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Editor  
**K. NAGAMMA REDDY**



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

## OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

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## THE TREATMENT OF ENGLISH [t] AND [d] IN THE INDIAN ENGLISH<sup>1</sup>

**Jagannath Vidyalkar**

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English is one of the two official languages of India and is used in the schools, especially in the institutions for higher education, and in the administration. Linguists in general consider Indian English as one of the major dialects of English. This acceptance seems to be valid when one looks at the history and number of speakers of this dialect.

The British came to India in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The East India Company was established in the year 1601. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, English was used for administrative purposes, in the courts, and was taught in schools.

The most striking feature of the Indian English is the pronunciation of the English words that contain [t] and [d] sounds<sup>2</sup>. The speaker tends to transfer the native sound system in the process of using a second language. He tends to transfer to that language his sounds, their variation and their interaction with the other sounds<sup>3</sup>.

[t] and [d] in English are alveolar stops and are apical, which in the system of Chomsky and Halle (1968)<sup>4</sup> is [-distributed]. There are no *alveolar* [t] and [d] in the major Indian languages, but the retroflex and dental [t] and [d] do exist. Phonetically it would be possible for the speakers of the Indian English to treat English [t] and [d] as dentals: [t] and [d]. In the English spoken by the speakers of the Romance languages, English [t] and [d] are reinterpreted as dental<sup>5</sup>.

I argue that the physical distance between the points of articulation for the dental or retroflex sounds and the

alveolar sounds is irrelevant; the deciding factor is the articulator. In the pronunciation of the alveolar [t] and [d] the 'TIP OF THE TONGUE' is involved. In contrast, the 'BLADE – THE FLAT UPPER SURFACE OF THE TONGUE JUST BEHIND THE TIP' is used in the pronunciation of the dental [t] and [d].

Dental sounds are laminal, whereas alveolar and retroflex sounds are apical<sup>6</sup>; consequently, English [t] and [d] are realized as retroflex in the Indian English:

Rule 1 Retroflexion (English → Indian English)

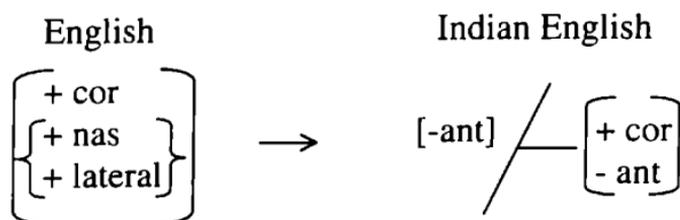
$$\left( \begin{array}{l} + \text{obstr} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{cont} \\ - \text{distr} \\ - \text{son} \end{array} \right) \rightarrow [-\text{ant}]$$

This rule states that any non-distributed English coronal stop is redundantly retroflex in the Indian English. In terms of English [t] and [d] this redundancy rule applies and renders us the Indian phonological counterpart.

Examples

	English		Indian English
tip	→ [tɪp]	→	[Tɪp]
ticket	→ [tɪkɪt]	→	[Tɪkɪ̄T], [Tɪkɪ̄T]
type	→ [taɪp]	→	[Tɪp]
cut	→ [kʌt]	→	[kʌ̄T]
dictator	→ [dɪkteɪtə]	→	[dɪkTɛ̄Tɪ̄]

English [n] and [l], that are alveolar, are realized as alveolar in the Indian English, but they become retroflex when followed by [T] or [D]:



That is, an alveolar nasal or lateral is redundantly retroflex before a retroflex. Notice that the environment is written in the most general form. This is an assimilation rule and an interaction of sound combination.

This rule is the result of the first rule (i.e. the first rule is the feeding rule); therefore, these rules have to be ordered accordingly.

### Examples

English		Indian English
monday	→	[m̄ndey] → [m̄NDē]
rolled gold	→	[rowld gowld] → [r̄ōLD ḡōLD]
pants	→	[pænts] → [pæNTs]
belt	→	[bɛlt] → [bɛLT]

The two redundancy rules given in the paper apply frequently and produce several combinations of retroflex sounds in the Indian English. The generative power of these rules is evident in the English language spoken by the Indians.

### Notes

1.A. See Jagannath - 'Telugu Loanword Phonology' (Ph.D. dissertation, 1980, The University of Arizona). I am not aware of any scholar explaining the interpretation of English [t] and [d] in the framework of generative phonology prior to my dissertation.

B. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

ant	anterior
cont	continuant

cor	coronal
nas	nasal
son	sonorant
distr	distributed
obstr	obstruent

- I have used the phonetic brackets in the paper simply because I am not attempting a description of English phonology; I am using the surface phonetic sounds of English that the Indians are exposed to.
- Many scholars of Applied Linguistics have explained this phenomenon. In my opinion no reference is required here as the theory of 'interference in the second language' has been universally accepted and is a 'truism'. A speaker cannot easily hear language sounds other than those of his native language and cannot easily pronounce the sounds of the other languages. He identifies the sounds of the second language(s) with the ones closest to his own language and in reproducing them subjects them to the phonological rules of his language.
- Chomsky, N., and Halle, M., 1968, *The Sound Pattern of English*. Harper & Row, New York.
- French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Catalan, Ladino, Sardinian, etc. These languages do not have the retroflex sounds.
- However, the tip of the tongue is curled back in the pronunciation of the latter variety of sounds as the term (i.e., retroflex) indicates; thus, technically the retroflexion is a manner of articulation.

# **DIMENSIONS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION: THE CASE OF TELUGU**

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## **1. Introduction**

Among many distinguishing characteristics of mankind, the institution of language has a pride of place. This unique possession is highlighted in a definition of homo loquens 'man as a talking animal'. Other animals may share many a trait with man but communicating through speech is an exclusive property. Throughout the recorded history of mankind, all branches of knowledge were interested in the study of language in one way or another as it was the most powerful medium of expression. Language was used as a means to unearth the hidden faculties of man, be it thinking, feeling, culture, social interaction, group activity, prayer, abuse, praise or creating literature (Fry 1977). But over the years a particular branch of knowledge known as linguistics has emerged, which defined its goals as the study of language structure independent of other sciences and social sciences. In general terms, linguistics is defined as the scientific study of language – taking 'scientific' to imply empirical and verifiable. It is taken as an autonomous science in that the structure of language can be observed, analysed and described on the basis of internal principles (of language) itself rather than depending on external factors. This branch known as theoretical or general linguistics is concerned with the relationship between sound and meaning or content and expression (Lyons 1968: 1-52). The whole enterprise is divided into levels of language analysis such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics which are

concerned with the study of speech sound (in general and in particular languages), word, sentence, meaning and language use (in context) respectively.

Theoretical linguistics develops on the basis of common or universal characteristics of human language. Two competing approaches are involved in discussing language universals — one based on the observation of traits in individual languages across the world leading to generalizations obtained by inductive method (as postulated by Greenberg), the other based on generalizations drawn on the basis of linguists' interpretation of language, known as deductive method. The latter is a testimony for common underlying cognitive and biological (or genetic) ground of human mind and language (the best representative of this approach is the work of Noam Chomsky).

The application of linguistic theory is multi-dimensional spreading to various practical, problem-oriented areas of human living, thus giving rise to the branch known as applied linguistics. The structural description of individual languages stands out as the first step in the application of theoretical linguistics and these two enterprises reinforce each other's foundations, findings, methods and techniques. The interaction-cum-correlation between sociocultural, socio-political, socio-economic, and stratificational dimensions of society and the structure of language has attained a great importance in recent times and it is being studied under the label of socio-linguistics. This branch is also concerned with such socially relevant issues as language policy, language planning, multilingualism, language attitudes, standardization, modernization, language contact, language shift and loss, social motivation for language change etc., among others. The earlier labels such as ethno-linguistics or anthropological linguistics, now form

as part of socio-linguistics. The findings of socio-linguistics contribute many essential points and solutions to the problems of second language teaching especially in the context of an alien culture (Lyons 1981: 266-330).

Another branch of linguistics intimately related to language learning and teaching, the interrelation between language and mind, acquisition, comprehension and production of language is that of psycholinguistics. One of the problems in language teaching is to motivate and sustain the interest of the learner throughout. Psycholinguistics provides the much-needed strategies of understanding learner's aptitude, motivation, ability of comprehension etc., thereby paving the way for a proper atmosphere of language teaching. It also provides insights into the similarities and differences between the acquisition of first language (L1) by a child and the learning of a second language (L2) by an adult. These insights can be fruitfully utilized in second language teaching (Radford et al., 2002: 7-23).

The term of applied linguistics can be used to refer to a wide range of activities that involves the employment of insights from linguistic theory to solving of certain practical problems. These include, among others, language teaching, translation, lexicography, literacy development, material production, speech correction, language education, mass media and various other utilitarian fields (Corder, 1973). In the present paper we shall be concerned with a brief outline of the problems of language education with particular reference to Telugu.

A multilingual and polycultural society like India employs more than one language for cohesion, cultural integration, and social mobility (Pattanayak 1981). Whether it is L2 (i.e., a language different from the mothertongue of the learner), interlanguage, international link language,

foreign language, or others, every language has a different and definite complementary role to play. The teaching of second and foreign languages is an international enterprise. However, the role of second or foreign language differs widely from one country to the other as do the reasons of particular learner for studying them. The terms acquisition, learning, and development are often used in literature as synonyms of each other. Teaching and learning may be considered as two mutually defining aspects of the same process. Second or foreign language learners approach their task with established capacities, strategies, physical and cognitive development, goals, attitudes, and motivations, all of which interact and effect the achievement of the learner. The phenomenon of second or foreign language learning is very complex to acquire native like mastery of the language in all aspects. It is known that the normal children acquire a language without any formal teaching, but the adults even with the guidance of experienced teachers, fail to achieve fluency and accuracy in a foreign language, which differentiates between native language acquisition and foreign or second language learning.

