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*Editor*

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# PHRASAL RELATIVES IN TELUGU, BENGALI AND NEPALI *

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A b s t r a c t: Phrasal relatives which involve participialization have several constraints based on the hierarchical relations of grammatical cases and their semantic relations. These constraints that govern the Telugu phrasal relatives are found to a certain degree in Bengali and to a greater degree in Nepali. In fact, except in ablative, the constraints are almost indentical. If we could posit a linguistic area covering Southern and Eastern India and extended to Nepal based on the syntactic feature, the identity of constraints between Dravidian languages and Nepali jumping over Magadhan languages needs to be explained. The investigation of the other native languages of Nepal may throw some light on the problem of convergence.

A relative clause, either limits the scope of a noun phrase or adds some information to it. In either of these functions it is an attribute to the relativized noun. Based on this distinction we have restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. I do not have much to say about this distinction in the present paper.

There are two major relativization strategies available to languages in varying degrees, which are called **isolating strategy** and **incorporating strategy** by Keenan (1972). I have been calling them **clausal relatives**, and **phrasal relatives** respectively (Ramarao and Narasimha Reddy 1974). Non-clausal nature of phrasal rela-

tives has been noted by linguists who worked on these relatives
(Keenan 1972; Ramarao and Narasimha Reddy 1974; Kachru and
Bhatia 1977). All south Asian languages have both of these
strategies and show interesting variations in their employment. The
major South-Asian clausal strategy results in correlative clauses.
The following characteristics may be noted of the correlative clauses
in Dravidian languages: The relative clause precedes the head-noun.
There would be a split relative marker prefixed to the head and
identical noun-phrase of the relative claluse. The equi-NP deletion
may not delete the identical noun phrase in the relative clause.
Pronominalization may operate both the directions. The identical
NP in the relative clause retains its case marker. Except for the
prefixed relative marker to the relativized NP and the addition of
connecting clitic to the finite verb the relative clause is the same as
the underlying sentence. The following examples from Telugu
would illustrate the above observations:

1. a) *nēnu*        *nēpāl lō*      *oka nadi lō*          *snānam*
      I           in Nepal      in a river             bath
    *cēsiānu*       *ā nadi*        *pēru*               *bhāgamati.*
      took          that        river's name (is)      Bhagamati.

After relativization:
.

  b) *nēnu*     *nēpāl lō*    *ē nadi lō*          *snānam*
      I         in Nepal    which river in          bath

     *cēsiānō*              *ā nadi*      *pēru*      *bhāgamati.*
       took               that  river's name (is) Bhagamati.

With backward pronominalization :

| c) *nēnu* | *nēpāl lō* | *dēni lō (<ēdi+lō)* | *snānam* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | in Nepal | in which | bath |
| *cēsiānō* | *ā nadi* | *pēru* | *bhāgamati.* |
| took | that river's | name (is) | Bhagamati. |

With forward pronominalization :

| d) *nēnu* | *nēpāl lō* | *ē nadi lō* | *snānam* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | in Nepal | which river in | bath |
| *cēsiānō* | *dāni (<adi+ni)* | *pēru* | *bhāgamati.* |
| took | its | name (is) | Bhagamati. |

With backward and forward pronominalization :

| e) *nēnu* | *nēpāl lō* | *dēni lō* | *snānam* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | in Nepal | in which | bath |
| *cēsiānō* | *dāni* | *pēru* | *bhāgamati* |
| took | its | name (is) | Bhagamati. |

In the above sentences, the clause ending -ō- connects the relative clause to the head noun. The phrase which refers to case phrase 'in the river' is present with or without pronominalization of the noun.

. Correlative clauses of Telugu represent isolating strategy of Dravidian relativization. The connector -ō- and the split elative marker *e-a* (with length or no length) are even phonetically identical in other South Dravidian languages.

These relative clauses are very similar to Indo-Aryan cor-

relative clauses, though they differ in respect to pronominalization, identical NP deletion and in respect to mobility of the relativized noun phrase. Since the characteristics of Ino-Aryan correlative claluses have been studied fairly well and are available in many works, I do not discuss them here. Dravidian in general, Telugu in particular have two more isolating strategies which have been christened **peri-clausal** and psuedo-clausal (Usha Rani 1980). In peri-clalusal strategy the relative clause has only the connecting clitic -$\bar{e}$- which occurs at the end of the clause and which has no separate relative marker. This type is more common in spoken style than in written style. The usage of this clause has direct reference to the hearer and assumes that the hearer has the previous knowledge of the content. Equi-NP deletion may operate. Pronominalization is also possinble. The following example illustrate the peri-clausal relatives :

2.      *monna*               *(oka pedda maniSi )*               *m$\bar{a}$*

day before   yesterday one gentleman˙   ·my

*in̠t̠iki     wacciād̠-ē*      $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \overline{a}\ maniSi \\ atani \end{array} \right\}$ *p̄er(u)ēmit̠i?*

house to   came-$\bar{e}$      $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that man's} \\ \text{his} \end{array} \right\}$  name what?

'What is the name of the person (you know the event) who came to my house day before yesterday?'

Psuedo-relative clause occurs only in certain varieties of Telugu spoken in Hyderabad. This is common in oration style. This is probably a hybrid product with the contach of Indo-Aryan lan-

guages mainly with Urdu. This is possible only with verb 'to be'. Prenominalization is obligatory. This is the only clause that occurs in post-nominal position. A morpheme *-ayte-* literally means 'if exists' is attached to the pronominalized noun. Normally a relative clause either limits the noun phrase or adds some new information pertaining to the noun phrase. Psuedo-relative clause does neither of them. The following illustration would make the point clear:

3.    *ā*        *samasya,*      *ēdaytē*        *undō,*    *adi*

      that      problem,        which          exists,    that

      *cālā*      *cikku*         *samasya.*

      very      difficult       problem.

This may be a direct translation of Hindi *jo hai.*

The more prevalent relativization strategy is incorporating or phrasal relativization. The following characteristics of this strategy may be noted. There is no explicit relative marker or pronoun. The equi-NP deletion operates obligatorily. The finite verb is substituted by a participle form. The participles may express different aspects. They are attributes to the head noun and occur in close promximity with the head noun. The case relation of the relativized noun has to be derived from its underlying relation with the verb. No explicit case marker is present. Because of this feature sometimes ambiguities may result. There are also constraints on relativizability.

Dravidian languages extensively  use this strategy more than correlative. Indo-Aryan languages also use this strategy but with less number of possibilities and more restrictions. In this regard Eastern Indo-Aryan languages  differ with the Western ones, in that

they allow more phrasal relatives than the latter. Nepali in this respect is a close associate of Dravidian languages.

I take Hindi as a representative of western Indo-Aryan languages. In Hindi, Subject and Object seem to be acceptable as heads of phrasal relatives but other cases are not relativizable. For example,

4.      a) *merī   kharīdī huyī      kitāb    mɘhɘ̃gī     thī*

           my     bought            book    expensive    was

is possible but not the following :

        b) merī *kitāb   rakhī huyī   mej   bahut purānī thī*

           my    book    placed   table   very   old    was
    .

Misra (1977) notes that participialization is also restricted by the verb categories. She also refers to similar views expressed by Kachru (1965) and Subbarao (1974). In Hindi there is another type of phrasal strategy with *-wāla-* constructions. This allows only subject to be relativized. Misra (1977) calls it agentive *-wāla-*. From the studies on HIndi, I gather participialization even if it is possible in Hindi it is only limited to subject and object. Dakkhani Urdu, influenced by Dravidian languages developed a variety of phrasal relatives like:

5.    *mai    kitāb    diyā   sō     ladkā*

      I      book     gave   boy

      'The boy to whom I gave the book'

      This is not surprising because majority of the Dakkhani Urdu speakers also speak Telugu as a Second Language.

      Bengali also seems to have two participialization strategies:

one is perfective, another is infinitive. According to the data collected by K.V.Subbarao, in perfective relatives besides the subject and direct object, certain oblique cases are also relativizable. The following example is for Locative:

6.     *āmār phol       rakhā 'bag'-ṭi onnō gharē āche*

       my   fruit kept   bag   same   room   is.

       'The bag in which I kept the fruits is in the same room'

Whether other oblique cases like instrumental are relativizable or not are to be investigated. Subbarao gives an example showing that indirect object is not relativizable:

7.     *\*rāmer  phol  khonano  chaleṭi  bāri  theke  chale*

       Ram's  fruit  fed          boy     home  from  left.

       'The boy to whom Ram fed fruits left the house'.

       Chaudhuri (1973) talks of *ar*-type relative clauses where tl participle is identical with the infinitive form. Since the particip does not express any aspect, these relative phrases are used only f non-aspectual general situations. Chaudhuri notes that *ar*-ty verbal attribute can not refer to any past event. She gave t following contrastive pair:

9.     a) *camōc  diyē  khāwār            misṭi*
          'The sweet which is to be eaten with a spoon'

       b) *eṭa  camōc  diyē  Khāwa  misṭi*
          'This sweet which (somebody) ate with a spoon'

Choudhury has also the following examples:

10.    a) *āmār  sāri  rākhār  bāksoṭi.*
          'The box in which I keep my sari'

b) *chale   der   khāelār   maṭh*
'The ground in which boys play'

She also notes that only general locative is relativizable.
The other locative relations, like *nice* 'under', *pās* 'side', *sāmne-āge*
'front' , and *pore* 'back' are not relativizable. She has the following
statement about this relativization strategy:

> This type of relative clause though occurs in Bengali is not as frequent as
> *'je-o'* type relative clause. This is considered only as an alternative relative
> clause. I can not precisely formulate what makes Bengalis to choose this
> alternative. But this relative clause seems to be preferred,  when the
> embedding sentence is a short one though it is not ruled out in longer
> sentences.

Regmi (1978) has a detailed treatment of phrasal relatives in
Nepali. We gather from his treatment that Nepali also has a process
of participialization of which the relativized noun phrase becomes
the head. Regmi  mentions that there are past and non-past parti-
ciples.  Interstingly all NPs that are relativizable in Dravidian
participle strategy are also relativizable in Nepali. Subject, direct
object, indirect object, instrumental and locative phrases are freely
relativized.  Ablative can also be relativized unlike Dravidian.
Because of this Regmi notes that there results an ambiguity. For
example, he notes:

| 11. | *rām* | *ageko* | *thau* |
|-----|-------|---------|--------|
|     | Ram   | came    | place  |

means (i) the place Ram came to, (ii) the place Ram came from.

It is a strange situation how a language can have a mecha-
nism which systematically produces a large number of ambiguities

of the same type. I suspect that there must be a preference of interpretation in such a situation. Regmi notes other cases of ambiguities. For example, the following phrases are ambiguous as suggested by the meanings:

12.     a) *hArile*        *kha eko*        *cAmca*
           Hari         eat-p.p.        spoon

        (i) the spoon with which Hari ate.
        (ii) the spoon which Hari ate.

        b) *mAile*        *lekheko*        *kAlAm*
            I           write-p.p.      pen

        (i) the pen with which I wrote
        (ii) the pen that I wrote (drew)

13.     *ramle*   *kineko*   *pAsAl*   *mAlai*   *thaha*   *chA*
        Ram     buy-p.p    shop,    me     knowledge   is

        (i) I know the shop where Ram bought,
        (ii) I know the shop that Ram bought.

The above noted ambiguities between instrumental-direct object and locative-direct object exist in Dravidian languages exactly in the same way. The Nepali phrases can be rendered into Telugu in the following way:

14.     a)      *hari*           *tinna*          *camca*
                Hari          eat-p.p.         spoon

        b)      *rāmudu*         *konna*          *Sāpu*
                Ram           buy-p.p.         shop

I pointed out (Ramarao 1968) a case between locative and direct
object in my PhD thesis with the following example:

15.   *nēnu*              *peṭṭina*         *peṭṭe*
      I                   put-p.p.  box

     In Telugu though these phrases are ambiguous in the same
way as in Nepali, there is a preference of interpretation favouring
direct object.  I formulated this favouritism in the following way:

> When a noun which occurs with a post-position in the underlying sentence
> has also the privilege of occurrence as a direct object of the verb of
> underlying sentence, in the absence of the direct object it is interpreted
> only as the direct object when it becomes the head of the derived NP by
> loosing its postposition.

This somewhat clumsy statement means that in the relative phrases
when there is potential ambiguity between direct object and other
cases the direct object interpretation gets preference.  I made similar
observations for the potential ambiguities between subject and direct
object.where subject interpretation is favoured.

     Though Regmi has not pointed out it may be the same case
in Nepali language also.  It is possible that the speakers would favour
the upper case interpretation.

     In an attempt to find marked and unmarked case categories
in a later paper (Ramarao 1976) I used phrasal relativization as one
of the diagnostic features.  I also noted this distinction is pairwise and
a case may be marked in relation to one category and unmarked in
relation to other categories.  These observations can be translated
into relational hierarchy.  The hierarchy would be the same as for
Nepali.  Keenan and Comrie (1976) have proposed the following
accessible hierarchy:

$$Su > Do > IO > Obl > Gen > Ocomp$$

I think this hierarchy suits Nepali as well as Dravidian Languages. However Regmi notes that this hierarchy does not fully explain the accessibility of Nepali relativization because some of the noun phrases from oblique relations are relativizable while others are not. Keenan and Comrie have not set up hierarchy within oblique cases. This itself means some of the oblique cases are relativizable while others are not. While we can broadly accept the universal hierarchy, Nepali and Telugu point out that we need internal hierarchy within oblique cases and probably between different meaning relations within a case. For example comitative is not relativizable while instrumental is relativized. Regmi distinguishes between comitative of association and accompaniment. However sentences like the following which he calls associative could be treated differently:

16. a) *kitap    bhAeko manche*
       book    be-p.p.        man
       'The man with whom the book was'

    b) *mAile  bhāSa  vigyān  pADhek    guru*
       I         Linguistics    study-p.p.  teacher
       'The teacher with whom I studied Linguistics'.

These involve the post-positions *-AgA*, and *-itA* which are translated in English 'with'. The former sentence represents locative and the latter represents source in underlying representations. If we sort out the examples, we have only one case of comitative which can not be relativized both in Telugu and Nepali and therefore lower than instrumental.

We may not probably find a language where comitative is relativized and instrumental is not. Regmi talks of instrumentals of cause and medium. Again instrumental proper may be separated from the later.

In temporal nouns, Regmi notes, like *sAmAya* 'time' , *bela* 'period', *din* 'day', *mahina* 'month', and *bArsA* 'year' are relativizable. This is also true for Dravidian. The statement may be generalised as any common noun of time is relativizable but specific time nouns are not relativized because they behave like proper nouns. For example, '1980' is not relativizable. Names of the months, and weeks are relativizable if we talk about them in relation to several of them. Regmi includes ablative in locative. However it may be separated and established a hierarchy between them: like locative > ablative. Nepali is probably a language where both are relativized but in Dravidian only locative is relativized. We may not find a language where ablative is relativized and locative is not.

In Dravidian proper locative (excluding Regmi's destination, directional, ablative, etc.) is only the general locative in the meaning of 'on' and 'in' are relativized. The relations like 'under', 'beside' are not relativized. For the most part 'on' and 'in' are complementary. Where it is not complementary an ambiguity may result between these two relations. Observe the following relativizations:

17.    a)    *nēnu      pustakam      peṭṭina      balla*
              I          book          keep-p.p.    table

       'The table on which I kept the book'

       b)    *nēnu      annam      tinē      paḷḷem*
              I          food       eating    plate

       ' The plate in which I eat food'.

c) *nēnupustakam*      *peṭṭina*    *peṭṭe*
     I      book      keep-p.p.    box

has two meanings:

> (i) the box on which I kept the book,
> (ii) the box in which I kept the book

Probably the Nepali situation may also be similar in which case; we may set up an internal hierarchy like Locative general > Locative specific. If in no language the specific relations like 'under' , 'beside' are relativized, we may not need this hierarchy.

The data discussed and the observations made here point out that Nepali, Bengali, and Telugu have many similarities in Syntax which cannot be accidental. The allowability of the variety of participle relatives is not an Indo-Aryan feature. It is a common feature in Dravidian languages. I have not checked with the other groups of languages either in India or Nepal. If other languages of Nepal have similar features, we may say Nepal is a linguistic area but having close connections with Southern and Eastern India. I mean Southern and Eastern India along with Nepal would be an identifiable linguistic area. Another syntactic similarity between these languages is differentation of equational and existential sentences by different devices.

## Note

\*     This paper was read in the First Conference of Linguistic Society of Nepal, Katmandu, Nepal, November 1980. A revised and improved version of this paper jointly written with Aditi Mukherjee was presented in the Eleventh All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Hyderabad, June 5-7, 1981.

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# RELEXICALISATION AND COMMUNICABILITY:SOME REFLECTIONS*

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Abstract: *A living language does not grow in an insulated capsule. In this organic process, lexicon is the most detachable part of language. The paper reflects upon some of the relexicalisation processes in the multilingual milieu of Indian subcontinent. The process allows a speaker to draw upon the resources of other language stocks (classical or modern) avilable to the community in general, as a matter of pragmatic convenience. To make the public communication channels more intelligible to the masses, the author suggests the expressions from live situations for new experiences should receive priority over artificial coinages, even if this tends to hybridise a language system.*

The magnitude of functional heterogeneity in communication in the Indian subcontinent testifies the strength of linguistic plurality built over a long time. Multilingual societies have a wider access to intra-group and inter-group communication networks without fully commiting temselves to the nuances of one specific language code. In public communication channels in the Indian context, one notices a speech community having a commond over different devices of linguistic stratification such as relexicalisation, diglossic complementation, code-switiching/mixing, 'grassroots' multilingualism, pidginisation, borrowings and other processes of language contact. The paper reflects upon some of the relexicalisation processes in the multiligual milieu of the sub-continent. The process of relexicalisation allows a speaker to draw upon the resources of other language-stocks (classical or modern) available to the commu-

nity in general, as a matter of pragmatic convenience.[1]

Every language 'institution' can be regarded as a product of
ecological, societal and other projectional dimensions (discussed in
detail elsewhere, Kubchandani 1983: 20-22, Table 5). Each lan-
guage provides a distinct profile.  It is as much a product of
environment as of tradition.  The chisling of Urdu, achieved
through the sustained contact of Persian and Arabic bilinguals with
Khariboli (then known as Hindavi)  during the Mughal period
particularly with a creative stimulus received form the Deccan
experience, is an exemplary instance of developing **Ausbau** lan-
guages in the Indian subcontinent (Khubchandani 1991).

## Pragmatic Activity

A living language does not grow in an **insulated** capsule.
There are different facets of language: as a communication system,
as an aesthetic experience, as a vehicle of identity gratification
(Khubchandani 1991: 39-45).  Diversity of speech on a social level,
within one language code or across codes, signifies the subtlety of
purpose in an interaction;  it is highly functional, not merely a
convenience or an 'aesthetic' choice ----- a luxury that can be
dispensed with.  Subtle nuances are quite evident in two utterances
with a more or less similar 'cognitive' import:

| 1. | *mere cachaa* | *kal guzar* | *gae* |
|----|---------------|-------------|-------|
| 2. | *mere ankil* | *kii kal deth* | *ho gaii* |
|    | 'My uncle expired yesterday' | | |

As a pragmatic activity, language functions as a deduction
system differentially interpreted according to the nature of participa-
tion in a speech event.  Language in a communicative act can be
characterised as an organism which drives to a purpose; it acquires

a 'practical cash-value' determined by relevant use. This on-going **flexibility** in correlating linguistic form with context, regulated according to the expediency of communicative task, is the concern of pragmatic grammar (Khubchandani 1978) :

3. *( ajii ) ( janab ) ( aap ) farmaaieegaa*

'Sir! exalted one! you ( honorific ) may bestow expression'

4. *( aree ) ( bhaii ) ( tuu ) (kuch ) kah bhii*

'Hey! brah! you ( specific ) utter (something )' ;
'Come on ! '

Hitherto, the entire variability phenomena in language activity has been regarded in sociolinguistic studies as a conditioning process, reflecting the underlying constraints exerted by social relations in different interlocutions, settings, topics, etc. Various conformity pressures in asocial group, implicit as well as explicit standardising processes, restrict the choice of speech. But at the same time, a verbal rapertoire is also structured by various regulating processes of selection, focus, etc; these are relevant to a presupposed knowledge of the theme, individual disposition to the interaction, and ethos of communication in general. Expressive modulations in creative processes, a ' language design' so to say, open up many choices to cope with any unprecedented communicative task. The selective function of meaning depends on the states of 'readiness' or of 'relevance' as in the game of chess "the movement of a black pawn may mean to the 'white' player a threat, to the 'black' player a relief, and to an ignorant onlooker the displacement of a piece of carved wood" (Friedrich 1986).

