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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF TELUGU IN HYDERABAD CITY[1]

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Abstract: *This paper tries to relate Social Categories with Linguistic features in order t explain a particular Sociolinguistic process, viz. language Standardization. The paper emphacizes that individual social Categories combine in a specific manner and determine the nature and extent of the process of language Standardization.*

Society is a process. Language, as a social phenomenon, is a part of this process[2]. Language is also a process. It has its own internal dynamics. How can one relate the social phenomenon with the linguistic phenomenon to explain a particular aspect of sociolinguistic process? We make an endeavour to answer this broad question in a micro form in this paper.

Language standardization is at once a social and a linguistic phenomenon. There is a "complex pattern of social values" projected onto the linguistic usage which enables us to call a language a standard language (Krishnamurti 1976). Linguistically, it should exhibit an "approximate uniformity of vocabulary, regularity of syntax, similarity of pronunciation and uniformity of meaning of terms used" (Hertzler 1965).

Of the various Telugu dialects spoken in Andhra Pradesh the 'Central Coastal Andhra middle class dialect' is generally accepted as the stand ard variety (Krishnamurti,

Op cit). It approximates with the one used in education, governmental activities, mass media and other means of communication. Literature reflects the wide-spread acceptance of it as standard form. The non-standard varieties are expected to conform to this particular standard form to give them sociocultural respectability.

We have chosen óne such non-standard variety, i.e., the Hyderabad Telugu of Hyderabadi Telugus, to empirically measure the levels of standardization attained by it. While doing so, we have measured the levels in terms of limited number of social categories which form the background of respondents. We have done so in order to assess extent to which these categories play a role in determining the nature of standardization.

The number of respondents we have taken into account is 160. The social categories that we have taken into consideration are five, viz., class, caste, education, attitudes and mass media. Each category is further sub-divided into various patameters with their respective indices.

When the respondents are distributed among these categories, the break up looks as follows :-

1. CLASS

	Parameters	Indices	Number of Respondents
	1	2	3
i	Working class	WC	30
ii	Lower petty bourgeoisie	LPB	30

iii	Better-of petty bourgeoisie	BPB	30
iv	Elite petty bourgeoisie	EPB	30
v	Lumpen proletariat	LP	30
vi	Capitalist class	CC	10

2. CASTE

i	Caste-1 (Consisting of all Backward and Scheduled castes)	C1	18
ii	Caste-2 (Consisting of Velamas, Reddis, Baniyas)	C2	81
iii	Caste-3 (Consisting of Brahmins, Ayyavars, Karanams, Jangams)	C3	61

3. EDUCATION

i	Illiterate	E1	41
ii	Primary	E2	20
iii	High school	E3	33
iv	Degree	E4	29
v	Post-Graduate	E5	37

4. ATTITUDES

i	Neutral	A1	34
ii	Positive	A2	3
iii	Strongly positive	A3	56
iv	Very strongly positive	A4	67

5. MASS MEDIA.

i	Seldom	O-Zero	23
ii	Rarely	15 and below	44
iii	Occasionally	30 and below	56
iv	Frequently	60 and below	32
v	Very frequently	90 and below	5

Table 1 : Distirbution of Respondents in terms of social categories.

The analysis is based on the casual speech of approximately 30 minutes by each respondent that was recorded during interviews.The taped interview of each respondent was separately transcribed in phonemic script. However, all the sentences used during the conversation were not transcribed.Only those lexical items were jotted down that involve the eleven linguistic features we proposed to concentrate on.The count of the total number of instances of each of the eleven linguistic features was taken.Out of these the number of instances of both non-standard and standard features were separated.Then the percentage of standard features was figured out.

The dialect surveys conducted by Krishnamurti (1962) and Telugu Academy (1971-72) and a small but effective study made by sjoberg (1962) have brought out a number of linguistic features that distinguish standard Telugu (std.) from the Hyderabad variety of non-standard Telugu (n-std.) We decided to concentrate on the use of following eleven linguistic features which have been noted by these scholars.

1) $c \rightarrow s$

   eg. std. *caduwu* $\rightarrow$ n-std. *saduwu* ' education'

2) $W \rightarrow \emptyset$

   eg. weNDi $\rightarrow$ eNDi 'silver'

3) Aspirated stops $\rightarrow$ deaspirated stops

   eg.*baadha* $\rightarrow$ *baada* 'sorrow'

4a) $L \rightarrow l$

   eg. *KaLa* $\rightarrow$ *kala* 'art'

4b) $N \rightarrow n$

   eg. *telangaaNaa* $\rightarrow$ *telangaanaa* 'Telangana'

5) $h \rightarrow \emptyset$

   eg. *haarati* $\rightarrow$ *aarati* 'an offering of camphor'

6) $\acute{s} \rightarrow S$

   eg.*deeSem* $\rightarrow$ *deSem* ' Country'

7) $C_1 + C_2 + V \rightarrow C_1 + V$

   eg. *KriSNa* $\rightarrow$ *kisna* 'Krishna'

8) Present tense marker :

   std. (*-tunnaa-*) $\rightarrow$ n-std. (*-tunna-*) (*-tun-*)

eg. *ceestunnaaDu* → *ceestunnaDu* / ceestundu 'he is doing'

9a)   Past tense marker - I :

(*-EE-*) → (*-in-*)

eg. *cees EE nu* → *ceesina* 'I did'

9b)   Past tense marker - II :

(*-inaa-*) → (*-ina-*)

eg. *ceesinaamu* → *ceesinam* 'we did'

10)   Future/present habitual tense marker :

(*-taa-*) and (*-tun-*) → (*-ta-*)

eg. *ceestaaDu* and *ceestundi* → *ceestaDu* and ceestadi 'he will do'he hoes' and 'she will do''she does'

11)   Locative suffix :

(*-loo*) → (*-la*)

eg. *iNT + loo* → *inTLa* 'in the house'.

By establishing relationship between the various social categories (and their sub-categories) and the level of standardization,   we aim to get at the patterns that would explain manifest, if not latent, process of various levels and their determinants.

Relation of Language Standardization with Class:

Class	Percentage of Standardization
WC	22
LPB	15
BPB	55
EPB	40
LP	6
CC	42

Table 2 (a) : Percentage of Standardization by class

By examining the level of standardization against each social class, we have found that individual classes show their own levels of standardization. Though individual classes show their respective levels of standardization, the individual respondents in each partic;ular class exhibit wide variation in their levels of standardization.

For illustration, we may look at Table 2 (b) :

Level of % of Standardization	No.of speakers from each class					
	WC	LPB	BPB	EPB	LP	CC
1-10	6	2	-	-	23	-
11-20	11	10	1	1	7	-

21-30	3	5	10	1	-	2
31-40	4	7	13	10	-	4
41-50	2	2	1	1	-	4
51-60	1	3	1	8	-	-
61-70	2	1	2	8	-	-
71-80	1	-	2	1	-	-
81-90	-	-	-	-	-	-
91-100	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-100	30	30	30	30	30	10

Table 2(b): Level of standardization and number of speakers from each class.

It shows that speakers belonging to the same social class exhibit different levels of standardization (in terms of their percentage). For example, the speakers of working class (WC) exhibit 8 diffferent levels of standardization. The lowest level of percentage of standardization that the speakers of the WC show is 1-10 while the highest level of percentage is 71-80. The data leads to conclude that it is not enough to belong to a particular class to attain a level of standardization.

Caste as a Determinant of Standardization:

Our survey has disproved the popular understanding (Pandit 1972) that caste does not play a significant role in the standardization of languages. The following table shows that caste is still a relevant determinant for language standardization in Telugu.

Caste groups	Percentage of Standardization
C1	20
C2	31
C3	57

Table 3: Percentage of Standardization by caste.

In our survey, we made a hypothetical classification of caste into three groups. Castes which have for long lived on the lower wrung of the socio-cultural hierarchy form Caste 1 (C1). This includes all backward and scheduled castes. Castes which have high position in the social status hierarchy and a tendency towards 'Sanskritization'[3], form caste 2 (C2). This includes Velamas, Reddis and Baniyas. Castes historically identified with traditional functions of worship and Sanskrit and Telugu scholarship form caste [3] (C3). This includes Brahmins, Ayyawars, Karanams and Jangams.

The above table shows that castes which occupy the lowest wrung of the socio-cultural hierarchy have by far the lowest level of standardization.

Castes which have traditional acquaintance with Sanskrit learning preserve certain liguistic features which were borrowed by Telugu from Sanskrit and are considered as standard features. These castes (C3) exhibit a very high level of standardization.

Castes which are in the process of 'Sanskritization' and occupy economically a high status but have little traditional acquaintance with Sanskrit learning show less percentage of standardization in relation to the castes with Vedic and Sanskrit learning as their tradition.

Education as a Determinant of Standardization :

Level of Education	Percentage of Standardization
E1	9
E2	23
E3	34
E4	39
E5	48

Table 4: Percentage of Standardization by Education

According to our survey, speakers having different levels of education differ in their speech behaviour in a systematic manner. The lower the educational level, the lower the percentage of standardization; the higher the educational level, the higher the percentage. In short, as one's educational level increases, there is a corresponding increase in the level of standardization in his speech behaviour.

Attitude as a Determinant of Standardization:

Nature of Attitude	Percentage of Standardization
A1	12
A2	35
A3	45
A4	60

Table 5: Percentage of Standardization by Attitude

Our survey has revealed that persons with favourable attitude towards standard Telugu tend to show a higher level of standardization than persons who do not have a favourable attitude towards standard Telugu. Thus, the speakers with a very strongly positive attitude (A4) towards standard variety of Telugu show the highest percentage of standardization; and the speakers with a neutral attitude (A1) show the lowest percentage of standardization.

These attitudes are formed both consciously and unconsciously, and are products of complex interplay of socio-cultural and political forces. These forces are: (i) a slow and centuries long Persian/Urdu influence on Telugu, (ii) percolation of Urdu into the life and culture of the Telugus, because of the domination of Urdu elite in the State/Govt. and the stunting of the development of Telugu through a policy of nationality oppression, (iii) administrative merger of two dialectally different Telugu regions (Andhra, Telangana) and the enormous gap that exists between the standard and non-standard, (iv) political movements, (separate Telengana and separate Andhra) that created consciousness of identity with one's own dialect with all its implications, (v) education and mass media in standard Telugu as a governmental measure with little or no attention to the programme of mass participation in standard language education.

Mass media as Determinants of Standardization:

For the purpose of our survey, only four devices used for mass communication in Telugu have been chosen. They are (a) radio (Telugu programmes), (b) modern Telugu literature, (c) news papers, magazines (Telugu) and (d) cinemas (Telugu). The frequency with which a respondent gets exposed to these mass media devices is wide. The responses

of the speakers on each device exhibited five levels, viz., very frequently, frequently, occasionally, rarely and seldom. Each level was given a numerical index indicating the degree of exposure which is indicated in Table 6.

Level	Degree
Seldom	O-zero
Rarely	15 and below
Occasionally	30 and below
Frequently	60 and below
Very frequently	90 and below

Table 6: Different Degrees of Exposure to Mass Media.

To arrive at the general level of exposure to mass media of the respondent, the total of his degree of exposure to four mass media devices was divided by four and the resultant degree was taken as the final degree of exposure.

Our survey revealed that the exposure to mass media is an important element in language standardization. The Telugu news papers, radio programmes, movies and literary works are invariably in standard Telugu.

For illustration, consider the following table.

Degree of Exposure to Mass media	Percentage of Standardization
O-Zero	4
15 and below	·15
30 and below	35
60 and below	57
90 and below	75

Table 7: Percentage of Standardization by degree of exposure to mass media.

This table clearly shows that the exposure has a positive influence (conscious or unconscious) on the psychological-linguistic framework of people. It has been found that as the level of exposure to mass media increases, the level of standardization also increases.

Based on the above tables, we make a generalization that except 'class', the rest of the social categories such as education, caste, mass media and consciousness are the active elements in the process of standardization.

However, it is wrong to presume that a single social category alone, by itself, can determine the general level of the process of standardization. Various social categories at various levels in various specific combination determine the nature and extent of the process of standardization. While it is not possible to empirically pin-point all the possible determinants of such a process, it has been found in our investigation that 300 such permutations and combinations are possible in our limited five-category framework alone. This total (of 300 combinations) is arrived at by multiplying the numbers of the components of the four social categories. For classification, there are 5 levels of education, 3 levels of caste, 5 degrees of exposure to mass media and 4 types of attitudes. Thus, there $5 \times 3 \times 5 \times 4 = 300$ specific combinations of the four categories. For instance, we may have a look at the following few combinations in Table 8.

