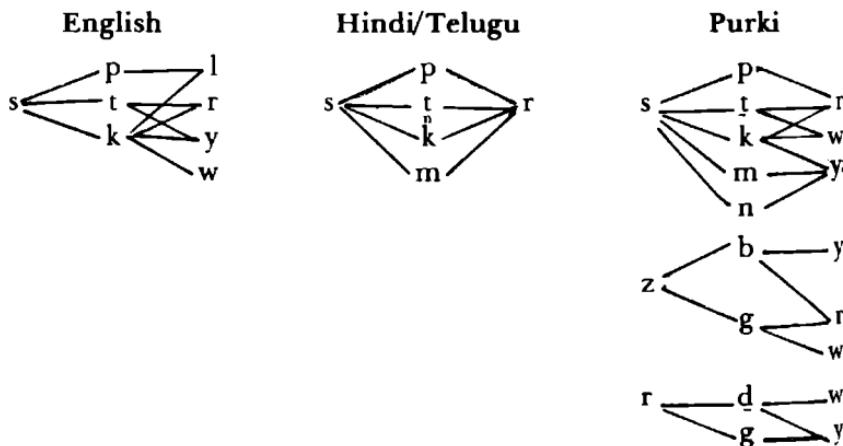
As can be observed from the initial patterns of each language, every three consonant cluster contains a permitted two-consonant word-initial comprising either the first two consonants or the last two consonants. If a word begins with three consonants, then the first consonant in English is /s/ the second /p, t, k/ and the third /l, r, y, w/ whereas in Hindi and Telugu the first consonant is the same as in English but in the second place besides /p, t, k/ there is also an /m/. However, the third consonant in Telugu and Hindi is invariably a trill. Quite opposite to these languages, Purki displays an interesting pattern of the three-consonant clusters. In the first position itself, in addition to /s/, there are two more consonants /z, r/. In the second position there are also voiced stops which would be forbidden in the same place in English because the preceding permitted consonant in English is only a voiceless fricative. However, the third consonant in a sequence of three-consonant cluster in Purki is somewhat similar to English than to Hindi or Telugu. Purki allows this additional possibility since it already has the preceding segments voiced. However, all languages have /s/ as a first element of the three-consonant cluster, /p, t, k/ as a second element, and /r/ as a third element. Thus, there are some universal possibilities besides langaugae specific sequential constraints.

3.2.2   MEDIAL CCC COMBINATIONS. Medial three consonant structures form a larger variety than the initial or final combinations. Therefore the restrictions on these combinations are somewhat flexible. Among the languages investigated here, Kharia has only the word-medial three-consonant sequences very similar to Manda (see Ramakrishna Reddy and Nagamma Reddy 1986a). There are, altogether, 28 combinations or patterns in Telugu (see medial CCC patterns represented diagramtically), as against 29 in Kharia, 42 in Hindi and 48 in Purki. Only 8 consonants occur in position C_1, 13 in C_2 and 8 in C_3 in Telugu; 12 + 15 + 10 (the first figure represents C_1, the second figure C_2 and the third C_3) in Kharia; 9 + 18 + 11 in Hindi and 14 + 9 +14 in Purki. Though Purki allows only a small number of consonants, obstruent alone, in the second position of the sequence, the number of possible combinations are larger than the ones found in

other languages.

It also appears that the first member of the three consonants in a sequence is generally a nasal or an obstruent (e.g. Telugu). However, Purki and Kharia contain a variety of consonants in the C_1 and C_2 positions. This is quite opposite to Meitei (see Abbi and Mishra 1985 : 87) where only a small number of three-consonant sequences occurs in the medial position and the C_2 is only a stop, the C_3 is invariably a trill and C_1 is a nasal or a voiceless stop. Unlike in Meitei, in Hindi, Telugu and Kharia, a large number of consonants occurs as second member of the sequence, but generally these are obstruents in Hindi, Telugu and Purki. Kharia, on the other hand can also have nasals in this position. The structural restriction is that a language can have an /r/ either as C_1 or C_3 but not as C_2, i.e. no longuage permits a trill in between two consonants. Furthermore, none of the three consonant sequences in Kharia contains a fricative. Other notable restrictions are that the lateral and voiced stops occur as C_1 in Kharia and Purki only. Nasals with different points of articulation occur as first members in all languages, but as second members only in Kharia. This language, similar to Manda has a tendency to have the first two or the last two elements homorganic. This is the reason why we find a variety of nasals in the second position in Kharia differnt from other languages. However, with respect to the occurrence of aspirate as the second element, Kharia is similar to that of Hindi. It can be further observed from the diagrams that only one out of the eight permitted groups can occur word-initially in Telugu. The patterns that are noted for Purki in word-medial position are quite different from word-initial.

In Telugu, all the word-medial three-consonant combinations contain the permitted two-consonant combinations. Therefore the constraints are the same as the constraints that apply to word-initial two-consonant clusters and word-medial two consonant sequences.

PATTERNS OF MEDIAL CCC CLUSTERS/SEQUENCES:

Telugu	Hindi	Kharia	Purki
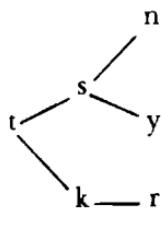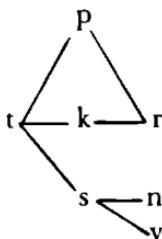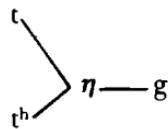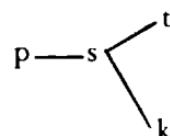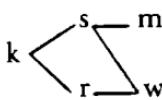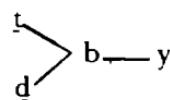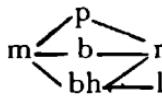
Telugu:

```
        n
       /
t — s
   \   \
    \   y
     k — r
```

```
k —— t —— r
```

```
    p
   /  \
m — b —— r
   \.s —— k
        th
```

```
    t
   / \
n — d —— r
   \ dh  y
    \ g —— l
```

```
    t —— r
   /
ṇ — ḍ — ḷ
        y
```

Hindi:

```
      p
     / \
t —— k —— r
     \
      s — n
          y
```

```
    s — m
   /
k
   \
    r — w
```

```
    p
   /
m — b —— r
   \ bh — l
```

```
    f — l
   / dh — h
n — d —— r
   \ t
    \     p
     s — th
          t
          k
          m
```

```
    č — m
   / j — ṛ
ñ — jh — r
   \ ś — č
          y
```

Kharia:

```
t
 \
  ⴄ — g
th
```

```
k — ch — y
```

```
b — l — w
    ñ — ǰ
        h
    n — ḍ
        k
    ⴄ — g
        gh
```

```
g —— t —— r
```

```
ph — n — ḍ
```

```
    p
   /
m — b —— r
   \ ph — l
    bh — y
```

```
    th
   /
n — d —— ṛ
   \ dh — ṛ
    dh
     t
```

Purki:

```
p — s — t
       \
        k
```

```
t
 \ b — y
d
```

```
k
 \ b — y
   z — b
   ṣ — p
       t
       m
```

```
    b — y
q — z — b
   s — p
       ṭ
       k
       kh
       l
```

```
f — b — y
```

```
    b — y
s — ṭ — w
   g — r
```
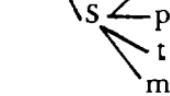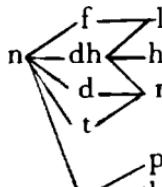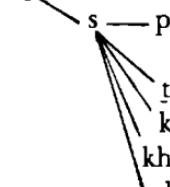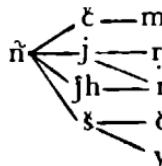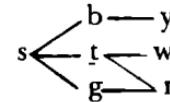
PATTERNS OF MEDIAL CCC CLUSTERS/SEQUENCES: (Contd.)

Telugu	Hindi	Kharia	Purki

Telugu:

```
        t
r ──── d ──── v
    ──── j ──── y
         š ──── w
```

```
        p
s ──── t ──── r
        k
        m
```

```
        t
s ───< >─── r
        k
```

Hindi:

```
        kh ──── y
η ──── k ──── r
        gh ──── l
         g ──── r
```

```
             g
r ──── t ──── r
         th ──── n
s ──── t ──── m
                  r
```

Kharia:

```
n ──── ʃ ──── r
```

```
        kh
η ──── g ──── r
        gh ──── r
```

```
l
  >─── n ──── d
r
```

```
y ──── g ──── n
```

Purki:

```
        b ──── y
z ──── d ──── r
        g
        b ──── y
š ──<
        č ──── w
```

```
        b ──── r
m ──<
        s ──── p
              t
              k
```

```
        b ──── y
n ──── d ──── r
        š ──── n
        s ──── k
ṅ ──── b ──── y
        z ──── b
        g ──── r
        s ──── l
              p
              t
              k
              kh
```

```
l ──── b ──── y
        d
        t
r ──── ph ──── y
        b
```
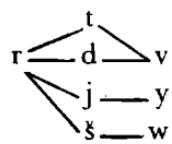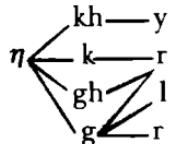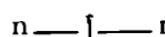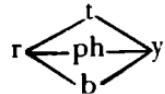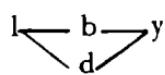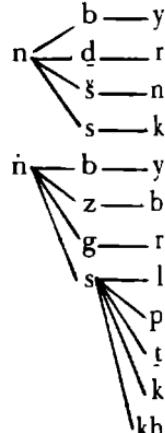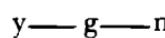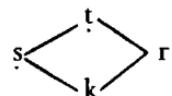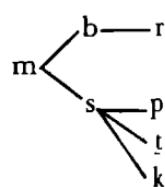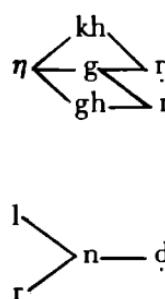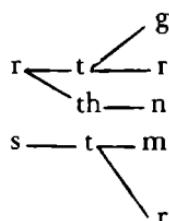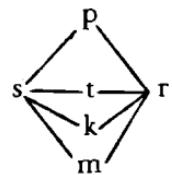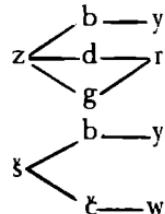
A comparison of Purki and Telugu reveals the following : The three-consonant combinations in Telugu generally pattern as

- (a)   Fricative + plosive +trill
- (b)   Nasal + obstruent + liquid/semi-consonant
- (c)   Trill + obstruent + trill/semi-consonant

These show that more than two plosives in a sequence of three consonants do not occur in Telugu. The general patterning of medial three consonants in Purki on the other is

- (a)   Stop + obstruent + obstruent, nasal, lateral, or semi-consonant
- (b)   Fricative + plosive + trill, semi-consonant or affricate
- (c)   Nasal + obstruent + plosive, nasal, liquid, or semi-consonant
- (d)   Liquid + plosive + semi-consonant.