## Language Modernisation

Every language structure has the intrinsic capacity to equip itself for a new situation. Modernising a language represents its speakers' desire to adjust their speech events to new situations (i.e. roles, channels, environs) and to new tasks (i.e. functions in domains hitherto not tapped).

In the framework of human communication, the content and interpretations of a speech act (or discourse) are constantly re-formulated and re-negotiated in an interaction. A dominant trait noticed is of inter-generational change in language acquisition (generally it remains subconscious ) and of interpretative change, an outcome transpired. The message received could be different from what the content of language signified in a typical "neutral" context (Khubchandani 1981).

Another significant characteristic of an interaction in a living language is the deliberate change brought about by re-allocating variable features in response to a new situation, i.e., the conditioning effect, and by incorporating borrowings, modifications, and innovations, designed for a new task i.e., the re regulatory (or tuning) effect discussed above.

In everyday life communications, usually diverse functions of speech percolate spontaneous changes in a language structure. In many contemporary situations the society is required to make prepaarations so as to facilitate the community putting the language into use for new tasks. Communicators apply various spontaneous devices which can lead to ad hoc or on-the -spot changes in the language in use. These are of two kinds:

> i. essential changes, which come along with new
>    experiences, e.g.,

*kampyuutar, eksre, zeraaks.*

ii. attitudinal changes, situated by choice, individual preference, etc. In this regard, innovative collocations in advertising are quite revealing such as *mahaamint, mahaacolaa, supar safaai, altra saaf.* In the process of modernisations, trading sign posts are often Englishised: In a fashionable shopping centre in New Delhi, the display of trading identity, in English and Hindi (Devanagri) provide significant clues of the shift :

5. *Ram Lakhan Panwalla*  -  *Ram Lakhan Pan shop*
   राम लखन पानशाप

6. *Kake di Hatti*  -  *Kake da Hotel*
   काके दा होटल

7. *Khadi Bandar*  -  *Khadi Emporium*
   खादी एम्पोरियम्

Responses to language change are characterised either by ad hoc amalgamative approach or by planned strategies among the communicators on the scene. The amalgamative approach encourages relexicalisation, loan blends, syncretic adaptations, code-switching and code-mixing, complementation of codes (through diglossia, etc), neutralisation, simplification, and so on. For example:

*Kala Niketan Sarees, Gadwal Saree Centre*
*Hawaii Chappals, Raj Chappal Mart, Shetty Chit Fund*
*Johnson Baby Oil, tvachaa kaa poshan kare*

On the other hand, conscious strategies in communication

are guided by (a) language movements based on specific ideologies and arbitrary selection, for 'elaborating' or 'codfying' a variety of speech; and (b) changes initiated through the corporate support (agencies armed with the provisions of the legislature, the judiciary and the executive). These are vetted with a certain degree of compulsion, and are programmed in sequence to the preparatory stages of implementation. Main spheres of corpus planning are identified as standardisation, coining terminologies for specific domains, and translations based on these coinages.

As upsurge of language identity throughout the developing world in the post-colonial era has triggered a number of language development programmes, seeking the promotion of individual languages as exclusive vehicles for full expression in all walks of life. These 'autonomy' targets encourage two types of activities in a language, guided primarily by its language-elite:

(i)  **Language elaboration** i.e., coining a new set of terms such as *padanaam-kosh* (dictionary of designations) in Marthi; this activity recommends displacing prevalent terms in favour of freshly coined terms motivated by some ideology. Present-day Tamil is being saturated with relexifications from its classical stock by disowning Sanskritic terms assimilated in the language during the course of history. In the same vein, the womn liberation movement has been combating to get rid of the 'sexist' idioms (exemplified by terms such as *chairman, mankind, paper-boy* in English and other Western languages.

(ii)  **Language re-orientation** i.e., recommending (even prescribing) one speech variety (usually urban, literary standard) against the prevailing varieties and/or languages which might have smaller or specialised communication networks (dialects, 'ethnic' vernaculars); these are often dubbed as 'inferior', 'uncouth' or 'quaint' in the elite judgement.

This activity includes socio-political and legislative mea-

sures to extend language functions, especially in the realm of formal communication (education, administration, mass media, and so on).

Many Indian languages share the trait of relexicalisation from different classical and modern languages. Two significant trends are noticed in the process of the development of countemporary major Indian languages to suit their new roles in changed conditions: (1) Classicalisation and (2) Westernisation. These drifts have greatly affected the phonological, grammatical and lexical patterns of the languages:

1. **Classicalisation:** Many Indo-Aryan and Dravidian Languages depend on Sanskrit; Urdu, Kashmiri and Sindhi on Perso-Arabic elements; Tamil on Old Tamil stock. This trend has developed 'highbrow' styles in literary, academic and administrative writings. To equip the Indian languages for new roles in administration, technical occupations, higher education and research, classicalists have set in a new trend of translating technical terms and concepts from the Sanskrit stock: e.g. *jalayaan* for 'ship', *duurvaanii yantra* for 'telephone'. The chances of success in this direction are rather dubious, as Indian speakers are susceptible to accept loans from the living situations, instead of coining artificial terms from the classical stock. English also shares this characteristic of loan proneness to adjust to new situations: such as recent borrowings from Russian *sputnik, glasnost, perestroika.* Various other languages namely, German, Chinese, Hebrew, instead prefer to translate a term/phrase from the foreign language, copying only the arrangement of the model labelled as 'loan translation'.

2. **Westernisation :** The impact of urbanisation and technological advancement has set the trend of whole-hog relexicalisation from English. This tendency has given birth to an 'elegant' spoken style, gaining popularity among educated people in various Indian Languages. Compound bilingualism of Indian languages and English (two or more languages being used in a fused context for referring

to the same environmental event ) has led to code-switching, i.e., the process of using two or more languages interchangeably in the same discourse or even within the same utterance, without being consciously aware of the switiching.   This phenomenon has further escalated the drift towards Westernisation.

## Language Stratification

       Linguistically speaking, the distinction between standard Hindi and standard Urdu hinges primarily on the patterns of relexicalisation, Hindi mainly drawing on Sanskrit, and Urdu on Perso-Arabic sources (open-ended reservoirs) for their respective 'high' vocabularies and 'sophisticated' metaphors.  In addition, the distinction is marked by allegiance  to  two different literary traditions and writing systems -- Devangari and Perso-Arabic. Ironically such allegiance, to a large extent, is 'notional' in the  case of a majority of Hindi-Urdu speakers who are still illiterate.

       The  traits of relexicalisation in both Hindi and Urdu two Ausbau languages developed from the same Khariboli base, are not as compartmentalised as are these of two distinctly prescribed literary standards of the Yugoslav language, Serbo-Croatian (Croatians call it Croato-Serbian, for the sake of parity) ; Serbian is written in the Cyrillic and Croation in the Latin script.[2]  Hindi and Urdu speakers, on the basis of diverse family and regional backgrounds and with different social attitudes and types of education, can admix varied Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic characteristics with enormous possibilities as mere stylistic variations in speech as well as in writing.  These can be regarded as two styles of the same linguistic code: "Hindi and Urdu therefore might best be charactrized not in terms of actual speech, but as norms of ideal behavior in the sociologist's sense " (Gumperz and Naim 1960).

      Divergent trends of Classicalisation and Westernisation,

discussed above, have led to a great  diversity of styles in Hindi-
Urdu.  Both Hindi and Urdu are identified with two major styles :
formalistic speech and casual speech.  These two styles operate at
three socio-cultural levels of elegance : (1) Highbrow (2) Middle-
brow, and (3) Lowbrow.

(1)  **Highbrow:** Most elegant formalistic Hindi speech
depends on heavy relexicalisation from the Sanskritic stock or on
new coinages based on Sanskrit derivations; elegant Urdu relies to
the same extent upon the Perso-Arabic stock, in preference to
indigenous usage. Both "high" Hindi and "high" Urdu are used in the
urban contexts of power and religion, particularly in pedantic and
ornate discourse, oratory, and religious sermons.

(2)  **Middlebrow:** (i) Formalised but considered as less
elegant Hindi and Urdu depend on Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic stocks
to a lesser extent, and at the same time cultivate some of the
indigenous usages as well.  The middlebrow nuances of Hindi and
Urdu are predominantly found in popular literature, songs, films,
theatre, mass communication, and so on; (ii) Elegant casual Hindi-
Urdu leans heavily on Western languages, particularly English, in
preference to the indigenous.

(3)  **Lowbrow:** Casual Hindi-Urdu has no specific bias in
favour of Sanskrit, Perso-Arbic, or English.  It is evaluated as the
substandard speech of uneducated urban speakers and is labelled
Bazaar Hindustani. Its written usage is rather infrequent. During the
Independence movement, through the initiative of Mahatma Gandhi,
the use of Hindustani was promoted in the areas of education and
literature, both to bridge the gulf between the divergent attitudes
among Hindu and Muslim language-elites and to elicit more active
participation from the masses in the transmission of cultural heri-
tage.
    One can classify two types of regional variation within the

Hindi-Urdu-Panjabi region: (i) these found in the speech of Hindi-Urdu native speakers being affected by dominant vernaculars in the area, such as Braj, Awadhi, Maithili, Panjabi, etc. ; and (ii) those found in the speech of associate native speakers of Hindi-Urdu, retaining the diglossic function of their native vernaculars but accepting the use of Hindi-Urdu for wider communication.

Hindustani, though linguistically not very different from pedantic "high" Hindi and "high" Urdu, is a diametrically distinct communication system. Hindustani cannot be regarded as a language in the technical sense; it is a **communication amalgam.** Individuals in such societies acquire more synergy (i.e. putting forth one's own efforts) and **serendipity** (i.e. accepting the other on his/her own terms, being open for unexpectedness), develop positive attitudes to variations in speech (to the extent of even appropriating deviations as the norm in the lingua franca), in the process of "coming out" of their language-codes to a neutral ground. We get ample evidence of these processes in diverse cross-cultural settings. A seemingly incoherent manifestation in these societies can make sense, coalescing into a persuasive whole almost inspite of disparate elements.

The spread of Hindustani brings home the point that the linguistic resources of lingua franca, namely respect for variation, loan-proneness, code-switching, synergic effort to "come out" of the pedantic nuances, need not be congruent to those required for developing distinct languages for literature (and for identity gratification). In this context, we need to have a second look at the characteristics of communicating in Hindi/Hindustani as a **contact language** which are quite distinct from those of **mother tongue** Hindi.

## Communication Strategies

The verbal repertoire of an individual or a group in plural society is often characterised by the creative use of speech variation in diverse communication settings through linguistic stratification in everyday life. The multiplicity of Indian language scene is recognised in many public communication contexts. A few relexicalisation devices adopted in urban settings are cited below:

(a) **Cognate Redundancy in the formal interactions** (predominantly in oral deliberations):

8. *Jab Jab mulk ko xatraa hotaa hai, desh pe aapati aatii hai --*
'Whenever the nation is in trouble ---'

9. *bahut huaa, ab chaliee, chale jaaiee, get out*
'Its enough, you please go; get out!'
10. *aapkaa baraa dhanyavaad; thank you very much*

(b) **Bilingual texts in official pronouncements and sign boards:**

11. *Junior Engineer, Kanistha abhiyantaa*
12. *Life Insurance Corporation of India, Bharatiiya Jiivan Biimaa Nigam*
13. *Agricultural Banking College, Krisi bainking mahaavidyaalaya*

Loan translations in Indian languages are generally restricted to formal **written discourse** merely as a mark of tokenism, a ritual, and sedimented English borrowings are preferred in **oral speech.**

(c) **Bi-script texts on commercial bill boards :**

Trade labels, whether drawing on English or on Indian languages, are given in more than one script; trade 'identity' on a sign board is invariably from the English stock (with a few exceptions):

*Kirana & Provision Stores, Footwear, Fruit Mart,*
*Sarees, Chappal House, Hairdresser Saloon,* etc.

Though the country is ravaged with serious language or script controversies unwittingly, this widely spread bi-script practice has resulted in the popularisation of English in Devanagari and other regional script and of Roman script for Indian proper names.

(d) **Cross-lingual audio-visual messages on mass media :**
Depending on the target audience, advertisements on the national network of broadcast in English or in Hindi. But one notices that written messages and trade-labels most of the time (now gradually receding) are displayed in English (or Indian labels in the Roman script):

14. *Vicco Vajradanti*
15. *Kalaniketan Sarees*

In many administrative and academic domains at the apex level, Indian languages are gradually inching their way as a medium of deliberations ( in informal parleys); but the drafting of the same message is still preferred in English (conferring a seal of authority/ prestige):

(e) **Translations** of text books and official documents from English to Hindi generally rely on newly-coined terminology; a majority of them has no sanction in *prayoga* 'usage'. Such pedantic neologisms, not being rooted in real-life situations, have proved to be dysfunctional. Ramphal (1989) cites an interesting case study of teaching science to class three in a Delhi primary school:

The teacher blindfolds Lalita and asks her to identify different coins placed on her hand. She identifies them correctly, and when asked how she manages to make the identification, she smartly replies: *mastisk tak sandesh pahunchaane vaalii sanvedanshiil tantrikaaon dvaaraa* 'by means of the sensory nerves transmitting messages to the brain'. The teacher nods contentedly, exclaiming that Lalita is indeed a brilliant student!

What meaning did 8-year-old Lalita's utternance carry for her? What prevented her from reporting her response in the most natural idiom i.e. chhuukar *bataayaa* or *ungliyoon se tatolkar bataayaa* 'by touching' or 'by feeling with my fingsrs'?

What prompted Lalita to externalise herself from her immediate sensory exjperience, and to pronounce such superfluous mouthfuls of 'non-sense'? such tongue-twisting statements did not constitute the teacher's natural language either. Then what compelled the teacher to zealously propogate such 'pedantic' exposition? Does the scientific knowledge necessitate a 'highbrow' pedantic discourse?

## Communicability

There has been a keen contest among the philosophers of language between the view that the primary function of language is that of (1) an instrument of communication, and the view that of (2) a vehicle of thought (Dummett 1989). This has a great bearing on the debates over the theory of meaning for a language and the actual use.

Communications at the human level utilise language as an infinitely subtle and flexible instrument to cope with the variety of

relations and diversity of facts. Language adjusts itself to the new situation. As an on-going process, it responds to a variety of communication settings. Everyday speech in human interaction, though not well-defined, never loses immediate connection with reality, whereas the idealised language with precisely defined concepts is confined to a concept, a sort of 'formalised' reality (as demonstrated in the science lesson, discussed above).

The intrinsic stability of the concepts of natural language and their openness, being not well-defined, and undergoing changes along with the usage just as the reality itself changes, lead us to a new meaning of the term 'understanding'. It is only in natural language that we can be certain to touch the reality.

A natural language develops through usage, not through ivory-tower coinages. Official efforts in this direction so far have put the cart before the horse. The 'highbrow' *tatsamised* styles, fed on neologisms arbitrarily derived from non-native classical stocks, have been a major drag on the effective use of Indian languages in higher learning and in any serious communication.

The use of such terms serves not so much to promote communication between the author and the reader as to declare publicly the author's pride in the new pedantry.

Instant derivation of terms from the classical or neoclassical stocks on a large scale can only enlarge the gulf between the speech of the masses and of the intelligentsia in the same linguistic region. To make the public communication channels more intelligible to the masses, the expressions from live situations fro new experience should receive priority over artificial coinages, even i this tends to hybridise a language system.

## Notes

*       A draft study of this paper was presented at the National
        seminar on Language, Context and Communicability held at
        Osmania University, Hyderabad, March 6-7, 1992.

1.      This process need to be distinguished from another   charac-
        teristics of language change namely, language borrowing
        which is the net result, a sedimented feature, in a language
        code. Most borrowings in Indian languages adopt a *tadbhav*
        form.

2.      Distinct characteristics of  Serbian and Croatian literary
        standards are explicitly listed in various manuals based on the
        *Novi Sad Dogovor* (agreement), and a fair amount of vigi-
        lance is maintained among publication circles regarding its
        implementation through the *lektor*  sysetm by  which all
        writings presented in Serbian or Croatian are appraised ac-
        cording to certain prescribed norms (Khubchandani 1972).

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# EVIDENCE OF VOCABULARY BALANCE IN TAGORE'S "GALPAGUCCHA"*

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Abstract: *We obviously do not know that there is in fact such a thing as vocabulary balance between our hypothetical forces of Unification and Diversification, since we do not yet know that man invariably economizes with the expenditure of his effort. According to Zipf [1949] if a condition of vocabulary balance does exist in a given sample of speech we shall have little difficulty in detecting it because of the very nature and direction of the two forces involved. Along one dimension the force of unification will act in the direction of decreasing the number of different words to 1, while increasing the frequency of that one word to 100%. Conversely the force of diversification will act in the opposite direction of increasing the number of different words, while decreasing their average frequency of occurrence towards 1. In the present study based on data i.e., a complete word-count of Rabindranath Tagore's short stories in "Galpaguccha" [Parts I to IV], the hypothesis of vocabulary balance was tested. Tagore in "Galpaguccha" manifests a trend that whenever a person uses words to convey meanings he will automatically try to get his ideas across most efficiently by seeking a balance between the economy of a small wieldy vocabulary of more general reference on the one had and the economy of a larger one of more precise reference on the other.*

Statistical investigation of texts and text styles are more directly concerned with the description and explanation of the features inherent in the text, their organisation and variability, Shende and Prabhu-Ajgaonkar [1989]. Ross [1950] explains the role of statistics in linguistic studies by stating that the probability

theory and statistics should provide the instruments or the math-
ematical models, for testing and verifying any conclusion in linguis-
tics which is susceptable to numerical treatment, and thus provide an
auxillary tool for linguistic research. In many quantitative studies
we cannot investigate every possible example of the phenomenon
we are interested in. In some cases exhaustive investigation is
theoretically impossible. Therefore, whenever we wish to collect
quantitative data on language our need to pay careful attention to the
design of our study, and to the selection of appropriate statistical
methods for summarising the data, and for testing hypotheses
concerning differences between sets of data.

In the present study based on data i.e., a complete word-
count of Rabindranath Tagore's short stories, "Galpaguccha" [Parts
I to IV] [1], the hypothesis of vocabulary balance was tested. We
obviously do not know that there is in fact such a thing as vocabulary
balance between our hypothetical   forces of Unification and Diver-
sification [2], since we do not yet know that man invariably econo-
mizes with the expenditure of his effort; for that, after all is what we
are trying to prove. Zipf [1949:22] enumerates for the sake of clarity
certain vital points:

1.      We assume explicitly that man does invariably economize
        with his effort.

2.      The logic of a vocabulary balance between the two forces is
        sound

3.      We can test the validity of our explicit  assumption of an
        economy of effort by appealing directly to the objective facts
        of some samples of actual speech that have served satisfacto-
        rily in communication.

4.    We may find there in  evidence of a vocabulary balance of some sort in respect of our two forces, and,

5.    We shall ipsofacto seek a confirmation of our assumption of (1) an economy of effort.  -

        Therefore much depends on our ability to disclose some demonstrable cases of vocabulary balance in some actual samples of speech that have served satisfactorily in communication. [3]

## Parameters of Vocabulary Balance

        According to Zopf [1949] if a condition of vocabulary balance does exist in a given sample of speech we shall have little dificulty in detecting it because of the very nature and direction of the two forces involved.  Along one dimension the force of unification will act in the direction of decreasing the number of different words to 1, while increasing the frequencey of that one workd to 100%. Conversely the force of diversification will act in the opposite direction of increasing the number of different words, while decreasing their average frequency of occurrence towards 1.  Therefore 'number' and 'frequency' will be the parameters of vocabulary balance. It may be mentioned here that according to Bhattacharya [1965] the rank-frequency relation for words is among the most famous findings of quantitative linguistics.  Briefly the finding is this: If a word-count is carried out on a sufficiently long text and the frequencies of different words occuring in the text determined, the frequencies of the different words are found to follow the harmonic progression, approximately.  If $f_r$  is the frequency of the 'r'th commonest word, then $f_r = c/r$ approximately [r=1,2,3.....].  If $f_r$ is plotted against 'r' on a double logarithmic scale, the relationship is approximately linear with a slope of minus 1.  This relation is approximately equivalent to a Pareto distribution for the variate word frequency - $f_r$.

## Empiric Evidence of Vocabuylary Balance

Before we actually analyse our data seeking evidence of
vocabulary balance it is necessary to seek relevant empiric informa-
tion about the number and frequency of occurrences of words in
some actual samples of speech. For this we have Zipfs [1949]
analysis of James Joyce's novel 'Ulysses' which has been indexed
with exemplary methods by Hanley [1937], Joos [1937][4]. The
appendix to the same published index contains all the quantitative
information relevant to Zipf's [1949] analysis of the data. According
to Joos [1937] there are 29,899 different words in the 260, 430
running words; he also ranks those words in the decreasing order of
their frequency of occurence and tells us the actual frequency, 'f' with
which the different ranks, 'r', occur. Zipf [1949], referring to
Hanley's [1937] data also states that the 10th most frequent word
[r=10] occurs, 2,653 times [f=2, 653]; or that the 100th word,
[r=100] occurs 265 times [f=265]. From this the actual frequency of
occurrence 'f' of any rank, 'r', from r=1 to r=29, 899 which is the
terminal rank of the list, since 'Ulysses' contains only that number of
different words.