## **2. Telugu language and its variants**

Telugu is spoken by about seven million people in India and in terms of numbers it is next only to Hindi, the official language of the Republic of India. Telugu speakers are not confined to the geographical and linguistic state of Andhra Pradesh alone. They are spread throughout the sub-continent and a large number of Telugu speakers live in the bordering states of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Orissa.

Within Andhra Pradesh the Telugu language has developed several regional varieties exhibiting distinct features in lexicon, grammar and semantics. On the basis

of these features at least four regional dialects are identified – Coastal, Telangana, Rayalaseema and Kalinga. Of these regional varieties, the Telugu spoken by educated speakers from the Coastal region has emerged as the modern standard form and it is acceptable as a standard variety by the speakers of other dialects as well. From the socio-linguistic perspective, we come across such dichotomies in Telugu as spoken versus written, educated versus uneducated, formal versus informal, standard versus substandard, classical versus modern (Nagamma Reddy 1990). These varieties have contributed to several co-existent styles within Telugu. For the purposes of teaching Telugu both as mother tongue as well as second language, the modern standard Telugu as used in fiction, is taken as the norm at various levels.

### **3. Linguistic dimension of language education**

The teaching and learning of language throughout the world have been going on even before the modern discipline of linguistics has come into existence. However, the application of the principles of linguistics to language teaching has made considerable difference in teaching language in an intensive fashion within a short span of time. General linguistics contributes to language teaching by providing detailed analysis and description of the phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of a given language (Krishnamurti and Gwynn 1988). On the basis of these available grammars, phonetic readers and dictionaries, the language teacher can make his task of teaching language more profitable. The teaching of pronunciation, structural principles of sentence, morphological and morphophonemic rules, semantic nuances and overall patterns of the language form the very indispensable foundation for any language teacher. The

linguist-cum-lexicographer helps the language teacher by providing dictionaries both bilingual as well as monolingual, to suit the latter's needs.

The learner's dictionaries meant for children and second language learners are of great help to the language teacher. The grammatical and semantic analyses provide the basis for the textbook writers in the preparation of language teaching materials to various groups of learners. The materials are selected, graded and presented by the language teacher depending upon the type of reference grammar available in the language and upon the needs of the learners.

#### **4. Cultural dimension**

Language being an integral part of culture, any language learning and teaching activity obviously involves the learning of the cultural norms and traits of the speakers. Each language categorises the universe and internalises its perceptions and experience through its linguistic expressions. For example, the universe of Telugu language speakers is reflected in the lexical and grammatical structure of the language as they conceive the world-view in their mental and spiritual dimensions. In other words, no meaningful language teaching activity can take place without exposure to the cultural aspects of the language, more so when a language is  $L_2$ . When we teach Telugu to non-Telugus, especially to foreigners, we have to pay a considerable attention to the ethnography of speaking and communication. The foreign learner of Telugu has to be taught, for example, that there are more than one term as equivalents to 'he' *vaaDu*, *ataDu*, *aayana*, *vaaru*, and he has to select and use each one of them depending on the context of speaking, the person addressed to, the place

where the speech-act takes place and other socio-cultural factors (Pattanayak 1991).

Within the Indian situation, Telugu has been in intimate cultural contact with many languages, right from Sanskrit to modern English. The Indian biculturalism has left its impact on Telugu language in that it shares many cultural traits with other Indian languages, and this commonness can be utilised while teaching Telugu to the speakers of other Indian languages. When the learners are non-Indians the teacher has to pay a special attention to the cultural and social dimensions of language teaching so that a student is guided to the socio-cultural as well as the literary tradition of the Telugu-speaking people. For example, the kinship terms in Telugu and its social utility in rituals, weddings, group activities and social functions has to be delineated and explained to the foreign learner (Nagamma Reddy 1996).

## **5. Mother tongue education**

The native speakers of Telugu are mainly settled in the political state of Andhra Pradesh, but they are also spread in Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra and elsewhere. In the case of teaching Telugu to mothertongue learners, it is to be noted that by the time he enters the school, the pupil already is competent in speaking and listening (i.e., understanding), what he needs is exposure to the conventions of writing and reading. The problem of discrepancy between the spoken variety and written form deserves the teacher's attention. Though it is said that Telugu writing follows very closely the spoken variety, still there are many discrepancies between the two, especially when we compare the dialects of Telangana or Rayalaseema with that of the standard Telugu, which is used in the textbooks.