Serial Number of Combination	Categories in specific combination	Percentage of Standardization
1	E1+C1+O+A1	11%
35	E5+C1+15+A1	24%
50	E3+C2+15+A1	26%
124	E5+C1+O+A4	33%
248	E4+C2+90+A2	45%
300	E5+C3+90+A4	60%

Table 8: Percentage of Standardization by specific combination of social categories.

However, we have to make one important observation. The general relationship of individual social categories to the process of standardization will not be found in these specific combinations in its general form. It attains a specific character as it enters, as a component, into a particular combination.

In its general form, the relationship seems to have a sort of autonomous existence while in a specific combination it exists as a 'link' in a chain. For instance, let us consider the relation of the social category education with the percentage of standardization. It is evident from Table 4 that speakers with E5 level of education show 48% of standardization. Thus E5 level of education produces 48% of standardization. But, we cannot know how much percentage that E5 level of education produces when it is in combination with other social categories, say 'C3' '90 and below' degree of exposure to mass media and 'A4'. The reason is that education has autonomous existence when it is viewed in isolation whereas

it becomes merely a 'link' which is dependent on and not independent of other social categories.

As it is difficult to point out the role of link among several links in a chain, it is difficult to pin-point the degree of effect that a particular social category exerts upon the process of standardization. To put in clear terms, we cannot, for example isolate the effect to the level of education on the process of standardization in the speech of a speaker who has the following specific combinations of social categories.

E5+C3+90+A4 (60%)

In other words, we cannot explain whether the social category E5, for example, has resulted in 10% or 20% of standardization. But, we can give an estimate of the percentage of standardization in the speech of E5 speakers as we did in Table 4 by adding all the percentages of standardization in E5 speakers and by taking an average. Thus, at the end, it may be once again stated that we should not be satisfied with the general relationship of the individual social categories with the process of standardization.

It is of utmost importance to understand how individual social categories combine in a specific manner and determine the nature and extent of the process of standardization.

Foot Notes

1. This paper is a modified version of chapter 5 of author's doctoral dissertation. The disscussions with P.Harinath made an important contribution to the concepts and methodology adopted in the work reported here.

2. For a detail discussion of this point, see Bapuji 1981.

3.   Emulation and imitation of caste-1 by caste-2 in
            spheres of culture and language.

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LANGUAGE
AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

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Abstract: *This paper presents the ideas of a Sociologist and the starting point for analysis is that of Unity in diversity. A brief account of multiplicity of languages and classification of languages is given. The basis for linguistic States is supported and the question of national language is discussed.*

India is the most ideal place for experimentation of integration. The diverse nature enables India to claim itself as the laboratory of such an experimentation. In light of this in the present paper an attmept is made to examine the role of language in the process of national integration.

India is a melting pot of various cultures that are expressed in different vocabularies. It is this diversity of cultures and languages which ultimately binds the whole nation in a single unit. It is the one culture which is seen in varied colours scattered all over India. Each and every culture and language in which it is expressed is very much a part of the homogeneous Indian culture. Thus the unity of India is expressed in terms of its diversity.

Meaning of Integration:

Let us examine the meaning of integration. Integration means a "combination of diverse elements of percep-

tion". Perception means "action by which the mind refers its sensation of external object as cause". Thus it is the root cause of all thoughts. It generates all ideas. It is the keynote to all civilizations. What is needed is a happy blending of all parallel ideas (of course expressed in terms of nations languages and vocabulary) acceptable to the society as a whole with multi-cultural blending (Bhattacharya, 1985, p.1).

Multiplicity of languages:

In India multitude of races, tribes and their sub-groups with varied cultural background have given birth to variety of languages. According to Grierson, India has 179 languages and 544 dialects. Of these languages 116 are small tribal speeches of Tibets-chinese speech family. They are found only on the northern and north-eastern fringes of India and about 0.85% of entire population of the country speak these languages.

Thus there are three main families of languages spoken in India viz., the Aryan Dravidian and Austric (Kol or Munda). Of these the Aryan speech family was the last to come. It was preceeded by the Dravidian Sino-Tibetan and Austric. Although the Austric and Sino-Tibetian languages are now confined to small population, they had developed and modified other languages. The Dravidian and Aryan languages have been the most important.

1.   The Indo-Aryan Languages:

The Indo-Aryan languages were developed in the country with the entry of the Aryans around 2000 B.C. These languages consist of:

i)   Sanskrit, which is the language of the elites but
            isno longer spoken by the orthodox people.

ii)   Hindi - includes all the speeches and dialects
            current in India to the east of Punjab, north of
            Gujarat, Maharashtra, West of Orissa, West Ben-
            gal of South of Nepal, Kanuji, Bundeli, Brajbhasha
            are important dialects. Rajasthani has various
            branches such as Mewari as Marwari, Mewati,
            Jaipuri etc. Hindustani (a mixture of Hindi
            andUrdu) of north west Uttar Pradesh also comes
            under it.

iii)   Kashmiri is spoken in Kashmir and Jammu States.
            Sindhi which was spoken in sindh now is the
            language of sindhis spread over the country after
            partition. Sindhi has similarity with Persian
            language.

iv)   Gujarati is spoken in Gujarat. It is largely influ-
            enced by the Gurja and Scythian languages.
            Marathi, spoken in entire Maharashtra. It has two
            important speeches Konkani, the language of
            Goa and the Coastal areas of Maharashtra and
            Halbi dialect spoken in Bastar district of Madhya
            Pradesh has some influence of the Dravidian
            language. Bengali is spoken in West Bengal.
            Assamese is the language of Assam. Oriya is
            spoken in Orissa.

Distribution of Population by Languages:

            The constitution of India, in its eight schedule in-
cludes 15 languages as the mother tongues of people in the
country. These are Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Oriya, Telugu,

Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi,
Sindi, Kashmiri, Urdu and Sanskrit.

The following Table gives the geographical distribu-
tion of Population by Languages.

Table

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
BY MOTHER TONGUE

Sl. No.	Language	1961	1971	% of Total in1971 (in thousands)
1.	Assamese	6.795.9	8,959.0	1.63
2.	Bengali	32,974.5	44,792.7	8.17
3.	Gujarati	20,032.5	25,875.3	4.72
4.	Hindi	1,20,792.2	162,577.6	29.67
5.	Kannada	17,302.1	21,707.9	3.96
6.	Kashmiri	1,907.8	2,438.4	0.44
7.	Malayalam	16,935.9	21,939.2	4.00
8.	Marathi	32,791.7	42,251.2	7.71
9.	Oriya	15,597.8	19,855.5	3.62
10.	Punjabi	9,530.9	16,449.6	3.00
11.	Sanskrit	2.5	2.2	Negligible
12.	Sindi	-	1,676.7	0.31
13.	Tamil	30,109.7	37,690.0	0.88
14.	Telugu	37,614.8	44,752.9	8.17
15.	Urdu	23,148.9	28,607.9	5.22
	Total	4,31,293.6	547,949.8	100.00

From the above Table it is clear that the Hindi speaking
population is predominent in India when compared to other

regions. Next come Tamils (8.88%), Bengali (8.17%), Telugu (8.17%), and Marathi (7.71f%), etc. Memoria).

Language and Integration:

(1) Question of Formation of Linguistic States:

There is a diversity between various states in India. Out of the multiple languages there are 14-15 languages spoken in India which have fully evolved scripts and literature.

Due to phenomenal development of regional languages in the 19th century there arose an emotional integration of different language groups. Besides this also lead to the development of a consciousness of being a distinct cultural unit, speaking the same language and follwoing the same tradition and culture. Therefore, when progressive public opinion favoured rationalism of administrative units, the objective was more or less sought in terms of linguistically homogeneous units.

The Government of India's Resolution appointing the States Re-organisation Commission Started. The language and cultre of an area have an undoubted importance as they represent a pattern of living which is common in that area. In considering a reorganization of States, language is an important factor that has to be taken into consideration.

The States Reorganization Commission also remarked that while the internal adjustment at State level are desired. It is at the same time necessary to ensure that these do not lead to mal-adjustments at the inter-state or national lavel. From the point of view of national unity reorganisation has to aim at a two fold objective :(i) firm discoragement of disruptive sentiments such as provincialism or linguistic fanaticism and

(ii) it should be consistent with national solidarity, provision. Of full scope for the unhampered growth of the genius of each gjroup of people.

The advocates of linguistic principle advocate that the demand for linguistic states does not represent more cultural revivalism. But it seeks political and economic justice for different linguistic groups. In multingual states political leadership and administrative authority remains the monopoly of the dominant language groups and linguistic minorities are denied an effective voice in the Governments of their states.

Besides there may be often advantages also such a real consciousness of identity of interests between the people and Government and both work in co-ordination and understanding. Language is a rich and powerful vehicle of expression creating a sense of unity among the people speaking them and avoids the multiplicity of languages which lead to weakness and inefficiency in administration.

But there are also weighty considerations which are urged against accepting language as the determining principle in the creation of states. This would encourage exclusivism and blur the feeling of national unity by the emphasis on local cultures, language and history, create feeling of superiority as compared to others, intolerance and aggressiveness. Considering bothe aspects of language problem the State Reorganisation Commission came to the conclusion that it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganize states on the basis or the single test of either language or culture but a balanced approach to the whole problem is necessary in the interest of our national unity.

Such a balanced approach was to reorganize linguistic homogenity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency but not to consider it as an exclusive and binding principle overriding all other considerations, administrative, financial and politcal.

Similarly the feeling of provincialism cuts at the unity of nation. Unfortunately after independence the tendencies towards lingualism and regionalism have been increasing ignorning the national interest. Anti-Hindi agitation in Madras in one such example. The sense of Indian unity and integration is of recent origin which has to be carefully protected by one and all.

The Question of National Language:

The problem of creating a national language arises out of our national history and is therefore entirely the result of the desire to create national solidarity. We cannot overlook its connection with religion, culture and political (KakaKalekar, 1941.).

Sanskrit for example, is the religious language of the Hindus and may be therefore regarded as the mother of all languages of Hindustan. We must not forget that Sanskrit is the symbol par excellence of the unity of India.

There is a vast body of literature in Sanskrit which has nothing to do with religion and which people of all religions can freely enjoy.

The national language belongs to the whole nation, it is therefore everybody's language, it will be moulded by public opinion and will adopt itself to public needs and conscience.

Hindi which happens to be the language of the majority for Nrothern India is also used by different linguistic regions to communicate with each other. Hindi films and film songs also have become very popular among masses all over India. There are variety of historical, political and cultural reasons because of which Hindi became popular in India. This is the language of those parts of the country which were the seats of great empires for the last five thousand years and contains those places of pilgrimage and university towns which draw thousands of men and women every year from all over the country.

The language which grows in a natural fashion among the masses can only find them together than the language which is forced on them without their willingness. It is easier to learn and assimilate a language from ones own culture rather than a language which happens to be totally alien to our culture.

The author not only uses a particular language but also he moulds it in his own original style. Particularly when our society is undergoing a process of social change in the domain of art, culture, politics, economics, we need a language that will serve as a vehicle for new and complex thought and imagination. Ideas and languages borrowad from non-Indian sources will not be able to depict Indian sociey in any of the writings whether it is in the field of poetry, literature or Sociology. Our readings and writings are influenced by the western conditons which are not suited to our (Indian) conditions.

Before the British came Hindu writers did not hesitate to use Persian words and Muslim writers had no distaste for

sanskritic words. Unfortunately political and religious districts have led the Hindu writer to avoid Persian words and the Muslim writers avoid Sanskrit words. If the writers of both the communities use the best words irrespective of their source the gulf between Sanskritic, Hindi and Persianised Urdu would be easily bridged. This question is a part of the larger Hindu-Muslim problem and will be solved only when the Hindus and the Muslims evolve harmony by close social and cultural contact.

A variety of Hinudstani was spoken by Muslims in different provinces outside the United provinces. In Hyderabad a mixture of Hindi and Urdu (Dakhini) was spoken. Urdu was mixed with Gujarati, Marathi, Kannada etc., When people tried to acquire Hindustani as a national language they only fitted the Sanskritic elements of their own mother tongue into the framework of Hindi grammatical forms.