Turning to the quantitative data of the Hanley [1937] index
we can see from the arbitrarily selected ranks and frquencies in Table
- I that the relationship between 'r' and 'f' in Joyce's 'Ulysses' is by no
mans haphazard. For if we multiply each rank 'r', in column I of
Table-I by its corresponding frequency 'f', in column II, we obtain
a product, 'C'in column III, which is approximately the same size for
all the different ranks and which as we see in column IV represents
approximately 1/10 of the 260, 430 running words which constitute
the total length of James Joyce's 'Ulysses. Therefore Zipf [1949]
concludes that there is a clearcut correlation between the number of
the different words in 'Ulysses' and the frequency of their usage, in
the sense that they approximate the simple equation of an equilateral
hyperbola:

$$r \times f = C$$

in which 'r' refers to the words rank in 'Ulysses and 'f' to its frequency of occurence [as we ignore for the present the size of 'C']. In the following Table - I we have the arbitrary ranks with frequencies in James Joyce's 'Ullysses. [Hanley Index].

## Table - I

### Arbitrary Ranks with Frequencies
### in James Joyce's "Ulysses"
### [Hanley Index]

| I | II | III | IV |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Theoretical |
| Rank | Frequency | Product of I & II | lenght of Ulysses |
| [r] | [f] | [r x f = C] | [C x 10] |
| 10 | 2653 | 26530 | 265300 |
| 20 | 1311 | 26220 | 262200 |
| 30 | 926 | 27780 | 277800 |
| 40 | 717 | 28680 | 286800 |
| 50 | 556 | 27800 | 278000 |
| 100 | 265 | 26500 | 265000 |
| 200 | 133 | 26600 | 266000 |
| 300 | 84 | 25200 | 252000 |
| 400 | 62 | 24800 | 248000 |
| 500 | 50 | 25000 | 250000 |

| 1000  | 26 | 26000 | 260000 |
|-------|----|-------|--------|
| 2000  | 12 | 24000 | 240000 |
| 3000  | 8  | 24000 | 240000 |
| 4000  | 6  | 24000 | 240000 |
| 5000  | 5  | 25000 | 250000 |
| 10000 | 2  | 20000 | 200000 |
| 20000 | 1  | 20000 | 200000 |
| 29899 | 1  | 29899 | 298990 |

Incorporated from Zipf [1949 : 24; Table 2.1] "Arbitrary Ranks with Frequencies in James Joyce's "Ulysses" [Hanley Index]"


## Evidence of vocabulary Balance
## in Tagore's "Galpaguccha"


In "Galpaguccha" there are 39,145 different words in the 3,15,850 running words. The words are ranked in the decreasing order of their frequency of occurrence and their actual frequencey 'f' with which the different ranks 'r' occurs, is also manifest. In "Galpaguccha" the 10th most frequent word [r = 10] occurs, 1,854 times [f = 1,854; or that the 100th word [r = 100] occurs 355 times [f = 355]. From this the actual frequency of occurence 'f' of any rank 'r', from [r = 1] to [r = 39,145], which is the ultimate rank of the list since "Galpaguccha" contains only 39,145 different words. In the following Table - II we have the arbitrary ranks with frequencies in Tagore's "Galpaguccha" [Roy's Index] [5]

# ANNEXURE - II

| I | II | III | IV |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Theoretical |
| Rank | Frequency | Product of | lenght of |
| | | I & II | Galpaguccha |
| [r] | [f] | [r x f = C] | [C x 10] |
| 10 | 1854 | 18540 | 185400 |
| 20 | 1190 | 23800 | 238000 |
| 30 | 995 | 29850 | 298500 |
| 40 | 889 | 35560 | 355600 |
| 50 | 731 | 36550 | 365500 |
| 100 | 355 | 35500 | 355000 |
| 200 | 194 | 38800 | 388000 |
| 300 | 133 | 39900 | 399000 |
| 400 | 99 | 39600 | 396000 |
| 500 | 84 | 42000 | 420000 |
| 1000 | 43 | 43000 | 430000 |
| 2000 | 21 | 42000 | 420000 |
| 3000 | 14 | 42000 | 420000 |
| 4000 | 10 | 40000 | 400000 |
| 5000 | 7 | 35000 | 350000 |
| 10000 | 3 | 30000 | 300000 |
| 20000 | 1 | 20000 | 200000 |
| 30000 | 1 | 30000 | 300000 |
| 39145 | 1 | 39145 | 391450 |

Table - II Arbitrary Ranks with Frequencies in Tagore's
   "Galpaguccha" [*Roy's Index*]

Referring to the quantitative dat of "Galpaguccha" we can see from the arbitrarily selected ranks and frequencies in Table - II that the relationship between 'r' and 'f' in the vocabulary in "Galpaguccha" is to a larg extent uniform except for the 10th and 20th rank and tends to regularise after the 30th rank. The reason for this is likely to be that the percentage of common words betweem the 10th and the 30th rank is not very is not very high and the different words are more venly distributed over the other ranks, as is evident from the following Table -III which contains the rank distribution in percentages of the 100 most common words in "Galpaguccha" Part [I - IV].

| Word Rank in "Galpaguccha" | Frequency of occurrence of words | Percentage of total words |
|---|---|---|
| 1 - 10 | 30319 | 9.6 |
| 11 - 20 | 14276 | 4.5 |
| 21 - 30 | 10847 | 3.4 |
| 31 - 40 | 9320 | 3.0 |
| 41 - 50 | 8004 | 2.5 |
| 51 - 60 | 6561 | 2.1 |
| 61 - 70 | 5303 | 1.7 |
| 71 - 80 | 4492 | 1.4 |
| 81 - 90 | 4109 | 1.3 |
| 91 -100 | 3644 | 1.2 |
| Total : | 96875 | 30.7 |

Total No. of distinct words       =   39,145
Total No. of word occurrences      = 3,15,850

Tabel - III : Rank distribution in percentages of 100 most common words in Tagore's "Galpaguccha" Part [I - IV]

## Graphic Representation of
## Vocabulary Balance

It is obvious that Table -II contains only a few selected items out of a possible 39,145; hence the question is legitimate as to the possible rank frequencey relationship between the rest of the 39,145 different words. It is difficult to present in tabular form the rank-frequency relationships for all those different words, but nevertheless we can present in tabular form the rank-frequency relationships for all those different words, but nevertheless we can present them quite conveniently on a graph, because we know that the equation [r x f = C] will appear on doubly logarithmic chart paper as a succession of points descending on a straight line from left to right at an angle of 45°. And if the ranks and frequencies of the 39,145 different words are plotted on doubly logrithmic chart paper and if the points fall on a straight line descending from left to right at an angle of 45° we may argue that the rank-frequency distribution of the entire vocabulary of "Galpaguccha" follwos the equation [r x f = C] and suggests the presence of vocabulary balance to a large extent.

Following Zipf [1949] successive ranks from 1 through 39,145 were plotted horizontally on the X-axis or abscissa. Then, in measuring frequency on the Y-axis or ordinate, for each rank a 'dot' which corresponds to the actual frequency of occurence of the word of that rank was given. With reference to the graphic representation, Fig. - 1 shows the rank frequency distribution of words from "Galpaguccha".
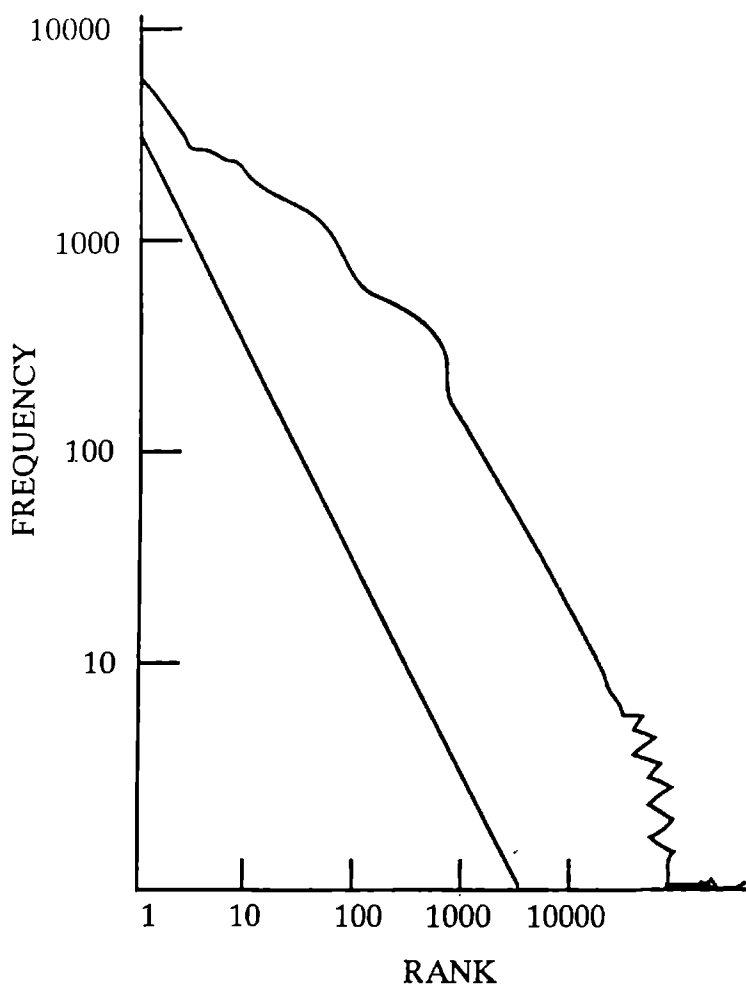
Fig. 1 : Examination Rank Frequency relation (Zipf Law) for all words based on a complete count of "Galpaguccha" (Part I-IV) 39, 145 distinct words and 3,15,850 occurrences

After plotting the graph of the actual frequencies of the 39,145 ranked words was completed, the 'dots' were connected with a continuous line, to note whether the line is straight, and whether it descends from left to right at the expected angle of 45°. A straight line with slope [-1] has been placed on the figure to help in visual judgement. A closer look at Fig.-1 manifests the proximity with which this curve descends from left to right in a straight line at an angle of 45°. It may be added that the curve looks nearly straight above log [rank] about 1.5 with the slope showing some concavity. As the line approaches the bottom of the graph, the emergence of steps of progressive increase in size are seen.

In accordance with Zipf's [1949] theory since we are ranking the words from left to right in the descending order of frequency, it is obvious that the line that connects the succession of the dots does not at any point bend upwards as this would presuppose an incorrect ranking of the data according to decreasing frequencies. Simultaneously the line will proceed horizontally whenever adjacent ranks have precisely the same frequencies, and the apparently vertical lines of the 'steps' in Fig. - 1 are not truly vertical as they do in fact connect adjacent dots.

It is evident from the data on "Galpaguccha" that the relationship between the various ranks 'r' of these words and their respective frequencies 'f' is potentially quite instructive about the entire matter of vocabulary balance, not only because it involves the frequencies with which the different words occur but also because the terminal rank of the list tells us the number of different words in the sample. It may be emphasized here that both the frequencies of occurrence and the number of different words will always be important factors in the counter-balancing of the Forces of Unification and Diversification in any sample of speech. In conclusion we may say that

Tagore in "Galpaguccha" manifests a trend that whenever a person uses words to convey meanings he will automatically try to get his ideas across most efficiently by seeking a balance between the economy of a small wieldy vocabulary of more general reference on the one hand and the economy of a larger one of more precise reference on the other, and in Zipf's [1949:22] words ". . . with the result that the vocabulary of 'n' different words in his resulting flow of speech will represent a vocabulary balance between our theoretical forces of Unification and Diversification.

## Notes

\*          We wish to thank Prof. D.Kostic, Founder Director, Institute for Experimental Phonetics and Speech Pathology, Belgrade, and Dr. Alokananda Mitter, Head, Linguistic Research Unit, I.S.I., Calcutta for their guidance. We are grateful to Shri Arunendranath Roy for his assistance while going through the data.

1.        "Galpaguccha" is a collection of short stories written by Rabindranath Tagore. The short stories were written over a span of approx. 56 years from 1877-1933. There are approximately 94 short stories and some of them were published postumously. The Linguistic Research Unit of the Indian Statistical Institute has done a complete and comprehensive word frequency count of these 'works' and stylistic and statistical analysis is being done in a phased manner. Research in this area was initiated by Professor P.C. Mahalanobis as early as the late 1940's.

2.        According to Zipf [1949 : 22] ".... we shall consistently capitalize the terms Force of Unification and Diversification, in order to remind ourselves that these Forces do not represent forces as physicists traditionally understand the term, but only the natural consequences of our assumed underlying economy of effort. Moreover our term **balance** will include what are technically known as stady states and

the equilibria of the physicists and of the economist.

3.  Similar studies were carried out by Kostic' [1981] and also statistical methodology to analyse word frequency counts was discussed in detail by Butler [1985]. Our present study gained much help from these works.

4.  Joos (1937) refers to his 'statistical Tabulation' in Hanley (1937)

5.  This refers to J. Roy (1970).

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# STYLISTICS AND READING OF POETRY ▊

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Abstract: *This paper introduces the linguistic or stylistic approach to the study of English poetry. The terms 'linguistic' and 'stylistic' are used synonymously. It begins with an introduction to stylistics and then analyses a poem by Robert Browning, by way of illustration. The analysis starts by giving the reader's initial response and then substantiates such a response by presenting a linguistic analysis of the poem in terms of lexical and grammatical patterns employed in the poem. It concludes by stating that a linguistic approach to the study of poetry can provide an objective foundation for our natural response to poetry.*

## 1.0. Introduction

In this paper, we shall make an attempt to introduce the basic notions of literary stylistics and, then, to present a sample stylistic analysis of a poem by Robert Browning. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate how a stylistic approach to poetry can provide useful insights both to the teachers and the scholars of English language and literature.

Stylistics is an applied branch of linguistics and we use the terms 'stylistic' and 'linguistic' interchangeably for the purposes of this paper.

Stylistics has a short history of about four decades. In the early stages of its development, stylistics provided a derisive reaction in literary critics. For example, the debate between Fowler (1971), a stylistician, and Bateson (1967, 1972), a literary critic is very well-known. Bateson (1968) went to the extent of saying that he would not admit a linguist in his family. This is one of those rare instances of extreme misunderstanding or, to be precise, of not making any attempt to understand the other man's point of view. At the other extreme, there are stylisticians like J.McH. Sinclair (1966) who declared that his task was only to dissect a poem and he had nothing to say about the meaning of the poem or its effect on the reader. As Short (1985) points out, this amounts to 'an abnegation of critical responsibility'. Fortunately, these are only instances of extreme stances. But majority of literary critics and stylisticians agree on a number of points. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that stylistics is not a substitute for literary criticism. Its role is only complementary to that of criticism in the sense that studies in stylistics can only substantiate the literary critic's intuitive responses to literary texts by providing objective linguistic or textual evidence that can justify the critic's literary judgements.

Furthermore, a study of stylistic features is also relevant to the analysis and interpretation of non-literary texts. Linguists say that language is a system of systems. That is, language is a system of communication which is made up of three main sub-systems, namely sound, grammer and meaning. These three are the domains of study respectively in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax and in Semantics.

## 1.1. The Choices in Language

Every language offers certain ranges of choices in each of its subsystems to the native speakers. The speaker or writer of a language exploits these choices depending on his needs and abilities.

Let us take the example of a simple sentence like:

*1. Columbus discovered America.*

The message of this sentence can also be conveyed in several other ways in accordance with the choices offered by the syntax of English, as illustrated by the following:

*1a. America was discovered by Columbus.*
*1b. It was Columbus who discovered America.*
*1c. It was America that Columbus discovered.*
*1d. What Columbus discovered was America.*
*1e. What Columbus did was discovering America.*
*1f. Columbus discovered America, dindn't he?*

This list can be extended further by exploiting the other transformational possibilities. Here, the point is that one and the same message or 'content' can be conveyed in a variety of ways depending on the purpose, focus and context of communication. That is, the syntax of English offers these choices to the native speakers of English, though such choices in each case are limited in number. Likewise, the subsystems of Phonology and Semantics of English also offer finite sets of choices. The native speakers of English take advantage of these choices in their day-to-day use of English.

## 1.2. The Stylistic Devices of Foregrounding

However, the position of a creative writer or a poet is different from that of a non-literary native speaker, because the poet has to convey a message or experience which is typically his own, in a language that has to conform to the rules of the non-literary language and, at the same time, be new, refreshing and effective. Sometimes, he may feel that the systemic choices offered by his

language are not only inadequate but they also act as a contraint on his creative energies. He resolves this problem by employing two important techniques: overusing the patterns of regularity and introducing new patterns of irregularity. The first technique leads to two devices known as Repetition and Parallelism whereas the second technique results in Deviation and Ambiguity (Leech 1969). That is, in order to highlight or 'foreground' an idea, a feeling, an emotion or an event, the poet as a creative artist, may repeatedly use certain linguistic patterns or introduce certain deviant patterns. These patterns may belong to one or all the subsystems of his language. In traditional criticism these stylistic devices of 'foregrounding' have been referred to as instances of 'metaphoric use of language', 'imagery', and 'poetic diction' .

## 1.3.    A Sample Linguistic Analysis of
   Robert Browining's *"Prospice"*

Against the above background, we shall, now, present a linguistic analysis of a poem by Robert Browning. In our analysis, we are not going to use many technical terms. Also, we delimit our analysis to an examination of the lexicon and grammer of the poem. The text of the poem is as follows:

### 1.3.1.  The Text of the Poem *"Prospice"*

> FEAR death? ---to feel the fog in my throat,
>    The mist in my face,
> When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
>    I am nearing the place,
> The power of the night, the press of the storm,
>    The post of the foe;
> Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,
>    Yet the strong man must go:
> For the journey is done and the summit attained,
>    And the barriers fall,

Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
   The reward of it all.
I was ever a fighter, so ---one fight more,
   The best and the last!
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
   And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
   The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
   Of pain, darkness and cold.
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
   The black minute's at end,
And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
   Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
   Then a light, then thy breast,
O thou soul of my soul ! I shall clasp thee again,
   And with God be the rest!

## 1.3.2.  Our Initial Response to the Poem

     The title of the poem means 'Look forward'. On our first reading of the poem, we feel that the poem conveys very effectively the robust optimism of the poet because he believes that there is life after death; particularly in his case, death is not a frightening event because by confronting death he can pay back the arrears of this life and join his wife who is, now, in heaven. The poet's initial confrontation and later combat with and final conquest of death is metaphorically depicted as an exciting mountaineering expedition culminating in a lonely combat. Finally, he will conquer death and join his wife. Briefly this is our intuitive response to the reading of the poem.

## 1.4.    A Linguistic or Stylistic Analysis

Now, let us see how our response can be substantiated by a linguistic analysis of the poem in terms of its lexis, syntatctic organization and pattern of tenses.

### 1.4.1.    The Lexis

By lexis is meant the choice of vocabulary that the poet makes in the poem.

The poem consists of about 200 words (to be precise, there are 207 words in the poem). These words include the 'content' words and the 'structure' words.  Parts-of-speechwise, there are 57 nouns, 31 verbs, 10 adjectives, 13 adverbs, 11 pronouns, 11 auxiliary verbs, 19 prepositions, 16 conjunctions and 1 interjection. The members in each group can be characterized either as positive or negative in their semantic composition on the basis of their favourable or unfavourable relation to the poet's predicament.  It must be noted that the lexical features 'favourable' (or 'positive') and 'unfavourable' (or 'negative') are only relative to the poet's situation as presented in the poem. They are not universal.  For instance, the prepositions *to* and *in* in *to feel* and *in my throat* (line 1) respectively are considered here as 'unfavourable' or 'negative'  because they indicate a difficult spatio-temporal dimension in the poet's situation. Likewise, the auxiliaries *must* and *would* in lines 8 and 15 respectively are considered in the present analysis as 'favourable' or 'positive' as they convey the modality implications of obligation and strength respectively of the poet's personality.  In like manner, the article *the*, in *the fog* (line 1) and in *the mist* (line 2), for instance, is taken as 'unfavourable' or 'negative' while *the* in *the strong man* (line 8) and in *the reward* (line 12) is considered 'favourable' or 'positive' because it is used along with nouns having positive semantic associations.