The teacher of Telugu as mothertongue has the task of helping the students to expand his lexical domain (i.e., the vocabulary items) and to bring the student to the nuances of literature. In the initial stages the language teacher can adopt the method of bidialectalism to facilitate the student towards a smooth changeover from his dialect to that of the modern standard Telugu. Here the lexical, phonological and structural differences between the two dialects can be explained clearly so that the student learns the standard variety and he may commit less errors in his writing and reading. It is a sad situation to report that in spite of graduating through Telugu medium some of the students are not able to express themselves clearly in their own mothertongue. For example the word *bhaaSa* is written in six different ways making use of the two bilabial voiced plosives /b, bh/ and the three fricatives /s, ś, S./.

There is an urgent need to improve the teaching of Telugu as mother tongue as it has a two-fold function of exposing the learner through his own mothertongue and developing Telugu for modern communication purposes. Historically Telugu has been confined to the domain of literature and some other traditional areas of knowledge. But in the recent past it is charged with the responsibility of bringing the current knowledge explosion in the areas of science, technology, medicine, communication, etc., to the monolingual native speakers. This means the domains of Telugu have expanded and correspondingly the language has to develop registers to cope with ever increasing horizons of knowledge and development. In this respect the Telugu newspapers are rendering yeoman service to the language.

## **6. Teaching Telugu as a second language in India**

Under the three-language formula of the Government of India, Telugu is taught as a second language in some of the provinces of India such as Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra. In these regions the learners are school-going children and they are taught Telugu as a second language. This group of learners can be divided into two groups—speakers of cognate languages (for example Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam speakers) and non-cognate language speakers (for example the speakers of Hindi, Oriya, Bengali, Marathi etc.). The former group has the distinctive advantage of sharing many inherited (ancestral) structural and lexical similarities with Telugu, whereas the latter group may not have this advantage. However, when one looks at the structural patterns (at the phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic level) of Indian languages, they exhibit more common structures and share more features than structural differences. The structural unity noticed among the languages of India irrespective of their genetic affiliation is due to the historical intimate contact among different languages. This language contact has given birth to natural bilingualism (as opposed to tutored bilingualism) in the Indian subcontinent. The bilingualism was obviously preceded by biculturalism (Ramakrishna Reddy 1992). Due to the intimate language contact and the resulting linguistic convergence the Indian languages have developed certain regional universals, which facilitate the learning of a particular Indian language by speakers of other Indian languages much easy and accessible. For example, when a speaker of Bengali or Punjabi learns Telugu what he is really learning is the lexical items and their nuances, rather than the syntactic or grammatical structure of Telugu, as the learners already

have some sort of the hidden grammar of Telugu as part of their native languages. From this perspective, the linguists and teachers of Telugu, should stop exaggerating the differences between Indian languages and it is time for them to concentrate on the structural unity that exists in the linguistic diversity of India and make use of it for the practical purposes of language teaching.

## **7. Language education of tribes**

There is a considerable number of tribal communities residing in Andhra Pradesh, though their percentage is small amounting to less than 1% of the total population. Nearly 30 tribal communities live in the state speaking 13 different languages as their home language. The tribal groups consist of Andh, Bagata, Banjara (Lambadi or Sugali), Chenchu, Gadaba, Gond (Pardhan), Irular, Jatapu (Dora), Kammara (Ozulu), Kolam, Konda (Dora, Reddi, Kapu, Kamma), Kondh (Kandh/Kandha), Kotia, Koya (Dora, Raju, Racha), Kuliya, Mali, Manne Dora, Mukha Dora, Naikpod, Nayak, Paroja, Reddi Dora, Rona, Saora (Kapu), Valmiki, Yanadi (Challa) and Yerukala (Singh 1994). Almost all the communities use Telugu as a language of wider communication across the speech communities. Their bilingualism (sometimes trilingualism) is well attested. Most of the groups have lost their ancestral language and as of now they use Telugu for both intergroup and intragroup communication.

However, there are at least 13 tribal languages which are retained and used as mothertongue ( $L_1$ ) or as home language. These include Banjara (or Lambadi), Gadaba, Gutob, Gondi, Irula, Kolami, Konda, Koya, Kuvi, Paroja, Savara, Yerukala and Vagri. But none of these languages is used as a medium of education, administration, judiciary or any other area concerning the tribes. This

makes it absolutely essential on part of the tribal communities to learn Telugu to a level of acceptable fluency for their socio-economic, political, cultural and interactive development. (Ramakrishna Reddy 2003)

The literacy rate among the tribes is low ranging from 6 to 15% of the tribal population. For literacy development of tribes, the following suggestions are available. A tribe can be bilingual and bicultural. For example, the Kuvi tribals know their mothertongue - Kuvi. They also know the regional contact language - Desia and are familiar with the state major language – Telugu. In this sense, cultural pluralism and multilingualism co-exist. Bilingual Education is advocated for progress in literacy. This method suggests that education would begin with mothertongue medium in primary school. A gradual switch in a smooth way of bilingual instruction that is tribal language and Telugu simultaneously is offered. Ultimately switch over to regional language will be in programmed graded steps as advocated by Pattanayak (1991). For a tribal child the languages would be in the following order: (i) Tribal language, Kuvi, (ii) Regional major language Telugu and (iii) Link Language Hindi / English. The place of tribal languages in the three-language formula is different. For a tribal child it may be a four or five-language formula.