Looking at all the experiments in the evolution of a national language, it was clear that the Hindustani which was the media of communication in the United provinces was a language itself. It was a living mother tongue and could not become a living mother tongue for the whole of India.

But outside the United provinces, Punjab and Northwest frontier province, the national language was a language, the content of which was Sanskritic, and the formal structure Hindi. Social inter-course in these provinces would therefore be always through the mother tongue, our creative art would only express itself throguh it.

Nationalism dominates the present as well as future. All provincial effort will continue to find increased self-

fulfilment in a greater national unity and a common wealth of literatures to which each Indian province will have to contribute its best and noblest will be a necessary attribute of India, if she is to attain the full stature of nationhood. But such a Commonwealth can only to be possible through one single language a coordinated affort on the part of literary men from all provinces.

Conclusions:

From the above analysis we can conclude that though there is an apparent language struggle going on between different regions. In answer to this controversy there will certainly emerge a common national concensus over the question of language leading towards the national integration. The process of readjustment will take place as a result of migration. As a result of physical mobility people from one region come in contact with people from one region come in contact with people from other regions speaking different languages. This will also result in emotional integration of people from different regions and languages is no bar to such an integration.

Government of India is encouraging three languages formula consisting of English (a foreign language) Hindi (National language by virtue of its majority) and regional languages. This particular combination will definitely be widely acceptable to our masses at large where their mother tongue also finds appropriate status in the so called status hierarchy of languages.

Thus it can be safely concluded that language is an effective instrument of national integration.

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ACQUISITION OF TELUGU REFLEXIVES █

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Abstract: *Several semantic functions and uses of Telugu reflexive forms are identified and discussed under eight types. The invitation of these patterns by children in the process acquisition of language depends on certain Cogritive factors. This paper provides an empirical alata which is of good value in shades of this type.*

Results of an Imitation Study

The Telugu reflexive is formed by adding *-kon/kun* (used only as *kon* throughout the paper) to the basic stem of a verb, which has an auxiliary function giving the meaning 'to do something on one's own volition'. There is an independent verb *kon* 'to buy ' and it appears that these two cannot be related in any other way except for their homophonous similarity. Many Telugu verbs with an auxiliary function have their corresponding function as main verbs. If we try to trace such similar functions for *-kon,* it can in no way be related to the main verb *kon(u)* ' 'to buy '. However, it may be related, if at all it has to be, to a verb *kon* ' to take or receive ' which was used in old Telugu (Usha Devi, 1978). This has lost its use in modern Telugu; except one or two instances which have been ;observed in the use of a dialect of Telangana region as a main verb, e.g. *Koncab∳vu* ' to take along'.

The various uses of *-kon* with a few different mean-
ings and some limitations have been described in some earlier
works of Telugu (Arden 1873 & 1969, Ramarao 1969 ,
Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985). Yet no exhaustive descrip-
tion is available so far. It is a fact known to the scholars
working on Telugu that all verbs do not admit *kon.* This
observation goes against Arden's earlier statement that *'kon*
is affixed to any verb(Arden, P. 152). Ramarao, in personal
communication, pointed out various semantic orientations
and restrictions for *-kon..* Arden's statement, however, seems
to be in relation to its formal occurrence. In any case, it
appears that there is no way of restricting the occurrence of
-Kon syntactically , and it is difficult to talk about the verbs
which do or do not admit *-kon* without referring to their
meaning. The complexity of this pattern is, therefore, more
semantic than syntactic or one may even prefer to say, only
semantic and not at all syntatic. The present study, however,
is concerned with a few important aspects of *-kon* classified
into eight types   described as below :

a . Formal description of *-kon* :-

Example : *caduwu* ' to read'

1. *neenu cadiWEEnu* 'I read' .

2. *neenu caduwu konnaanu* ' I read for my own
                                          sake/ myself'

3. *neenu cadiwincEEnu* ' I caused (him) to read
4. *neenu cadiwincukonnaanu* ' I caused him to
                                          read for my sake'

The different uses of *-kon* can broadly be separated into two categories, the one which are reflexives proper and those which are not.

The above given examples come under reflexives proper. Some of other uses of *-kon* have already been identified by some scholars (Arden 1873, RamaRao 1969, Krishnamurthi and Gwynn 1985) as:

1. Reciprocal : The notion which effects all the involved equally and the verb is always in plural.

Eg : *koTTukonu* ' to beat each other'

2. Transitive to intransitive : The meaning which affects the subject of the verb.

Eg: *teliyu* 'to know' : *telusukonu* 'to know (one self)'

3. Modification of the root meaning :- the original root transforms to give a different meaning.

Examples :
anu ' to say ' *anukonu* ' to think '

aDugu ' to ask ' *aDukkonu (<aDugukonu)* ' to beg'
paDu ' to fall ' *paDukonu* 'to lie down to sleep'

4. Stem verbs which take *-kon* but which do not have an independent occurence (of their own) :
Eg: *uurukonu* ' to remain silent ' *uuru* (This is different from another homophonous main verb ' *uuru* ' ' to become fat , to swell, to spring up ')

5. Verbs which do not admit *-kon.*

kuurconu 'to sit down' **kuurcukonu* but it is iteresting to note here that the Rayalseema dialect of Telugu and the neighbouring language kannada allow reflexives of these verbs.

Besides the reflexives proper, the use of *-kon* also as other functions as follows :-

i) "That the verbs express that the action performed by the subject is also performed in reference to that subject. Hence these verbs frequently denote that the action is performed <u>for the benifit of the subject</u> that it is performed by the free will and the choice of the subject ". (Arden 1969 P.153)

ii) " There are sevaral kinds of constructions in which reflexivity does not go beyond form nor offers to the mind anything but a weak and unclear shadow " and also,

iii) " Reflexivity does not go beyond the gramatical elements and does not appear to the mind but as extremely clusive and obscure" (Ballo 1964, as quoted in Garcia, 1975).

Thus we may consider two main characteristic features of the form and content of *-kon* in Telugu.

a) that the reflexivity does not go beyond the form and grammatical elements -(Formal) and (b) that it denotes that the action is performed for the benifit of the subject or that it is performed by the free will and choice of the subject (Semantic).

1.2. As it is evident, through there is no syntactic complexity of what so ever in the formation of the reflexive sentenses in Telugu, (where *-kon* gets added as a suffix to the main verb) there is however some difficulty when the

reflexive pronouns are added, observe the following examples.

> i) *amma naaku buuTlu toDigindi*
>   Mother to me shoes   put on
>   'Mother put shoes (to my feet) on'.

> ii) *neenu buuTlu ToDukkonnaa (nu)*
>   I   shoes put on myself
>   '(I put on my shoes on my own (my self)'.

> iii) *buuTlu naaku neenee toDukonnaa*
>   shoes to me I myself put on - my own
>   ' I my self put on the shoes '

> iv) *buuTlu neenee toDigEE(nu)*
>   shoes   me (emphasis) wore
>   'I put the shoes on (to some one else)'.

But it is not possible to have

> *v) *buuTluu naaku neenee toDigiEE(nu)*
>   Shoes to me I my self put on
>   ' I put on shoes on my own '.

and;

> B. i) *atanu vanTa ceesEEDu*
>   He   cooking did
>   ' He cooked the food '.

> ii) *atanu vanTa ceesukonnaDu*
>   He cooking did
>   'He cooked the food for himself'

iii) *atanu vanTa tanee ceesEEDu.*
     he cooking he only did
     'He cooked food on his own'

iv) *atanu tana vanta tanee ceesEEDu.*
     he self cooking he only did
     'He cooked his own food on his own!

These examples reveal that there is an agreement rule where the object pronoun agrees in person and number with the subject. That is, there is identity of reference between the 'reflexive object' and the subject of the verb, whereas the non-reflexives have no referent or have a referent different from that of the subject.

According to the agreement rule the reflexive pronoun is similar to the subject except in the third person singular, where it has three different pronouns for masculine, feminine and neuter as follows:

> *atanu/aayana* 'he' (formal, honorific)
> *vaaDu*   'he' (informal, inferior)
> *aame/aaviDa* 'she'
> *adi*   'it/she (informal, disrespect)'

These three pronouns take the common reflexive referent *tanee* instead of individual pronouns. The rest of the pronouns simply take -ee suffix.

Pronouns	Gloss	Reflexive referent	Gloss
neenu	I	*neenee*	myself
nuwwu	you(sg)	*nuwwee*	yourself
meemu	we	*meemee*	ourself
miiru	you(pl)	*miiree*	yourself
vaaLLu·	they	*vaaLLee*	themselves
atanu/	he/she/	*tanee/*	
aame/adi	it	*taanee*	oneself

Thus only third person singular by having a common reflexive referent creates some problems in understanding and using the form. (Also see Ramarao, 1975 for further details).

1.3. METHOD:

A. Subjects: The study consists of 40 children ranging from three to five and half years age, they were divided into five age groups with a six months gap between them. The distribution is :

Age	Group
3:0 - 3;6	I
3;6 - 4;0	II
4;0 - 4;6	III
4;6 - 5;0	IV
5;0 - 5;6	V

All these children were selected randomly from a school situated at Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

B. Collection of Data: Each child was tested individually for three different procedures namely imitation,

comprehension and production, to study the acquisition of certain syntactic patterns of Telugu of which the results of one syntactic pattern, namely, reflexives are considered in this paper.

All the recordings were done in a room provided by the school authorities in the school. First the investigator met the children in groups and explained to them what was required of them. To make them feel at ease and comfortable, some sweets were distributed as incentives followed by a little casual conversation to engage them asking general information like their name, class in which they were studying, their family and the profession or occupation of parents and the like. Later, each child was called into the room individually and made him/her to sit in front of the tape recorder used for recordings (a Sanyo recorder with built in microphone). The child was then requested to simply repeat after the sentence spoken by the investigator. After a few initial imitations the recorder was played to them. Hearing their own voice, the children showed enthusiasm and interest and repeated after the investigator without any problem except for the children belonging to the lowest age, group I. These children spoke in shy with such a low voice that it was found difficult to recognize and transcribe it. Therefore these children's responses were immediately noted down in a note-book in Telugu script. After transcribing and analysing the material, they were tabulated and scores were provided to the differences in responses.

C. Material: For the purpose of Imitation test, 28 sentences were prepared and used. The rational for this kind of preparation was three-fold i. to test whether children's performance reveals any difference between the verbs with and without kon in some sentences. For this purpose a few

sentences without kon are also included; ii. to test and observe the difficulty of sentences with respect to the meaning and lenght of the sentence; and iii. in order to obtain i and ii utterancs are all centred and aimed at children's common and daily routines and needs so that their linguistic behaviour and comprehension could also be observed.

1.4.   These sentences are later classified into eight (8) types, based on their structural differences in relation to the entire sentence as a whole. The classification of these types are described below.

Type 1. Reflexives Proper: 'to provide something on one's own volition' .

> 10.   *meemu*   *illu*   *kaTTukonnaamu*
>   we   house   built
>   'we built a house (for ourselves)' .

There are four simple sentences;   one coordinate sentence (connected with pause), one quotative sentence with *ani + anukonu* (......'thus, thought') and four subordinate sentence; i.e., a total of ten (10) sentences in this type.

Type 2. Reflexives formed on causatives;

> 11. *meemu*   *illu*   *kaTTincukonnaamu*
>   we   house   caused to build
>   'we caused someone to build a house for our own benefit. '

Type 3. Reflexives in Imperatives.

> 12. *saayantram*   *aaDukoonDi*
>   Evening   play - yourselves.
>   'play (yourselves) in the evening'

13.   *allari   maanukoo*
           mischief stop   -   yourself
           'stop (yourself) to be naughty.

Type 4. Reciprocal.
         Only one utterence is retained in the test as the
children even from the lowest group could repeat it spontane-
ously and correctly.

Type 5. Reflexives with the reflexive pronoun.
                  S   O (self-form)   V
         There are four sentences in this type; one in first
person singular, one in the second person singular (without
surface subject) and one imperative and one each in third
person singular and plural respectively.

eg.   ii *paaTa   nuwwee   paaDukoo!*
14.   This song   you (alone)   sing-yourself.
            Sing this song for yourself'.

Type 6. Casual reflxives with the noun in causative construc
         tions in the instrumental case.

                         $\begin{Bmatrix} Ceeta \\ tooDa \end{Bmatrix}$
            Noun +   'with, by'
                          Inst. case

15.   *Tiffin   amma ceeta / tooTi tinipincu   konnaanu.*
         snacks   mother by   with being   fed-for-myself.
         'I had snacks causing mother to feed me'.