Table 1 as given below summarizes this information:

**Table 1: Lexicon**

| Lexical items (parts-of-speech wise) | Favourable (Positive) | Unfavourable (Negative) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nouns | 21 | 36 | 57 |
| Verbs | 20 | 11 | 31 |
| Adjectives | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Adverbs | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| Pronouns | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| Auxiliaries | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Prepositions | 11 | 8 | 19 |
| Conjunctions | 11 | 5 | 16 |
| Articles (Indefinite 6, Definite 32) | 20 | 18 | 38 |
| Interjection | 1 | - | - |
| | | Total | 207 |

If the way how we select words is any indication of our pattrens of meaning, it may be assumed thatt the words marked positive denote our favourable notions and those marked negative, our unfavourable notions in relation to a given situation.on the basis of this assumtion,we can say that poet presents his initial emotional conflict by using 36 nouns with a nagative purport and 21 with a positive connotation. We know well that nouns are naming wrods and hence they represent the speaker's world of objects, places, persons, ideas etc.The fact that a majority of the nouns are negative indicates the poet's placement in a conceptually unfavourble emotional tension. However, this tension is neutralized by the verbs and other words used in the poem. As can be seen from the table, all the

other groups show a majority of lexical items to be favourable. Thus, the lexical items and thier semantic features 'foreground' the poetic tension between an unfavourable conceptual involvemant and a favorable operative situation . This tension represents the tension between the poet's grief over the death of his wife and the behavioural and moral strength of his personality. It is therefore lexically appropriate that the poem opens with the words *fear* and *death* and ends with *God* and *rest.*     These textual or linguistic facts are illustrative of Browning's competent choice of words and their possible collocations.

Likewise, the poem begins with an elliptical question and ends with a note of exclamation of sudden ssurprise and joy. That is, the poet's initial perplexity is resolved finally by a happy discovery. In between, the poem presents the poet's lonely but courageous exercises to resolve the mystery (or mist) raised by the initial question.

Furthermore, the word *death* is mentioned 5 times (two times through repetition, two times through synonymy and once pronominally). This is the only noun that is used so many times. But among the pronouns *I* occurs 4 times and *thou* once. Thus *I* and *thou* put together match the frequency of occurrence of the noun death. This, again, is an indirect clue to the fact that the poet confronts death with courage and conviction, but he can overcome death only when he joins his wife. Otherwise, death is an unequal and formidable match for him and the result of the combat would be quite uncertain.

## A few observations about the use of articles in the poem :

Of the 38 articles, 32 have a definite or genetic reference and 6 have an indefinite or general reference. all the instances of the definite article are related to the physical and emotional feelings of

the poet and hence they point to the intensity of his emotion. In contrast, of the 6 occurrences of the indefinite article, in 4 places it means 'one' and in 2 places it means 'a certain' . In the last two instances it referes to the final peace and the final knowledge after death which the poet is trying to capture much in advance. Naturally, then, he uses the indefinite article while referring to an unknown experience which he aspires for. Thus, Browning's use of articles is quite appropriate to the thematic structure of the poem. Furthermore, there are no instances of lexical or morphological deviation in the poem except in two places where the adverbial forms *glad* and *sudden* are used without -*ly*, in lines 19 and 21 respectively. This deviafion seems to be necessitated by the phonological/metrical requirements of the poem.

## 1.4.2.  Grammer

Under grammer, we shall discuss the syntactic structures and tenses used in the poem.

The poem consists of 28 lines. Textually as well as thematically, it can be divided into three parts. Part I consists of the first eight lines, Part II, the next eight lines and Part III the last twelve lines.

Thematically the first part describes the present predicament of the poet, namely his condition just before his face-to-face confrontation with death. This part begins with *Fear death?* and ends with the line *Yet the strong man must go:* The second part mentions what the poet has already achieved and shows the poet as a courageous man who does not submit to the fear of death. The third part describes the actual experience, how the poet passes through the experience mentally and how he conceives the whole affair to turn out in his favour eventually paving the way to his reunion with his wife who is with God now. This is a most joyful discovery or revelation for the poet.

Now let us see how this profound and sublime experience is syntactically structured in the poem.

Browning employs 3 syntactic structures repeatedly and alternatively in the poem. Details of this information are presented in Table 2 below:

## Table 2:  Syntactic Structures

| Textual parts | Structure 1: VP-NP | Structure 2: NP(-NP) | Structure 3: NP-VP(-NP) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Part I (Lines 1-8) | Fear death? | The mist in my face | the snows begin |
| | feel the fog (feel) the mist | The post of the foe The Arch Fear in a visible form | the blasts denote I amnearingtheplace he stands the strong man must go |
| Part II (lines 9-16) | | The reward of it all | the journey is done |
| | | The best and the last | the summit (is) attained |
| | | | the barriers fall the guerdon be gained |
| Part III (lines 17-28) | taste the whole of it | The heroes of old | the worst turns the best |
| | fare like my peers | Then a light, then thy breast | The black minute's at end |
| | Bear the brunt | soul of my soul | (NP) Shall dwindle |

| pay ...life's arrears | (") shall blend |
|---|---|
| be the rest | (") shall change |
| | (NP) shall |
| | become... |
| | I shall clasp thee again |

From the table it can be seen that syntactically the poet has employed the foregrounding devices of Repetition and Parallelism.

It is interesting to note that there are systematic correspondences between the thematic divisions of the poem and the syntactic structures used in each division. The following observations can be made in this respect:

Firstly, the poet tends to use syntactic structure 1, i.e. verb phrase (VP) - noun phrase (NP) to describe experiences in which he is a passive or helpless participant. This structure is used in Part I and Part III.

Secondly, the poet employs syntactic structure 2, i.e. NP, though it does not make a complete sentence. In our lexical analysis we have noted above that the number of nouns is larger than any other lexical item, in the poem. It has been pointed out there that this fact indicates the conceptual tension of the poet. The use of NP structure in syntax lends support to this finiding. The poet is fond of using an NP (or two NPs in Parallelism) with the force of a statement. That is nominalization is an important syntactic device employed by the poet to achieve foregrounding. There are semantic features of 'positive' and 'negative' we can see that the NPs occurring in Part I are all negative or unfavourable to the poet whereas those occurring in Parts II and III are all positive and favourable to the poet.

Thirdly, syntactic structure 3, i.e., NP-VP (-NP), is used by the poet to describe his active participation in the different phases of the poetic experience.

Thus the choice of the syntactic structures and their arrangement is in perfect agreement with thematic progression of the poem.

There is only one instance of syntatic deviation in the poem: *And with God be the rest!* (line 28). That is, the normal word order subject-verb is violated here. This deviation is justified by the foregrounding effect achieved by placing the prepositional phrase *with God* before the Verb *be* and delaying the subject *the rest* till the end of the line. Furthermore, this deviation has also facilitated the rhyme scheme of the poem. Note that *rest* in the last line rhymes with *breast* in line 26.

### 1.4.3.    Tense Pattern

As in the case of syntactic organization, the use of different tenses is also compatible with the thematic development of the poem. The verbs in Part I are used in the present tense, mostly in the simple present. There is a change in Part II. Here initially the tense is the present but it is used in the passive voice to denote completed actions; then it shifts to the past.

Part III begins with an affirmative negation *(No!)* and the present tense is repeated with projections for the future thereby revealing what the poet is prepared for. It is followed by verbs in the future tense with a repeated use of shall. This model auxiliary shall in this part  conveys the force of obligation and inevitable conclusion. Table 3 shows the tense pattern of the poem:

### Table 3 :  Tense Pattern

| Part I | Part II | Part III |
|--------|---------|----------|
| Present | Present-Past | Present-Future |

The tense pattern of the poem reveals that the poet's confrontation with the feeling of death is an unpleasant and immediate experience initially. But with his conviction and courage the whole experience transforms into a joyful future revelation.

## 1.5.  Conclusion

The facts illustrated in the foregoing sections on the basis of a linguistic analysis of the poem not only substantiate our initial response to the reading of the poem, but also provide an objective linguistic base for such a response.

Finally, we wish to point out that a linguistic or stylistic approach in the study of literary texts will greatly help the teacher of English in bringing his students as close as possible to the literary experience of the texts concerned. In the absene of a tangible method of analysis, very often, the teacher of English lietrature is forced to develop a critical terminology of his own invention or one borrowed from established critics, to convey to his students the fruits of his own participation in the literary experience. The student, in turn, takes the teacher for his model and continues the tradition of verbal flamboyance often echoing borrowed ideas.

Therefore, we venture to repeat what we have said above: a linguistic approach in literary studies can strengthen our critical endeavour and sharpen our sensibilities so as to capture the literary experience.

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# PATTERNS OF RESPECT IN URDU AND TELUGU: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A JAGIRDAR AND A RAJU *

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Abstract: *This paper attempts at a comparative description of patterns of verbalization of respect in Urdu and Telugu. Though it is based on the speech of two respondents only, the preliminary description offered here is useful as a starting point for exploring and projecting the possibilities for a more substantive study of politeness patterns in Urdu and Telugu.*

## 1. Introduction

Since 'respect' is a consequence of polite behaviour, we may begin with the concept of politeness. Politeness is one of the several styles of social behaviour which are verbal or non-verbal, deliberate or unconscious. It is not expressed in speech alone but is integrated into larger units of social behaviour where bodily postures, gestures, facial expressions and speech forms are combined.

Social interaction, through the medium of speech, takes place within a cultural setting. By 'culture' we mean the whole way of life of a people, which, apart from many important aspects of human life, also includes language (i.e., verbal communication), forms of non-verbal communication, rules and communications about behaviour etc. Here, sociolinguists are confronted with certain questions, viz, What is the relation between language and culture? How is a particular way of life (i.e., culture) categoriesed through words (i.e., speech)?

Friedrich (1972: 276) offeres an explanation to these questions. He observes:

> Culture systems are roughly of two kinds: those which are explicit and understood by the native speaker, as against those primarily inferred and understood by the analyst.

This also applies to speech behaviour in general and polite speech forms in particular. It is truism to say that speakers of all languages occasionally hesitate or reflect upon their use of polite speech forms. Generally speaking, the basic determinants underlying the use of polite-speech forms operate at the level of 'subconscious' and are not conceptualised as a system by native speakers. Ultimately, it is the language analyst who systematically discerns the speech patterns including politeness patterns.

In this paper, we attempt at a comparative description of patterns of verbalization of respect in Urdu and Telugu. But, the description offered here, in many respects, has a limited scope. It is incomplete descriptively since it does not reflect the most generalised picture of speech behaviour. It is based on the speech of two speakers only. The analysis reflects, technically, a mixture of respondents' and researcher's categories and information. But, this preliminary description is useful as a starting point for exploring and projecting possibilities for a more substantive study of politeness patterns in Urdu and Telugu.

## 2. Hypotheses

For the purpose of our study, we formulated the following four hypotheses : (i) Elder persons are referred to with respect speech forms in Urdu and Telugu. (ii) Females are referred to with non-respect speech forms in Urdu and Telugu. (iii) Honorofic prefixal address forms are not used in Telugu. (iv) Euphemistic expressions are frequently used only in Urdu but not in Telugu.

The bases for the formulation of these hypotheses are: (a)The author's personal contact with Hyderabad-Urdu speakers for the last 15 years. (b) The author's participatory observation of some Kshatriya speakers of east Godavari Telugu.

## 3. Social Background of the Respondents

The Urdu speaker aged about 60 years hails from an ex-Jagirdar[1] family. His father was a revenue official for some years in the former Hyderabad state and was awarded half a dozen villages of Warangal district as **Jagir** after his retirement. This respondent was graduated from Osmania University in 1946. After he left the college, he continued to manage his lands and Jagir villages. This respondent who is the head of the family is managing landed property and some medium scale industries too. Apart from his routine preoccupations, he is very much interested in discussing Urdu literature, culture, philosophy and religion.

. The Telugu speaker was born into a big land-owner's family. He is 66 and is the second of the six brothers of his family. His father and grandfather were big land lords and exercised an enormous socio-cultural prestige in the east Godavari district of Andhra Prades. This respondent had a high school education but was involved very much in local, district politics since his youth. He belongs to the Kshatriya or **Raju** [2] caste. This is a dominant caste in the east Godavari district. Since several decades, wealthy members of this caste have been enjoying the fruits of the local economy and exercising socio-political power. This caste had been maintaining its cultural identity for several hundred years. This respondent acted as the minister of endowments in the past and continues to be a member of legislative assembly. He feels that his family is unique among all Kshatriya families. According to him, his family presently owns one thousand acres of land.

These two respondents are selected for their socio-cultural status. The Urdu speaker descends from the earlier Muslim landed aristocracy while the Telugu respondent hails from a caste whose cultural identity, it is assumed, has been relatively more stable than of any other caste.

## 4. Field Work

(a) **Selection of respondents** : Since this was intended to be a pilot survey, we have chosen one speaker from each language group. Based on our personal knowledge and participant observation we decided to make a comparative study of a Jagirdar and a Raju. This is motivated by the popular assumption that Jagirdars of Hyderabad and Rajus of coastal Andhra have tendency to exhibit higher levels of verbalization of respect  But, we constrained ourselves to select both the respondents form the old age group in order to keep the new variables out of the picture. Hence, we tried to locate a Jagirdar and a  Raju who are above 55 years. This was meant to gather useful data on respect-forms which they have been using since their boyhood.

(b) **Interviews** : Two questionnaries, one in an open-ended format  and the other in a semi-open-ended format were prepared. The open-ended questionnaire consisted of twenty question related to the narration, description, and recollection of various speech situations that occured between the respondent and his speech interactors.  By these questions, the respondent was made to speak, refer to, recollect and reproduce all those speech situations in which his kins folk (both familial and non-familial) and non-kin folk were involved.  This format is unstructured but secures us the most realistic picture of the respondent's speech behaviour (with regard to patterns of respect) since he does not pay attention to the respect-speech forms.  Thus we get a sort of normal and a casual picture of the patterns of respect in his speech.

The following patterns of respect are concentrated upon while collecting data : (i) Personal pronouns of respect (like Urdu (Ur). *aap* as in *aap kehtee thee* 'you (honorific) used to say (honor)' like Telugu (Te). *miiru* as in *miiru annaaru* 'you (honor ) said (honor)'. (ii) Person markers of respect (like Ur. *-tee thee* as in *meeree waalid saab gaanee bhii gaatee thee* 'My father (honor) used even to sing (honor) songs' ; like Te. *-waaṟu* as in *aavana paaTalu paaDee waaru* 'He (honor) used to sing (honor) songs )'. (iii) Honorific prefixal address forms (like *janaab* as in *janaab walii khaan saahab* ! 'Mr. Walikhan (honor)' (iv) Honorific suffixal address forms (like *saahab* and *jaan* as in *waalid saab* 'father (honor)' and *aapaa jaan* 'sister (honor) respectively; like Te. *-gaaru* as in *raajugaaru* (Raju-Mr.) 'Mr.Raju' ; *-aNDi* as in *leedaNDi* 'No-Sir/Madam'). (v) Exalted expressions (mainly consisting of Perso-Arabic words like *intaqaal hoogayaa* and *tasriif rakhiyee* as in *hamaaree waalid saahab ka intaqaal hoogayaa* (lit. the act of changing - has become) 'My father (honor) has died (honor)' and as in *aayiyee! tasriif rakhiyee* (lit. come your honour - keep) 'Please, come and be seated' ; like Te. *kaalam ceesāəru* as in *maa naanna gaaru leeru. kaalam ceeāəru.* (My-father-honor-Not. Time - did (honor)) 'My father is not alive. He had passed away ).

In the semi-open-ended format, the interview is more or less structured. But, the respondent is given an opportunity to elaborate his responses whenever needed. The respondents were first asked to give words for certain types of relationships namely familial (such as father, mother, brother, etc.), non-familial (uncle, aunt, cousin brother, etc.), non-kinship relations (such as superior, equal, subordinate, etc.). Then they were asked what respect-speech forms do they use while speaking and referring to them. At the end of each interview the respondents were asked to explain the sociocultural basis for the use of respect speech forms.

## 5.   Data Analysis

Out of the tape recorded data, we noted down only those lexical items which include the above cited five patterns of respect. Then we listed the available respect-speech forms and then made a comparison of patterns in Urdu and Telugu (see Table 1).

The data were further analysed to establish a correlation between the patterns of respect and sociocultural variables, namely, generation, age, sex and non-kinship relation (see Tables 2,3 and 4).

Finally, we followed a simple numerical procedure by which we were able to present the frequency of respect-speech forms in both   the speakers (see Table 5).

## 6. Findings

## (i)  Available patterns of respect

|     | Patterns | Urdu | Telugu |
|-----|----------|------|--------|
| i   | Personal pronouns of respect (P1) | + | + |
| ii  | Person markers of respect (P2) | + | + |
| iii | Honorofic prefixal address forms (P3) | + | - |
| iv  | Honorofic suffixal address forms (P4) | + | + |
| v.  | Exalted expressions  (P5) | + | + |

Table 1 :  Available patterns of respect in Urdu and Telugu.

As is evident from the Table 1, all the five patterns of respect are present in both the languages except that Telugu does not show any honorofic prefixal address forms in the sopken variety.  In Telugu these are found in the written variety and in a very formal style (eg. *srii anjayyagaaru* 'Mr Anjaiah (honor)'.

We found that some of these patterns always cooccur. For instance, personal pronouns of respect always cooccur with person mrkers of respect. This combination is found both in Urdu and Telugu. In the same manner, honorific prefixal address forms (P3), and honorific suffixal address forms (P4) also cooccur. But they are not observed in our Telugu respondent's speech because spoken Telugu does not show P3.

## (ii) Patterns of respect by generation and age

| Generation | Elder | | Younger | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ur | Te | Ur | Te |
| Ascendent Generation | | | | |
| No.1. $(AG_1)$ | + | +/- | Not Applicable | |
| Same Generation (GO) | + | +/- | -/+ | - |
| Descendent Generation | | | | |
| No. 1 $(DG_1)$ | Not applicable | | -/+ | - |
| $DG_2$ | Not applicable | | -/+ | - |

Table 2 : Patterns of respect by generation and age in kinship relationship.

This survey confirmed our hypothesis that elder persons are spoken and referred to with respect speech forms in Urdu and Telugu. But, this behaviour has some exceptions in Telugu. The Telugu respondent did not use respect forms consistently even while referring to his elders.

The Urdu respondent used respect forms while referring to his younger brother and son also. During the interview, he called his son and spoke to him with P1 and P2 forms. When asked what forms of address he uses while speaking to his grandson he said he would

some times use P1 and P2, especially when they are in a *mehfil* (i.e., gathering). But the Telugu speaker did not use any respect form while referring to his younger brother during the casual conversa-tion. Besides, he categorically stated in the semi-structured, careful conversation that he never uses respect forms while speaking or referring to his younger brother or son.

In Table 2, we have specifically shown the generation of the of the referent since an young person may be an younger brother (belonging to the same generation) or a son.

## (iii) Patterns of respect by generation and sex

| Generation | Male | | Female | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ur | Te | Ur | Te |
| $AG_1$ | + | +/- | + | -/+ |
| GO | -/+ | -/+ | -/+ | -/+ |
| $DG_1$ | -/+ | - | -/+ | - |
| $DG_2$ | -/+ | - | -/+ | - |

Table 3. Patterns of respect by generation and sex in kinship relationship.

Our hypothesis that females are spoken and referred to with non-respect forms in Urdu and Telugu is in tune with the geenral speech pattern. As is evident from Table 3, the Urdu speaker shows a consistent use of respect forms while referring to both male and female persons who belong to ascending generation - one whereas the Telugu speaker uses both respect and non-respect forms.

Both Urdu and Telugu speakers display the same kind of behaviour while referring to the persons of the same generation.

While referring to the persons of descending generation one and two, the Telugu speaker has not used respect forms whereas the Urdu speaker used them inconsistently.

We mentioned the generation in Table 3 since for example, a female member may be a mother, a sister, a daughter or a grand daughter.

Both Urdu and Telugu speakers displayed the same kind of behaviour while referring to superiors irrespective of their generation. They used both respect and non-respect forms interchangeably while referring to the persons of equal status excepting that the Urdu speaker used respect froms alone while referring to an equal who belonged to the ascending generation. But, they behaved differently while referring to their subordinates. While the Telugu speaker used no respect forms, the Urdu speaker used both the respect and non-respect forms.

We have included 'generation' in Table 4 since a subordinate may be elder (as old as his father) or younger (as young as his younger brother or son) than the speaker.

### (iv) Patterns of respect by generation and non-kinship relation

| Generation | Superior | | Equal | | Subordinate | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ur | Te | Ur | Te | Ur | Te |
| $AG_1$ | + | + | + | +/- | +/- | - |
| GO | + | + | +/- | +/- | +/- | - |
| $DG_1$ | + | + | +/- | +/- | -/+ | - |

Table 4. Patterns of respect by generation and non-kinship relation.