The above patterns reveal some of the similarities and differences between the two languages. A sequential constraint in Telugu is that the C_1 and C_3 must not be a plosive, only in the middle of the three-consonant sequence a plosive can occur; whereas in Purki there is no such constraint. A plosive can occur in all the three positions as C_1, C_2 or C_3. Otherwise, in many respects the patterns of both the languages are very similar.

3.2.3 FINAL CCC CLUSTERS. Word-final three-consonant clusters are found only in English and in Hindi. These number 48 in English and 34 in Hindi. In terms of the number of segments allowed in each place in the structure they are about the same in both the languages (e.g. $10 + 14 + 5$ in English, and $11 + 16 + 5$ in Hindi).

Though, the number of consonants that occur as C_1 in the three-consonant sequence in each langauge is the same (i.e. 10), it displays a quite different preference in English over Hindi. In Hindi, a large number of clusters is formed containing an /r/ as the first element, whereas in English, many of them are formed

with an /l/. In fact there is no three-consonant cluster that contains an /r/ in English (see Gimson 1970 : 252). This is not the case with Hindi (see the patterns of Hindi). Moreover, none of the three-consonant clusters in English appears to contain a semi vowel. But in Hindi the semi vowels occur quite commonly as C_3. The C_3 can only be an obstruent in English, whereas in Hindi, the obstruents are forbidden as C_3. In the selection of segments as C_3 (i.e. the third consonant from left to right) the two languages complement each other. A further restriction in Hindi is that the aspirated stops occur only as C_2 in a three final consonant sequence. Nevertheless, both languages contain nasals, fricatives and liquids as C_1.

PATTERNS OF FINAL CCC CLUSTERS

English   **Hindi**

PATTERNS OF FINAL CCC CLUSTERS

English   **Hindi**

n — k < s / t / θ

tʃ
s → t
p
k → s
t
l — θ
f — θ
b
d → z
v
m — d

t— — m
d — r
dh — w
š
t
r — th
k
kh
gh — r
j
m
r̤
h

f — θ — s
t

s — t — r
th — y

s — t — r
ṭh — y

s — p — s
t →
k — t
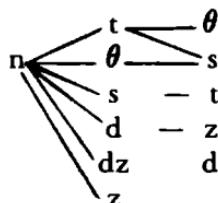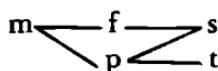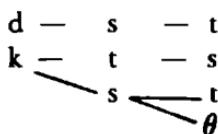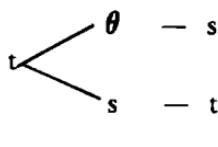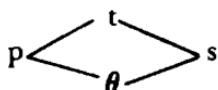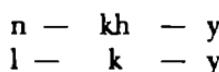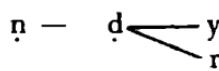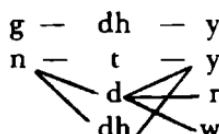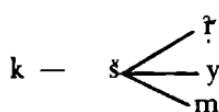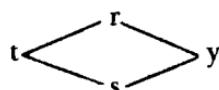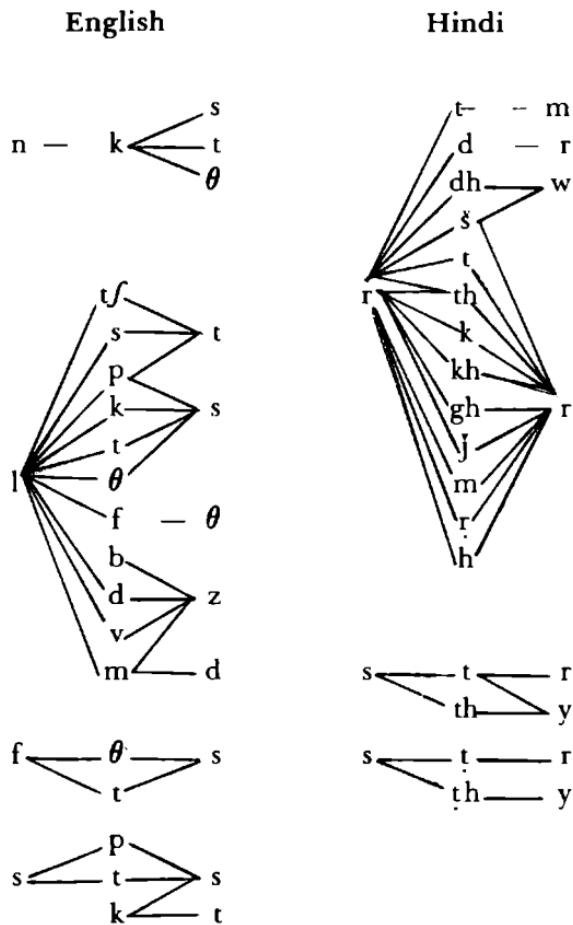
3.3 FOUR CONSONANT (CCCC) SEQUENCES. These are very few in
number. All languages, except Kharia, contain sequences of four
consonants, but they are restricted to particular position
only.

(a) Initially: No language appears to admit four consonant
          clusters at the beginning of a word

(b) Medially: Only Hindi, Telugu and Purki have four con-
          sonants in a sequence.

In Hindi and Telugu these four consonants in a sequence occur
only in borrowed words from Snaskrit. Moreover there are only

one or two patterns noted in Hindi and Telugu. Purki appears to have four patterns of its own. The following are the patterns of four-consonant sequences found across these three languages.

Hindi	Telugu	Purki
$r-t-s-y$	$m-s-k-r$	
	$n-t-r-y$	

Purki:

$$m-s-h-l \atop p\nearrow$$

$$g\searrow \qquad\qquad g \atop z-b-y \atop n\nearrow$$

Each language has different structures or patterns of four-consonant sequences. Nevertheless, all languages allow a palatal glide as the fourth element (i.e. C_4). If any language allows more than one pattern, then it appears that the fourth member of the consonant sequence must be a liquid or semi-consonant. The preferred first consonant is a stop, nasal or oral (nasal in Telugu, both oral and nasal in Purki) but a trill in Hindi which could also be considered phonetically a kind of stop. However, all languages prefer an obstruent as the second member and this is confined further to dental or alveolar articulation only. Purki has a further constraint on C_2 which must not only be a fricative, but also must agree in voicing, if the preceding consonant is a plosive. The C_3 represents a mixture of consonants. It appears, among the four-consonants, a plosive can occur as C_1, C_2 or C_3 but not as C_4. What is most striking in all these combinations of four consonants is that the same type of consonant does not occur twice in the same sequence in any language.

(c)   Finally: None of the languages, except English for which also a case could be made, appears to have word-final four-consonant clusters. In English, they are said to occur only rarely (see Gimson 1970 : 255) as a result of the suffixation to CCC of a /t/ or /s/ morpheme (e.g. /–mpts/ in prom-

pts).   According   to   O'Connor   (1973 : 230),
"English makes use of consonantal terminations
to express plural, past tense and ordinal numbers
as in texts (which gives /–ksts/). Without these
inflectional endings there would be no more than
three consonants in final as in initial sequences
but since texts, etc. are monosyllabic, the gram-
matical complexity of the words does not relieve
us of the necessity of explaning the structure of
this and other final clusters".   There are only
about 9 four-consonant clusters in English and
they pattern generally as :

(oral, nasal or lateral) stop   + obstruent   + obstruent   + obstruent
C_1 C_2 C_3 C_4

One of the structural restrictions of the four-consonant clus-
ters is that, if C_1 is a nasal the C_2 has to be a plosive, if C_1 is an
oral plosive then the C_2 must be a fricative, if the same C_1 is a
lateral, the C_2 can either be a plosive or a fricative. C_3 does not
appear to depend on the nature of the preceding consonant
whether that is a plosive or a fricative.   The C_2 and C_3 in CCCC
structure are a fricative or a plosive and can be combined in all
possible four different ways (as plosive + fricative; fricative +
plosive; plosive +plosive; fricative +fricative).   The structural res-
triction is that, when C_4 is a plosive it must be preceded by a frica-
tive as C_3.

Hjlemslev states (1936 : 53) that "as a general phonematic
law, that if a language admits more complicated consonant clus-
ters, consisting of more than two consonants, these complicated
consonant clusters never admit combinations which are not
admitted in simple clusters of the same language".   While this is
true of Telugu and Hindi where four-consonant sequences
include permitted two-consonant sequences/clusters, Purki seems
to contain a sequence /gzby/ in which neither the /gz/ nor /gzb/ is
permitted as a two or three-consonant cluster and sequence.
However, the last three consonants /zby/ are of a permitted cluster

in the language. In this regard, Greenberg (1978 : 250) is right in
allowing for this kind of possibility. Combinations thus, in
general support further his statement that "the number of com-
pletely resolvable suquences is greater than the number of those
which are not completely resolvable". Telugu examples are com-
pletely resolvable whether one takes the first and second, the
second and third, or the third and fourth consonant, every two
successive consonants are two-consonant combinations permitted
elsewhere in the structure, and the first two represent the word-
medials and the last two (in the sequence) represent the word-
initials (see Nagamma Reddy 1979 : 98).