16.   *vaaLLa ceeta   paaDincu   koondaam.*
         Them   by   sing   cause-self let us.
         'Let us have the song sung by them' (for ourselfves)

Type 7. Non-Reflexive meaning of *-kon.*

17.   *poolis   dongani   tannukonTuu   tisuku   veLLÉEDu*
      police   took   the   thief by beating.

Type 8. Reflexives in Negatives.

vaaLLu illu   ammukookapoote   baagunDeedi
they   house   if sold not   good-would be
'It would have been good if they hadn't sold their
house'.

18.   *eppuDuu   tinukonTuu   taakkonTuu; unDakuuDadu-*
      always   eating   drinking remain - should not
      'Don't always keep eating and drinking'.

1.5 Results:

The following are the tables which show the children's
respnses in imitating the sentences given to them. They are
given below first for the individual types in   particular
followed by a grand table.

Table - I

	Responses	I	II	III	IV	V
1.	Correct	36	56	58	65	67
2.	Incomplete	43	24	22	14	13
3.	Change in word order					
	but correct	1	0	0	1	0
	Total	80	80	· 80	80	80

(Responses for Type I. Children in each group 8 and
total sentence used 10. 10 x 8 = 80.)

Table - 2

1.	Correct	23	26	27	29	28
2.	Incomplete	9	5	5	3	4
3.	words order change	0	1	0	0	0
	Total	32	32	32	32	32

Type.2: $8 \times 4 = 32.$

Table - 3

1.	Correct	22	24	29	26	26
2.	Incomplete	10	8	3	6	6
	Total	32	32	32	32	32

Type. 3 : $8 \times 4 = 32$

Table - 4

1.	Correct	6	8	8	8	8
2.	Incomplete	2	0	0	0	0
	Total	8	8	8	8	8

Type 4 : $8 \times 1 = 8$

Table - 5

1.	Correct	20	26	27	30	31
2.	Incomplete	12	5	4	1	0
3.	*aayana* for					
	tanee	0	1	1	1	1
	Total :	32	32	32	32	32

Type 5 :   8 x 4 = 32.

Table - 6

1.	Correct	6	10	7	12	13
2.	Incomplete	8	6	4	4	0
3.	*ceeti + la*					
	lo	2	0	5	0	3
	Total :	16	·16	16	16	16

Type 6 :   8 x 2 = 16.

Table - 7

1.	Correct	2	1	5	5	6·
2.	Incomplete	6	7	3	3	2
	Total :	8	8	8	8	8

Type 7 :   8 x 1 = 8.

Table - 8

1.	Correct		1	1	6	5	10
2.	Incomplete		15	14	9	7	5
3.	*kuuDadu* to *oddu*						
	'don't	'not'	0	1	1	1	1
	Total :		16	16	16	16	16

Type 8 :   8 x 2 = 16.

The following three tables sum up the above results of individuals types .

Total no. of children in each group;   =   8
Total no.of sentences   =   28

Grand total of responses   224

Table - 9

Types	I	II	III	IV	V	Total used in Test
1.	36	56	58	15	68	80
2.	23	26	27	29	28	32
3.	2	24	29	26	26	32
4.	6	8	8	8	8	8
5.	20	26	27	30	31	32
6.	6	10	7	12	13	16
7.	2	1	5	5	6	8
8.	1	1	6	5	10	16··
	116	152	167	180	189	224

Correct Responses of all children in all age groups for all types.

Table - 10

Types	I	II	III	IV	V
1.	43	24	22	12	13
2.	9	5	5	3	4
3.	10	8	3	6	6
4.	2	0	0	0	0
5.	12	5	4	4	0
6.	8	6	4	3	0
7.	6	7	3	3	2
8.	15	14	9	7	·5
	105	69	50	38	30

INCOMPLETE responses in all groups and for all types.

Table - 11

a.	Change in word order	1.	1	1	0	1	0
	-do-	2.	0	1	0	0	0
b.	*aayana* for *tanee*	5.	0	1	1	1	1
c.	*eeeti +* $\begin{Bmatrix} la \\ lo \end{Bmatrix}$	6.	2	0	5	0	3
d	*kuuDadu/oddu*	8.	0	1	1	4	1
	Total :		3	4	7	6	5

•   Other Responses of the children, which are otherwise correct but different from the sentence model given to them for repitition.

Table - 12

1.	Correct	116	152	167	180	189
2.	Incomplete	105	69	50	38	30
3.	Other Responses with changes	3	3	7	6	5
	Total :	224	224	224	224	224

Grand total of all sentences.

1.6   Discussion : Table 12 above shows a progressive increase of scores of the correct imitation through younger to older age groups. similarly there is a progressive decline of scores for incomplete imitation. But this regularly is not maintained in the scores of individual types as is evident form tables 1-8.

Of the eight types, that is type 4 reciprocal is noticed to have been imitated correctly by all the groups of the children. (except 2 scores in the lower age groups). The observation made at the time of recording, if considered, showed the difference in the spontaneity and ease in imitating it by all children as opposed to the other responses. The usage of reciprocal in Telugu is more frequent in action verbs depicting the meaning of quarrel, fight etc., rather than goodwill and friendship. One may, here, venture to state that social and environmental influence might play a crucial role in the perception and production of language in the process of children's learning a language.

In the first type (1), children could not repeat the subordinate (participle) constructions. This may be due to two reasons: One is the sentence complexity; that is, there are two predicates in each sentence of which one is embedded into another; and the other one is the length of the sentence, for a sentence with two or more predicates is naturally longer than a sentence with one predicate. Most of the children tried to imitate and left it incomplete in the middle. That is, while trying to repeat, they stopped after two or three words, gave some pause as if recalling and again tried in their own from the beginning, but finally could not succeed. The notes taken at the time of the recording of the test also support the following observations:

i) That the child's imitation is not entirely based on the length of the sentence, though it is found to have an important role in a short duration of time given to the children for imitation. (They were instructed just to repeat immediately after hearing the sentence read to them by the experimenter).

ii) The child's processing or attempt to process the sentence (as shown in table 11) indicates its effort not just to imitate mechanically but to understand it as well. This is evident from the children's successful rendering of different new grammatical (and meaningful) structures of their own.

iii) Length really did not matter to the child when it seemed to have uderstood the meaning of model sentence. However, it has created a gap (due to the time that was taken to pronounce the sentence) in correlating the perception of the sentence and its production where the child was to recall everything from his memory (which may as well include understanding) to repeat the sentence correctly.

Though most of the children had no difficulty in imitating type 2, some of them were stuck up in the imitation of type 3, where reflexive pronoun was also used. (sentence 14 above).

But when the imitation of the above mentioned sentence is compared with another sentence in Type 5, given below, it is found that the children had problem for two different reasons.

19. *aayana   tana   vanTa   tanee   ceesukonTaaDu*
    'He cooks   food on his own /   himself.'

Sentence 14, being imperative, subject in the surface structure was missing as a clue to apply the agreement rule (mentioned above). The examples in type 5, contained the third person reflexive pronoun tanee (used for all genders) as opposed to the subject of the sentence. These two sentences are, therefore, complex in terms of syntactic rules as they require these rules additionally different from other related structures. Hence the children were not able to repeat them correctly. It may probably have been easier if the imperative rule (deleting the surface subject) and the *tanee* replacement rule (for third person singular) were not operative in the sentences.

Type 6 was not difficult for imitation. The only difference was that it was either repeated exactly or modified by adding *la* or *lo*, a variation in use in the variety of Telugu used by the children, which indicated that they were not imitating the sentences exactly as given to them.

	I	II	III	IV	V
Correct	2	10	7	12	13
+ *la* or *loo*	6	0	5	0	3
Total:	8	10	12	12	16

8 x 2 = 16.

Type 7 was found to be difficult to imitate or even to process it. For this could be noticed from the 'score of Incomplete instead of correct responses.

Incomplete: 6 in I, 7 in II, 3 in III and IV, and 2 in V (out · of a total of 8). Here, we found similarity between the groups I and II on one hand and III to V on the other. Three reasons can be suggested to explain this:

(i) First, this sentence is also a (present continuous) subordinate having two predicates (as in type I) resulting in structural complexity for memory recall; and (ii) Second, the meaning of this utterence is neither reflexive nor reciprocal but something entirely different from the original meaning of -kon; and (iii) Thirdly, while groups I and II could not imitate 6/7 our of 8 responses expected, the successful imitation in the older age group children may also be explained by extralinguistic factors. That is, these children, whose exposure to the external world being greater than the younder ones, perceive such incidents in real life either from their own observations or from others, could understand it, inspite of its structural complexity.

Type 8, reflexive in nagation, has the following correct score:

1 in I and1 in II, 7 in III, (5+4) =9, in IV and (10+1) = 11 in V out of 16 expected responses. That is here the total score is of a combination of correct imitation plus children's modifications of the sentences given to them, which are also correct otherwise, but are not exact imitations. Let us reconsider the examples below.

20.   *vaaLLu   illu   ammukooka pootee   baagunDeedi*
      'It would have been better if they had not sold their house'.

21.   *eppuDuu tinukunTuu,   taakkunTuu unDakuuDadu*
      'One should not always keep eating and drinking'.

(The modification was only where children replace of *kuuDadu* 'don't' by *oddu* 'not' another negative element. The replacement of negative element which is   dealt elsewhere (Usha Devi, 1983-84).

1.6   Conclusions:

1. The study reveals that though children from the age of 3;0 to 5;6 years could use and uderstand most of the different semantic functions of *-kon*, not all children even at the age of 5;6 have mastered all the types under study.

2. Of all the types under study types 4 and 5, i.e., reciprocal and reflexives with reflexive pronouns respectively were found to be relatively easier for all groups of children. Probably, action verbs with the verb always being in plural have clearer meaning with *-kon* than any other semantic function of the same in other uses.

3. Types 1, 2 and 6 are found to be the next easier ones than the remaining types.

4. There is a significant difference in the imitation of the sentences belonging to types 7 and 8, between the children of groups. I to IV on one hand and group I and the other groups for type 3. The study shows a sudden increase in the response from the age of four years (i.e. groups III - V). The reasons may not be assigned only to the linguistic behaviour of the children, which has shown a general significiant increase with age, (table 12) but it may also be due to some extra-linguistic or cognitive factors.

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE
OF HINDI IN INDIA

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Abstract: *The paper argues for an intensive descriptive study of language to understand the overall Societal picture of Hindi in a multilingual and developing country like India. Taking a lot of statistical data, the author supports his theory and line of arguement.*

A descriptive sociology of language with the base line data: what language varieties (name, linguistic and legal status), spoken by whom (numerical strength and geographic distribution), are written in what manner (script and spelling), disseminated in what forms (pamphlets, periodicals, books,etc.) and used for what purposes (education...) is a prerequisite to understand the overall societal picture of a language in a multilingual and developing country like India. A national sociolinguistic profile further demands that the languages are viewed not in their own terms but from their relative positions within the linguistic complex of the whole country . For example, an absolute demolinguistic fact that Hindi is the language of 264, 188, 858 people in India (as per Census of India, 1981) and it is the single largest language spoken in India, does not tell us that it comprises only 39.94 percent of the total population and it has within it 49 variants 48 of which do not bear the name Hindi. Similarly , if we ask how manyother language speakers know Hindi as a second language the figure is 17, 620, 783 (as per Census of India,

1971), while in case of English, it is 24,953,272, and further
while in the case of Hindi the percentage of other language
speakers is only a meagre 7.79 percent of total Hindi speakers
in case of English it is 99.24 percent which attaches tremen-
dous prestige value to English in India. There fore, the
planning and development of Indian languages cannot be left
to absolute micro processes, but these processes should be
evaluated from a national perspective. There is a belief that
such evaluations are necessary only for small, unwritten or
tribal languages, but in fact these are much more essential for
giants like Hindi with national aspirations. The present paper
is an attempt in isolating a number of parameters along which
the languages can be compared in terms of their vitality.
(McConnell, 1988, Lieberson, 1981, Mahapatra, 1986).
Without these exercises, the planned language development
is very much a myth. For the present , we will keep the
unwritten languages of India aside from this purview not for
any ideological reasons but purely as a methodological ·
device. The division of languages as written and unwritten,
underlines the fact alphabetization plays a crucial role in the
development of linguistic infrastructures. This does not rule
out the possibility that certain languages that are spoken and
not written may however show a high degree of refinement in
their oral tradition and may prove more important than written
languages. yet, the criterion written languages as oppposed to
spoken ones was not only the simplest dichotomy but the
most productive of concrete results. Of course, what we mean
by a written language requires a definition. The three most
important criteria are:

i)   First, the obvious one being the existence of some sort
of script or scripts which appeared in print. It is welknown
that writing in a large number of Indian languages was
practised from a very early date and the advent of the printing
press in the early 19th century helped in standardizing the

existing scripts. Thus by the end of the 19th century most Indian languages could boast of some writing or other albeit not always used by the society as a whole. These writings fall into two types: 1) writing by scholars of various sorts like linguists, antthropologists, etc.,which strictly speakin g are not addressed to the speakers of the languages themselves and 2) writing by non-native speakers, such as missionaries, rather than members of the speech community.