## (v) Frequency of respect forms

Our survey revealed that the Urdu speaker used respect forms more frequently than the Telugu speaker.

| Patterns | Number of instances | |
|---|---|---|
|  | Ur. | Te. |
| P1 | 41 | 32 |
| P2 | 50 | 43 |
| P3 | 18 | - |
| P4 | 23 | 17 |
| P5 | 15 | - |

**Table 5.  Frequency of respect forms.[3]**

The   reason for this lies in the cultural speficity [4] of Hyderabad Muslim community which lived longer in isolation uder the feudal rule of Nizam while the Kshatriya community ( which may be more stable in cultural symbols than other castes) lived in the midst of several other castes are not known for their stable cultural identity.

## 7. Conculusions

Based on the above study of patterns of verbalisation of respect in Urdu and Telugu, we may draw the following conclusions.[5]

i) Elder persons are spoken and referred to with respect speech forms both in Urdu and Telugu.

ii) Female persons are spoken and referred to with non-respect forms both in Urdu and Telugu.

iii) Honorofic prefixal address forms are not used in Telugu while they are frequently used in Urdu.

iv) Exalted/Euphemistic expressions are frequently used only in Urdu but not in Telugu.[6]

v) Urdu speakers use respect forms more frequently than the Telugu speakers.

## Notes

*       This paper was originally presented at the National Seminar on Politeness Hierarchy in Indian Languages held in March, 1981 at the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University. The author has benefitted from the corrections and comments made by his friend P. Harinath, Department of Political Science, Vivek Vardhini College, Hyderabad.

1.      **Jagirdar** is the recipient of the **Jagir** tenure given by Nizam to his faithfuls. Coming mostly from the blue-blooded aristocracy, jagirdars, though not the legal owners of the landed property, were, however, the revenue collectors and had virtual political, legal, judicial, and police control over the villages assigned to them. The revenue so collected by the Jagirdar, unlike the British Indian **Zamindar**, was never deposited with the Government.

2.      The term ' **Raju** ' refers to the powerful **Kshatriya** caste of the coastal Andhra and indicates to their qualities of "kinship" which status is passed on from their original position as the ruling '**Varna**'.

3.      Scores in Table 5 were actual (not potential) number of occurrences of identified patterns of respect. The potential places of occurrences of various patterns could not be considered because the interviews were based on open-ended and semi-open-ended questionnaires whose format was obviously unstructured. Therefore there was no scope to obtain

structured replies and hence it was not possible to count potential vs. actual places of occurrences of various patterns and work out the percentage scores. In view of the format of the questionnaires, Table 5 would bot be invalid statistically. Further it may be noted that there was no spefic context that necessitated the use or non-use (i.e., Potential Occurrence) of Exalted/Euphemistic expressions in the recorded speech of the Telugu respondent.

4. It may be noted that our study is confined only to the Urdu speaking Jagirdar of the earstwhile Hyderabad State and not of any other geographical area. Thus, talking about Urdu as a whole, i.e., as a language spoken in different parts of the country is beyond the limited scope of our paper. However, we may qualify the word "Urdu" with an adjective "Daccani" to specify its geographical boundaries.

5. Data from more respondents would have justified the conclusions. But, as mentioned in our 'Introduction', this preliminary description is useful as a starting point for exploring and projecting possibilities for a more substantive study of politeness patterns in Urdu and Telugu.

6. Though Telugu has such expressions, we did not come across any exalted expression in the actual /recorded speech of our Telugu respondent. Nor there was any potential occurrence necessitated by a context in the conversation.

## Reference

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# TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
# ERGATIVITY IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

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Abstract: *The climactic point in the development of ergativity is observed at the earliest stages of NIA. During this period the ergativized NIA languages show maximal structural similarity. Here the peculiarities of the ergative developments in early Rajasthani (Marwari), Gujarati, Punjabi and Marathi are characterized. The interplay of Ergative and Accusative factors in the syntactic evolution of early NIA is shown.*

So far Proto-Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Old and Middle Indo-Aryan were given more attention by scholars to the origin and development of ergativity. No serious attempt has been made to deal with this phenomena in New Indo-Aryan (NIA). The present study centers around this theme and tries to fill in the gap to a certain extent.

The analyzed material stems mostly from the prose texts of Old Marathi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, and Pubjabi. And the data for the corresponding modern languages stems partly from the contemporary prose texts, and partly from the informants. The preference for the prose texts is explainable as the pröse is much less liable to different distortions demanded by rhyme or metre than poetry. But sometimes data from poetic texts is also anlyzed: this specially concerns early Punjabi where the language of poetry represents much earlier stage of the evolution than the Punjabi prose texts of later periods. It should be understood that the analyzed texts definitely do belong to different styles and dialects, so it is impossible to trace back an uninterrupted continuity at the evolution line of one

particular language. The task here is a more general one, i.e., to state
the main tendencies in the syntactic development of early NIA.

The term *ergative*, as first suggested by Dixon (1979), is
used in anlysing sentences in which the Patient of transitive verb (O)
often corresponds grammatically to the Agent of an intransitive verb
(S). The Agent of a transitive verb (A) differs from S. It can be
further said emphatically that in an ergative construction the predi-
cate (V) must be semantically transitive, A must be marked differ-
ently from S, and O must be marked in the same way as S.

According to Klimov (1983) there exist further implications
of ergativity characterized by a set of below stated features:
  a) No special Patient marking case can exist in the
     system (there is no Accusative).
  b) On surface level the subject of the transitive verb
     is marked in the same way as a non-direct/oblique
     object ( usually it is Instrumental).
  c) The system does not have any passive. [2]
  d) The standard word-order in the sentence is usually
     SOV.

The majority of these implications do manifest themselves in their
purest form at the stage of early NIA.

In nominal sphere the development of Middle Indo-Aryan
(MIA) is characterized by the gradual demolition of the traditional
case-system, so that by the end of this period of evolution, in later
Prakrits, only two or three case-forms have survived: the Direct one
and one or two Obliques. By the beginning of the early NIA the
process of merging of the former Nominative and Accusative cases
on the one hand and the process of merging of the rest of the Oblique
cases on the other hand have been practically completed. At early

NIA state the merged Nom-Acc is usually used for marking S and O, while the merged Ins-Loc-Abl is used for marking A.

As it is typical for almost all the Indo-European languages of South Asia showing ergative behaviour, the languages analysed here are characterized by Tense-Aspect Split: the only domain of partial ergativity is represented by tense-forms based on the perfective participles derived from transitive stems (mostly by forms of transitive Past and Perfect). The syntex is organized by the opposition of Absolute ("Accusative") - Ergative constructions of the sentence: in the former the verbal agreement is with S, in the latter - with O. In case there is no O-NP inside the sentence structure, the verb takes the form usually called "neutral": Masculine (m) singular (sg) in Punjabi, neutral (n) in Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarati (for the last two languages such is the situation in the XV century, later only Gujarati preserves its three-gender - system, but Rajasthani shifts to the two gender pattern and the "neutral" form of the verb in later Rajasthani becomes equivalent to m.sg.). In some special contexts the "neutral" form of the verb might also be equivalent to feminine(f) sg., but these contexts, wholly irrelevant for the ergativity progress, are not analysed here. The following examples from the different languages representing the Early NIA stage illustrate the generalisations made above:

( 1 )Old Rajasthani ( OR )*: yakshu* (m. sg.Nom-Acc )
*a:gilai hu:yau* ( Past m.sg. ) (lit. Yaksha forward became ) 'Yaksha came forward ' ( R.G.,12 )

( 2 ) OR: *yakshi* (m.sg.Ins ) *arjun-ripu* (m.sg.Nom-Acc )
*ba:MdHi: kari: page a:Ni gHa:tiu* ( Past m.sg.
lit."Yaksha, Arjun - enemy having tied, to the feet him threw" = " Having tied the enemy (who's name was ) Arjun, yaksha threw him down to (his) feet" (R.G.,13) :

( 3 ) OR: *tridaMDiu* ( m.sg.Nom-Acc ) *videsii jai ti : Ni vidyaiM a : pNa : tridaMD a : ka : ś - maMDaLi ra : khai* ( Pres. 3 sg ) "The sanya : sin, having gone abroad, through the help of this knowledge keeps his tridaMD ( bamboo stick of the ascetic ) in the sky ( R.G. :16 ).

( 4 ) OR: *ekaiM tridaMDiim* (m.sg.Ins)      *te vidya*: (f.sg.&pl.Nom-Acc) *li:dHi*: (f.sg.&pl.) "One sanya:sin that knowledge that accepted" ( R.G. ,16 ).

( 5 ) OR: *abHaykumariM*   (m.sg.Ins) *kahiuM*   (m.sg.) "Abhaykumari said" (R.G.,15)

( 6 ) Old Gujarati(OG): *ma:ta: (f.sg.Nom) ( a:paNi: buddiiM ći : tavii ka : ji aNasi : jHatai ) putra naiM anartHa karai* "Mother (thinking that the work she has planned is not accomplished) does anartha to the son"( Dave 1935 : 81) ;

( 7 ) OG: *ću: laNi: ma : ta : iM* (f.sg. Ins) *brahmadatta beTa : naiM anartHa ci:Mtaviu* (n.sg) "Mother culani thought about anartha to (her) son Brahmadatta" (Dave 1935 : 81)
The above examples are taken from XV century texts.

( 8 ) Old Marathi(OM): (aiseM ticeM dukH dekHauni) bHaTa mHa : iMbHaTa (m.pl.Nom) hRdayspHuT ja:le (Past m.pl.) "(Seeing her afflicted), Bhata and Mhaibhata had heart-break" (Tulpule 1960 :108 ) ;

( 9 ) OM: *bHaTi :M* (m.sg.Ins) *mHa: iMbHaTi: M*  (m.sg. Ins) *maNi : tleM* (n.sg.) "Bhata and Mhaibhata said" (ibid.) ;

( 10 ) OM: *ekeM* (m.sg.Ins) *pa:vo* (m.sg.Nom-Acc) *dekHila* : (m.sg.) "One saw the leg" (Tulpule 1960:102) ;

( 11 ) OM: ekem (m.sg.Ins) soMD (f.sg.Nom-Acc) dekHili
: "One saw the trunk" (ibid.);

( 12 ) OM: *ekeM* (m.sg.Ins)*pu:Ms* (n.sg.Nom-Acc)*dekHileM*
(n.sg.) "One saw the tail" ( ibid.).

Examples (8)-(12) are taken from XIII century texts.

(13)  Old Punjabi (OP) :[3] *PrabHu* (m.sg.Noun-Acc) *kare*
(Pres.3 sg.) *sa:ba:si* (m.sg.Nom-Acc) "God makes encouragement"
(Sadd:22);

(14)  OP: *kari kirpa: prabHi* (m.sg.Ins) sa:dH saMgi
(f.sg.Nom-Acc) *meli*: (Past f.sg) "Having showed mercy, God
caused (me) meet the company of saints" (Farid: 134);

(15)  OP: *ja: hoi kripa:lu ta: prabHu:* (m.sg.Nom-Acc)
*mila: i* (Pres.3sg) "If the God is merciful, he unites" (Farid:134).

The postpositions, though already existing at the analysed
stage of Early NIA, had a limited use:  in the functions of Dative,
Locative and Sociative cases only.  The identical marking of the
transitive A and of oblique (usually instrumental) O - that is one of
the main implications of ergativity - did exist in Rajasthani of that
period:
(16)  OR: *kutHa:Kuri* (m.sg.Ins) *viNasai* (Pres.3 sg.) ra:j
(m.sg.Nom-Acc)" By bad ruler perishes the kingdom" (R.G., 18).
Same marking might be found in other languages of that
time:

(17) OP: *hukami* (m.sg.Ins) *milai* (Pres.3 sg.) *vaDia:i*: (f.sg.
Nom-Acc) "By (God's) will greatness is bestowed (Japuji: 45)

(18) OM: *tujasi sukHem* (m.sg.Ins) *ramaina* (Pres.1 sg) "I'll amorously play with You" (Tulpule:177). Compare (16) and (18) examples, demonstrating the Oblique Objects marking by Instrumentals, with the sentences in (2), (4), (5), (7), (9), (10), (11), (12), and (14) where identical Instrumentals are used to mark the transitive Agents. The marker of the transitive Agent in the ergative sentence might be identical with the Oblique Object marker not only in Instrumental but also in Locative function - compare in this respect the above given (14) with (19) of Old Pubjabi: (19) *mani* (m.sg.Ins-Loc) *ki:ta:* (m.sg 3) *bHa:u* (m.sg.Nom-Acc) "In soul (was) done devotion" (Japuji:94).

Thus, it is quite evident that the Early NIA stage represents the climax of ergativity as practically all the main characteristics and implications of it are manifested in their most distinct forms.

Passive does exist in Early NIA but its use is limited to Present tense, it does not have any non-demotional variant, and its meaning in the majority of contexts is typically modal. Compare, for example:

(20) OP: *Fari:da: kaće bHa:MDai rakHi:ai kiaaru ta:i: ni:ru* "O Farid, for how long the water *can be kept* in unbaked vessel?!" (Farid:107).

(21) OR(XV Century): *kuN sahai kuNai sahijai?* "Who tolerates (it), by whom (it) can be tolerated ?!" (R.G., 29).

The ergative construction of the sentence at this stage does not imply the clear active or passive meanings, semantically it should be treated as neutral - the Old Rajasthani example illustreates this quite distinctly:

(22) *mujH nai ra:ja:i* (m.sg.Ins) *a:deś* (m.sg.Nom-Acc) *di:dHau chai* (Past m.sg.) "To me by king the order (is) given // To me the king has given the order" (R.G., 32).

As for the predominant SOV word-order, postulated by Klimov (ibid), it might be stated that this implication is only of statistical nature in both Early and Modern NIA. With the changes of the sentence functional perspective the deviations from the "standard" word-order (SOV) did not remain infrequent. Compare in this respect for example, the two sentences in Old Rajasthani with SOV word-order in the first of them and OSV in the second:

(23) *yakśi* (m.sg.Ins) .... *ripu* (m.sg.Nom-Acc) ... *gHa:tiu* (Past m.sg.) "Yaksha threw the enemy" (R.G., 13);

(23a) *isi: va:t karta: vana:ntarit čor* (m.pl.Nom-Acc) *ra:jendri* (m.sg.Ins) *tiha:M ja:Niya*: "Rajendra heard the thieves saying these words inside the forest" (R.G., 10).

It is also needless to remaind that poetic syntax in any language is characterized by non-following what is called the "standard" word-order and that Early NIA is no exception in this matter.

Thus, the ergative contruction in Early NIA syntax has appeared not as an isolated phenomenon but as an extremely important device connected with many other characteristics and features implied by the ergativized language system. Later on, when the attrition of ergativity started taking different shapes in different languages, the syntactic similarity between the languages of Early NIA began to decline. One of the first changes was the appearance of the identified object marking with the result that the identical marking of O and S (and the latter is, we remind, one of the most important distinctive features of ergativity) has - partially or totally ceased to exist.

The identified direct object has got to be specially marked at first in non-ergative syntactic domain. Then, for a certain period of time there existed a situation in Early NIA when in non-ergative

construction a free variation of the unmarked and marked forms of
the identified (usually animate) direct object (IDO) might be pos-
sible while in ergative sentences the IDO was remaining unmarked.
For example, in the Old Rajasthani sentence (24), belonging to the
text of the XV century, the animate direct object is marked by a
special postposition rahaiM:

(24) *eh van ma:hi muMD pa:kHaMDik ek + rahaiM dekHi:
kari:* "Having seen in this forest a clean-shave ascetic" (R.G., 9). In
the other sentence (25), taken from the Old Rajasthani text of the
XVI century, the verb ("to see") is lexically and grammatically the
same, and the animate direct object is present in the sentence
structure, but it is not marked by any postposition, e.g.,

(25) *te binhai putr dekHi:* "Having seen these two sons"
(r.G., 32) - the absolutive, used in both the sentences, implies a non-
ergative pattern. Thus, in non-ergative domain there could be a free
variation of the marked/unmarked form of direct object.

Contrary to this in ergative sentence the IDO was left
unmarked:

(26) *su pa:KHaMDiku jai tauM di:THau tau amh a:gai
kahi* ! "If You have seen that hypocrite, tell us!" (R.G., 9) - here, in
ergative construction, the animate IDO-NP is in Non-Acc case
without any postposition.

The two examples taken from the XV centruy Gujarati text
may be compared with examples from Old Rajasthani analysed
above. The animate IDO remains unmarked in ergative domain
while in non-ergative sentence even the inanimate direct object is
marked by a special postposition naiM:

(27) *su:ryaka:Mta: ra:Ni:iM pradeśi ra:ja: viSa dei: ma:riu* "The queen Suryakanta killed her husband, king Pradesi, by giving him poison" (Dave:81);

(28) *amarata:m i hu:Mtam jara: ru:pa + naiM viNa:sai* "(Granting that ) one never dies, old age destroys the beauty of the body" (Dave: 67).

The above examples show that there was transitional period between the first stage of the development of ergativity (demonstrating the most pure morphological ergativity) and the second one (when an IDO marking has already spread into the ergative domain as well). This second stage might be illustrated by the following example from Old Rajasthani where in ergative sentence the IDO is marked by the postposition *nu:M* :

(29) *ra:Nai ratansi: vikrama:dit-ɸ udaising H -ɸ + nu:M taRa:ya: cHai* "Rana Ratansingh called Vikramadit and Udaisingh" (R.G., 50). When the second stage was reached by the Early NIA the ergative constuction lost one of its main features - the identical marking of O and S in all the cases. It is very difficult to determine the exact chronology for the shift described above, as it might have taken place at different times not only in different Early NIA languages but even in different stylistic variants of one and the same language (poetry always being more archaic than the prose texts). However, in general it might be stated that by the end of XVII - the begining of XVIII centuries this shift has already occured. In this connection it deserves notice that Bloch (1914:261) had particularly stressed the following in his work on Marathi compiled in 1914: the Marathi construction with marked IDO in ergative domain has appeared recently in place of the previous one with unmarked IDO. Thus, the type   (30) *tya:neM ra:ma:s ma:rileM* "He killed Ram" is of later origin than the type

(31) *tya: neM ra:m ma:rila:* "He killed Ram, the former construction has only recently replaced the latter and has come to be used in contexts when the logical compliment happens to be a personal or animated NP, and even in this case it is but optional (see also Joshi 1900).

The decisive turn seems to have taken place when the personal and personal-demonstrative pronouns used as direct objects in the sentences ceased to be marked by Direct (Nom-Acc) case. In the previous stages of evolution such marking is regular - see, for example, the following Apabhramsa sentence (R.A.Singh:167):

(32) *so parivaddhu pa:li para hattheM* "He was caught by others. "The last pattern was partially preserved in Early NIA. The most consistent in this respect is Old Rajasthani of the XV century, for example:

(33) *tiNi* (Ins) *hauM* (Nom-Acc) *tumH + kanhai mokaLiu* "By him I to You (am) sent // He sent me" (R.G., 6);

(34) *taiM (Ins) amhe* (Nom-Acc) *iha:M c̄hata: ja:Niya:* "By You we here being (are) known // You knew us to be here" (R.G., 11).

But in Old Marathi the personal pronoun in direct object position could already be marked by not only the Direct case (Nom-Acc) but by Dative-Accusative as well - the corresponding examples (35) and (36) of the text XIV century illustrate this:

(35) *taisa: tumhi:M* (ins) *mi:* (Dir) *a:M gikarila:M* "You have accepted me as such" (lit. "As such by You I (have been) accepted") (Master: 87);

(36) *teth a:mateM* (Dat-Acc) *Ka:iseya: pa:THvileM* "Why did (You) send us there ?" (lit. "There us/to us why (by You) sent?") (Tulpule: 121).

In Old Punjabi the usual case form of the pronoun in direct object position is Dative-Accusative:

(37) *tai + un:M* (Dat-Acc) *guru: na:nak ji: bula:ia:* "Guru Nanak has called You (Dat-Acc)" (P.P.V., 34).

But the Direct case form, though rare, is still possible in Old Punjabi prose as well:

e.g. (38) *ham* (Nom-Acc) *ehu* (Nom-Acc) *pičHai čHoDia: tHa.* "We left him (Nom-Acc) behind" (P.P.V.,51).

In general: the later is the text, the rarer is the Direct case form of the pronoun in direct object function. In Modern languages only the marked form (usually represented by postpositional or inflectional Dative -Accusative) is possible in this case, e.g.,

(39) Modern Marathi: *tya:M+ni:* (Erg) mala: (Dat-acc) *oLaKHle* "He recognised me (Dat-Acc)" (Bedekar: 96);

(40) Modern Rajasthani: a:' *pa:tar mHanai* (Dat-Acc) *dHo-kHai + suM ja: L + meM pHasa:y di:* "This fellow caught *me* (Dat-Acc) ina a net by cheating" (Shaktidan Kaviya: 46).