4. SUMMARY. Not all languages possess consonant clusters/
sequences in all positions of a word. For instance, there are no
word-final clusters in Telugu, and no word-initial clusters in
Kharia, whereas Hindi and Purki, like English, have consonant
clusters in all the three positions of a word. Furthermore, all the
available combinations and their comparisons in each language
and across langauges show that the two-consonant sequences/
clusters, in general, are preferred over the three or four, and three
over four agreeing with Greenberg (1978 : 269) that "shorter
clusters are preferred over longer ones". A large number of
combinations is possible in each Indian language in word-medial
than in word-initial or word-final position. Among the languages
studied, only Purki has three-consonant clusters (word-initially) of
its own, while Hindi and Telugu have them only in loan words.
The maximum number of consonants allowed to form a sequence
in any language is only four and these are generally confined to
word-medial position. Geminates (identical consonants) are com-
mon and frequent in Telugu, less common in Hindi, but very rare
in Kharia. Not all consonants can occur as geminates in Purki.
The initial and final consonant places are very differently filled in
each language. Longer sequences generally are resolvable, at least
partially, in all languages agreeing with Greenberg's (1978) univer-
sals on consonant clusters across world's languages.

Greenberg's generalizations, however, are made on the basis
of only the word-initial and final clusters across languages

As mentioned earlier, there are no initial or final clusters in Kharia and no word-final clusters in Telugu. While initial clusters with bilabial semi-consonant as a first element are peculiar to Telugu and Hindi, the liquid as the first element in the same position is unique to Purki. None of the languages, except Purki, has initial or final clusters such as fricative + fricative, stop + stop, obstruent + nasal or nasal + obstruent. Purki has final cluster /-hs/. If this combination is treated as fricative + fricative, then this would contradict the Greenberg's (1978) generalization. Moreover, the definition of /h/ itself is controversial. Only Purki and Hindi, similar to English, have final system of consonant cluster, but the patterns are different in each language. When compared to Hindi, Purki has somewhat simple system of final consonant clusters.

Since the languages that are selected for the present analysis belong to different families, naturally, there are obvious differences but very few in the system of consonant combinations in each language. Although the restrictions vary between languages, Purki shows certain resemblances with English and certain other resemblances with other Indian languages, and at the same time maintains its own unique combinatorial patterns. In some respects it is more like the other Indian languages and in some other respects more like English (see for example the comparison of the patterns of three-consonant combinations, or the sound systems across languages). While Telugu and Hindi are much similar in the structure of consonant patterns, the other three languages English, Kharia and Purki are quite different from one another in their selection of consonants to combine each other.

Most strikingly many of the examples from all these languages support Greenberg's phonological universals. It will involve a lot of discussion to consider each universal suggested by Greenberg. Observations on the combinatorial patterms suggest that it is very rare to come across a contrary situation to the universals proposed by Greenberg as most of his universals are very broad in scope and can accommodate almost all possibilities with only a very few exceptions.

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STRATEGIES OF POLITENESS HIERARCHY IN INTER–CASTE COMMUNICATION: THE CASE OF TELUGU.*

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In addressing or referring, the speakers of natural languages, use certain linguistic formulas denoting their attitude towards the addressee or referent These formulas, used by the speaker to show the degree of politeness towards the hearer or referent, are to be chosen in relation to a particular social structure. The social status of the speaker and hearer mainly determines the ways and means of showing politeness to each other.

In an urban society where the process of democratization is taking place with considerable speed, the ways of politeness formulas are more conventionalized and easily predictable. But when we look at rural situation where the social advancement is very backward, and where the old social relations still exist, the strategies of politeness also reflect the social complexities and hierarchies. The rural picture of the society is mostly dominated by the caste hierarchy.

The Strategies of Politeness hierarchy in rural area can be correlated with caste, literacy, property, and education. Among all these factors the role played by the caste in the politeness hierarchy is immense and has to be described. This is an attempt to study the ways of politeness hierarchy among the castes involved in the agriculture, i.e., land-owners, servants,

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shepherds and farm labourers.   The area where this study is
based, the caste hierarchy still prevails and can be correlated with
the occupation.   Kammas constitute the section of land-owners,
Yadavas are the main bulk of shepherds.   The Harijans mostly
work as the farm labourers.   The other castes generally live as ser-
vants, service sections and artisans.

As it is well known, the Harijans are socially and culturally
the most oppressed section of a village.   This situation has also its
reflections in language.   A Harijan speaker when he addresses a
person from a land-owning section, he has to adopt a number of
politeness formulas which have the following manifestations:
requesting for consideration, avoiding direct questions and
imperatives, and use of respect markers, etc.   The respective
markers are *-unDi* and *-ga:ru* and the notable feature is they are
not reciprocal.

e.g.   1.   *Ka:pu   ga : ru   le:ra:nunDi ?*
                boss Res. Marker   is not there Res. Marker (R.M.)
              'Isn't the boss there?'

        2.   *ayya :   ku:litta:ru*
                Res. Vocative   wage would you give
              'Would you please give the wage?'

        3.   *mi:radaga*   *ra:ra:dunDi*
                you (pl.) also   come Res. marker
              'Why don't you consider to come?'

The first sentence is an example for the use of respect markers.
The second and third sentences avoid direct imperative forms and
take the form of requests for consideration.   A suggestive request
is politely expressed in these two sentences to avoid any negative
reaction or outburst from the addressee.   Otherwise these senten-
ces would be

        2'.   *ayya:*   *ku:liyyunDi*
                Sir.   give the wage + Respect marker (RM)

        3'   *mi:radaga   ra:nDi*
                you also   come + RM

To be polite towards the land-owning community, the Harijan speakers do not use certain vocabulary items which are supposed to be used by the upper castes of the society. Instead of these items they select derogatory counterparts. By referring themselves with those derogatory forms, they intend to reduce their image before the upper caste hearers, either male or female.

e.g.   4.   *ma:pildi   vaccinda:nunDi*
                  our girl   has she some + RM
            'Sir, has our daughter come here?'
            pildi < pilla + adi (neuter pronoun)

The word *pilla* is selected as a derogatory one for *amma:yi* and added the neuter pronoun which further reduces the social status of the girl.

        5.   *ma :*   *po:raDu*   *vaccinDa:nunDi*
                  our   boy   has he come + RM
            'Sir, has our son come here?'

here *po:raDu* is used instead of *abba:yi*, which is commonly used in the upper castes.

        6.   *buvva*   *ta:gale:dunDi*
                  food   has not drunk + RM
            'Sir, food is not taken'

The use of *buvva* instead of *annam* shows less modernization in the speaker. In this sentence the verb *ta:gu*, 'to drink' is selected by the harijan speaker instead of *tinu*, 'to eat' This also reflects their food habits as generally they are habituated to take gruel like food items in liquid form. The same thing is also observed in the following sentence.

        7.   *amma:yi*   *ga:ru*   *ka:tte*   *ku:ra*   *poyyunDi*
                  girl   madam   some   curry   pour
            'Madam, please give me some curry.'

ku:ra peTTanDi is the form used by the upper strata. Instead of that *ku:ra poyyunDi* is the form selected by the Harijan speaker.

The sentences (6) and (7) will become impolite if they are used as follows by the same speaker in the same situation.

   6'. *annam*   *tina*   *lə : danDi*
      'Meals is not taken.'

   7' *amma:yiga:ru*   *ka:tte   ku:ra   peTTanDi*
      'Madam, Please give me some curry.'

Observe another example of lexical choice in (8).

   8. *guDDalu*   *misini*   *mi:da*   *e:sinnunDi*
      clothes   machine on   thrown + RM
     'I have given the clothes to the tailor.'

The finite form *e:sina* is preferred in the place of *iccina* 'I have given' (to the tailor). The literal paraphrase of (8) is, 'I have thrown (put) the clothes on the tailoring machine.' The transaction of giving the clothes to the tailor for stitching is not directly expressed. Probably that sort of direct expression may not help the reduction of the image of the speaker.

    While speaking to the farming caste people, the Harijan woman refers to her husband by the caste name, as an occupational designation.

   9. *ma: ma:diga*   *vaccinDa:nunDi*
      our (caste)   has he come + RM
     'Has my husband come here, sir?'

    But when the husband refers to his wife, he uses *ma : di* < *ma: + adi*, which does not carry any caste name.

   10. *ma:di*   *vaccinda : nunDi*
      our   that has she come + RM
     'Has my wife come here, Sir?'

Generally a middle class woman refers to her husband with different forms at present: *ma: a :yana, a : yana ga : ru, tanu* or *va : ru.* Any of these forms enhances the image and social status of the speaker. That is why none of these forms is selected by the Harijan woman. The use of the caste name as occupational designation of the husband is observed in some of the service castes also.

11.   *ma :*   *mangali*   *vaccinDa:nDi*
      our   barber   has he come + RM

      'Has my husband come here Sir?'

This is a possible question from a *nayi brahmin* woman,where she refers to her husband by the caste name using it as an occupational disignation.   A similar trait is also elicited in a washer-woman's speech.

12.   *ma :*   *maDe : lu*   *vaccinDa : nDi*
      our   washerman   has he come + RM

      'Has my husband come here Sir?'

The husband and wife among harijans address each other with the vocative $\tilde{e}$: $v\tilde{e}$:.   In other sections of the society this is only used by the husband to address the wife.