We claim that existence of both these types of writings did not prove sufficient to call a language written. Mere transcribed texts in some scholarly journal or books is not enough. In the second category too, written and printed matters, mainly biblical translations in native languages, appeared fairly early and although this literature certainly was addressed to this language community was minimal, as is quite doubtful if anything further came out in these languages after this erstwhile beginning. Without native participation the language lapsed back to an unwritten state.

ii)   A second consideration is whether primary education was or was not offered in the language. It would be anachronistic to ask this question as the Indian constitution gurantees universal right to receive instruction at the primary stage through the mother tongue.

But it is fairly known that all Indian languages are not uniformly used in this capacity on all levels of education. Even such advanced languages like Kashmiri, Dogri, Tulu etc. are offered only at the university level and not primary level. There are a large number of languages which are yet to appear at any level of formal education.

An obvious corollary to language in education is language expansion. In fact, formal education works as a catalytic agent in the overall development of a language, that is, in its elaboration and modernization process. More importantly, it encourages the production of learned prose in the form of text books, which contributes to the reshaping of a language by transfering it from a preliterate stage to a more advanced stage (Kloss, 1970). By reshaping is meant achievements in the realm of information and not of imagination.

These criteria give us a list of some 50 languages which can be called written languages of India. Our questionnaire is designed to draw up sociolinguistic profiles for individual languages. The primary task of such a design is to juxtapose the number of speakers with the degree of language elaboration or implementation. the key variables those which have gone into this profile formula are listed below:

1. Language identification
2. Statistical & Geographical data
3. Language corpus
4 Script and spelling
5. status
6. Language elaboration
7. Language in education
8. Language in administration
9. Language in mass media
10. Language in courts of justice
11. Language in legislature
12. Language in industries
13. Promoting agencies

(See also, a list of topics listed in Verma and Krishnaswamy, p. 13).

Language identification

Language identity is a highly elusive phenomenon in India and as one hundred years of census reports reveal, a veritable ground of erratic fluctuations in language loyalty. Brass isolating a few factors which may affect the language identity says : a large segment of the population may not be aware of the name of their mother tongue, some others may reject it in favour of a different identity and for some either the boundary of distinctness has evaporated or linguistic assimilation has been complete (Brass, 1974, p. 71). It has been pointed out before and now by Southworth that mother tongue data "relates primarily to language loyalty" as opposed to "realistic ability to communicate in particular codes" (Southworth, 1978, p. 144). Without under-estimating the truth of this observation, it is probably possible to believe that decades of social and poltical development in India has gone a long way consolidating the coextensiveness of language ability and language identity to an appreciable extent. this position is particularly true for the scheduled languages other than Hindi. the correlation between language ability and language identity is an overwhelming 99.5% in the case of Assamese, 99.4% for Bengali, 99.2% for Gujarati, 99.4% for Kannada, 97.04% for Kashmiri, 99.9% for Punjabi, 99.7% for Tamil and 99.9% for Telugu . In case of Hindi, a vast portion of the population might be having the language ability, but clearly Hindi language identity is not acceptable to almost 95% or more of its speakers. As a result, as many as 49 mother tongues or distinct language identity tokens having more than 10,000 speakers in all-India level are put under Hindi, although they do not accept Hindi language identity. In other words, the name Hindi is not acceptable to 95% of its population, who are traditionally put under Hindi, or regarded as Hindi speakers . These distinct mother tongue

tokens are : Awadhi, Baghalkhandi, Bagri-Rajasthani, Banjari, Bhadrawahi, Bharmaudi/Gaddi, Bhojpuri, Braj Bhasha, Bundelkhandi, Chambeali, Chattisgarhi, Churhi, Dhunderi, Garhwali, Gojri, Harauti, Haryanavi, Jaunsari, kangri, Khariboli, Khortha /whotta, Kulvi, Kumauni, Kurmali That, Labani, Lamani/Lambadi, Laria, Lodhi, Magadhi, /Magahi, Maithili, Malvi, Mandeali, Marwari, Mewari,   Mewati, Nagpure, Nimadi, Padari, Pahari, Panchparganie, Pangwali, Pawari/Powari, Rajasthani, sadan/sadri, Sondwari, sugali, surgujia and Skurjapuri. This clearly shows Hindi language idantity unlike other scheduled languages, is not given by the people who have their distinct mother tongue loyalties and where ability is a secondary issue. The language name Hindi is accepted by a very small fraction of the native Hindi speakers, but this is the name acceepted by the Government and finds a mention in the Constitution.

Statistical and Geographical data

As per the 1971 sensus, the total native speakers of . Hindi is 208,514,005, forming 38.6% of the total population.The second most numerous language Bengali is a distant second with 8.18% only. Infact, Hindi statistics can be further improved if we take another 17,620,783 second launguage speakers of Hindi. As we have pointed out earlier, Hindi of course does not compare favourably with English in second language speakers neither numerically nor in prestige. Although 99.24% of English speakers are second language speakers, in case of Hindi it is only 7.79%. The notion that seventy percent of Indians know Hindi is contrary to the facts. The mind boggling statistics of Indian biligualism which was 13.04% of the total population in 1971, even forced certain Indian linguistics to throw away the census statistics as Pattanayak did - 'The country average of 9.70%

(for 1961) of biligualism gives a distorted picture of the facts ', although he does not say what other sources of facts he has at his disposal (Pattanayak, 1981, p.44) and said Khubchadani rethinking - ' On the basis of the fact that only 9.7% of the total population of the country claims to be bilingual - that means virtually 90% of the population claims to be monolingual according to the figures provided in the 1961 census - one is led to the conclusion that the degree of interaction among 200 odd speech groups must be pretty low and the diversity of languages must be putting up strong communication barriars in the growth of a nation ' (Khubchandani, 1978).Given this background, we have pointed out that bilingualism can be viewed in two ways :

1. bilinguals who are part of mother tongue strength and 2. second language speakers who are added to the strength of a mother tongue. (Mahapatra, 1988).   In the Indian context,English sets the highest limit of the second kind, i .e. 99.24% of English speakers are second language speakers. For other Indian languages second language strength is marginal.   Only 4 languages, Assamese (17.1) , Kannada (17.55), Tamil (10.99) and Tulu (19.03) could claim of a 10% and above addition to their strength by second language speakers. For a large number of languages the edition is almost nil, i.e. there are no non-native speakers of these languages. Therefore Indian languages in genaral reach their strength mainly by mother-tongue speakers of the language - a fact which perhaps could have been reasonably countered by citing the case of Hindi - the first claimant for the position of the national link language, but for the recent decisions taken by the government in changing the definition of Hindi (see flyleaf, c-v, Mothe-tongues of the 1971 Census). By these measures Hindi became a mother-tongue language like all other Indian languages and forfeited the prestige of a true link

language. If a Maithili or a Mewari speaker returns Hindi as his second language, he will be treated as a monolingual. Therefore, what Hindi gained in native speaker strength, it lost in second language speaker strength. On the other count of the bilingualism, Hindi too does not add anything to the ' communication environment ' of India and suffers from the same complecancy as other sheduled languages, i . e . their languages should be learnt and they need not learn any one's language. Although a vast majority of linguistic groups in India have a bilingual rate between 30 to 50% and above, Hindi with its 6.41% of bilingualism is way below the national average of 13.04% . Even if Hindi contributes substantially to the bilingualism in India in absolute numbers i . e . 13,365,190 persons, it is not likely to be perceptible unless it is converted to an above average state. That alone will considerably weaken the resistence of a lot of people who are crying hoarse of Hindi hagemony. Such a step will not only add to the communication environment of the country but also will be integrative.

Coming now to the question of geographical distribution of Hindi, as per the 1981 census, it is still a language of the north. Even Urdu in comparison can claim to be spoken in discontiguous regions like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, while Hindi remains confined to the contiguous region of six states like Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and two Union Territories of Delhi and Chandigarh where it is spoken by an overwhelming 80% or more of the population. By far, it has spread only by appropriating mother-tongues and it has reached that limit. The only other alternatives available to it now for spread are through bilingualism and urbanisation. But Hindi has a long way to go on both the counts. In the bilingualism front, the

efforts of Hindi has all along been to replace the mother tongues . We have noted with great grief that, education even in primary level is not available to any other mother tongue other than Hindi in Hindi states. A Maithili child cannot get his primary education in Maithili. This is clearly a policy of replacing the mother tongues or domain snatching. But, it has been pointed many times over and lately by Pandit that bilingualism in India, unlike U.S.A. is stable rather than replacive (Pandit, 1971), that is to say that even when the language domains are usurped by devious means, the mother tongue still survives. Very few languages have died out in India in the last century or two. Under the circumastance, it will be a wiser policyto coexist with a large number of mother tongues rather than trying to replace them, and the means to reach that goal is through bilingualism and not mothertongue imposition.

Similarly, locality as a demolinguistic dimension, particularly urbanization has a great potential for language dissaminasion. Urban centres besides being serving as agents for standardisation for Hindi and Bengali respectively. Therefore, if not all the urban centres, at least the major Metropolis of India offer ample opportunities for setting up the communication pattern and Hindi has a fairly good opening there. In four of the major cities like Hyderabad, Bangalore, Greater Bombay and Calcutta, the dominant local languages Telugu, Kannada, Marathi and Bengali have a share of 48.12, 48.22, 45.97 and 58.49 percent respectively. Delhi has 75.73% of Hindi and Madras 74.46% of Tamil. There is a great possibility for Hindi moving in to these Urban centres. But Hindi is as most other Indian languages, a predominently rural language. Barring Sindhi (74.42), Urdu (44.84) and konkani (43.54), in all other cases the percentage of urban speakers is 30% or below.   Even the

sheduled languages do not show a uniform percentage of urban population including Hindi with 15.18% of urban speakers. A language with 84.62% of rural speakers has a very low reach to function as a trend-setter for the whole country. Further, it must be noted that in the national level the picture of Hindi is at more dismal only with 5.78% of urban concentration to function as an effective agent of urban communication environment.

With this demolinguistic picture of Hindi in India, it should be noted that in a multilingual country like ours no two languages share the same niche. There fore, there is need for a matrix along which the language can be compared, so that a sociolinguistic typology of languages can be devoloped and language planning measures can be oriented towards desired goals. A sociolinguistic typology distinct from structural typology, i.e. classifying the languages on the basis of inherent differences and similarities in their structural properties, builds its classification scheme on the basis of such sociolinguistic indices as the status of the language, its structural autonomy and its Societal functions. These indices roughly correspond to the broad sociolinguistic dimensions of the language, called juridical, linguistic and sociological (Kloss, McConnell, 1974 p.8).

Looking first at the juridical aspect of Hindi or the question of its status, it may be said that the status of a language accrues from two main sources : Linguistic and Legal.