The language experience approach suggests the use of children's own words and stories as the basis for primers, at least to begin with. Children could learn to read their own dialect or language variety first, and then learn the standard language. Community and parental involvement in bilingual education would lead to obtain their views and attitudes towards school and literacy programmes especially on the medium of instruction. Language needs of the teachers and their training are important. Literate

●

tribals could be enrolled to teach. Other language teachers need to be trained and be acquainted with the tribal languages (Srivastava 1984).

Adult literacy can also be pursued through bilingual instruction: Instruction in the tribal language and local language could be simultaneous. The terminal point will be the regional language. Teaching manuals could include relevant socio-cultural, economic, political and communication needs of the tribes. The content of the primer should start from the readers' immediate environmental experience, categories and perceptions. Ethnicity deserves to be accommodated in the instructional materials. Make the learner feel that his experience is relevant by recognising and listening to his problems and values. For example adopting tribal lore as part of the textbooks. It is ideal to adapt the regional script with minimum diacritics. There is no need to invent a new script for every language. It is essential to recognise small identities like tribal languages and ethnicity, thereby leading the local identity to be a part of the regional or national identity, i.e., integration of tribal populations as equals in the so-called mainstream. It may be mentioned that neither isolation nor assimilation is desirable.

## **8. Teaching of Telugu as second language outside India**

The learner abroad, who would be interested in Telugu, can broadly be divided into two groups:

- (i) The Telugu mothertongue speakers settled outside India either recently or long time ago. For example, the recent migrants to the United States of America, Europe and elsewhere or the earlier migrants to such places as South Africa, Malaysia, Mauritius, Burma, Sri Lanka and elsewhere.

- (ii) The speakers of foreign languages such as English, German, Russian, French, Spanish, Japanese, etc., who are interested in learning of Telugu for academic, commercial, diplomatic or other purposes.

A considerable teaching material for teaching of Telugu as a second language has been developed by eminent Telugu linguists like Bh. Krishnamurti, P.S. Subrahmanyam, N. Sivarama Murty, K. Mahadeva Sastri, Leigh Lisker, G.N Reddi, P. Ramanarasimham, and others. These scholars provide the much needed basic materials as well as explanation of grammatical and semantic structures for the teaching of Telugu as a second or foreign language. One of the fundamental problems, at least in the beginning for a foreign student of Telugu, is to comprehend the cultural dimensions and connotations of Telugu expressions. Here the teacher has to pay equal attention both to the cultural as well as linguistic training of his student. The learner is in need of training in all the four skills of language—listening, speaking, reading and writing. The teacher can make use of the existing graded materials in his classroom and for each group of students the teacher himself will also have to prepare fresh supplementary materials depending upon the nature and interest of the concerned group of learners.

Language learning is a utility-oriented exercise. People learn different languages for various purposes, be it academic or non-academic. A motivated student learns a language with much more ease and faster than a non-motivated one. The contrastive analysis between Telugu and the foreign language (i.e., mothertongue of the student) will provide the basic points of difficulty that the learner is likely to encounter. For this purpose the contrast between the two languages is essential which

can be drawn from the findings of the linguists or still better if a language teacher himself is familiar with the contrastive structure of the two languages involved.

With reference to teaching of Telugu to the group of people who migrated from Telugu background, but settled abroad and since then lost their language, a different type of problems deserves to be taken into consideration. The fluency of these speakers may range from mere acquaintance with the language to an excellent fluency. Hence depending upon the student-group, the teacher will have to adopt or prepare the language materials for the purposes of teaching. Here the teacher can make use of the background knowledge of the learner of Telugu and assist him in learning the modern standard variety that is used in media (print as well as electronic).

Difficulties in a second language learning result not only from differences between the learner's native language and the target language but from the writing system of the foreign or second languages as well. The symbols (or letters) basically reflect the phonemic representation of the meaningful items of the language. This poses a problem for second language learners because, learners do not yet know such phonemic representations, nor do they know the phonological rules of the language that convert phonemic to phonetic representations. Another problem is that the alphabetic system reflects the phonemes rather than phonetic representation. That is, it is not sufficient to learn that a particular letter corresponds to a particular sound. A letter will have several sound correspondences depending on the phonological rules of the language. For example, the Telugu letter 'O' (*sunna*) represents five different nasal consonants depending upon the following consonants. Spelling reflects not the exact pronunciation but the

phonemic (i.e., underlying or abstract) pronunciation. An understanding of the differences between speech and writing such as spelling, punctuation, and syllabification can be valuable in helping a teacher to understand the reasons for certain common errors in student's writing. Learners encounter difficulties relating to the morphophonemic properties of the writing system as well. For example, the difference between */kukku/* 'to smash a louse', and */kuk'ku/* 'to (the) dog' in Telugu is related to speech, but as with spelling, the relationship is indirect.