Having lost such an important characteristic of ergativity as the identical marking of S and O, the languages under examination have not, at the same time, acquired one of the main structural features of the Accusative language tupe: the Accusative case proper, being the special marker of Patient-oriented NPs, because the identified direct object NPs in these languages have got to be marked in the same way as Recipient (oblique object)-oriented NPs of the sentence.

While all the languages of Early NIA have acquired and further developed the IDO marking, the fate of the other important ergativity device, namely, the different marking of A and S, has not been the same in different languages.

Modern Marathi and Gujarati have preserved the pattern of marking A and S differntly in noun paradigms; and they have also maintained one of the important implications of this feature: marking of Agent-oriented NPs in the same way as the Instrument-oriented. For example, in Modern Marathi the inflection marking the Instrument-NP *(lekHNi: - neM lihiNeM* "to write with the pen") is the same as the one marking the Agent-NP in ergative sentence, e.g.

(41) *setkarya: -neM ga:y vikat gHetli*: "A peasant bought a cow" (Katenina 1963:62 - 63). The same situation is seen in Gujarati: e.g.

(42) *ra:ja: -e* (Erg/Ins) *satru + ne talva: r-e* (Ins) *ka:pi: na:MkHyo* "Raja (Erg/Ins) slashed the enemy with the sword (Ins)" (Savelyeva 1965:26). The other types of adverbials (including those of time) might also be marked in the same way as A-NP in Gujarati, for example:

(43) *bi:je vaRs-e te+nuM ka:m pa:r paDyuM* "In the second year (Ins) his work was completed".[4]

In Punjabi and Rajasthani the historical process of case merging has resulted in the existence of only two cases - the Direct and the Oblique - in noun paradigms. And even these two are formally differentiated only in plural and in a few paradigms of singular (mostly, those in-*a:* in Punjabi, in -*o* in Rajasthani). Thus, taking aside the isolated paradigms where the Direct and the Oblique case-forms are differentiated, it might be stated that these languages

have almost lost one of the main ergativity features - namely, the different marking of A and S. Compare, for example, the Old Punjabi sentences (44) and (45), where the morphological distinction between S and A is preserved, with the Modern Punjabi sentences (46) and (47) where it is lost:

(44) *marda:n-a*: (Dir) *ćalia: gaia*: "Mardana went away" (P.P.V., 33) - (45) *marda:n-e* (Erg) *a:kHia*: "Mardana said" (ibid.)
(46) *sajaN-ø* (Nom-Acc) *marda:n-e + ta:i : M milia*: (V.i.,) "Sajan met Nardana" -

(47) *sajaN-ø* (Erg-Nom-Acc) *a:pN-e sa:tHi:-a:M + ta:i:M sa:rat ki:ti*: (V.t., perf.) "Sajan made a sign to his companions". (both the examples are from P.P.V., 33).

Having almost lost the A - S contrast, Punjabi and Rajasthani (but not Gujarati) have also lost one of the ergativity implications, namely, the identical marking of the transitive ergative subject (A) and of the Oblique (insturmental) Object (OO). In Rajasthani only a few nouns have retained the old Instrumental case:

(48) is + Ra: kade a:MkHiy-a:M (Ins) hi: di:THa: nahi:M "Such was not even seen with eyes (Ins)" (R.G., 51). It is, definitely, not by chance that nouns of the same semantics (means of feeling) have retained the old Instrumental case occasionally in Old Punjabi as well:

(49) *akHi: -M dekHi:da: hai* "Is seen with eyes (Ins)" (P.P.V., 35). But normally the morphological contrast between A and OO is manifested in both the languages, and the OO is marked by a special postposition added to the Oblique stem, e.g., (Rajasthani)

(50) *so uwo jiN Da:hLi: u:par baiTHo ćHai tiN + nu:M hi: kulha: Rai + su:M* (Ins) *ka :Tai ćHai* "The branch on which he is sitting he is cutting with axe (postpos.Ins)" (R.G.,78).

At the later stage of the evolution of Early NIA in some languages the ergative postpositions start marking the A-NPs. Such was the situation with Old Punjabi, and it is significant that the ergative postposition *ne* was at first predominantly used only with nominal stems in consonants (as in these very paradigms the inflection- markers of A and S are identical) and was not in use with nominals in *-a:* (namely, those that do differentiate A and S by different inflections). Compare, for example, typically different markings of A in the context of one and the same Old Punjabi period:

(51) *marda:n-e* (Non-post. Erg) *puććHia:* "*ji:eh kHudHia:rtHi: bagHia: R-ø* (Nom-Acc) *as + nu:M ćHaDke kiuM ćalta: rahia:?, ta:M sa:hib-ø +ne* (postpos.Erg) *bagHia: R-ø +ko bula:ia: Mardana* (Non-post. Erg) asked; "Sir, why this hungry wolf (Nom-Acc) had left him and went away?", then *the Master* (postpos.Erg) called the wolf" (P.P.V., 59). In another Old Punjabi text the tendency cannot be stated with that much clarity as the nominals in *-a:* might be used both with and without the postposition *ne,* but the use of the postposition is preferred in contexts where the syntactic contrast between the (ergative) Subject and the (non-identified) Direct object is explicitly manifested. Compare in this respect, for example, sentences (52) and (53) with the same noun in Subject-postion:

(52) *ra:j-e* (non-post.Erg) kahia: "Raja said" (P.P.V., 61).

(53) *ra:j-e + ne* (postpos.Erg)...*dHarmsa:la: baNa:i:* "Raja... created dharmsala" (P.P.V., 61). The general trend is, thus, quite evident.

The development of the pronoun system differed from that of the nouns; all the details cannot be stated in one single article, so here only the main tendencies of the ergativity progress in the sphere of personal pronouns will be marked.

The earliest NIA texts reflect the transitional stage when in pronoun subsystem the old cases were already gone, but the new pattern (based on the postpositions used after the oblique stems) had not been yet formed. A broad range of variants presented in the texts of this epoch demonstrate that the identical pronoun-forms might be used in different functions, and different forms might manifest one and the same function. For example, in Old Western Punjabi verses of Baba Farid both *hau* and *mai* forms have been used for "I" (1 sg.) as S, e.g.

(54) *apne pri:tam ke hau* (Nom-Acc) *birhai ja:li:* "I got burnt with the departure of my beloved (Farid:134)

(55) *gu-nahi: bHaria: mai pHira:* "Full of sins I am wandering" (Farid:86) In Farid's language the pronoun *mai* "I" is also used for A:

(56) mai (Erg) ja:nia: vaD hansu hai ta:M mai (Erg) ki:ta: sang "I (Erg) learned : (that) is a great swan!", and I (Erg) made (him) the company" (Farid:125). The same mai is also used for O (57) and for Recipient-oriented OO (58), thus:

(57) *a:pu sava:rahi mai milahi* "(If) You restrain (Yourself), (you) meet me "(Farid: 106)

(58) *mai bHola:va: pag da: matu maili: hoi ja:i:* "To me senseless was the concern that my feet might not get dirty" (Farid:66). At the same time *mu:M* (1 sg) is also used as A with transitive imperfectives or as S (with any intransitives), for example:

(59) *jinha: paćHa:ta saću ćuma: pair mu:M* "The feet of those who have obtained the truth I kiss" (Farid:129). For Recipient-orientated OO the Dative (inflectional or postpositional) *mujH-e//mujH + ku:* might also be used: e.g.

(60) *mai ja:nia:dukHu mujH + ku*: "I learned: "The sorrow (is) to me (only)!" (Farid:97).

Still later in standard Punjabi the tendency to mark identically A and S got stabilized. In Modern Punjabi the Direct and Ergative case-forms of the personal proper pronouns vary freely when they function as A, for example:

(61)  *tu:M//taiM, asi:M /// (a) sa:M, tusi:M // tusa:M// tuh:M kita:b paRHi*: "you (sg), we, you (pl) read the book". But in usage the Direct case forms are mainly preferred. In Modern Standard Punjabi, thus, the personal proper pronouns are in general following the Accusative language pattern: A and S are marked identically, O - differently form the two.

Contrary to this the demonstrative pronouns, also used as personal of the 3rd person, tend to mark S, A and O differently. For example, there exist three possible variants for the sentence (62) "He read a book":  (62a) eh//uh (Dir) kita: b  paRHi:; (62b) is // us (Obl) kita:b paRHi:;  (62c) is + ne // us + ne kita:b paRHi:, - and only the third variant (with postpositional  Ergative for A) is preferred in Standard Punjabi  for  marking A, and the first  variant (of the type (62a)) is regualar for S; the postpositional  forms like is + nu:M // us+nu:M are preferred for O. Thus, the personal-demonstratives maintain the contrast between A and S, and O. The same is true also for personal  pronouns and personal-demonstratives in Old and Modern Gujarati and Rajasthani. However, it should be stressed that Gujarati maintains different marking for A and S in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and anywhere in the 3rd person, but in the 1st and 2nd plural A and S are marked in the same way. As for Marathi, the evolution of its pronouns was well described by Block (1914:217-22) and Master (1964:85-101).  In Modern Marathi the personal proper pronouns do not have any special marking for A where they appear in Direct case-form, but personal-demonstratives mark A and

S in a different way, and, thus, the situation in general is similar to that of Punjabi.

We might conclude by stating that A and S have different marking for nouns in Marathi, Punjabi, Gujarati. The personal proper pronouns (of 1st and 2nd persons) are characterized by the Accusative language pattern in Marathi and Punjabi and by partially Accusative pattern (in plural) in Gujarati. The other pronouns in the languages analysed above generally mark A and S differently.

Rajasthani presents a special case in this respect. According to Magier (1983: 248-250) in Modern Rajasthani (Marwari) the marking of A follows throughout the system the Accusative language pattern. But this is only partially so. The process of decline of the A - S opposition being the result of the historical merging of cases (see above) is not yet completed in Modern Marwari though it is progressing. For instance, in m.sg. paradigm of nominal stems in *-o/-au* there exist free variation of Nominative and Ergative markers for A while S is generally marked by Nominative (in Old Rajasthani of even the XVIII century A and S in this paradigm were always marked differently (see above):

(63) *kuMbHau* (S-Nom) *baiTHau hai* "Kumbha is sitting" (Bhandari 1966:186);

(64) *kuMbHau* (A-Nom)...*ma:rg rok ra: kHiya: hai* "Kumbha blocked the way" (ibid. : 189);

(65) *kuMbHau* (A-Erg) *sagpaN manju:r kiyau* "Kumbha accepted the engagement" (ibid. 190). In m.pl. paradigm the A-S opposition is maintained:

(66) *anek vidva:n* (S-Nom)...*likHa'r nahi:M bHej sakya:* "Many scholars could not send (their) articles" (Chandrasinh 1966:2).

(67) *bidva:na:M* (A-Erg) tHorau ma:rg dikHa:yau "The scholars showed some way" (Bhandari 1966:20). The A-S opposition also exists for some pronouns:

(68) *a:' ai'Ri: ru:pa:Li: na:r aTHai kuN* (S-Nom) *a:*i: "Who is this beautiful woman that came here ?" (R.E. :40)

(69) *koTva:L + rai ćHokrai + rau kHu:n kiN* (A-Erg) *kiyo*? "Who killed the son of the village headman?" (ibid. 40).

These facts concerning Marwari are important because some discussion has taken place concerning the Marwari correspondence with Anderson's (1977) and Comrie's (1978) universal law which stresses that one and the same language cannot simulatiously have the combination of the Ergative type of verbal concord and of the Accusative type of case marking. Klaiman (1987) has suggested that since in Marwari one and the same unmarked case might characterize A as well as S and O, we must talk here about the "neutral case marking", and in that case the system of NPs marking in Marwari does not contradict Anderson-Comrie universal. But the universal itself might be reformulated like this: "the combination of the Ergative verbal concord and of the Accusative NPs marking in **each and every** paradigm do not occur in one and the same language". In this case Rajasthani (Marwari) does not constitute an exception to the above stated universal. If, however, the Anderson-Comrie universal is taken to mean that there should not be any paradigm in the language with identicaſ marking of A and S in ergative domain, then necessarily all the languages under reference become "exceptions" to the said luniversal; since at least some of their pronouns do follow the Accusative language pattern.

After the analysis of the problems of A,S,O marking it is desirable to descuss briefly the rules of verbal concord in different languages. In Early NIA the verb in ergative sentence construction

allways had the agreement with the unmarked O (see above). With
the spread of the IDO marking, the languages developed different
patterns of verbal concord: in Rajasthani (Marwari) and Gujarati the
verb in the predicate position agrees in Gender and Number with the
marked or unmarked Direct Object. In Punjabi and Marathi the
verbal concord rules (similar to those of Hindi-Urdu) imply the
agreement with DO only if the latter is unmarked; in case it is marked
the verb takes the "neutral" form: m.sg. in Punjabi and n.sg. in
Marathi. For example, in Gujarati:

(70) *meM* (A,1 sg) *tahma: hra: diKHra:o* (m.pl,Obl) + *ne
baja:r + maM joya:* (m.pl.) "I saw your sons at the market" (Cardona
1965:74) . The DO-NP, though having a postpositional marker ne,
implies the verbal concord with it in Gender-Number.

In Rajasthani: (71) *a:p* (3 f.pl.Erg=Nom) *rajastHa:ni:
va:ta:M* (f.pl.Obl) + *nai ... navi: šaili: + meM likHi:* (f.) *hai*
(3sg.&pl.) "She has written the Rajasthani tales in a new style"
(Bhandari: 21). This example shows also that there cannot be any
concord in Number in case the DO-NP is of feminine Gender as both
the feminine form of the participle and the 3rd person form of the
auxiliary do not maintain the sg. and pl. contrast.

In Punjabi: (72) *urva:ši: + nu:M jad us + ne aća:nak kamre
+ vič takiya:* (m.sg.) "When he suddenly saw (m.sg.) (the woman
called) Urvashi in the room" (Nanak Sing: 161).

In Marathi: (73): *ma* (1 sg. Obl.m) + *la:*(Dat-Acc post.) *hi:
tya:M* (3 Honorif.pl.Obl.m.) + *ni:* (Erg. Honorif.pl.) *a:palya: -
barobar nele* (n.sg.) *hote* (3 sg.n.) "He (m.Honorif.pl.Erg.) had
taken (3 sg.n.) only me (m.sg.Dat-Acc) with him "(Pagdi: 1969:90).

The specificity of the Rajasthani ergativity lies in the verbal
concord split as the participial component of a predicate agrees with
O-NP while the auxiliary verb may agree with A-NP:

(74) *mHaiM* (1 sg.m.Erg.) *si:ta:* (f.sg.Obl=Dir) + *ne dekH-i:* (f.sg.) *h-u:M* (1 sg.) "I (m.) saw (f.sg. + 1 sg.)  Sita (f.sg.)".[5]

In this respect our conclusions are based upon the short synopsis of Magier's ideas given in the work by Klaiman (1987). According to Magier the shift of agreement in Person in Rajasthani predicates to A-NPs might be explained as the result of the gradual attrition of ergative patterning in this language. But the detailed analysis of the Rajasthani (Marwari) literary texts show that the process is not at all straight forward.  Some authors, born and educated in Jodhpur, the centre of the literary language, do use the predicates agreeing with A-NPs in Person, e.g.,

(75)   *mHaiM* (1 sg.m.Erg) *saugan* (f.sg.Obl = Dir) + *lai* (Dat-Acc) *li:* (f.sg.=pl.) *h-u:M* (1 sg.) "I (m.Erg.) swore (f.sg.+ 1 sg.) an oath (f.sg.Dat-Acc)" (Mathur 1966:105).

But the others follow the Hindi-Urdu agreement rules according to which the predicate might be only in the 3rd person.

(76) *mHaiM* (1 sg.Erg) ... *a:p* + *rai kaMvar* (m.sg.Obl) + *ri:* (Poss.f.sg.Dir) *hitya:* (f.sg.Dir) *k-i:* (f.sg.=pl.) *h-ai* (3 sg.) "I have committed (3 sg.f.) the murder (f.) of your son" (Shaktidan Kaviya 1966:44). The same type of concord split has existed in Dakhini of the XVI-XVII centuries, and the result of the evolution is well known as the Modern Dakhini does not posses any ergativity at all.  Potentially Rajasthani may follow either Dakhini or Hind-Urdu patterns in its further development, but as Hindi linguistically and socially predominates in the Rajasthan state and is in many respects a more prestigeous language than Rajasthani, it seems more likely that the ergativity evolution in rajasthani might follow the Hindi pattern and in such case an "attrition" of Magier-Klaiman's "attrition" is highly probable in the language analysed here.

The other languages have also acquired some agreement features corresponding to the Accusative language type. In Marathi the Auxiliary verb (or, in case of its absence, the main verb) of the predicate of the ergative sentence may optionally add some postfixes manifesting the Person-Number concord with A-NP (in Modern Standard Marathi that might be only *-s* corresponding with personal pronoun of 2nd Person in the A-position):

(77) *tu:M* (2 pers) *heM ka:m* (n.sg. Dir=Obl) *kel-eM* (n.sg.) *-s* (2pers) "You have done-You (2pers) this work (n.sg.) "(Katenina 1963 : 236).

The Modern Western Punjabi has also developed a system of verbal postfixes manifesting the Person-Number status of the pronouns occupying the A- or S- positions in the sentence (both - in ergative and non-ergative domains), for example:

(78) asa:M (1pl.) multa:n ga-e (1 pl.) "We went to Multan", is equvalent to (78a) multa:n gyo-se "To Multan went-we"; and

(79) *u:* (3 sg.) (m.sg.Dir=Obl) *suNa:ya:* "He told all that had happened to his father ", is equivalent to (79a) *piu* + *ku: sa:re ha:l suNyoni-s* "To his father all that had happened told-he".[6]

But the postfixes under reference are not a modern innovation as they were possible in Old Punjabi as well, for example:

(80) *sajaN* (m.sg.Dir=Obl) *uh THika:na:* (m.sg.Dir) *čHoDi dita: -su* (m.sg.- sg.) "Sajan left-he that place" (P.P.V. 1973:36).

The detailed analysis of the pronominal postfixes development in NIA is beyond the scope of this work. The only thing to be stressed here is that the postfixes were used optionally and their usage was governed by functional perspective rules.

Now the question to be answered is like this; what is the place of each of the languages discussed here in the evolution of ergativity in Early NIA in general ? In our attempt to answer this question the degree of ergativity comparative scale as suggested by Klaiman (1987) might be taken as the necessary basis. According to Klaiman the ergativity features in different NIA languages are structured into the hierarchical sets comprised of feature A,B,C etc., so that a language lacking A could not display B, a language with A but without B would lack C, and so on. The lower the place occupied by the language on the following scale, the more ergative - according to Klaiman - it must be:

1. There exists a Tense-Aspect split (TACS) in the system (being the prerequisite for the ergative main verb (MV) and auxiliary verb (AV) concord.

2. There is a MV concord with the unmarked O in Number (this is a prerequisite for MV concord with O in other categories)

3. MV agrees with marked O (being a prerequistie for AV concord with marked O)

4. There is no IDO marking in the ergative domain of the language (this is a prerequisite for the absence of the IDO marking in non-ergative domain as well and for the verbal concord in Person with O).

It is evident that if we try to apply this scale to the languages of early NIA, analysed here,we must state that at the earliest stage of the evolution all of them were occupying the lowest place in the suggested hierarchy. Then with the historical progress Gujarati and Rajasthani moved up the scale to point 3, and Punjabi and Marathi have gone up even further - to point 2.

It should be noted that though in this scale the Modern Gujarati and Rajasthani occupy one and the same cell (point No.3), they, both of them descendants of one parent-language, do differ in ergativity manifestations.Rajasthani is less ergative than Gujarati because it has lost in almost all the nominal paradigms the ability to mark A and S differently. Besides, only Gujarati (but not Rajasthani) has preserved such an archaic (and important!) ergativity implication as similar marking of Agent and Instruement.

The above diachronic analysis could also explain some "puzzles" in the synchronic functioning of the languages not directly related with the Early NIA of Western India. For example, in Dardic Kashmiri the O-NP in the ergative domain remains unmarked even if it is represented by personal pronoun, e.g.:

(81)  *tam'* ( 3 sg.Erg) *vučH* (m.sg.) *biH* (1 sg.m.) "He saw me" - compare:

(82) *biH*  (1 sg.m.) *col-us*  ( sg.m.1) "I moved-I". In non-ergative domain an O-NP represented by a personal noun or by a pronoun might occasionally be marked by Dative case, e.g.:

(83) *suH*  (3 sg.m.) *čHuH*  (3 sg.m.) m'e  (1 sg.Obl=Dat) *ma:ra:n* "He is beating me". According to Hook (1984), this split in O-marking happening along the ergative - non-ergative axis in Kashmiri is the unique feature, being the specific characteristic of Kashmiri inside the area. But, as was shown above, the special markers for IDO-NPs in Western NIA have first appeared in non-ergative domain, and only later they penetrated the ergative domain as well; the phenomenon as such is not typical for Kashmiri alone. It might be stated again that there must have been a certain universal stage in the evolution of all the ergativized Indo-European languages of the area. Some of the languages (Early NIA) have passed this stage, but the other (including Modern Kashmiri) are still passing

through it. The spread of IDO marking into the ergative domain has played an important role in the process of inclusion of the ergative constructions into the "Active - Passive" voices opposition in NIA: the ergative constructions with the marked IDO-NPs have occupied their place inside the Active voice forms in opposition to Passive proper. Thus, the synchronic and diachronic data become interrelated, and the facts of one single language cannot create a consolidated picture without taking into account the whole spectrum of the typological laws and universals.