The linguistic autonomy of a language is establised by its intrinsic distance or Abstand from all other systems or by its developement through literary activities or Ausbau. We shall return to this topic later. With regard to the legal dimension, in the modern world and in multi lingual countries

like India, languages are bound to get ranked irrespective of political ideologies they follow. Even the language policy of the USSR which drastically changed the pre-revolution language policy of the Russian Empire, i.e. Russian was the official language for almost the whole of the Russian Empire and adopted the new social policy of equality of all peoples and all languages and declared:

1) that the new state was to have no official language
2) every one was to have the right to use his own language, both in private and for the public matters and
3) everyone was to have education and availability of cultural materials in his own language,

subsequently made many amendments to these laudable goals under the pressure of practical concerns, the fore most of which was the need to unify the country. Nevertheless, the Soviet language policy is contrasted by some with the policy of 'Americanization' or 'national monolingualism', which is directed against or restricts the sphere of use of the native languages of national minorities (Sejcer, 1977). Under these contrasting philosophies, the Indian Constitution which is the fountain head of official language policy, defines the primary, status oriented, juridical role of the Indian languages. The specific provisions contained in the Constitution of India on the language question are to be found in part XVII, entitled, Official Language. These provisions, articles 343 to 351, are organised in four chapters : Chapter I, Language of the Union (articles 343, 344), Chapter III, Language of the Supreme Court, Hight Courts, etc. (articles 348, 351) and Chapter IV, special directives (articles, 350, 351). To articles 341 (1) and 355 has been appended the English Schedule to the Constitution. This classification is a two-tiered system prescribing Hindi in Devanagari script as the official language of the

Union of India, subject to the continuence of English for official purposes for a limited period of fifteen years form the commencement of the Constitution (article - 343). Secondly, article 345 allows the legislature of a State to adopt any one or more languages in use in the State (or Hindi) for use for all official purposes in the place of English. In view of this provision, most states have passed specific legislation declaring state official languages. Thus Hindi enjoys the dual status of 'the Official language of the Union of India' and the 'Regional official language' in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Chandigarh and Gujarat. It is also given the 'sub-regional official language' status in some regions of Karnataka.

Coming now, to the question of the other aspect of the status, i.e., linguistic autonomy or Abstand, Hindi has an uncertain history. The linguists of the early 20th century, excepting perhaps Kellog, did not ascribe to Hindi a unitary status (see Mahapatra, 1986). Hoernle divided Hindi into two distinct branches as Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi and ascribed them to two completely different noes of origin, thus questionning its single language status. Grierson's classification is even more diversified distributing dialects which we presently call Hindi along four groups like Eastern, Mediate, Central and Pahari. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who has gone back to different Apabhramsas to derive the various Hindi dialects also does not assign to it a choesive status and the Apabhramsas he posits for the purpose are Khasa, Nagara, Sauraseni, Ardhamagadhi and Magadhi. Therefore, the lingusitic autonomy of Hindi is very much in doubt, irrespective of what Gumperz says - "The area in which Hindi is the regional language extends from Rajasthan and the eastern part of Punjab in the West to the eastern borders of Bihar and

Madhya Pradesh. The standard spoken Hindi, which is current in urban areas of this region, is relatively uniform" (Gumperz, 1971, p-15). Even if the so-called 'standard spoken Hindi' of Gumperz apparently succeeds in providing an umbrella to a number of 'roofless dialects' (Kloss, 1972; Mahapatra, 1987), two major notable break-aways are Urdu and Punjabi, which have become separate languages now for all intent and purpose. They keep cutting into the Hindi loyalty in a substantial manner (Mahapatra, 1978). There-fore, irrespective of functional grouping of dialects, Hindi continues to be a polycentric language with more than one standards which one may notice in Bihar, Rajasthan or Himachal Pradesh. Even the Indian language census of 1961, responded sensibly to these trends in identifying three lan-guages - Bihari, Rajasthani and Pahari independent of Hindi. This has been retracted in 1971 onwards, but it does not rule out the fact that Hindi continues to be a polycentric language with more than one standard or regional standards and a number of them has the same potentiality to claim autonomy as Urdu did.

The same lack of standards are also to be noted in Hindi script and spelling. The Constitution has categorically prescribed Devangari for Hindi thus mixing up the issue of script with the language, and wily-nily subscribing to a false notion that language is script, of which others have taken prompt and undue advantage. Our great predecessor Sanskrit had no such binding. And, this script-language equation has reached such proportions that even tribal languages of India are now intent upon having a script of their own (See Mahapatra, 1987). The biggest linguistic movement that is now going in India, is perhaps the script movement. In spite of this value-laden belief, the Devangari has not been fully standardized and Hindi continues to be written or printed with

more than one letter for a, jha, na, etc. and no one is sure whether the numerals are to be given in Roman or in Baisbari. The spellings are yet more controversial. That requires a whole study on its own and is not discussed here.

The third section is the sociological dimension of the language which elicits the degree of language elaboration or implementation. As we have said earlier, literature or achievements in the realm of written tradition, is very important in building the socio-cultural strength of a language. This domain besides including the category of 'script and spelling' has four other main categories:

   a. literature
   b. religious and ideological writings
   c. categories of literature
   d. papers.

It is of criterial value that the bulk of literature is produced mainly by the native speakers of the language and that these are original writings and not translations. If we take the publication of Biblical literature as a convenient point for the onset of publication in the Indian languages, it would seem that first publications go back to the early 18th century as in Tamil (1714) and Urdu (1747). A vast number of languages could claim some printed materials by the middle of the 19th century. However, for most Indian languages printing and biblical literature continued to remain related for a fairly long period of time. With the decline of missionary activities in India, and the spread of mother tongue education, it is now school text books which form the bulk of language publications. Our survey covering the period from 1960-81 shows that the scheduled languages, except perhaps Kashmiri add nearly 100 to 1,500 titles a year to their total. The process of language elaboration is a deliberate but slow process. Also, achievements may not be manifested by literature alone.

There are other means like the printed media which keep the involvement of people alive. But it should also be noted that as Kloss has pointed out (Kloss, 1978), it is not absolute number of such publications that matters. Three periodicals may mean a lot in the case of a speech community numbering 10,000 persons, while six periodicals or other publications would hardly be impressive in the case of a speech community with more than five million speakers. The achievement is to be put into proportion to the relative size of the community. But by any standards, the scheduled languages other than Sindhi and Kashmiri are highly prolific in the matter of publication, i.e., Hindi, Bengali, marathi, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Gujarati and Kannada having more than 10,000 publications, Hindi leading with 37, 034 and languages like Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese and Urdu between 3,000 and 10,000. In the matter of periodicals like newspapers, news sheets and magazines, Hindi is also way ahead of other scheduled languages. But its position vis-a-vis English is not so unique.

The literary growth of a language and its use in an increasing number of domains can evolve along three major directions: 1) poetry and fiction, 2) non-narrative prose and 3) oral channels such as speeches, broadcasts, cinemas, etc. It is also true that the demarcation line between fiction and expository prose is always not clear, but it is the latter type of literature which is said to have a greater impact upon newly literate speakers. The dichotomy is between imaginative versus informative literature. In written literature, prose stands more in need of language standardization than poetry, expository prose more than fiction. Standardization becomes urgent at the refined level and indispensable at the learned level of non-narrative prose. Therefore the literature is divided into two broad categories of narrative and non-narrative.

The sub-categories of narrative literature are provided in two sections that of lyrics and fiction. The non-narrative prose which ranges from devotional or deological writings to school text books has the sub-categories : popular, refined and learned corresponding to three levels of education : Primary, Secondary and University. Text books produced for these levels automatically contribute to the progressive standardization of the language. It is to be noted that in the case of most major languages it is non-narrative literature that exceeds narrative for the obvious reason that as a language grows, its interest no longer remains confined to narratives but becomes more and more refined in the sense that information transfer of a higher order become more imaginative. The degree of language standaridization and fixing the quantum of development a language has reached, remaining unsatisfactory as they are, now perhaps can be measured fairly objectively according to the dimension of language elaboration, i.e., the level of standardization it has reached through the development of its non-narrative prose. The statistics show that of the total 37, 034 publications of Hindi the narrative is only 7, 776 and non-narrative 29, 258, which is a positive sign of its speedy standardization.

If a language could be gainfully employed in education it also stands to lose when the language is not used in this domain. The constitution of india recognizes universally the right to receive instruction at the primary stage through one's mother tongue. The role of language in primary education can have both psychological and practical advantages for its speakers. It has also an important sociological bearing on the status of the language. For example, Kloss (1972) observes that between languages like Hindi and its numberous kin varieties, beginning form Maithili to Magahi, Chattisgarhi, Bundeli, mewari, Mewati, Kumaoni, Garhwali, Chambeali,

Mandeali, etc. Wherever the language of primary schools is Hindi and Hindi only, one might presume that the local speech variety is in the process of being dialectalized and that within the foreseable future the speakers of the vernacular will consider that vernacular to stand to Hindi in a dialect-like relationship. Thus, the 'language of literacy' or 'the teaching medium of the primary school' is an important sociolinguistic dimension of far-reaching consequence. Thus, the schools are not just centres for education but also trigger off activities related to language development. As understood, Hindi is the language of primary education over-arching a large number of distinct mother tongue which are progressively dialectalized under its roof. This will be obvious if we take the states, Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar pradesh and the two Union Territories Chandigarh and Delhi, where Hindi is used as the only teaching medium at primary level :

States/U.T.	Primary Schools	Students
Bihar	48,181	4,518,463
Chandigarh	N.A.	N.A.
Delhi	1,526	520,169
Haryana	5,399	627,433
Himachal Pradesh	6,400	565,748
Madhya Pradesh	51,566	4,040,857
Rajasthan	21,313	1,813,253
Uttar Pradesh	71,637	9,823,026

The other category of literature related to language standardization are news papers and periodicals. As per 1981 statistics, 399 daily news papers, are brought out in Hindi of which Bihar-20, Chandigarh-7, Delhi-15, Haryana-11, Himachal Pradesh-1, Madhyapradesh-84, Rajasthan-75 and Uttar Pradesh-142.

With reference to the role of oral channels in language standardization there are three major media of language usage: 1) use in radio, 2) use in television and 3) use in movies. It may perhaps be conceded that the spoken word does not require the same degree of unification and codification as the printed page. The script and spelling which so often hampers the growth of language in writing, is non-extent when spoken. A largely un-written language may be standardized and modernized to a very high degree chiefly through established oral media like radio broadcasts, televisions or movies. Of course, oral deliveries may be at different levels, starting from fairly rudimentary to reasonably sophisticated. With reference to broadcasts four such levels have been identified : a) Folklores, poems etc., b) reports, announcements etc., c) lectures, sermons, etc., and d) scholarly programmes. It must be noted that in India, radio and television are fully controlled by the Government and a large share of movie production also is government controlled. Hindi as the language of the union, and also as a regional language gets the lion's share of these media hours through the largest number 44 broadcasting stations spread throughout the length and the breadth of the country. Even a large number of foreign stations boradcast programmes in Hindi ranging from half an hour to several hours daily. These stations are

Bangladesh	-	30	mnts.
Egypt	-	60	mnts
Germany (F.R.)	-	50	mnts
Germany (G.D.R.)	-	120	mnts
Guam	-	30	mnts
Japan	-	180	mnts
Pakistan	-	60	mnts
Seychelles	-	60	mnts

Sri Lanka   - 615 mnts
U.K.   - 130 mnts
U.S.A.   - 90 mnts
U.S.S.R.   - 120 mnts (as per 1981 data)

The Programmes are enriched by all features accompanying a generally sophisticated and demanding programme.

The television, obviously a recent comer to the field of propagation has its own contribution to Hindi.

A third and very important   category of oral channel   are the movies. The films fall into two categories 1) feature and 2) short. Although feature films are produced by private agencies mainly, based upon commercial considerations, short films, including documentaries and other publicity oriented matters are produced mainly by the government. Our data on films show, Hindi by 1981 has produced as many as 2,341 feature films and 10,695 short films, the largest in India. It is also way ahead of other Indian languages in the production of records and cassets, which also contribute significantly to the volume of oral literature (For further details, see Mahapatra, et al 1989).

. These parameters at once bring into focus the relatively week sides of Hindi, i.e., demolinguistic and linguistic, and at the same time its very substantial advantage over other Indian languages in the juridical and sociological domans, be it govenment backed. This evaluation is a primary requirement for all language planning steps to be recommended for Hindi.