To be more polite towards the upper caste people the speaker from harijan community chooses to use the inclusive pronoun of first person plural *mana*, in the place of normal second person *mi :* 'yours'.   This device is also intended to reduce the social distance between the speaker and hearer, and establish certain intimacy between them.

13.   *amma*   *ga:ru*   *mana*   *amma:yi*   *ga:ru vaccina:ra:*
      madam   our   (incl.)   daughter has she come?

      'Madam, has our daughter come?'

14.   *amma ga:ru*   *mana*   *alluDu ga:ru   vaccina : ra*
      madam   our (incl.)   son-in-law   has he come

      'Madam, has our son-in-law come?'

This usage of inclusive pronoun is restricted to the harijans and also to some other service castes.   This is not reciprocal and the people who use this form are not reciprocated by the farming community.

If the above sentences are to be used by the speaker of farming community to a harijan hearer, they will be in the following form.

13'. *ẽ : vẽ:*   *mi·*   *pilla*   *vaccinda :*
    (vocative)   your   daughter   has she come
  'Has your daughter come?'

14'. *ẽ:vẽ:*   *mi :*   *alluDoccinDa : ne*
    (vocative)   your   son-in-law has he come
  'Has your son-in-law come?'

In these sentences (13') and (14') where the speaker is from a dominant caste, it is notable that the use of inclusive pronoun is avoided, which he receives as a hearer. From this observation it is evident that the speaker of the dominant caste wants to maintain the social distance and keep his seperate identity in the social hierarchy.

In obliging the orders and instructions of the landed gentry, the harijan speakers use certain forms like *asidda,* 'all right' *sittam,* 'yes Sir,' etc.

15. *asidda*   *legunDi*   *aTTayite :*
   'That is all right if it is so.'

16. *le:dunDi*   *sittam*   *tappakunDa*   *vatta*
   certainly obliging without fail I will come
   'No Sir, I shall come definitely'

17. *ma:ra:jula* *ma:Ta*   *da:Tata:vunDi*
   lords'   order   how could we ignore
   'Can we ignore lords' words?'

18. *maTTi*   *sa:To:lla*   *vunDayya*
   soil   back people we are
   'We are after your soil.'

In sentence (18) there is an expression *maTTi saTollamu.* What does it mean? After the farmers harvest their crops the harijan farm labourers winnow the husk and mud and collect some grain every year in the *kallam* 'threshing floor' of the farmer. This habit of collecting the grain in the husk is reflected in their obliging and politeness to the land-owner.

The respect markers are used more than once if the hearer is an educated man of an upper caste.

19. *abba·yi ga·ru eppuDoccina·runDi*   *abba·yi   ga·ru*
    boy   RM   when have you come +RM   Boy +RM

The address form *tavaru* 'you (honourd)' which is more respectful than *mi·ru,* 'you (pL)' is frequently used.

20 *tavaru*   *eppuDoccina·runDi*
    'You (hon.)   when have you come (RM) ?'

In using the kinship terms for addressing or referring among themselves the harijan speakers use only derogatory forms though they are familiar with the forms used by the upper castes.

e.g.   o: ayya: 'Father'   o:na:na
        o: avva   'mother'   o:amma
        o: akka: 'sister'   o:akkayya

When the farming caste people refer to the names of the lower castes, they adopt different changes for different castes in relation to their social status and hierarchical system.

The proper names of the harijan referents loose the final-*ayya* and -*amma,* which frequently occur with most of the Telugu names. functioning as respective suffixes.   The suffix -*ga·Du* is added to the names by the upper strata people showing their disrespect.

	ORIGINAL NAMES	REFERRED NAMES
e.g. A.	muttayya	muttiga:Du
B.	laccamma	lacci

The addressing form corresponding by will become *muttiga·* and *lacci·.*

In the names of some service castes (like *rajaka, na·yika, o:Da* etc.), the final forms -*ayya* and -*amma* are changed to -*a·ya* and *a·va,* by the upper caste people to show their impoliteness and to express the social distance.

	ORIGINAL NAMES	REFERRED NAMES
e.g. A.	muttayya	mutta:ya
B.	appamma	appa:va

These referred names are also used for addressing purposes with pro-vocatives *arey* and *orey* for males, and *ẽ:vẽ:* for females generally.

The farming caste people while addressing the adjacent castes in the hierarchy use either the personal names as they are, (e.g. Na:ra:yaNa:, Ra:mayya:) or extend the kinship terms with some modifications. Also the kinship terms are reciprocal of course within the orbits of adjacent castes. For instance let us consider how the kinship terminology is reciprocally extended between a farming caste (e.g. Kammas) and a shepherd caste (e.g. Yadavas).

The farming community speaker when addressing a shepherd community hearer, adopts certain resstrictions to register their social status.

A.	*ayya*	→	φ
B.	*na:na*	→	*ayya*
C.	*amma*	→	*avva*

ADDRESS TERMS FOR YA:dAVA:S   **USED INSIDE THE SPEAKER'S COMMUNITY**

ta:ta	'grand-father'	*ta:tayya*
ma:va	'uncle'	*ma:vayya*
atta	'aunty'	*attayya*
akka	'elder sister'	*akkayya*
ba:va	'brother-in-law'	*ba:va*
cinnayya	'uncle'	*cinna:na*
peddayya	'uncle'	*pedana:na*
peddavva	'aunty'	*peddamma*
cinnavva	'aunty'	*cinnamma (pinni)*

The address terms here which a shepherd hearer receives are also the same kinship terms used inside the hearer's community.

The shepherd community speakers do not use *-ayya* and *amma* with kinship terms inside their own caste (except in *peddayya* and *cinnayya*). But when they address the farming community hearers, they add this *-ayya* and *-amma* forms which they do not receive as respect markers. Though in a couple of kinship terms

-*ayya* is received by them, it is not as a respect marker but as a derogatory counterpart of -*na:na:* as in :

peddayya	*pedana:nna*
cinnayya	*cinna:na*

The shepherd speakers while addressing the farming community hearers try to use the kinship terminology which is used inside the hearer's community,.   This intention triggers the shepherd speakers to use -*ayya* and -*amma*, with the kinship terms.

ADDRESSED TO THE SPEAKER OF FARMING COMMUNITY.	ADDRESSED INSIDE THE SPEAKER'S SHEPHERD COMMUNITY.
ta:tayya	*ta:ta*
ma:vayya	*ma:va*
attayya	*atta*
akkayya	*akka*
ba:vayya	*ba:va*
cinna:yana	*chinnayya*
peda na:yana	*peddayya*
peddamma	*peddavva*

The rule of adding -*ayya* to the address terms by the shepherd speakers creates a sort of hyper-corrected kinship form *ba:vayya* 'brother-in-law' and *vadinayya*, 'brother's wife.' These forms are not present in both the kinship terminologies used inside the communities.

In the rural context the use of the pronoun *tavaru* has more currency of usage when compared with *mi:ru*, 'you (pl.).' The use of *nuvvu*, 'you' is prevalent in the orbits of adjacent castes. As the social distance is far-stretched the use of *tavaru* is preferred.

These are some observations on how the strategies of politeness hierarchy work in the rural context where feudal relations and hierarchies still exist. Also it is noticeable that old relations are slowly fading away and declining with the process of social advancement and democratic values. This decline of the outmoded relations may minimize the ways of politeness patterns

creating new ways of politeness formulas suitable for the emerg-
ing democratic modern social set up.

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THE VERB *uṇḍu* 'TO BE' IN DISPLACED TELUGU DIALECTS: A CASE FOR LANGUAGE CONTACT AND MORPHOLIGICAL DEVELOPMENT

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1. INTRODUCTION. In their finite forms the verbs of modern standard Telugu show a two way distinction of past and non-past. The verb *uṇḍu* 'to be' deviates from this pattern in that it can be classified as non-future and future. In addition to its role as a main verb, it acts as an auxiliary verb denoting the progressive or the durative aspect. The morphological structure of a fully formed Telugu verb (cf. Krishnamurti 1961 : 213) is:

verb stem + tense-mode suffix + personal suffix.

The paradigm of the verb *uṇḍu* 'to be' as main and auxiliary verb in modern standard Telugu (cf. Subrahmanyam 1974 : 34 & 39, Sastry, et al. 1975 : 69-97) is as follows:

Main verb *uṇḍu* 'to be':

			NON-FUTURE	FUTURE
I	Sg.		unn-aa-nu	uṇ-ṭaa-nu
	Pl.		-aa-mu	-ṭaa-mu
II	Sg.		-aa-wu	-ṭaa-wu
	Pl.		-aa-ru	-ṭaa-ru
III	Sg.	M.	-aa-ḍu	-ṭaa-Du
		F/N.	un-di	-ṭun-di
	Pl.	H.	-aa-ru	-ṭaa-ru
		N.H.	-aa-yi	-ṭaa-yi

(where the abbreviations I, II, and III denote first, second, and third persons respectively, and Sg.=singular, Pl. = plural, M. = masculine, F.= feminine, N. = neuter, H. =human, N. H. = non-human).

Auxiliary (durative) verb unḍu 'to be' in combination with the main verb cuuḍu 'to see' :

			NON – FUTURE	FUTURE
I	Sg.		cuust-unn-aa-nu	cuust-un-ṭaa-nu
	Pl.		-unn-aa-mu	-un-ṭaa-mu
II	Sg.		-unn-aa-wu	-un-ṭaa-wu
	Pl.		-unn-aa-ru	-un-ṭaa-ru
III	Sg.	M.	-unn-aa-du	-un-ṭaa-Du
		F/N.	-un -ϕ -di	-un-ṭun-di
	Pl.	H.	-unn-aa-ru	-un-ṭaa-ru
		N.H.	-unn-aa-yi	-un-ṭaa-yi

Ramakrishana Reddy (1986) points out that Rayalaseema Telugu (a regional variety) shows a three-way tense distinction for the verb unḍu 'to be' as past, present, and future as against the general two-way tense distinction of past and non-past in other verbs. Ramesh Kumar (1986 : 93) states that ". . . tense distinction in positive form of unḍu is three way, namely past, present and future in Telengana Dialect and Rayalseema Dialect, whereas in Standard Dialect the distinction is future versus non-future".