## 9. Conclusion

The primers and other teaching materials have to be prepared for each group of learners depending upon their needs. The common materials for all kinds of learners will not be of much help either to the learner or to the teacher. For example, in teaching of Telugu to mothertongue speakers the focus shall be on the skills of reading and writing, whereas for a foreign learner the focus has to be on all the four skills as well as on the cultural content of the primers. The speakers of the other Indian languages learning Telugu have the advantage of sharing common cultural background and also the hidden common structural patterns between their mothertongue and Telugu. For this group the type of materials should be worked out on a different scale. The primers, textbooks and learner's dictionaries have to be prepared systematically on the experience of the teachers involved as well as the theoretical principles within the area of second language teaching research.

Any educated native speaker cannot automatically become a teacher of Telugu language. He needs to be trained in the modern methods of language teaching and also in educational technology. Language education is a

respectable branch of social sciences and its findings have to be taken seriously in the realm of second language teaching. The teachers have to be trained in the methods of reading, writing and teaching and also how to provide essential drills of pronunciation for the students. This training programme may involve, not only the linguists but also psychologists, educationists and anthropologists as resource persons. Linguistics has contributed considerably to the teaching of languages as mothertongue as well as second language. But when we turn to the practice of the Telugu language teaching, there are still many problems that deserve to be tackled from a scientific point of view.

In recent years the teaching of pronunciation and experimental phonetics have become much more closely linked.. Computers are also being used to enrich the existing curriculum and to improve the ways in which instructions are delivered by using them as a sophisticated educational tool. Audio-visual techniques, ear-training and performance classes will enable the students learn the language better. The educationists, linguists, psychologists and others who are concerned with learning and teaching of reading and writing or speaking and listening must jointly carry out research, and develop the appropriate materials and techniques that will effectively assist teachers and students in learning languages fast and in a scientific way.

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## LINGUISTIC DETERMINISM AND SOCIAL CAUSATION

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Determinism may be defined ostensibly, and somewhat simplemindedly as a philosophical speculation that all things happen under the influence of previously existing causes. In other words, entire organisation and evolution of world and objects existing in it are subject to rigid determinism under inexorable causal laws. So, determinism and cause are indissolubly linked together.

Deterministic study of object has a long history. It has been a topic in philosophy almost since the beginning of philosophical thought. Obviously, determinism was conceptualised in many ways and there has been many versions of deterministic theories springing from diverse motives and considerations. This fact can be vindicated by carefully analysing the history of philosophy where one can find various flows of deterministic theories like ethical determinism (Socrates, Descartes), logical determinism (Diodorus, Stoics), theological determinism (Leibniz), physical determinism (Democritus, Epicureans), psychological determinism and finally social determinism.

In linguistics, Wilhelm von Humboldt has laid foundation for deterministic research of language, which has attracted a remarkable amount of scholarly attention during twentieth century mostly in Russia. The major figures which have placed great emphasis on deterministic explanation of language through social causes can be said as A.A. Potibnee, I.A. Srejnevsky and Bouduen de Courtenay. Although there were some scholars who have concentrated on the individual aspects of Humboldt –

Bouduen's theory of language, their basic insights had become submerged by twentieth century structuralism. However, systemic programme launched by Prof. G.P. Melnikov in 1960's (and is continuing till today) has given rebirth to the Humboldt-Boudueian linguistic enterprise, which grew out of Humboldtian 'philosophic' theory of language and comprehensively improved by earlier mentioned scholars. Present-day systemic theory of language also emanated from the criticism of indeterminacy, inconsistency and unsystemicity of structuralistic notions and its various shadows including 'revolutionary' generative framework. Moreover, systemic analysis of various language types has produced theoretical as well as practical results that have largely stood the test of time.

Let us turn now to some central concerns in any discussion on deterministic causal explanation of language with focus on those that are particularly important for an understanding of systemic nature of language.

Systemic or systemic-determinative linguistics (as it was named by Prof. G.P. Melnikov) enunciates that language represents an evolving, adopting determinate system. And language belongs to the class of semiotic systems, which are traditionally included in the varieties of figurative art, i.e. in the class of figurative systems. The figurative semiotic systems are functionally interpreted as systems formed in the consciousness of members of community with specialised and unified devices of means and skills of influence of any member of the community on the consciousness of any other member. The main aim of the influence is to stimulate creative intellectual acts in the consciousness of partner in these influences which will result in final output of knowledge in the consciousness of perceiver which in turn is nearer to the knowledge of

influencing partner, i.e. speaker. To put it in a nutshell, in the process of communication, speaker always endeavours to instigate the consciousness of hearer with the aim to stimulate creative intellectual acts, which finally produce knowledge in the consciousness of hearer that coincides with the speaker's intention. Natural language distinguishes from other figurative sign systems in its maximal universality with respect to the types of 'transferring' likewise knowledge.