It looks promising to analyse the semantic peculiarities of the ergativity evolution in NIA and the ergativity changing place in the whole system of Patient-oriented constructions as well as the typological implications of the ergativity attrition in developing NIA.

## Notes

1.    The following texts were used for extracting the linguistic data: for Old
      Marathi - *An Old Marathi Reader*, a collection of texts of XI-XIV
      centuries, compiled by S.G. Tulpule; for Old Rajasthani - a collection of
      prose texts of XIV-XX centuries edited by Dr. Bhanavat; for Old Punjabi
      - the collection of prose texts of XVII-XVIII centuries edited by Dr.S.S.
      Kohli; for Old Gujarati - the text *M.S.Ba:la:vabodha to Upadeshma:la:*
      of XV century published by T.N. Dave. Some poetic texts were also
      analysed, for example, verses by Jnaneshvari in Old Marathi and verses in
      Old Punhabi from *Adi Granth*. My greatest thanks go to Dr. Gurbakhsh
      Singh of Guru Nanak Dev University, Dr. Kesar Sing Kesar of Punjab
      University, and to Mr. Atul Sawani, Moscow, who very kindly helped me
      in my work with the texts in Old Punjabi and Old Gujarati.

2.    This is, infact, a linguistic universal. See in this respect the work by
      Comrie (1978) who has justly characterized ergativity as a 'passive'
      morophology and/or syntax without the existence of the corresponding
      'active' counterpart.

3.    All the poetical texts in Punjabi, analyzed here, are included in *Adi Granth*
      completed in XVII century but the verses themselves might have existed
      in oral tradition long before they got codified in *Adi Granth*. Thus, the
      Sikh tradition attributes the verses by Baba Farid to XII-XIII centuries
      (Western Punjabi), and those by Guru Nanak ('Japuji') - to XV century;
      While the Sadd(Shabd) cited here are associated with Guru Amardas (XV-
      XVI centuries). The chronology adopted by tradition is clearly relative as
      the verses attributed to a certain person might belong to someone else who
      lived earlier or later. Still the Punjabi poetic texts of *Adi Granth* help us
      to understand the main trands in early NIA evolution.

4.    This example is provided by A. Sawani, a native speaker of Guja-rati.

5.    This example belongs to A. Magier whose article, unfortunately, has
      remained in accessible.

6.    This example is taken from Shackle (1976).

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# *REVIEW ARTICLE* ▮

# 1 TELUGU-ENGLISH DICTIONARIES ▮

**V. Prakasam** ▌

*Central Institute of English and
Foreign Languages,*

Introduction to the latest *A Telugu-English Dictionary* by
J.P.L. Gwynn and (assisted by) J. Venkateswara Sastry (Delhi:
Oxford University Press, 1991) starts with a reference to Sri Gidugu
Venkata Sitapati who said that "dictionaries should be revised at
least once in every twenty years so as to conform with the changes
in a language. Only if this is done will they present a true image of
the living language" . This new dictionary answers that need wich
has been being felt for several decades now.

Before going into a detailed study of this new dictionary let
me bring in two other Telugu-English Dictionaries for a comparative
study.

William Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* తెలుగు – ఇంగ్లీషు
నిఘంటువు was originally published in 1818. The second edition was
published in 1953 by Cultural Books Limited (31, Meeran Saheb
Street, Mount Road, Madras-2). This was originally called *A
Vocabulary of Gentoo and English, Composed of Words in Current
Use, and Illustrated by Examples Applicable to the Familiar Speech*

*and Writings , of the Middle Orders and More Elevated Ranks of the Modern Gentoo People.* The compiler is referred to as "a Senior Merchant, on the Madras Establishment many years resident in the Northern Circars". William Brown says that his *Vocabulary* "displays the words and expressions and familiar phrases inherent in the Language most commonly in present use". He says that he "could not find room' for initials S(Sanskrit) or P(Persian) or E(English) "to enable the leisure and lax attention of the Gentoo proficient to satisfy his curiosity". Regarding quantity, he says "the aim of the *Vocabulary* never imagined more than such a selection of words, as would contribute readily to assist the assiduity of the student in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Language". Explaining the 'plan' of his *Vocabulary* he makes a distinction between **primary** word and **collateral** words. The collateral words (eg. *durgandham* ) will appear under primary words (eg.*gandham* )but not separately. Though many words do not get **entry** status in this dictionary, he says, they however occur as part of illustrative material and "by that reference new words will occasionally develop themselves and become casually known". Since he could not find a single "approved author" from whom he could draw "any appropriate quotation" he followed "as a necessary expedient to introduce sentences on matters most familiar in common life". This kind of drawing quotations from common life he justifies by saying that "to instruct the scholar in the current acceptation of the Language, in all it's decisive and peculiar changes, both as the *Caapoo* and the *Dhorra* speaks it at this day, that is to say, both the **Vulgar** and the **Polished** uses of it amongst the moderns".

William Brown says that "all such casual information" given in his *Vocabulary* on matters of sociocultural importance - Castes. manners, habits, religious ceremonies of the Hindoos- has been collected "from the best and most authentic authorities" and "recorded in the fairest and most unbaissed colours ... every article of this description has been carefully examined, stands corroborated

by the most impartial testimony of its truth and propriety, and will bear the test of the strictest scrutiny". Regarding alphabetisation of the entries he says: "I have chosen the order of the Gentoo Alphabet, as most suitable to the genius of the work".

William Brown found it necessary to explain in his preface that three letters *చ, జ* and *వ* are representative of different sounds - the first two of two sounds each (ch, ts, dj, z) and the third one of three sounds (v, w. oo).

To the 1953 edition of this dictionary *(Vocabulary* )a very useful introduction has been written by Gidugu Venkata Sitapati under the title *"nighantu rachana parinamamu"* (Evolution of Dictionary Making). Sitapati talks of two stages in the history of Indian Dictionaries. The first one is of the traditional 'dictionaries in verse'. The second one is of the Alphabetised Dictionaries, after the influence was felt of the Western tradition. In the second stage, Sitapati mentions the names of William Brown, A.D. Campbell, C.P.Brown, Arden, A. Galletti as important lexicographers of Telugu. William Brown's dictionary was the first work and was followed by the later lexicographers. Though this 'Vocabulary' has just about 4000 main entries, all of them are of daily use.

William Brown has entered words with initial *'i' 'ī', 'e', 'ē', 'u', 'ū', 'o', 'ō',* under *'yi', 'yī', 'ye', 'yē', 'wu', 'wū', 'wo', 'wō',* respectively, in view of the pronunciation of these sounds. Obviously he was guided 'actual use' in the selection of words and 'articulation' in the alphabetisation. Words with initial *'a'* and *'a'* pose no special problem, as there is no 'phonetic variation' like *'ya'* or *'wa'.*

William Brown's entries are given on the following lines: entry, grammatical information, other forms, meaning in English, cross reference. Under 'other forms' come what Halliday calls the

'scatter' of a lexical item (eg.*work*, *works*, *working*, *worker*, etc.,), as follows:

> (1) అడుగు *sub.* అడుగుఅడుగులు A foot measure. ఆ యేనుగ పది అడుగుల పాడుగు వున్నది. That elephant is ten*feet* high. This word also means the *bottom or under part* of any thing. బల్ల అడుగు. The *bottom* of a table: that is, *below or under* a table. పాలకీ అడుగున ఒక పామును చూచినాను. I saw a snake *under* the palanquin.

Telugu expressions are all given in Telugu script. Transliteration of Telugu expressions hasn't been given.

Let's now have a look at C.P.Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary / తెలుగు – ఇంగ్లీష్ నిఘంటువు.* This was first published in 1852. The second edition (1905) was brought out after a thorough revision by M.Venkata Ratnam, W.H.Campbell and Rao Bahadur K.Veeresalingam. Asian Educational Services (New Delhi) have reissued it in 1979.

C.P.Brown's dictionary has entries under $i, \bar{i}, e, \bar{e}, u, \bar{u}, o, \bar{o}.$ Here we also have entries under diphthongal *'ai'*, (eg. *aidu* 'five') and *'au'* (eg. *aunu.* 'yes') whereas William Brown treated them uder *'ayi'* (*ayidu*) and *'awu'* (*awunu*). Let us take the same entry *adugu* and see C.P.Brown's treatment of it as given in (2):

> (2) అడుగు *adugu.* [Tel.] n. The foot, the footstep, a pace, step, the bottom, basis. A foot in length containing twelve inches. A line of verse. Thus four "feet" make one stanza or quatrain. చెట్టు అడుగు the foot of a tree. అడుగురాయి a stone at the bottom కొండ అడుగుననుండే ఊరు a village, at the foot of a mountain. ఆ కథను అడుగునుంచి చె ప్ప tell the story from the

beginning. కుండ అడుగు the bottom of a pot. అడుగంటకోయి to cut off by the root. అడుగుతో పెళ్లగించు to eradicate, to root out. అడుగాిపోవు to be utterly ruined. నా మాటకు అడుగుదాటకు do not transgress my command. వాని అడుగులజాడ పట్టుకొని పోయినారు they traced his footsteps and followed him. అడుగడుగును అడుగడుగునకు step by step, now and then, often. అన్నము అడుగంటినది the rice has burnt at the bottom of the pot.

This entry illustrates the style of presentation in C.P.Brown's Dictionary. The main entry is translated. (Tel.) shows, etymologically, that this is a word of Telugu origin. Its grammatical category 'n' is given. The polysemous nature of the word is adequately represented. The Telugu examples given for illustrative purposes are not transliterated, but translated.

The main differences between William Brown's (WB) methodology and C.P.Brown's(CPB) methodology are the follwoing: (i) CPB transliterates the entry whereas WB does no; (ii) CPB gives etymology of the entry and WB does not; (iii) CPB uses literary data for illustrative purposes whereas WB sticks to colloquial data; (iv) WB gives the scatter of a word but CPB does not; (v) CPB gives more details than WB taking care of polysemy and varied use.

Let us now look at J.P.L.Gwynn and J.Venkateswara Sastry's new Dictionary (JPLG-JVS) both from a comparative angle and also from a modern view point of lexicography as applied lexicology. Let us take the same entry *aḍugu* once again:

(3) అడుగు **aDugu**[1]. *n.* 1 foot, step, pace; ~ **jaaDa** footprint; ~**peTTu** to place o. 's foot, set foot; ~ **loo** ~ **weeyu** to walk very slowly. 2 foot, bottom, base;: **koNDa** ~ **na** at the foot of the hill. 3 foot (twelve inches). 4 beginning. start; ~ **loonee hamsapaadu** a correction at the very start. II. *adj.* bottom. inferior, low, under; ~ **pakka** the underside.

Here excepting for the main entry, Telugu script is not used at all.
Instead of choosing full sentences for illustrations, specific phrases
and idioms are chosen and glossed. This comment is valid for this
entry. In other entries however, full sentences are used, for example:

(4) జోలి jooli *n., gen. in neg. constr.* affair, concern, matter,
business, connection, proximity; **naa~ki nuwwu raawaddu**
do not meddle in my affairs; **DitekTiv nawala cadiwi
hantakuDewaDoo telisipooyina tarwaata maLLi manam
aa nawala ~ ki poomu** after we have read a detective novel
and found out who the murderer was, we do not want to have
anything more to do with that novel; **aakukkakarustundi,
daani~ ki pooku** that dog bits, do not go near it.

Compare this entry with WB's and CPB's treatment of the
same as shown at (5) and (6) respectively:

(5) జోలి *sub* జోలి జోళ్ళు Purpose; business; intention; design.
అతని జోలి నీకు యేమి? What *business* have you with him? నా
జోలికి రావద్దు. Don't meddle in my *concerns*; vulgarly, mind
your own *business*.

One can see 'Don't meddle in my affairs/concerns' occurs both in (4)
and (5). By dropping the easily recoverable subject *nuwwu* WB's
example sounds a little more natural. The 'dental' pronunciation of
*dzooli* is clearly explained by WB in the introduction. This doesn't
get any attention in JPLG-JVS. On the other hand CPB used the
diacritic feature available in Telugu orthography to show the dental
pronunciation. for example:

(6) జోలి *dzoli.* [Tel.] n. A thing, concern, affair, matter,
business. A topic, theme, subject. intercourse. సంగతి,వృత్తాంతము.

ప్రసంస, ప్రమేయము, సంబంధము. వానిజోలికి పోవద్దు don't meddle with him. ఆ జోలి యెఱుగను I know nothing of the matter. ఇది నీ జోలి కాదు this is not your business. నల పని జోలి మంచుకొన్నావు you are merely building castles in the air.

JPLG-JVS don't worry about etymology and scatter. The transliteration symbols are neither strictly phonetic nor adequately phonemic. They seem to be more for ease of printing. With the present Desktop Publishing facilities using a good phonetic script would not have been difficult at all.

Being a dictionary of 1991, this dictionary with about 28,000 entries gives many more new words than the other two dictionaries and also their current meanings. For example, *kangāru* is absent in WB but present in CPB as a variant.

(7) కంగారి *kangari*. [Tel.] adj: Disorderly or filthy. చిందరగానుండే, కంగారు or కంగిన *kangaru*. n. Battle యుద్ధము

JPLG-JVS give *kangaru (khangaru), kangaru ceyu, kangaru pettu, kangāru paḍu.*

(8) కంగారు, ఖంగారు **kangaaru, khangaaru** *n.* agitation, confusion, worry, alarm, anxiety

The meaning of 'anxiety' given in (8) is absolutely correct and very much in use. However, we don't find this meaning mentioned in *Sabda Ratnakaram: A Dictionary of the Telugu Language* (compiled by B. Sitaramacharyulu, with an appendix by N.Venkatarao (First printed 1885; Reprinted 1969). *kangāru* gets the meaning of *"apatsamayamuna kalugu tondara"* (hurry caused by adversity) in *Sabdarthachandrika* (by Mahakali Subba Rayadu, Editor: Vedam

Lakshminarayana Murthy, 1905, reprinted 1969). This meaning of 'hurry' is very commonly used in the Telugu of Godavari districts, but doesn't find a place in JPLG-J VS.

There is an important point to be made regarding the printing in this new dictionary. The entries in Telugu script could have been given in lower case letters; now they look a bit too loud. JPLG-JVS also maintain the same 'prudence' which most other Telugu dictionary makers do - refrain from giving four-letter words. Most English-English dictionarieslist these words too.

This dictionary is intended "to serve the practical needs of English speakers who want to learn to read, write and converse in Telugu on subjects of general interest and to read and appreciate modern Telugu prose literature; it is also intended to be useful to Telugu speakers who refer to it for English equivalents of the Telugu words and expressions that are cited."

I will take another Telugu word *perugu* and show how the new dictionary gives a more common equivalent used by the native speakers of English.

(9) WB: (i) పెరుగు *sub.* పెరుగు । పెరుగులు. The name given to sour-milk, which is favourite dish of the Indians, better known to Europeans by the name of *tyre or curd.*

(ii) పేరుకొనడం *v.n.* పేరుకుంటూ । పేరుకుని. To congeal; to harden; to thicken. నెయ్యి పేరుకొనడం Ghee to *harden* or *congeal.* మంచు పేరుకొనడం To *thicken*, as the fog.

(10) CPB: (i) పెరుగు, పెరు or పెరుగు *perugu.* [Tel.] n... Curds; thick curdled milk,

(ii) విరుగు *virugu.* [Tel.] v. To curdle... పాలు విరిగిపోయినవి the milk curdled.

(iii) పేరు *peru*. [Tel.].పేరు or పేరుకొను *peru*. v. n. To congeal, curdle, harden or thicken, ...

(11) JPLG-JVS: (i) పెరుగు **perugu** [1] *n.* curds, yogurt; **paccaDi** curds mixed with spices and vegetables.

(ii) విరుగు **wirgu** *v.i.* ... to curdle; **paalu wirigEEyi** the milk has curdled...

(iii) పేరుకొను **peerukonu** *v.i.* 1 to coagulate, curdle...

By giving 'to curdle' as a meaning for both *perukonu* and and *wirugu*, the real difference is ignored. 'Curdling' in the sense of 'turning sour giving us curds and whey' in the case of milk is *wirugu* and a negative process. On the other hand 'coagulation and fermentation' as in the case of 'yogurt' is what is found in *pērukonu* (verb) and *perugu* (noun). In the case of 'ghee' of course *pērukonu* is 'thicken' or 'harden'.

The stronger point of JPLG-JVS is the place they have given in their dictionary for idiomatic expression. I think it was in 1967 I met J.P.L.Gwynn and I noticed that he was very clearly enchanted by some of the Telugu expressions which he has obviously built into this dictionary. Gwynn, a native speaker of English, and Venkateswara Sastry, a native speaker of Telugu, have proved to be a very good team for making an idiomatically sound dictionary.

## NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT
### *1992*

# ■ PhD Awardees

### Sudheer Bhan
Semantic Categories in Hindi Speaking Aphasic
Adults. (Supervisor: Professor B. Lakshmi Bai)

### Ramakanta Sahu
A Pyscolinguistic Study of Reading Miscues of Oriya
-English Bilinguals. (Supervisior: Professor B.
Lakshmi Bai)

### K. Ashirvadam
The Structure of Didayi: An Austro-Asiatic Lan-
guage. (Supervisor: Professor B. Ramakrishna
Reddy)

### K. Srikumar
Question-Word Movement in Malayalam and GB
Theory. (Supervisor: Professor B. Ramakrishna
Reddy)

# ■ PhD Dissertation Abstracts

**Semantic Categories in Hindi Speaking   Apha-sic Adults.**
Bhan, Sudheer. Supervisor: Professor B. Lakshmi Bai.

Comprehension and naming are two significant aspects of
language processes in human beings. In the present dissertation, an

attempt is made to test the comprehension and naming dichotomy as reflected in the speech of seven Hindi adult literate aphasics of whom two were non-fluent and rest fluent. This study comprises six chapters organised along the following lines:

Besides giving a picture of neurolinguistics perspective on aphasia based on literature relating to western languages and Indian studies on aphasia, chapter one also gives an outline of the different semantic categories that were tested in the presented study. The second chapter focuses on the methodological aspects elaborting the experimental design usad, subjects studied and procedures for administering the test. The third chapter includes the medical and personal case histories of the subjects. Analysis of the data is presented in the fourth chapter giving details of both qualitative and quantitative recovery patterns of the subjects with the help of scores for each individual aphasic.

The major findings of the research are presented in the fifth chapter, comparing and contrasting the patterns found among the subjects on the one hand, and with those in aphasic speech of other languages and normal language development, on the other. The following are some of the major inferences of the study:

(1) Name comprehension for colour terms and object names was almost preserved in Broca's, anomic and transcortical sensory aphasics, whereas in Wernicke's, it was moderately impaired for colour terms and severaly affected for object naming. However, comprehension was better than naming for colur terms and object names in all the aphasics.

(2) Naming of objects was less impaired than colour terms in Broca's anomic and T.S.A.'s, whereas Wernicke 's were severely impaired in naming objects as well as colour terms. All the aphasics were more impaired in naming secondary colour terms than primary ones.

(3)    Intercategorical confusions were found in all the aphasics in all the case roles.  Further, in case relations and verbal forms, aphasics of the present study replacedd specific by general and in kinship terms general by specific terms.

(4)   While Wernicke's aphasics were more impaired at paradigmatic semantic level, the rest were more impaired at syntagmatic semantic level.

In the sixth chapteer the findings of the study are summarized.  This work also contains Appendices in which the test format, supplementary data and western aphasia battery scores and references are given.

*(Abstract was prepared by B.Lakshmi Bai)*

## A Psycholinguistic Study of Reading  Miscues of  Oriya-English Bilinguals.
Sahu, Ramakanta. Supervisor: Professor B. Lakshmi Bai.

Although a lot of efforts has been made in other countries to make the classroom teachers familiar with the use jof Informal Reading Inventions (IRIs),  Indian School teachers are totally unaware of the existence or application of such an instrument. This dissertation makes an attempt to contribute in this direction.

This work consists of five chapters. Chapter one presents an introductory survey of the present scenario in English language teaching prevailing in the country at large and in the state of Orissa in particular.  This chapter also adresses a more specific issue, namely the role and relevance of reading and how it relates to the whole curriculum as well as the causes  of reading handicaps.