Another area of study which must be looked into in this connection is the range and intensity of language usage or functions. These domains are administration, judiciary, legislature and industries. But, it must be said that in a macro level survey as this, data on language functions are likely to suffer from some amount of tentativeness leading to over or under generalization, until a number of these domains with reference to functions are further substantiated by micro level studies. However, certain major trends of language usage are still discernible, i.e., most Indian languages other than the scheduled languages have very little function out side their immediate local enviornment and that too in informal milieu and in oral communication. Most of these languages have little function even in regional official levels and much less in the national level. A few languages like Manipuri/Meithei, Konkani, Nepali, etc., might show a broader area of usage because of their official status in their respective regions. In fact, recognition of official languages in the official level does have a salutary effect on the language propagation and maintenance. By virtue of their official status, most scheduled languages are progressively acquiring new areas of usage at least in their own regions, where at one time English generally functioned. In the national level however, the scheduled languages other than Hindi are much less successful firstly due to the lack of scope and secondly of efforts. The judiciary for example, is still much harder to open its doors to the Indian languages including Hindi. Only in district level lower courts, such as oral proceedings like pleading or giving evidence may be permitted in languages other than English. The industries, including the sales and services, may turn to Indian languages in a very restricted way, such as: in the publicity or labling of their products. The larger the industry is, its language choice gets all the more restrictive. It is also

probably true that industries like sales and services and industries which produce consumer goods as against capital goods, are more open to utilize the Indian languages as they have a vested interest in reaching out to the general public. Yet, their involvment with the Indian languages is still hesitant; more of a trial and error rather than a committed policy. Hindi, however, has made a limited head way in all the levels of administration, judiciary, legislature, etc., more as the official.olanguage of the union, where its usage is mandatory, rather than as a scheduled language which is made to fend for itself against the all-pervading English. The general picture of language usage that emerges, mainly point to a pyramidal structure, where a large number of languages operate at the base local level. The higher one goes, through the state levels to the national level, the competing languages turn out to be Hindi and English. Only intensive studies based on the format we have suggested can give a sharper picture to the character of the changing linguistic situation in India. That would be a major step forward in designing nation-oriented language profiles (Ferguson, 1966).

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APHASIC SPEECH
A PROSODIC ANALYSIS

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Abstract: *By making use of the prosodic theory the paper brings interesting insights to the understanding of aphasic speech and perception of aphasic phonology. The theory thus seems to have a real value for linguistic description and offers new and economic analysis of Telugu aphasic speech.*

This paper presents an analysis of geminates and clusters in aphasic's speech whose native language is Telugu. Earlier an attempt (cf. Usha Rani 1986) is made in terms of descriptive framework.

Firth (1948) makes a distinction between syntagmatic and paradigmatic features in phonological analysis. He makes a distinction between structure and system. Structure refers to syntagmatic relations and units. Structure involves prosodies. System in general refers to paradigmatic functions and classes. System involves phonematic units. Structure is represented in terms of C and V (consonant and vowel).

The domain of prosodies may be units such as the syllable, word, phrase, sentence or their parts. Robins (1957, 1970) makes an abstract statement of prosodies as follows:

Sentence prosody - intonation

Sentence pieces - length, stress and tone relations between component syllables.

Syllable prosodies   -   length, tone, stress

Prosodies of $\Big\}$ -   aspiration, unexploded plosion
syllable parts

(For Further details of Prosodic Phonology refer to Waterson : 1987)

V systems and C systems along with their terms form a part of phonematic units. Subsystems are set up at V and C places and they are referred to as P system, N system and so on. Adopting the method followed by Venkateswara Sastry (1987), only the features under discusion are presented in the prosodic formulae. This saves cluttering up the formulae with information not relevant to the particular   point   being discussed and brings the particular features of analysis into focus.

Subjects:- The three subjects selected for the study were from Gandhi hospital. Subjects taken for the study are referred to as M, A and S. Their age as per the records is 25 years, 35 years and 65 years respectively. All the subjects are native speakers of Telugu. The diagnosis by the neurophysician and general physicians of the hospital reveals some facts. All the aphasics are identified as Broca's aphasics.

Broca's aphasia is also known as 'expressive aphasia'. In this type of aphasia the expressive skills of an individual are the most disturbed. All the subjects are cerebro-vascular accident (C.V.A.) patients with right side hemiplegia, i.e. their right upper and lower limbs are parlysed. In all the subjects the C.V.A. resulted from thrombosis.   All the subjects are right handed. None of the subjects were under going any speech therapy at the time of the study.

Material:- The data for the present study are collected by using the phonology section of a comprehensive test, designed to obtain information on phonological, morphological and syntactic components of Telugu. All the words chosen in the list (in the phonology section) are picturable. A wide variety of pictures and objects representing the words in the list are shown to the subjects for eliciting the data.

Experiment:- Repetition technique was used as a mode of elicitation as the subjects could not respond to requests for spontaneous speech. We must confess that very little data was obtained through conversation and interview.

A casette recorder with a built-in-microphone was used to record data in each session. The first recording of each subject was made approximately 4 weeks after the stroke. The subsequent two recordings were made at an interval of one month each.

Phonological analysis:- The phonological changes in geminates and clusters can be broadly divided into four categories, as shown below :

A. Change in term

B. Change in system

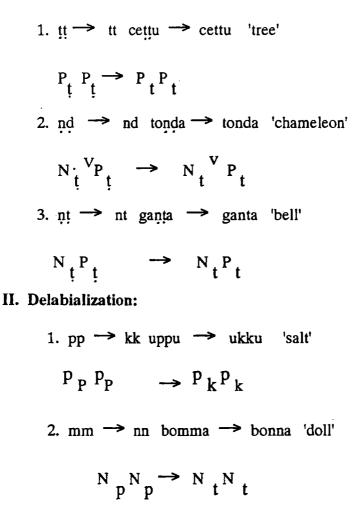C. Change in term of C_1 (first consonant)

Change in term and system of C_2 (second consonant)

D. Change in term and system.

(prosodic formulae are presented only for the feature under discussion).

The examples for the category 'A ' are further subjected to subclassification based on the process which they undergo in terms of prosodic phonology.

1. Deretroflexion:

    1. $\underset{..}{tt}$ $\rightarrow$ tt ce$\underset{..}{tt}$u $\rightarrow$ cettu   'tree'

$$P_{\underset{.}{t}}\ P_{\underset{.}{t}} \rightarrow P_t P_t$$

    2. $\underset{..}{nd}$ $\rightarrow$ nd to$\underset{..}{nd}$a $\rightarrow$ tonda 'chameleon'

$$N\cdot_{\underset{.}{t}}{}^{V}P_{\underset{.}{t}} \rightarrow N_t{}^{V}\ P_t$$

    3. $\underset{..}{nt}$ $\rightarrow$ nt ga$\underset{..}{nt}$a $\rightarrow$ ganta 'bell'

$$N_{\underset{.}{t}}P_{\underset{.}{t}} \rightarrow N_t P_t$$

II. Delabialization:

    1. pp $\rightarrow$ kk uppu $\rightarrow$ ukku   'salt'

$$P_p\ P_p \rightarrow P_k P_k$$

    2. mm $\rightarrow$ nn bomma $\rightarrow$ bonna 'doll'

$$N_p N_p \rightarrow N_t N_t$$

3. bb $\rightarrow$ dd debba $\rightarrow$ dedda 'injury'

$$^{v}P_{p}\ ^{v}P_{p}\ \rightarrow\ ^{v}P_{t}\ ^{v}P_{t}$$

III. Develarizationp

1. gg $\rightarrow$ dd mogga $\rightarrow$ modda 'bud'

$$^{v}P_{k}\ ^{v}P_{k}\ \rightarrow\ ^{v}P_{t}\ ^{v}P_{t}$$

2. nk $\rightarrow$ nt wanka:ya $\rightarrow$ wanta:ya 'brinjal'

$$N_{t}\ P_{K}\ \rightarrow\ N_{t}\ P_{t}$$

B. Change in system:

1. ss $\rightarrow$ tt bassu $\rightarrow$ battu 'bus'

$$S_{t}\ S_{t}\ \rightarrow P_{t}\ P_{t}$$

2. yy $\rightarrow$ c ceyyi $\rightarrow$ ce:ci 'hand'

$$G_{c}\ G_{c}\ \rightarrow P_{c}$$

The subcategories of 'B' are B_1 and B_2.

$B_1 = c_1$ changes its system.

$B_2 = c_2$ changes its system.

The examples for B_1 are:

1. st $\rightarrow$ tt   wasta:nu $\rightarrow$ watta:nu 'I Will come'

$$S_t \, P_t \rightarrow P_t \, P_t$$

2. rc $\rightarrow$ cc kurci $\rightarrow$ kucci 'chair'

$$R_t \, P_c \rightarrow P_c \, P_c$$

The examples for B2 are:

1. nj $\rightarrow$ nn ganji $\rightarrow$ ganni 'starch'

$$N_t{}^v P_c \rightarrow N_t \, N_t$$

2. mh $\rightarrow$ mb simhamu $\rightarrow$ simbamu 'lion'

$$N_p \, V \rightarrow N_p{}^v P_p$$

C. Change in term: of C_1

Change in term and system in C_2

1. gg $\rightarrow$ dr mogga $\rightarrow$ modra 'bud'

$${}^v P_k \, {}^v P_k \rightarrow {}^v P_t \, R_t$$

2. Ṣṭ $\longrightarrow$ tt kaṣṭamu $\longrightarrow$ kattamu 'difficulty'

$$S_{\underset{.}{t}}\, P_{\underset{.}{t}} \longrightarrow P_t\, P_t$$

3. ṇḍ $\longrightarrow$ nn toṇḍa $\longrightarrow$ tonna 'chameleon'

$$N_{\underset{.}{t}}{}^{V}\, P_{\underset{.}{t}} \longrightarrow N_t\, N_t$$

4. mp $\longrightarrow$ nc campina $\longrightarrow$ cancina

'rel. participle of to kill'

$$N_p\, P_p \longrightarrow N_t\, P_c$$

D. Change in term and system.

1. Kṣ́ $\longrightarrow$ cc rikṣ́a $\longrightarrow$ ricca 'riksha'

$$P_k\, S_{\underset{.}{t}} \longrightarrow P_c\, P_c$$

2. ww $\longrightarrow$ n duwwena $\longrightarrow$ du:nena 'comb'

$$G_p\, G_p \longrightarrow N_t$$

The subcategories of category 'D' are ' D_1 ' and 'D$_2$'.

$D_1 = c_1$ Changes its term and system.

$D_2 = c_2$ Changes its term and system.

Example for 'D_1'.

rs $\longrightarrow$ ss narsu $\longrightarrow$ nassu 'nurse'

$$R_t\, S_t \quad \longrightarrow \quad S_t\, S_t$$

Example for 'D_2'

ms $\longrightarrow$ mc hamsa $\longrightarrow$ hamca 'swan'

$$N_p\, S_t \quad \longrightarrow \quad N_p\, P_c$$

     The advantages of this prosodic treatment of available data are many fold. In the earlier analysis (Usha Rani : 1986), it is found that the chages of only phenomes were noted . By application of prosodic theory, we are convinced that some sort of reasoning for the recovery of Broca's aphasic patients is possible. Further, it is also possible to focus on certain aspects of stress, syllable and intonation of aphasics (Forthcoming : Sastry and Usha Rani).

1.   If the system of the normal speech is retained in the aphasics speech and only term is changed, then it automatically gives us the clue that the patient is not totally committing a mistake. That ,he maintains the system of the consonants as does normal speakers, gives him encouragement to recover fast.

2.   If the system of the aphasics speech is a deviation from that of normal speech, it is assumed that the rate of recovery of the patient could be very slow. This fact, however, needs an empirical field work. In all the processes shown above, it is observed that the resultant form in aphasic

speech is of dental/alveolar terms. The above prosodic analysis further strengthens the arguement that the unmarked articulatory position is only that of dental/alveolar .

The supporting evidence also comes from child language (Ingram 1979), Jakobson (1972), and Nirmala (1979, 1980).

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POINTS TO PONDER FOR
A FRENCH TEACHER ▮

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Abstract: *The attraction to french learning appears, these days to have faded and hence a receded flow of sstudents. An attempt is made by way of introspection for the reasons therein. The author poses certain self searching questions and tries to present a neat analysis.*

The students attracted to learning French have definitely dwindled during past few years. All Institutions, do have the same discouraging tale to tell. Moreover, the student analysis with regards to their backgrounds does reveal one strikingly strange fact i.e., the students already have a fairly good knowledge of another foreign language (or shall the call it a second language) -English. The composition of the French class is devoid of any students from regional language background. It appears as though the class comprises of only 'convent-bred' students. One logical question which invariably crops up is why should one have to have this other foreign language background to persue the learning of French. Such an atmosphere can be attributed to 1) the attitudes of the taught before entering the class-room and 2)the subsequsent experiences of the taught in the early stages of their French learning.