Systemic linguistics and one of its branches systemic typology of languages starts with commonly accepted thesis that theoretical foundations of linguistic science were laid in the works of German linguist Wilhelm von Humboldt. His theory should be seen in the light of dialectical, systemic approach toward language as representative of the definite type in which composition of components, their characteristics and types of mutual influences are correlated and inclined to one chief, specific principle. Thus language type represents "main genesis of individual peculiarities" of language system. The theoretical foundation of systemic linguistics is not just recognition of systemicity of language as a psychosocial event, but declaration of language as a self-adoptive and thereby a dynamic system. Then naturally, structure of language (schema of relations between elements of each level and between levels) and substance (acoustic, articulatory and semantic) tend to be mutually agreeable in an optimal way for implementing their function.

So, the main objective of systemic-determinative enterprise is to find out the pivotal tendency (characteristic) of language system, which is designated as internal determinant of language or communicative racurse. Notably, communicative racurse dictates language system to select those, not any other signs which are

crucial for the formation and functioning of language as an organic entity. And racurse components will be consolidated in usage by slowly getting socialised. So in terms of figurative art it may be said that communicative racurse of a language is formed as a specific point of illustrations.

Apart from being an adoptive system, language represents social event. One of the main features of social events including language, is the presence in them of continuous reconstructions and sub-reconstructions. These would ultimately provide effectiveness of functioning of language system in accordance with changing conditions of society. However, these social demands are normally not recognised or partially recognised by the members of the society. They practically define the function of language at every historical period. These social conditions, which influence the course of language system is called in systemic typology external determinant of language. To the notable factors that define character of communicative racurse belong quantity of speech community (macro/micro), period of intra-communicative interval and level of homogeneity of linguistic community. These parameters, from systemic point of view, motivate the world-outlook of members of particular community.

Obviously, internal determinant of language system is nothing but the manifestation of external determinant. Any change in the external determinant, i.e. social conditions of the linguistic community will automatically lead to an alternation of internal determinant of language system.

When Humboldt says that the chief distinction between Indo-European languages with developed inflection and affixal agglutinative type, in which he includes, not only Finno-Ugric and Turkic, but also to

some extent Semitic languages. Thus basically before us we have the formulation of the internal determinant of inflecting language type and its comparison with that of agglutinating type. The consequences of internal determinant in inflecting and agglutinating languages have with substantial evidence from various languages have been shown by Bouduen and also Melnikov in later years.

So far as external determinant is concerned, the idea emanates from the popular thesis of Humboldt and earlier mentioned followers that language arises and develops in the psyche of individuals due to demands of the spirit so as to overcome individual subjectivity and to raise to the level of notional subjectivity. In other words, it is just nothing but the conversion of individual conscious into social conscious. This is however achieved by means of cultivating unified (for all members of community) means of expression of special elements of personal experience, which plays a vital role in formulating a comprehensive social approach. Consequently, set of these means of expression formed in the psyche of each member of the community as a specialised communication subsystem of social consciousness may be called language. As the social experience gained by each member of the community through language is qualitatively greater than the experience accumulated by an individual through personal practice, it can be asserted that language holds an organ of social consciousness embodied in the psyche of each member of the community. So the chief characteristic that can be studied as an external determinant of any figurative system including language should be traced in the sphere of individual experience that can be observed in the specificity of a given community. It can also be found in the exchange of the experience, which is very much needed for ensuring high degree of socialisation by each

member of the community. This would promote to cultivate social consciousness at the level of “natural subjectivity”. Particularly, this characteristic demands ‘traditional’ (both standard and usual) content, expression of which will lead to the formation of figurative sign system. After its formation, the figurative sign system acquires a definite traditional form, which, as per Humboldt, will be realised as internal and external forms, each of which will encompass its own parameters.

Systemic-determinative linguistics is aimed at improving classificatory-typological principles, which integrate all productive typological and classificatory methods into a comprehensive system of methods of typology. This exercise is being implemented by taking into account the peculiar function of language among other social events and also function of each individual language. Basing on the central concepts internal and external determinants and Humboldtian systemic classification of languages into four types as inflectional, agglutinating, incorporating and isolating, systemic typology proves that stadial typology of languages deals with only one of the individual aspects of morphological classification of language along with genealogical and areal.

Data relevant to the systemic-determinative character of various languages have been presented during the past four decades when valuable generalisations were attempted by Melnikov and his students. We will be concerned with the question as to how to theorise organisation of each language type in terms of internal and external determinants.