2. ANALYSIS OF DISPLACED TELUGU unḍu. In contrast to standard Telugu forms, displaced Telugu dialects show interesting variations. Kumaraswami Raja (1970 : 83-84) shows a three fold tense classification of the verbs in Rajapalayam Telugu (a displaced dialect spoken in Rajapalayam of south Tamilnadu) as past, present, and future in line with the local dominant language, Tamil. The verb unḍu 'to be' alone shows a four fold distinction, viz. past, present I, present II, and future as in the following paradigm.

			PAST	PRESENT I	PRESENT II	FUTURE
I	Sg.		unn-ee-nu	und-aa-nu	und-ee-nu	un-tu-nu
	Pl		-ee-mu	-aa-mu	-ee-mu	-tu-mu
II	Sg.		-ee-wu	-aa-wu	-ee-wu	-tu-wu
	Pl		-ee-ru	-aa-ru	-ee-ru	-tu-ru
III	Sg.	M.	-ee-ndu	-aa-ndu	unn-aa-ndu	‚φ-nu
		F/N.	-an-di	un-φ-di	un-tun-di	-φ-nu
	Pl	H.	-ee-ru	und-aa-ru	und-aa-ru	-tu-ru

Kumaraswami Raja (1970 : 84) states that present I of *undu*
'to be' signals the present time, present II stands for the future,
while the future form denotes the indefinite future. He also
makes an interesting observation that past and present II are
almost similar to each other. It should be noted here that the
past, present, and future markers of all other verbs in
Rajapalayam Telugu are *-in-*, *-ee-*, and *-tu-* respectively. The
paradigm shown by Kumaraswami Raja for the main verb *sepu* 'to
say' is as follows :

			PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
I	Sg.		sep-in-aanu	sep-ee-nu	sepu-tu-nu
	Pl		-aamu	-mu	-mu
II	Sg.		-aawu	-wu	-wu
	Pl		-aaru	-ru	-ru
III	Sg.	M.	-aandu	-ndu	sepu-nu
		F/N.	-di	-tun-di	sepu-nu
	Pl	H.	-aaru	-ee -ru	sepu-tu-nu

Interestingly enough, Salem Telugu (a displaced variety
spoken in a Tamil dominant linguistic belt of Salem) also shows a
three-way classification of its verbs in their finite forms, viz. past,
definite habitual, and future (cf. Udaya Shankar 1983), a structural
development in line with the Tamil tense system of past, present,
and future. In this dialect, the verb *undu* 'to be' shows a four fold
tense distinction similar to that of Rajapalayam Telugu.

The paradigm of Salam Telugu *undu* 'to be' is as
follows :

			PAST	PRESENT	DEFINITE HABITUAL	FUTURE
I	Sg.		un-ti-(ni)	und-aa-nu	und-ee-nu	un-tu-nu
	Pl.		-ti-mi	-aa-mu	-ee-mu	-tu-mu
II	Sg.		-ti-wi	-aa-wu	-ee-wu	-tu-wu
	Pl.		-ti-ri	-aa-ru	-ee-ru	-tu-ru
III	Sg.	M.	unn-aa-du	-aa-du	un-taa-du	-tu-du
		F/N.	und-ee	un-di	-taa-di	-nu
	Pl.	H.	-ri	und-aa-ru	und-ee-ru	-tu-ru
		N.H.	-ee	un-di	un-taa-di	-nu

Incidentally, the past tense pattern (except in III Sg. M.) is analogical to that of the Telengana Dialect (a variety of mainland Telugu). Tense marking in the III Sg. M. is similar to that of F/N in this dialect (cf. Pray 1979 : 24 & Ramesh Kumar 1986 : 89). The present tense forms are similar to those of the Rayalaseema Dialect (a variety of mainland Telugu) except in III Sg. F/N. and III Pl. N.H. which are *undaadi* and *undaayi* respectively (cf. Ramesh Kumar 1986 : 91).

Of the above four variants, the past, present, and future forms occur with other main verbs in auxiliary constructions to form the respective past, present, and future duratives. On the other hand, the definite habitual form of *undu* in auxiliary construction produces the immediate future durative.

1. ammutaauntini   'I was selling'
2. ammutaaundaanu   'I am selling'
3. ammutaaundeenu   'I will be selling presently'
4. ammutaauntunu   'I will be selling'
5. untini   'I was present'
6. undaanu   'I am present'
7. undeenu   'I am present (habitual)'
8. untunu   'I will be present'

The auxiliary constructions in examples (2) and (3) have a semantic range as follows :

9.   neenu ammutaaundaanu,   'I am selling, you come'
     nuwwu raa

10. neenu ammutaaundeenu,   'I will be selling (when you
     nuwwu raa   come), you come'

11. neenu ammutaauntunu,   'I will be selling, you
     nuwwu raa   come'

Here in example (9) the action of selling is presently being carried out and may or may not be continued at the time of the second person's arrival. Whereas in example (10) the action might or might not have started at the time of the utterance, but will start immediately after the utterance and will be in progress at the time of the arrival of the second person. As this distinction is subtle, there are often ovrelaps between these two sets of usages.

Example (11) indicates the progress of the action of selling at the time of the arrival of the second person and is not specific whether the action preceded the second person's arrival. The paradigm with the verb *cuudu* 'to see' in Salem Telugu is as follows :

			PAST – DURATIVE	PRESENT DURATIVE
I	Sg.		cuustaa-un-ti-(ni)	cuustaa-und-aa-nu
	Pl.		-ti-mi	-aa-mu
II.	Sg.		-ti-wi	-aa-wu
	Pl.		-ti-ri	-aa-ru
III	Sg.	M.	unn-aa-du	-aa-du
		F/N.	und-ee	un-di
	Pl.	H.	-ri	und-aa-ru
		N.H.	-ee	un-di

		IMMEDIATE FUTURE DURATIVE	FUTURE DURATIVE
I	Sg.	cuustaa-und-ee-nu	cuustaa-un-tu-nu
	Pl.	-ee-mu	-tu-mu
II	Sg.	-ee-wu	-tu-wu
	Pl.	-ee-ru	-tu-ru

			IMMEDIATE FUTURE DURATIVE	FUTURE DURATIVE
III	Sg.	M.	un-taa-du	-tu-du
		F/N.	-ta-di	-nu
	Pl.	H.	und-ee -ru	-tu-ru
		N.H.	untaa-di	-nu

Salem Telugu, thus shows a regular development in its tense system where past, definite habitual, and future distinctions are maintained alike in all the verbs while the verb *undu* alone has developed an additional present tense form. In contrast to this Rajapalayam Telugu has developed two different tense systems for its verbs. While all the verbs follow a regular past, present, and future distinction respectively with *-in-, -ee-,* and *-tu-* tense markers, the verb *undu* alone has a different system of past, present I, present II, and future respectively denoted by *-ee-, -aa-, -ee-,* and *-tu-*. Also the range of the present tense in other verbs is shared by present I and II of *undu;* i.e. the *-aa* forms stand for present time and the *-ee-* forms denote immediate future, while *-tu-* indicates distant/ indefinite future. Thus the present tense forms of other verbs take two tense distinctions with *undu*. The examples shown by Kumaraswami Raja (1970 : 84) are as follows:

    a.   upudu ikada undaanu   'I am here now'

    b.   reefu akada undeenu   'I'll be there tomorrow'

    c.   reefu akada untunu   'I'll be there tomorrow (indefinite)'

The three-way tense classification of *undu* in Telengana Telugu dialect is as follows (Pary 1979 : 24) :

		DEFINITE PAST	NON – FUTURE	NON-PAST
I	Sg.	unti	unna	unta
	Pl.	untimi	unnam	untam
II	Sg.	untivi	unnav	untav
	Pl.	untiri	unnadu/unru	untaru

		DEFINITE PAST	NON – FUTURE	NON-PAST
III Sg. M.		unde	unnadu/undu	untadu
	F/N.	unde	unnadi/undi	untadi
Pl. H.		undri	unnaru/unru	untaru
	N.H.	unde	unnay	untay

This clasification is supported by Ramesh Kumar
(1986 : 88 – 93) though he labels these distinctions as past, present, and future. The distinction shown as non-future and non-past by Pray clearly eludes the native speaker's intuition as there is no question of such a distinction existing in Telugu when Pray himself accepts the existence of a definite past. He does not explain what he means by defifnite past. Thus the classification adopted by Ramesh Kumar helps overcome this confusion.

Pray continues to show (1979 : 26) that these forms could be used in auxiliary constructions in derving the durative forms like :

e.g. 12. ceestunnam   'We are doing/we were doing'

      13. ceestuntimi   'We were doing/we used to do'

Here, an overlap could be observed in Telengana Telugu, where the non-future form of undu in auxiliary construction produces both present and past duratives, and the definite past produces a past durative and a past habitual form. In contrast, Salem Telugu maintains a definite distinction between past, present, immediate future, and future duratives (see forms 1 to 8).

The classification of the verb 'to be' in other literary Dravidian languages is also a pointer to its present state of classification in Salem Telugu (for Salem is geographically in a Tamil belt adjacent to a Kannada belt). Arden (1891 : 261) points out that the present, past, and future tenses of the verb iru 'to be' of Tamil can be prefixed by verbal pariticiple of any verb in achieving a perfect tense, a pluperfect/imperfect past tense, and a future perfect

e.g.	i.	paḍittirukkireen	'I have learned'
	ii. a.	paḍittirundeen	'I had learned'
	b.	seydirundeen	'I had made/I was making'
	iii.	paḍittiruppeen	'I will have learned'

Gnanam (1980) also draws a strong case for the perfective nature of the verb *iru* 'to be' as an auxiliary following Arden'a classification. Kumaraswami Raja (1970 : 85) shows a two fold classification of the main verbs of Kannada as past and non-past, whereas a three fold distinction is adopted for the verb *iru* 'to be' as past, present, and future. The verb *iru* 'to be' in Kannada occurs both as a main and an auxiliary verb. In light of such classifications, the three fold classification of *uṇḍu* 'to be' as an auxiliary (durative) verb in Salem Telugu is not surprising. This is a clear case of structural readjustment between languages in contact (i.e. Salem Telugu on the one hand and Tamil and Kannada on the other).