Chapter two surveys a plethora of research in reading from

a historical perspective, thereby placing the current psycholinguistic approach to reading in context. It also surveys current theories of reading leading upto an interactive model of reading. Chapter three introduces the research procedure and design. Chapter four devotes itself to the actual data collection session and later on to the interpretation of the data .

Chapter five tries to summarize the findings reported in the previous section and to suggest a whole language programme keeping in view the findings. This dissertation concludes with a brief discussion on pedagogic implications of the findings.

(Abstract was prepared by J. Venkateswara Sastry)

## The Structure of Didayi: An Austro-Asiatic Language.
Ashirvadam, K. Supervisor: Professor B. Ramakrishna Reddy.

This dissertation deals with the structure of Didayi, an Austro-Asiatic language. Part I of this work consists of eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the pre-history of Austro-Asiatic language family and the socio-cultural background of the Didayi tribe. Chapter two examines the phonemic analysis and the syllable structure. Chapter three explains the morphophonemic system and different morphological processes, like prefixation, suffixation and reduplication.

In chapter four the noun and its inflectional categories, like number and case, are discussed. This chapter also throws some light on the richness of kinship terms in Didayi. Chapter five covers the system of verb and its inflectional categories, viz. tense, aspect, and mood. Chapter six concerns with adjectives, adverbs and numerals. An attempt is made in chapter seven to discuss the sentence structure of Didayi. The last chapter gives the concluding remarks.

Part II of this dissertation consists of some Didayi texts along with their English translations and a glossary.

# Question-Word Movement in Malayalam and GB Theory. Srikuma, K.Supervisor: Professor B.Rama krishna Reddy

This study concerns itself with the phenomenon of question-word movement in Malayalam and examines how 'barriers' constrain the strategies adopted for the formation of question-word questions.

It is widely held by scholars working on Indian languages that these languages do not display any overt movement in syntax in question-word questions. Indian languages, in GB parlance, were supposed as exercising the in-situ option of forming question-word questios.

Chapter one deals with the plausible analysis for the question-word questions employing the preverbal strategy in Malayalam. Chapter two presents a focussed movement account of clefting. Chapter three examines the facts concerning unbounded question-word dependencies. The last chapter looks at the apparent violation of CNPC effects alleged to be permissible in Malayalam.

# ■ Faculty Publications

Mukherjee, Aditi. Planning Hindi for Mass Communication. *The Administrator,* 37/4:73-80.

Nagamma Reddy, K. Acoustic Correlates of Voicing Contrasts in Tamil and Telugu. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies,* 2/1:29-52.

_____. Aspirated and Voiced Plosives in Kharia: Some Issues in Syllabicity. T. Balasubramanian and V. Prakasam, eds. *Sound Patterns for the Phonetician: Studies in Phonestics and Phonology in Honour of J C Catford,* 141-74. Madras: T.R. Publications.

_____. Phonetics: Typical Sounds of Indian Languages. *Souvernir: International Summer Institute in Phonetics and Phonology,* 6-24, July. Hyderabad: CIEFL.

_____ (Coauthored with P.V. Dhamija). An Auditory-Instrumental Study of Urdu Consonants. T. Balasubramanian and V. Prakasam, eds. *Sound Patterns for the Phonetician: Studies in Phonetics and Phonology in Honour of J C Catford,* 201-13. Madras: T.R. Publications.

_____. Interaction of Phonation Type and Vowel Duration: The Case of Certain Indian Languages. *Workshop on Speech Technology,* 62-77. Madras: IIT.

_____ (Coauthored with B. Yegnanarayana et al). *Tutorial on Speech Technology.* Madras: IIT.

Vasanta, Duggirala. Phonological Development and Phonological Disorders: A Review Article. T. Balasubramanian and V. Prakasam, eds. *Sound Patterns for the Phonetician: Studies in Phonetics and Phonology in Honour of J C Catford,* 325-56. Madras: T.R. Publications.

## █ Reports of the Research Projects

(The following research projects have been carried out with the grants allocated to the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics under the 'Research and Fieldwork' programme).

## █ A Preliminary Study of Case Markers in Children's Language. Investigators: B. Lakshmi Bai and Aditi Mukherjee.

This joint research project as originally conceived was to collect

spontaneous speech data from Hindi, Telugu and Bengali speaking children to examine patterns of occurrence of case markers in the early speech of these languages. The study was to include samples of speech from 6 children from each of the languages. But due to constraints on time available to the investigators for pursuing research it was possible to locate and collect speech sample from six Telugu children and three Hindi children. No recordings could be made of Bengali speech data.

**Subjects** : Six Telugu children all born in Hyderabad city were included for this preliminary study.The children's age ranged from 1;6 to 3;2 with the mean age 2;5. All children belonged to upper middle class families. The parents of (S) ai, (A) mogh (1;6), and (R) ashmi (2;2) were from Rajahmundry, of (S)weta (2;3) and (V)amsikrishna (2;9) from Karimnagar and Hyderabad respectively and (P)reeti (2;10) and Janaki's (3;2) parents were from Ananthapur.

**Data**: Speech samples were collected by Ms. V. Sailaja, who has attained training in psycholinguistic research in the centre. Children were visited sevaral times and approximately ten hours were spent with each child. As the aim of the investigation was to collect spontaneous speech data, the (I)nvestigator initiated conversation with the children at their home in a casual environment. But since the study was to look for patterns of case relations and markers, the investigator also motivated children to respond to questions meant for eliciting specific case relations. Different types of toys, pictures and household objects were used for this purpose.

The recorded speach were carefully transcribed noting down all the utterances spoken by the investigator, the children and the family members of the children. the contexts in which the utterances were used were also noted down.

**Analysis** : The speech samples were analyzed to see the patterns of case relations both at the comprehension as well as production levels. The main findings of the study are presented

It is obvious from Table II that case post positions emerge in children's speech by stages. Dative, Locative, Possessive and Directional markers emerge relatively earlier whereas Benefactive, Instrumental, Objective, source and Associative appear later. The oldest child of the study Janaki at 3;2 has not only a wide range of case relations but also the appropriats markers to express the different case relations.

The investigation also shows that children tend to extend case post positions already at their disposal to represent new case relations. It is interesting here to note that possessive markers also participate in such extensions suggesting thereby the need to treat Possessive or Genitive as one of the case relations as has been done in the Indian Karaka theory as against the modern theory of case where Genitive is not a case relation.

Another interesting point that smerges from this study is the fact that though the Instrumental case marker emerges relatively late in the Telugu children's speech, the concept of instrumentality is expressed by them through the syntactic construction commonly known as conjunctive participles. (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1985). Note, for example that the Instrumental case post position to had not yet emerged in Preeti's speech at 2;10. But she expressed this case relation through a conjuctive participle e.g.

I.     *idieem ceestundi* 'What is it doing?
    Preeti. *Palaka balappam peTTukoni eemo ceestondi*
    'Having kept the slate and pencil it is doing something'

This tendency is also observed in the speech of Vamsi Krishna eg.
    V. *deewuDu 'God'*
    I. *eem deewuDu 'which god'*
    V. *katti tiicuni cuk awTunnaaDu*
    'Having taken a knife he is doin cuk'.

# Table - I (Comprehension)

| Name of the child | Age | Case relations child could comprehend | Case relations child could not comprehend | A few illustrations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sai Amogh (SA) | 1'6 | Agentive<br>Locative<br>Directional | Dative | (1) I. *taatayaa eem ceestunnaru* 'What is grandfather doing'<br>SA. *aam, tintunnaalu* 'He is eating food'<br>(2) I. *eem ceestaaw kobbari kaaynii* 'What will do the coconut'<br>SA. *daan daan ani kottaa* 'I will hit it as daan daan'<br>(3) I. *naanna gareeri* 'Where is father<br>SA. *adigoo* 'There'<br>(4) I. *paapaa ekkaDikki veLLaeru ceepu* 'Where did papa go, say'<br>SA. *aapisku pooyaalu* 'He went to the office'<br>(5) I. *niiku kaawaalaa* 'Do you want it'<br>SA. *niiku kaalaa*<br>(6) I. *niiku niiku*<br>SA. *niiku kaafi kaalaa* 'Do you want coffee?' |

| Rashmi (R) | 2;2 | Agentive<br>Possessive<br>Instrumental<br>Locative | Benefactive | (7) I. *idi naadi* "This is mine'<br>R. *anni naadi* 'All are mine'<br>(8) I. *nuwwu teccukunnaawaa* 'Did you get it'<br>R. *idi naadi*<br>(9) I. *eem ceestaawu bommal tooTi*<br>'What will you do with the toys'<br>(10) I. *iwi ewariki kaawaali* 'Who wants them'<br>R. *naadi* 'It is mine'<br>I. *niiwe, ewarikii kawaalii*<br>'They are yours but for whom are they meant'<br>R. *naawi 'Mine'* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sweta (S) | 2;3 | Agentive<br>Objective<br>Dative<br>Instruemental<br>Locative<br>Possessive | Ablative | (11) I. *paapaaki ii taataa eemistunnaaDu*<br>'What is this grandfather giving to the child?'<br>S. *emistuNdu? tiitittunaaDu*<br>'What is he giving? 'He is giving sweets'<br>(12) I. *pilli eTla potondi* 'How is the cat going?'<br>S. *zii pootondi* 'It is going Zii'<br>I. *ekkaDanunci* 'From where'<br>S. *aa gakka* 'aa there' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vamsi Krishna (V) | 2;9 | Agentive, Locative, Directional | | |
| Preeti (P) | 2;10 | Locative, Instrumental, Possessive, Directional, Associative | | (13) I. *nuwwu ewaritoo weLLaewu skuulki*<br>'With whom did you go to the school'?<br>P. *maa naanaa* to 'with my father'. |
| Janaki (J) | 3;2 | Locative, Directional, Source, Associative, Instrumental, Possessive | | (14) I. *ekkaDninci waccaew*<br>'From where did you come?'<br>J. *maa inTi nunci*<br>'From our house'. |

It is obvious from Table 1 that while case relations like Agentive, Objective, Locative, Directional are comprehended even at age 1;6, Benefactive, Ablative/Source and Associative relations are comprehended only by older children. The oldest of the children included in this pilot survey however could comprehend not only Locative, Directional, Insturmental and Possessive but also Source and Associative relations.

## Table - II

| Name of the Child | Age | Case post-positions present | Case post-positions not present | Extension of case post-positions | Some illustrations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sai Amogh (SA) | 1;6 | Directional Locative | Benefactive | | (15) I. *paapaa ekkaDiki wellaeru ceppu* 'Where did papa go, say'? <br> SA. *apisku pooyaalu* 'He went to office' <br> (16) I. *ekkaDa* 'Where?' <br> SA. *ikka undi* 'It is here' <br> I. *ekkaDa* <br> SA. *peet, peeto undi* 'plate, it is in the plate' <br> (17) I. *idi ammakaa naaku gaada* This is for mother, it is not for me' <br> SA. *amma amma* 'Mother, mother'. |
| Rashmi (R) | 2;2 | Dative Locative Possessive | | | (18) I. *ewariki kaawaalaaTa* 'Who wants it' <br> R. *naak* 'to me' <br> (19) *naadi* 'It is mine' |

| Sweta(S) | 2;3 | Possessive Locative | Instrumental | | (20) I. *nuwwu aaci poowalanTe eTla pootaawu* 'If you have to go out how will you go?' |
| | | | | | S. *niilla moo Taaru* 'water motor' |
| Vamsi Krishna(V) | 2;9 | Dative Directional Locative Source | Benefactive Instrumental | Use of Possessive for Dative; Dative for Possessive; Dative for Benefactive | (21) V. *ii baabu kuulninci wattunnaaDu* 'This boy is coming from school' |
| | | | | | (22) I. *ewarikoosam* 'for whom'? |
| | | | | | V. *niike* (instead for *niikosam* 'to you'. |
| | | | | | (23) V. *idi niku, idi ammaaki* 'This to you, this to mother' (instead of *idi niidi, idi ammadi*) |
| | | | | | (24) I. *ewardi* 'whose is this'? |
| | | | | | V. *maa naana koni iccaeru* 'My father brought and gave' |
| | | | | | I. *ewariki, niikaa* 'To whom, to you'? |
| | | | | | V. *naadi* 'mine' (instead of *naaku*) |

| Preethi (P) | 2;10 | Locative Directional Possessive Associative | Instrumental | | (25) I. *nuwwu ewaritoo weLlaewu skuulki* 'with whom did you go to school'? <br> P. *maa naana to* 'with my father' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Janaki (J) | 3;2 | Location, Directional Associative, Possessive, Instrumental, Objective, Source | | | (26) J. *diintoo eem ceestaaru* 'what do they do with this?' <br> (27) I. *ewarini* 'whom'? <br> J. *hiironi* 'The hero' <br> (28) I. *ekkaDninci waccaaw* 'from where did you come'? <br> J. *maa iNTininci* 'from our house' <br> (29) I. *okka daaniwee weLtaawaa* 'will you go alone'? <br> J. *mammitoo* 'with mother' |

This project report is based upon data drawn from only one language. When the date for other two languages of the project namely Hindi and Bengali, are in, the investigators will be able to present a more comprehensive analysis with a comparative perspective.

## ▌ Problems of Dyslexics in Telugu: A Model Test.
## ▌ Investigator : A. Usha Rani.

Dyslexia refers to the inability of children of normal intelligence to acquire reading skills appropriate for their age.

A model test was prepared to study the reading problems in surface dyslexics. This test is prepared by collecting material from first language Telugu books of grades 2-4.

The test is divided into different sections in such an order: to study the reading tasks in children; to assess the development of such skills in a syllabic writing system; and to look at any such related problems.

The main aim of the test preparation is to see whether orthographic similarities in a syllabic language like Telugu create reading problems in children.

The first section deals with the words with minimum graphemic difference.

The second section deals with simple sentence including verbless sentences. The third section consists of pairs of semantically related words.

The fourth section is the passage. This passage consists of simple sentences, participial constructions and coordinate constructions.

The fifth section is a story. There are more complex sentences compared to simple sentences in this section.

Sixth and seventh sections also deal with a pasage and a story. Stories are given to study the reading comprehension because children are expected to give their version of the story after reading it.

The theme selected for second story and passage is some what different from the first in order to generate a sort of inquisitiveness and interest for the students. It is assumed that language acquisition also depends on the interest generated.

Each child is made to read all the sections of the test. The responses are tape recorded. There will be sufficient scoring adopted during the administration of the test.

The test material which is prepared is being administered to students at different schools and in the light of this experience it is proposed to standardize the same.

## The Telugu of Andhra-Orissa Border: A Sociolinguistic Study. Investigator: K. Ramesh Kumar

For the present study an extensive fieldwork was carried out in the following centres: Cuttack, Bhubaneshwar, Puri, Chatrapur, Berhampur, and Parlakhimindi in Orissa state during May and June 1991. A questionnaire was administered to collect the data from the informants belonging to different social classes. The casual speech of these informants was taped. The analysis showed that this Oriya-Telugu dialect (ORTD) retained some of the archaic features such as the presence of nasal after the initial long syllables (e.g. *ceempa* 'fish', *kuunturu* 'daughter', etc.) which is also there in some of the displaced dialects of Telugu in Tamilnadu and the presence of archaic words, like *modawu* 'cow', etc. The ORTD is compared with central dialect (CD) and also with other main land Telugu dialects. Some of the findings are exemplified here:

## Morphology

a) In plural formation the vowel harmony rule is not operating in the speech of non-forward cast (NFC) students who are other than Brahmins and Vysyas, for example:

$$pilli + lu > pillilu \text{ 'cats'}$$

$$puli + lu > pulilu \text{ 'tigers'}$$

Noun stems ending in *-yi* do not change to *-ti* in plural in NFC, such as:

$$ceyyi + lu > ceylu \text{ 'hands'}$$

$$goyyi + lu > goylu \text{ 'pits'}$$

Noun stems ending in *-TTi/-DDu* remain as it is in plural in NFC, for example:

$$ceTTu + lu > ceTTulu \text{ 'trees'}$$

$$guDDu + lu > guDDulu \text{ 'eggs'}$$

b) The use of dative suffix *(-ki/-ku)* for accusative *(-ni/-nu)* is most common in NFC in this dialect which is the extension of the spatial goal *-ki/-ku* for non-spatial temporal goal. It is because of Indo-Aryan influence; in this case it is Oriya:

ORTD                        CD

*naanu aaDiki pilicEEnu neenu waaNNi pilicEEnu*

'I called him'

*naanu aaDiki koTTEEnu    neenu waaNNi koTTEEnu*

'I beat him'

In this dialect purposives are formed by adding *-naaniki/-niki (<-*

*Daaniki)* to the infinite form of the verb in NFC informants, e.g.

| ORTD | CD |
|------|-----|
| *tinanaaniki* | *tinaDaaniki* ' for eating ' |
| *cuusiniki* | *cuuDaDaaniki* ' for seeing ' |

c) In the ORTD uneducated non-forward caste (UENFC) informants the vegisimal type of counting system is prevalent, which is a typical Munda character:

ORTD                    CD

*reNDu koLLu modaalu    nalabhay aawulu* 'forty cows'

*aydu irawaylu padi ruupaaylu    nuuTaapadi ruupaayalu*

'hundred rupees'

In counting the persons from eight onwards *maniSi* is added to the numerals by the NFC informants in this dialect, e.g.:

| ORTD | CD |
|------|-----|
| *enimidi maniSi* | *enimidi mandi* ' eight members' |
| *tommidi maniSi* | *tommidi mandi* ' nine members' |
| *padi maniSi* | *padi mandi* 'ten members' |

d) Consonantal harmony is prevalent in the speech of NFC informants of this dialect, and the same is absent in the coastal dialect (CD) in *-n* ending verb roots, e.g.:

ORTD                    CD

*tintaanu* ' I will eat ' *tinTaanu* ' I will eat '

The UENFC women informants show in their speech the presence

of *-Li/-Lu* for person agreement on the verb for *-Du/-ru* more than
the male informants of the same caste in ORTD, for instance:

| ORTD | CD |
|------|-----|
| *miiru tintaaLu* | *miiru tinTaaru* ' You (pl) will eat' |
| *aaLu tintaaLu* | *waaLLu tinTaaru* ' They will eat' |
| *aaDu legustaaLi* | *waaDu leestaaDu* ' He will get up' |

■ **Symposium/Seminar**

March 5, 1992        Professor C. Ramarao directed a national
                     symposium on **'Linguistics and Social
                     Relevance'**. It was inagurated by Professor
                     Isaac Sequeira, Senior Academic Fellow,
                     American Studies ResearchCentre,
                     Hyderabad. Professor B.P. Mahapatra,
                     Deputy Registrar General, Language Divi-
                     sion, Office of the Registrar General, India,
                     Calcutta, presided over the inaugural ses-
                     sion. During the paper-reading sessions ten
                     papers were presented by the scholars be-
                     longing to different institutions from all
                     over India. Mr. B. Vijayanarayana was the
                     secretary for the symposium.

March 6-7, 1992      Under the direction of Professor B. Lakshmi
                     Bai a two-day national seminar on **'Lan-
                     guage, Context and Communicability'**
                     was held. Inaugural address was made by
                     Professor S.K. Verma, Director, Central
                     Institute of English and Foreign Languages,

Hyderabad.Professor S.Basheeruddin, Head, Department of Journalism, Osmania University, presided over the inaugural session. In all fifteen papers were presented during the paper-reading sessions. Dr. A. Usha Rani was the secretary for theseminar.

# ■ Visiting Faculty

January 16-30, 1992 **Professor Jacob Tharu,** Department of Evaluation, Central Institute of English and Foreign languages, Hyderabad, gave a series of lectures on 'Language Evaluation'.

February 3-15, 1992 **Dr. Suresh Kumar,** Professor-cum-Officer in charge, Central Institute of Hindi, Delhi Centre, New Delhi, gave a set of lectures on 'Stylistics'.

September, 1992 **Professor R. Amritavalli,** Department of Radio, TV & Cinematography, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, delivered a series of lectures on 'Recent Developments in Morpology'.

# ■ Lectures/Talks

January 4, 1992 Dr. Liudmila V. Khokhlova, Reader, Department of Indian Philology, Institute of Asian & African Countries, Moscow State University, gave a talk on **'Lexicology: The Russian Perspective'.**

| | |
|---|---|
| January 6-7, 1992 | Professor Boris A. Zakharyin, Chair, Department of Indian Philology, Institute of Asian and African Countries, Moscow State University, gave two lectures on 'Origin of **World Languages: The Nostratic Theory'** and 'Typology of Indian **Languages'**. |
| October 15, 1992 | Professor László Dezső, Department of Linguistics, University of Padova, Italy, spoke on **'Proto-Uralic 'and Proto-Dravidian in the Central Eurasian Area'**. |

# OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

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## *ARTICLES*