The experience has been that, the language learner has, for reasons which go beyond any logical explanation, an attitude which goes to say that a fairly good knowledge of English is a pre-requisite to learning another foreign lan-

guage, which is French in the present case. The only possible reasoning that could be thought of, is the presumption that the student has towards learning another foreign language. He appears to have a premonition that a failure in learning one foreign language (English) comes to stay for ever and that an attempt to go in for another (French) could have the same disastrous reslult. Linguists are definitely in contradiction and air a different view that every essaie is a new experience. But one has to come out of the glass house and accept the factuality with a positive outlook. Mere theorisation would only work out to building ivory towers. Staying aloof from the actuality is to give a deaf ear to the general inhibitions of the learner, which are of prime importance in language learning. Even though going by the book, one is tempted to state that learning a new language is a total new experience and that any language is as easy or as difficult as any other language, the fait accompli is far from being in agreement to such a notion. The class room environment of alienation to some extent adds up to reinforce this sentiment of the learner from regional language background. The proceedings in the class room, however much one pretends to differ, tend to fortify this feeling, for English, a language presupposed to be the common medium of usage to teach French, is used extensively in the class-room situation in order to infuse the Language Acquisition Devises of French to the taught.

Direct method of teaching French is much advocated but in reality, it remains impracticable owing to the time stipulations that constrain the teacher. The communicative approach to language teaching could be proposed as a possible alternative but the experience reveals that, this method is only useful to reduce an other wise crowded class-room to an optimum member. This could thus be lebelled as a' chase away technique'. In order to infuse the initial enthusiasm in

the class, the teacher is compelled to go out of the syllabus and even to find recourse in the bilingual or trilingual method. Such an exercise is inevitable to keep up the tempo and to upkeep the interest of the class, for, when the student walks out of the class, he has to have the feeling of accomplished some thing for the ordeal that he has gone through for an hour or two. Contributing to this sense of satisfaction is what has to be aimed at by an intelligent teacher. Let not the student leave the class empty handed. Give him a feeling of having something new to say, be it in french, be it in the culture or even in reinforeing what he already knows.

Everybody coming to the language class has to be viewed as a possible positive language learner. The student should not be found fault with abinitio. If a student fails in his attempt to learn a language, one should invariably blame the teacher, for the student has always a clean slate while entering the class-room. It thus remains to be seen as to what extent the teacher succeeds in painting the slate with what he intends to. Most French teachers despite being sons of the soil, have undergone training in teaching techniques abroad which is clearly reflected in their outlook. The case studies during their training abroad refer to an audience very much foreign to that one has in the Indian situation - lingustic and cultural distance. One other drawback which the students from regional language back ground are faced with, is the exposure to an environment where in emphasis is given to alien culture in the guise of "know the land where the language is spoken," - music, dance, socialising, etc., which adds up to the already formulated negative attitude towards the language class, owing to the inferiority complex.

The barrier that is formed between the groups is well illustrated by the following incident. When the students of a

French class were shown a Telugu translation of a French
novel "Petit Prince", the students questioned the need for such
an attempt and even went to the extent of considering it a
waste of time and energy. The source of such an inapt
reasoning is very much questionable. Who is responsible for
such an erraneous attitude? The teacher? The student due to
the created environment? And why?

A peep into the class-room could to quite some extent
explain the situation. The teacher during the course of the
class, when faced with a difficulty in explaining, using the
direct method, does take recluse in English as bilingnal
alterative, and yet does not feel guilty of having deviated. But
use of a regional language (or say an Indian language) to
accomplish the same is dispensed with and considered
inappropriate, despite the possiblility of yielding better
results.

While introducing the adjectives in French, it would be·
a lot more easier for the teacher to resort to Hindi, a language
much closer home, than to do the same with the help of
English. The adjectives in French agree with gender as well
as number of the noun they qualify. Such an agreement does
occur to an extent in Hindi.

eg:	French	Hindi	Gloss:
	/pəti/	/chōṭa/	'small' (masc)
	/ pətit/	/chōṭi/	'small' (fem)

If the same were to be explained using English, the
teacher has to constantly keep repeating the variations of the
French adjectives.

In case of the possesive adjectives, there appears a
stricking parallelism between French and Hindi. Giving a

Hindi comparision, makes the teacher's job much easier than to sticking to the English guns because, the choice of the adjective in French as in Hindi, is determined by the possessed and not the possessor.

French	Hindi	Gloss:	
/mõ/	/merā/.	'my'	(masc)
/ma/	/meri/	'my'	(fem)
/tõ/	/terā/	'your'	(mas)
/ta/	/terī/	'your'	(fem)
/sõ/	/uskā/	'his/her'	(masc)
/sa/	/uskī/	'his/her'	(fem)

It is thus evident that the intricacies of French possesives can be unfurled using the positive interference of Hindi.

Even in case of the imperatives, very close parallelism is seen between French and Hindi or Telugu.

Eg.	French	Hindi	Telugu	Gloss
	/va/	/jā/	/põ/	'go'
	/alɛ/	/jāyiye/	/põNDi/	'go (pl)/please go'
	/alõ/	/jāyẽ/	/põdāmu/	'let us go'

The pronoun system of French is yet another area where better reinforcement could be given from local language as modern English fails to catch the finer distinctions; where as forms in Hindi and Telugu are self explanatory.

French	Hindi	Telugu	Gloss
/tü'/	/tum/	/nivu/	'you'
		/nuwwu/	
/vu/	/āp/	/miru/	'you' pl/honorific
/nu/	/ h∂m/	/memu/	'we' (excl).
/õ/	/h∂mlōg/	/manamu/	'we' (incl.)

While both Hindi and Telugu, as has been seen, could help to give a clear understanding to the students, things tend to get complicated by the use of English resulting in a confusion.

By restraining from the use of local languages, the teacher is compelled to give explanation for the imperative forms of 'allez' and 'allons'. 'allez' is an imperative used while refering to a second person plural audience or to a second person with respect (honorfic usage). 'allons', 'let us go', the parallel for which in English confuses the students as to why 'us' is used, where as his knowledge of imparatives cleary state that no pronoun is used therein. However, this notion can, without any transmission loss, be very well recieved by the students, if the teacher were only to turn to either Hindi or Telugu for help. It thus remains debatable as to why such means of explanation are sidelined in preference to English.

The carriculum prepared in the colleges and universities is time bound. Around 100 teaching hours are allocated to foreign language teaching (called the second language in the academic jargon). If the learners were to be exposed to language dumping during the silent period, which would extend over two months, the time remaining is insufficient to complete the stipulated syllabus. This silent period, of say

thirty to thirty five hours, is considered as necessary to get a feel of the language and initiate a tendancy to grasp. To begin with, one has to consider the fact that withstanding, 'the groping in the dark exercise' for two months is difficult, as things otherwise are already complicated for the students. The possible outcome of such an excercise would be, the student changing his option of the second language, as the achievements in the second language examination are of very little importance in the academic grades.

Some motivation has to be present for the student to come back to the French class room. Thus the teacher will have to make the student realise the importance of French which could be the outcome of instrumental motivation (for better marks in the subject). The social identification factor could play some role in holding back some possible deserters from the class. The truest and most motivated students will be those with an integrated motivation, who would search for a career and would want to identify with the language speakers.

To overcome the problems faced by the teacher and to make the purpose of learning French more meaningful, certain proposals are put forward hereunder:

1. At the outset, the teacher ought to be given a kind of re-orientation to suit to the Indian situation. Thereby, the teacher would be adequately equipped with tools to tackle the problems arising in the class and to solve them effectively. The exodus of the regional background learners can also be arrested by teacher, by going closer to the student. This could be achieved if positive interference from regional languages were to be used in lieu of English.

2. The syllabus proposed should be of such a magnitude that the teacher will not be compelled to run through. The formulators of the syllabus should be forewarned to cut the size to acceptable

limits, to enable the teacher to have some breathing space. The teacher should be so oriented so as enthuse the students to be able to use the language for communication and not be bothered about the number of lessons in the text-book. The teacher, from his side has to stimulate the necessary motivation in the students. The teacher also should formulate the structure of the course going by the particular needs in the class-room situation, taking into account the time factor, over which he has no control.

3.   In a way the teacher is responsible, to a very large extent, in grooming or ruining a student. It is he, who makes or breaks the class. The efficiency of the teacher, invariably reflects in the size and quality of his class.

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NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT ∎

Guest Lectures by the Visiting Scholors to the CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University were arranged as mentioned below :

22.7.1989	Prof. Ulrich Ammon	'Sociolinguistics'
7. 8.1989	Dr. Alice Davison	'Question Strategy in Hindi'
11.12.1989	Dr. Judith W.Lingson	'Dialogue journal writing with Zulu students'
16.12.1989	Dr. Ladislav Zgusta	'Recent developments in Lexicography'

The Undermentioned visiting teachers offered a two week course in the areas of special interest.

1-2-1989	Prof.M.S.Thirumalai CIIL, Mysore	Abnormality Language and Gesture.
27-2-1989	Prof. D.P.Pattanayak CIIL, Mysore	Multilingualism and Multi Culturalism
7-3-1989	Prof.K.G. Vijaya krishnan CIEFL,Hyderabad	Autosegmental Phonology

24-10-1989 Dr.B.P.Mahapatra   Sociolinguistics,
             Office of the.Registrar   Demolinguistics
             General of India, Calcutta and Language
                                        Planning

6-11-1989 Prof.A.K.Sinha,
              Uiversity of Delhi   Chomskyean
              Delhi.   Paradigm

Seminars and Conferences 1989

February 1989 Language Process and Language Disorders

(Director: **Prof. H.S Ananthanarayana.**
Secretaries:Prof.B. Lakshmi Bai, Dr.D.Vasanta)

The three-day interdisciplinary National Seminar was attended by about 50 scholars representing Universities and institutions from all over the Country. Besides three keynote addresses on Language acquisition, Language Disorders and Language Evaluation,a total of 29 papers were presented and discussed.

The theme, language acquisition, included the aspects like production,comprehension,language inability and grammaticality judgements, Eleven papers were presented in these areas. The theme, language disorders included the areas like hearing impairment, cerebral palsy,Cleft palate and agrammatism. Six papers were presented in this section. The theme, language evaluation attracted seven papers which covered different aspects in testing and language remediation. There was one paper on computer applications in the remediation of learning disabilities.

In addition to the above papers, there were another five papers which were presented and they cut across the above themes. They dealt with child language acquisition Vs language learning by adults and age differences in language processing.

Some selected papers are being published by the department.

December, 1989 **The Art and Science of Translation**

December 18-19,1989.

(Director: **Prof. H.S. Anantanarayana.** Secretary: Dr. J. Venkateswara Sastry.)

After a long period, during which the emphasis in Linguistics was on the development of phonological and syntactic theories, recent years have seen a considerable rise in interest in translation studies. Department of Linguistics started offering 'Translation Theory and Practice' as an elective course at the M.A (Final) level from the academic year1979 onwards and has trained a good number of students. A growing awareness of the usefulness of linguistic theories is contributing to this aspect. Moving in this direction a two day National seminar was held in the month of December 1989. Scholars representing different Universities and other institutions of higher learning attended this Seminar. Thirty papers were presented and discussed by the scholars. The papers represent different areas of translation, Viz:

(a) SL to TL - Contrastive study
(b) translation of poetry

(c) Technical terms and translation problems

(d) Modernization of language and role of translation

(e) Machine translation

Some selected papers presented at the Seminar are being published by the department.

TEACHERS' PUBLICATIONS

ADITI MUKHERJEE:

1989: *Language Variation and Language Change*(ed).
Osmania University Publications.

1989: *Tense in Indian English* (with R.K. Agnihotri and A.L. Khanna) New Delhi : Bahri Publications.

1989: 'Some socio-psychological correlates of linguistic assimilation'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 75. 27-46.

B. VIJAYANARAYANA:

1989: Talking about the Future. in *International Journal of Translation*, 1/2: 59-68.

M.PHIL DISSERTATION

DEVELOPMENT OF NUMBER AND CASE INFLECTION IN TELUGU CHILDREN

V.SAILAJA (1989)
(Supervisor: Prof. B. Lakshmi Bai)

The study consists of five chapters. Chapter one deals with the earlier studies and scope of the study with its limitations. This section gives a brief survey of the methods employed in developmental psycholinguistics and the methods adopted. The second chapter gives brief account of noun inflectional system in Telugu with regard to number and case. In the third chapter, the development of plurality i.e., the emergence of plural concept and its expression by plural marker is discussed. The fourth chapter deals with the case system in children's speech. It gives an account of emergence of case notions and their surface manifestations. Chapter five presents a comparison of results of the study with those of earlier studies with concluding remarks.97