3. OBSERVATIONS. To sum up, it could be stated that tense distinctions in the verb 'to be', in literary Dravidian languages, has developed independently from those of their main verbs. This can be shown as follows. The main verb of Standard Telugu has a two fold distinction (past and non-past); Standard Tamil has a three fold distinction (past, present, and future); and Standard Kannada has a two fold distinction (past and non-past). Certain regional varieties of mainland Telugu (Rayalaseema and Telengana) show a three way classification of its main verb *uṇḍu* 'to be' as past, present, and future (cf. Ramesh Kumar 1986 : 88-93). In contrast to this, the auxiliary verb 'to be' has a two fold distinction in Standard Telugu as future and non-future; and it has a three fold distinction of past, present, and future in Kannada.

The development of the auxiliary verb 'to be' in certain native and displaced dialects of Telugu is interesting. Though the main verb 'to be' of Telengana Telugu (a native dialect) shows a three-way distinction as definite past, non-future, and non-past

only the first two (definite past and non-future) pariticipate in auxiliary constructions (duratives) resulting in present/past durative and past durative/habitual. Here an overlap of past durative constructions can be observed, but the pattern of verbal formation (i.e., two fold) conforms to that of Standard Telugu. Contrary to this, displaced dialects of Telugu have developed in a systematic way. Instead of the same classification behaving in two different ways for main and auxiliary constructions, these dialects have developed seperate sets of forms to act as main and auxiliary verbs. To conform with the main verb classification of Tamil, Salem Telugu (displaced dialect) also has developed a three fold distinction for its verbs. Though structurally the classification is similar to that of Tamil (three fold), the semantic range of the verbs is different. While Tamil verbs are classified as past, present, and future, the Salem Telugu main verbs are classified as past, definite habitual, and future. All the three tense forms of 'to be' in Tamil participate in the formaiton of the respective durative forms with its main verbs. Similarly, the four fold tense classification of Salem Telugu verb *undu* 'to be', viz. past, present, definite habitual, and future duratives. Such a regular development for the Salem Telugu auxiliary construction of *unu* 'to be' is a clear case of deviation from the mainland Telugu. According to Pray (1979 : 26) Telengana Telugu shows a three way classification for its main verb *undu* 'to be' (viz. definite past, nonfuture, and nonpast) in auxiliary construction only two of these, viz. definite past and non-future forms pariticipate.   But Ramesh Kumar (1986 : 104-11) shows the paricipation of past, present and future forms of *undu* in durative constructions for both Telengana (T. D.) and Rayalaseema (R. D.) Telugu. The I person durative forms for the main verb *kadugu* 'to clean' in these dialects are as follows :

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
T.D.	kaduguṭunṭi	kaḍugutunna	kaḍugutunṭaanu
R.D.	kaḍugutaannae	kaḍugutaandaanu	kaḍugutunṭaa
Salem	kaḍugutaaunṭi	kaḍugutaaundaanu	kaḍugutaauntunu

Ramesh Kumar (1986 : 90-92) shows the following three-fold

calsification for *undu* in Rayalaseema Dialect:

			PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
I	Sg.		unn-ae : nu	undaa-nu	untaa-nu
	Pl.		-mu	-mu	-mu
II	Sg.		-wu	-wu	-wu
	Pl.		-ru	-ru	-ru
III	Sg.	M.	-du	-du	-du
		F/N.	-in -di	-di	-di
	Pl.	H.	-ae :-ru	-ru	-ru
		N.H.	-yi	-yi	-yi

The present tense forms of Rayalaseema Telugu are close to those of Salem Telugu except in the III Sg. F/N. and III Pl. N.H. forms. The past and future tense forms differ vastly from the above forms. Only the present durative of Salem Telugu seems to be closer to that of Rayalaseema Telugu, while the other forms seem to have developed independantly.

It could thus be concluded that the displaced Telugu forms of *undu* 'to be' contrast greatly from those of its modern Telugu equivalents. Though Telengana and Rayalaseema Telugu dialects show a classification much similar to that of displaced Telugu *undu* 'to be' of Salem, the latter dialect maintains a systematic distinction in relation to the former. The variations in verbal classification between the mainland and displaced dialects can be attributed to factors such as language contact and structural readjustment with other local (dominant) languages (in this case, Tamil). The tense system in these languages is an excellent example for the development of common morphological features among languages in contact.

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EVOLUTION OF INDIANISMS IN ENGLISH
SOME SOCIO-CULTURAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS*

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In what sense can a language be said to 'evolve' ? First of all, we must recognise that there is no inevitable one — to - one correspondence between a language and the culture it serves, and the language need not be a precise mirror of the culture it is supposed to represent. At the same time language must keep pace with the change in the culture in the society it serves. Evolution of a language suggests that a clearer or more effective means of communication has been achieved. But, then, evolution of a language in a foreign country is quite a different thing, especially if it is standardised and internationally used. The evolution of English in India represents such a case.

In the present article I have attempted to throw light on some of the socio-cultural and psychological aspects that have led to the evolution of Indianisms in English. I have given due importance to the fact that English was taught at schools, and in colleges and other educational institutions as the most important subject especially in the early days of its inception. It had its impact on the spread of English in India. English was introduced into our country in 1835 when on Lord Macaulay's recommendation it was made the main language of study and the medium of instruction, after primary education. The main motive of introducing English into India was to create an English knowing minority which would be cut off from the rest of India and

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remain loyal to the Bristish.

It is well known that when a language takes its roots in a different soil it emerges with a new identity especially if it gets the opportunity to create an impact on a large area such as a country of the dimension of India.

There are so many instances today of varieties of languages which have developed in this fashion and are called by specific names such as Canadian French, British English, Canadian English, Australian English and American English. But the evolution of Indian English is quite different circumstantially from the other varieties of English. As the pioneering colonists penetrated west-ward into the continent, American English evolved out of the heterogenous linguistic, geographical and social conditions existing during that time. It was a pattern of English different from the English of the Southern States and New England settlers. After undergoing a series of rapid developments, the present day American English has come into being. On the other hand, English in India grew mainly in the urban areas and, unlike American English, is the mother-tongue of a very small minority of Anglo Indians. In other words, here it is a language that is learnt in addition to different mother-tongues. But we cannot think of English as merely an additional language. Its usefulness is growing everyday even though many of its functions have been taken up by regional languages. The point is even before we felt the growing need for the learning of English and realised that we need it to survive in a highly competitive world, English was taught in schools and colleges all over the country. Most of these institutions were run by missionaries. The fact that English spread in India from the classroom has, oddly enough, been responsible for promoting a somewhat exotic brand of English, decisively more literary than the English of the native Englishman or of people who learn the language informally, through normal contact with native speakers.

The English teacher of the early days of British rule in India taught the language more from the point of view of advocating English culture and correct English usage to Indians than to enable them to converse with the British. The assumption was that

exposure to many literary masterpieces would help students master the langauge. In Calcutta we have a living example of an old gentleman who loves to recite English verse and quotes from English prose with a marked fluency which his otherwise verbal communication does not convey. For him and many others who underwent formal education in English in the past, proficiency in English was judged by their memory of English prose and poetry rather than by their effective and functional use of the langauge.

If we look at the situation from the point of view of both the native British teacher and his Indian counterpart, we find that the former was indifferent to the problems of his students and the latter, due to the constraints on his own training, was unable to eliminate them. The demands of the examination paper was another impediment in his way. The student trained in this environment cannot exercise his knowledge of English in social interaction. According to Sapir (1929) "Language is a a guide to social reality. It powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression of their society". When an Indian student emerges from his academic environment confident of his theoretical knowledge of English, he is suddenly disillusioned by his lack of verbal competence or even his ability to write letters or draft applications. He tries desperately to overcome this drawback an ends up even more confused than before. In trying to combine his academically acquired literary style with his newly acquired colloquial style of which he is still not very confident, he fails miserably. As Dastoor (1968) puts it, ".....he lives in a linguistic climate far from favourable to the acquisition of current English idiom. Even when ʾe does not lapse into the obsolete idiom of Shakespeare and the authorised version, he totters all the time on the verge of the obsolescent; he frequently uses words and constructions no longer in common currency or, at least, no longer current in the sense in which he employes them".

Many English medium schools in the country today lay stress on English literature, and not on the functional use of the English language. Because of the growing importance of English, a great number of English medium schools and coaching institutions have come up. A variety of English grammar books and primers, some of which not even worth a second look, are published every year. Unfortunately our society has become so dependent on them that these institutions and books could well be the nucleus of some of the existing pecularities of Indian English.

Regarding the importance of culture, it must be said here that an average Indian student acquires English without any or little knowledge of English culture. One may argue that it is not really necessary to do so. But suppose he is influenced by the social, political, religious or cultural environment of his language in such a way that he coins new words, phrases and idioms in English that are literal translation; could not he have avoided the ridiculous copying had he understood the cultural differences and learnt what to say in what manner?

For example, when a pupil in the early twenties went up to his native English headmaster and said, "Holiday want Sir!", the headmaster disgustedly asked, "why do you want it?", to which the pupil nervously replied, For Torpon Sir", and hesitatingly added, "to put water in my dead father's mouth—", much to the bewildered shock of the headmaster. Had he been a native speaker of English he would have said that he wanted the day off since it was "All Souls Day" or something similar. In this connection there is a letter which was published in the late seventies. As a sequel to the letter we have a legend which says, "The present generation should owe Mr. Okhil Ch. Sen grateful thanks for writing an angry letter to the Sahibjung Divisional Office, West Bengal, out of which train compartments came to have attached toilets". The letter written in English in 1909 had the following complaint to make:

Dear Sir,

I am arrive by passenger train at Ahmedpore station and my

belly is too much swelling with jackfruit, I am therefore went to privy. Just doing the nuisance, that guard making whistle blow for train to go off and I am running with lotah in one had and dhoti in the next when I am fall over and expose all my shookings to man female woman on platform. I am got leaved at Ahmed-pore station.

This too much bad if passenger go to make dung, that damn guard no wait train five minutes for him. I am therefore pray your honour to make big fine on that guard for public sake, otherwise I am making big report to papers.

<div align="right">Yours faithful servant,
Sd/-
Okhil Ch. Sen</div>

This letter is still preserved in the Sahibjung Railway Divisional Office.

The letter may appear to be vulgar, funny and too raw to an Englishman but the truth is that it is an innocent expression of natural and naked truth from the begining to the end. We would definately presume that Shri Okhil Ch. Sen was not insane. Unfortunately he would be misunderstood elsewhere for his lack of finesse, subtlety and supple idiomatic expression.   His emotional outburst need not have been so vividly represented but for his failure to acquire the cultural background so necessary for a real understanding of the spirit of the language.   We may assume that it is the English of the semi-literate that most often reveals such plain Indianisms. The manner in which he acquires the langauge, his total isolation from the English way of life, the close links he had with his mother-tongue, and the socio-cultural environment mark quite clearly the difference between his English and the English of a native speaker.

English in India is written and spoken today in an atmosphere totally different from that of the pre-independence era.   Not only that, there are fewer native speakers of British English around but also that the enthusiasm for speaking 'Queen's' English is lacking.   Some have even developed an antagonistic attitude towards English.   This attitude has gone a

long way towards lowering the standard of English in our country.

Besides, English is no more a compulsory medium of instruction at all stages of education. In many states as in West Bengal for instance, English is introduced in schools at the begining of the secondary level i.e., at a stage when the crucial or primary stage of language acquisition is over. During this period a student has much difficulty in acquiring English as he has to struggle against the growing pressures of his regional language and other optional subjects. So he does not really learn the language. His knowledge of English becomes syllabus-oriented. As mentioned earlier he depends heavily on misguiding guide books and is satisfied if he manages to get through the final examination. English is not even given half a chance to create a proper impact during the formative years of the child.

One particular aspect, which may sound trivial but should be given serious thought, is the way in which films, television an radio ridicule Indianisms in English. Though a source of entertainment it is far from constructive and extremely damaging. Looking at it from the personal point of view many television viewers in India may have watched a popular family serial on the National network some time or the other. There is a character in this serial who is supposed to be brilliant in innovating certain Indianisms which is watched by millions of viewers throughout the country. Some people may start imitating him, may consider such Indianisms a fad. In the long run it may become a part of Indian English which will be a triumph for what we want to get rid of in Indian English.

In so far as the question of pronunciation is concerned an average Indian rationalises that he need not concentrate on perfect pronunciation because variation in pronunciation is a universal factor and not an Indian characteristic. Besides, it is difficult for an average Indian to have a standard British pronunciation. Again the absence of the native Englishman is felt in our education system today. It is difficult to follow a norm of pronunciation without any kind of reinforecement. Indian treachers of English come from different language backgrounds and so do

students. In most cases their pronunciation of English is influenced by their mother-tongue. When the student tries to change his pronunciation to sound like the rest of his peer group, the end result is often disastrous. As long as we do not take liberties to spell and pronounce at will, we should strive, as far as possible, to take appropriate measures to adopt acceptable pronounciation. It is just a question of self discipline and mental preparednes to realize our mistakes and follow what is right.

In so far as the role of the Indian teacher of English is concerned, we may refer to what Dastoor (1968) says, "Not withstanding the limitations within which he works-such as his pupil's age his cultural background and his lack of genuine interest in the subject – not withstanding the obligation he may be under to attend to the literary side of his teaching, he can do a great deal to awaken interest in better English speech". An Indian student who is not receptive to change, is more often than not interested in the sense of the word and not at all in its sound. Dastoor (1968) calls it 'a development of phonetic conscience', and that such a conscience is the first thing necessary if teachers and pupils alike are to improve their pronunciation.

In conclusion I would like to say that all along a logical approach to the acquisition of English in this country has been absent. At no point in time have we struck a proper balance. Even now we should attempt to have a uniform system throughout the country – not only in regard to teaching materials but also with reference to teachers and students. According to Sinha (1978) long association brings forth both benevolent and malevolent influences. That is the way of cultural fusion. English is no more a foreign langauge for us. It has given us our national literature right from Derozio's poems to modern Indian poets and novelists of English. The contribution of the English press, edited by a band of English trained Indian Journalists cannot be ignored. Rather a good deal of distinguished writing appears regularly in English, which catches the attention of Indians and foreigners alike. English has carried nutrient contents to many aspects of Indian life – wise men value its historical association in India and they sincerely hope for a re-evaluation of the role of

English in India. Undoubtedly Indianisms in English will continue to live on for the exigencies of our peculiar socio-cultural, intellectual and political life demand so.

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NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT

I.   NATIONAL SEMINAR

A two-day National Seminar on "Tribal languages : Contact and convergence" was hosted by the Department of Linguistics on February 6th and 7th, 1987.   Padmashree Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore inaugurated the Seminar.   Nearly 25 research papers, contributed by scholars from India and abroad, were presented and discussed during the deliberations.   The papers highlight the interinfluences between tribal languages and other Indian languages as reflected in the lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of these languages.   The regions of mutual contact such as the Nilgiris, central India, North-Eastern India, Sub-Himalayan tract, and Chittagong in Bangladesh, and the nature of the local contact languages such as Desia, Halbi, Sadri and Nagamese were explored in some detail.   The Seminar has taken a first step in bringing into national focus the contribution of tribal languages to linguistic convergence in India, which underlines their importance in the emergence of cultural convergence in India.   The Proceedings of the Seminar will be published under the joint editorship of Dr. H. S. Ananthanarayana and Dr. B. Ramakrishna Reddy.

II.   VISITING PROFESSORS / FELLOWS

Dr. D. N. S. Bhat, Professor of Linguistics, Manipur University, Imphal was a visiting Professor at the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, during January, 1987.   He gave a series of lectures on "A contrastive study of Kannada and Manipuri grammars".   The lectures concentrated on the distinctions of subject, object,

case marking, tense, aspect and voice, among other things, between the two languages.

Dr. E. Annamalai, Professor-cum-Deputy Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore was a visiting Professor at the Centre during February and March, 1987. He delivered a series of lectures on "Linguistic convergence and the languages of India". He has also acted as a resource person of the Departmental Seminar on tribal languages. His lectures were followed by workshop sessions in which the teachers and research scholars of the Department presented their fieldwork-based case studies on the linguistic convergence, particulary that of the central Indian tribal languages.

Dr. Pratibha Karanth, Professor of Speech Pathology, All India Institute of Speech and Hearing, Mysore was a Visiting Fellow of the Centre during November and December, 1987. She gave a series of lectures on "Neurolinguistics and aphasia". The topics of her lectures included goals of neurolinguistics, brain and language, phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic investigations in Aphasia.

III.   GUEST LECTURES

January 8 — Dr. Peter Claus, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, U.S.A. : "Folklore and linguistics".

January, 24-27 — Dr. S. N. Narahari Pandit, Professor of Statistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad : Three lectures on "Quantitative method".

January, 27 — Dr. J. V. Neustupny, Professor of Linguistics, Monash University, Clayton, Australia and Dr. Bjorn Jernudd, Professor of Linguistics, East-West Centre, University of Hawaii, U.S.A. : "Certain aspects of language planning".

February, 16 — Dr. Mark Aronoff, Professor of Linguistics, State University of New York, Stony Brook, U.S.A. : "Word formation in Kannada".

July, 15 & 16 — Dr. Rinehard Sternemann, Professor of Linguistics, Humboldt University, Berlin, G.D.R. : "Contrastive linguistics and its application in translation and foreign language teaching".

September, 29 — Dr. R. K. Sprigg, Professor of Phonetics, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, U.K. : "Once a morpheme, always a morpheme : A non-phonemic phonological analysis illustrated from the Bantawa language of Nepal".

October, 6 & 7 — Dr. Hans Henrich Hock, Professor of Linguistics, University of Illinois, Urbana, U.S.A. : (1) "Early Indo-Aryan and Dravidian convergence ? ". and (2) "Aspects of Sanskrit syntax".

December, 15 — Dr. N. Kumaraswami Raja, Professor of Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar : "Three-consonant clusters in Dravidian".

IV. PUBLICATIONS BY STAFF MEMBERS

Bh. Krishnamurti : Literacy models in developing multilingual nations. *Progressive Educational Herald,* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1987, 62-69.

Bh. Krishnamurti : Professor Thomas Burrow, *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* XVI, 1987, 44-48.

H. S. Ananthanarayana : *Pāṇini's grammar* (in Kannada) Dharwar : Karnatak University, 1987.

H. S. Ananthanarayana : A national language for multilingual India. *VIJ* XXII, 1987, 157-163.

H. S. Ananthanarayana : Thomas Burrow's contribution to Sanskrit studies. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguatics* XVI, 16, No. 1, 1987 1-21.

B. Ramakrishna Reddy : *Kuvi folk literature : Texts with English and Oriya translation* (Assisted by Joy Reddy and B. P. Mahapatra). Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, 1987.

B. Ramakrishna Reddy : Burrow's fieldwork and research on tribal Dravidian languages. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* XVI, No. 1, 1987, 31-43.

B. Ramakrishna Reddy : Equative sentences in Telugu. N. Sivarammurty ed. *Studies in Telugu Linguistics.* Telugu University, Hyderabad. 1987, 145-167.

K. Nagamma Reddy : An acoustic phonetic expert for analysis and processing of continuous speech in Hindi. (Co-authored

Eswar et al. Indian Institute of Techonology, Madras). *European Conference on Speech Technology,* Edinburgh, U. K., Vol. 1, 359-372.

K. Nagamma Reddy: Syllable and word structure in Telugu. *Studies in Telugu Linguistics.* Telugu University, Hyderabad: 1987, 52-70.

V. RESEARCH PROJECTS UNDERTAKEN

H. S. Ananthanarayana Sanskrit studies: (1) Pāṇini's Astādhya ̄yi and modern linguistics, (2) Indio-Aryan syntax: Historical study.

B. Ramakrishna Reddy: Tribal languages. Conducted fieldwork on tribal languages of central India to bring out research publications on (1) A grammar of Manda, (2) Manda texts and dictionary, (3) Indi-Awe, a Dravidian tribal language (grammar, texts, and vocabulary), and (4) Structure of Parengi or Gorum, a Munda language.

K. Nagamma Reddy: Phonetics of Kharia. Collected data on Kharia, a Munda language to bring out a monograph and research papers on Phonetic and Phonological aspects of Kharia involving instrumental phonetic investigation.

K. Ashirvadam: Munda Languages. Conducted fieldwork on Didey (Gtaq), a Munda language to prepare (1) A descriptive grammar of Didey, and (2) Didey texts and vocabulary).

VI. SILVER JUBILEE YEAR

The Department of Linguistics is celebrating its silver jubilee during 1987-88. The silver jubilee celebrations were inaugurated on the 10th November, 1987.

VIII. AWARD OF RESEARCH DEGREES

M. Phil

G. S. GABRIEL, *A stylistic study of Telugu advertisements* (Supervisor: Dr. A. Bapuji)

JOGA SINGH, *Semantics of adverbials of location in Punjabi* (Supervisor: Dr. C. Ramarao)

SUKHVINDER SINGH, *Deretroflection in Doabi dialect of Punjabi: A sociolinguistic study* (Supervisor: Dr. Aditi Mukherjee)

C. RAMACHANDRA RAO, *A generative approach to Telugu Phonology*
(Supervisor: Dr. C. Ramarao)

B. VENKATESWARA RAO, *A semantic study of Sanskrit borrowings in Telugu* (Supervisor: Dr. H. S. Ananthanarayana).

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

G. S. GABRIEL, *A stylistic study of Telugu advertisements*

While part one 'The Background' serves as a report on the state of the art in the field of study, part two 'The Foreground' consists of the investigation conducted by the scholar. Along with the tenacious opinions of well known scholars in the field, it isolates and identifies some of the fundamental principles of style and stylistics. The field of advertising is explored with all the available literature, figures of expenditure, and with some specially collected ads in English, Hindi and Telugu.

The basic concepts and traditional terms in stylistics, advertising, linguistics and rhetoric are interpreted. anuprāsa, an analytical hierarchy was set up in order to take into account all possible phonological schemes at the intra and inter-sentential levels. Periodic repetition of identical consonant and vowel patterns were also observed.

Onomatopoeia is classified based on the kinds and states of action which an advertised commodity performs. The morphological patterns observed indicate the repetitions of identical word in the form of free and regular verbal repetitions. The theoretical framework of repetition techinique covers the aspects of immediate repetition of words, phrases, sentences and lines, and also include the repetition of the identical words in anaphora-1, epistrophe, symploce, epanalepsis, anadiplosis, medial verbal repetition and antistrophe.

The repetitions of identical structures were then observed as the foregrounded regularities of content. Along with this aspect parallelism, the syntactic structures include some of the major transformational devices, different sentence types and some miscellaneous clause structures. The repetition of identical reference was observed as anaphora-2. The semantic devices are the other

phoric elements, the figurative language divided into tropes and honest deceptions. Tropes have been classified further as foregrounded irregularities of content. The use of parody, quotations, proverbs, idioms and riddles in advertisements were also discussed.

Some of the foregrounded deviations in advertisements at the phonological, graphological, grammatical and lexical levels, and 'mixing of registers' a special kind of semantic deviation was also observed. Different kinds of styles in advertisements were discussed. While it was noticed that the langugae of advertising Telugu is simple, it was also established that it had a tendency to go into complexities in the group structure and also in mixing up a neutral course between casual and ceremonial styles. Compounds, which have constituted a significant portion of the vocabulary are classified according to the source language of the constituents. The data constituted more than one thousand ads from the press, poster (including murals and all types of outdoor advertising and vehicular advertising), radio, television and cinema collected from March 1984 till the completion of the dissertation work in 1987.

JOGA SINGH, *Semantics of adverbials of location in Punjabi*

The present study is an attempt to describe the spatial system as it is conceived by a Punjabi speaker as expressed in the form of adverbials of location. The minimal form of an adverbial of location, i.e., a noun of location plus postposition is sufficient to capture the locational system of Punjabi language, the other units, i.e., modifiers of noun being : (a) not exclusive to the locational adverbials and not expressing any sense exclusively for location. (b) There is no need to look into the semantics of other constituents, except the verbs of a sentence. It confirms further the views that (i) it is possible to describe the semantics of spatial location in terms of feature analysis, and (ii) the derivative (functional) units, in this case postpositions, also have some 'experiential' meaning of their own.

Some evidence to refute the earlier view (e. g. Fillmore, 1966; Anderson, 1971; Bennett, 1975) that the sentences containing verbs of motion which lack any overt locational marker are cases of 'direction' types is presented. The 'goal direction' and

'goal position' is distinguished. The analytical markers and the synthetic markers are elements of equal locational status with the only difference of generality and non-generality of locational relationship.

It is also claimed that the nouns of location can be classified into different types in terms of : (a) 'dimension' (b) 'orientation' : 'verticle', 'horizontal' etc., ; (c) whether they are 'wholes', 'parts', or 'extremities'. They can be further subdivided on the basis of the places they allow for location, i.e., their internal polarizations which are determined by some principles such as nature of 'confrontation', 'orientation', and 'shape'. It is also noticed that the physical shape of an object may not always serve as an explanation for its conception by the speaker.

SUKHVINDER SINGH, *Deretroflextion in Doabi dialect of Punjabi : A sociolingustic study*

The sociolinguistic techniques of data collection and the Labovian stratificational (co-relational) model were followed in this study. Retroflex sounds are deretroflexed ($L, N \rightarrow l, n$) under certain sociolinguistic conditions. Linguistic constraints of deretroflexion were excluded as the data available for this study could not provide sufficient support on that point, thus concentrating upon social correlates of deretroflexion only.

Variability emerges on three distinct patterns of speech with respect to deretroflexion, i.e., rural, semi-urban and urban. These groups belonging to different sub-groups, in terms of age and sex present a marked contrast in relation to deretroflexion. The urban age groups I, II (younger, middle aged) show a qualitative difference when compared to their rural counterparts. That is, the urban age group-I shows 100% use of the l, n varieties, whereas rural age group-I does not permit any substitution and uses L, N segments. The postion of the semi-urban age group-I lies somewhere in the middle but moving from the rural to the urban. This further confirms our genralization that there is a direct correlation between urbanization and deretroflextion.

The origin of deretroflextion, in terms of time, indicates that the process of deretroflexion might have started with the second generation. The evidence being that (i) the urban age group-III

i.e. the first, or old generation shows no presence of deretroflex-ion in their casual style regardless of the rural-urban parameters : (ii) the urban age group-I, i.e. the third, or younger generation shows no fluctuation in their speech, that is, they always substitute *L,N* with *ḷ,ṇ* (iii) this means that it is the second generation which has perhaps initiated this change because the speakers belonging to this generation show some fluctuation in their use of the two varieties. The urban areas are strong centres for linguistic inter-ference and the process of deretroflexion may be a consequence of the influence of Hindi.

The study brings out the following conclusions : (1) The process of deretroflexion with respect to /L/ and /N/ seems to have started in the second generation of urban speakers of the dialect. (2) It also confirms the hypothesis that the women are stronger vehicles of linguistic change than men, particularly in the case of a change towards a prestigious variety. (3) The third generation of the urban speakers has taken the change to its completion. (4) The direction of change is in the descending order, i.e. towards the younger generation, and is spreading from urban to rural areas, and (5) Orthography also plays a significant role in bring-ing a sound change, as can be seen that /n/ and /N/ contrat has a higher frequency than /l/ and /L/, because there are distinct sym-bols in Gurmukhi script for /n/ and /N/, but not for /l/ and /L/.

B. VENKATESWARA RAO, *A semantic study of Sanskrit borrowings in Telugu*

This dissertation examines the nature of the Sanskrit borrowings in Telugu, the semantic change of those words and some of the reasons for the change. Chapter 1 surveys the nature of linguistic contact in India, with special reference to Sanskritic culture and its influence in the unification process. Some exam-ples were also given to show the interaction in the four language families of India. Chapter 2 presents a short survey of semantics with special reference to componential analysis in view of its relevance to the framework of the dissertation. Chapter 3 des-cribes the way a given Sanskrit word is adapted in its morpheme structure when borrowed into Telugu. It also shows the differen-

ces between the gender systems of both the languages which sketch is useful to understand the adaptation processes.

Semantic change of Sanskrit borrowings in Teleugu has been classified into seven types. Each has been defined in terms of a componential matrix. The data restricted to the commonplace words which are too hard for a Telugu speaker to recognise as borrowings. In each example, in order for the meaning to be easy for the comprehension, the contextual sentences are given from the language in which it is used.

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