Incorporative languages, from systemic determinative framework, are formed in the conditions where each member of the community is well-versed about the other

and the community as a whole, which means that the main portion of socially relevant events happen before the eyes of all members of the community and knowledge about these events becomes socialised basically without linguistic communication. Such conditions will prevail only in micro-communities and also communities which are weakly connected with others. This social situation would provide great opportunity to have a higher degree of continuity in language technique as well as cultural richness. That is why, there is a strong tendency in incorporating languages to manage with minimum morphemeness expressed by lexical meaning and also rich composition of abstract auxiliary signs which describe structure of relations among the participants of the situation. Because, interlocutors of this type are mutually well informed at all levels of abstractness of sensible units, i.e. universal, individual and current. So if micro-community living in isolation can be said as external determinant of incorporative language, then the internal determinant (communicative rasure) may be formulated as situation. In other words, the external determinant of incorporating languages can be characterised as a 'presumption (or primary assumption) of mutual informedness of interlocutors at all three levels of senses' and the internal determinant shall be formulated as 'principle of economic expression in the structure of discussing event'.

Once the community starts expanding, naturally there will be a break in the process of transferring both linguistic and cultural experience. This would result in reducing level of preliminary mutual information about current events. However, the community should maintain all socially valuable experience and make it know to each and everybody of the community by exchanging it. Vital

necessity for such people seems to be formulation of technique of intercourse with personally little known people or may be with an unknown kinsmen through a large number of intermediate stages of 'retranslation' of information with socially significant content. In these conditions, though universal sensible image which is nothing but social knowledge including linguistic, appears to be common to all members of such community, individual knowledge is absolutely absent whereas general current impressions are limited. Because current sensible images arise directly at the moment of communication, these external conditions would lead to formation of nominative system, which is fully realised in the languages of inflectional morphology. So if the external determinant of studying type can be formulated as presumption of mutual-informedness of interlocutors only at the level of social experience, the internal determinant-economy can be in the length of commonly significant and concrete morphemes. It provides guarantee of high stability against possible misinterpretation of conveying message.

There should be in turn confirmation regarding the fact that the content of information perceived by the addressee (listener) corresponds to the intentions of the addresser (speaker). So language should encompass large number of lexicons and large number of morphemes. Due to big quantity of lexicons there is a danger that the listener may get 'confused' in defining role of lexicons in multi-lexical expression. So as to avoid this unpleasant situation, language evolves tendency to prepare different varieties of lexicons depending on its typical functions in phrase. Consequently the listener at initial utterance of perceived lexicon would be able to recognise it and tries to predict the oblique of continuation of that lexicon. If such

prediction is proved, then listener gets confirmation that he has rightly understood the expression. Since such parallel verification promotes the guarantee of perception and apprehension of speech by listener, speaker on his part attempts by all means to prompt the listener about the types of linguistic units that possibly follow after the pronounced utterance.

To put it in short, the inflecting language system at all levels will develop different means of prompting. By apprehending the expression, listener is expected to forecast the further development of the expression. Thus the principle of prompting becomes governing tendency in the inflectional languages. The 'retranslation' of information with one and the same content necessitates to develop all kinds of methods of cautioning in speech stream right from phonetic level to semantico-syntactic level. So the internal determinant in inflectional language can be names of eventual communicative racurse. The interlocutors of this language type are well versed with only universal level of abstractness and completely disassociated with individual and current levels.

Agglutination arises in the conditions where members of the community, as a rule, personally know one another, regularly exchange information, which represent personal as well as social interest; but because of some reasons they do not possess rich 'common fund' of current feelings. Such conditions of intercourse occur only when close people due to various reasons live far away from each other for a long period and during comparatively short-time meetings they have to exchange social as well as personal information. The regular and long intervals in communication of such 'disassociating' language community (at the time of meeting of groups) may become obstacle for mutual understanding. Here the

personal experience needs socialisation. The member of the community has to present information not only about concrete event, but also information about state of the event, which occurred for a long period of time during which there was no possibility to use any channels of communication. As a reaction to it, language develops regularity and simplicity of grammatical rules and prefers to omit all extra elements that could overload language memory. It also opts to construct and to produce word-form necessarily in the acts of communication, but not to keep them in an advanced form as in inflecting languages. Otherwise unavoidable intervals in communication may lead to preservation of discrepancies in linguistic skills of different groups of same language and ultimately result in loosing of language as a means of formation and support of unity of social consciousness. The speaker of agglutinating language tries to represent the subject of event as an illustration about the resulting state of object of conservation, but not about the situation. Hence the communicative recourse in this type occurs to be not dynamic as in the case of inflectional languages, but static in the sense that the process is described as a static situation.

Tendency toward isolating language type as it was underlined by founders of comparative linguistics, is very strong while formation of new nations and cultures is taking place in a society. This process can be noticed especially with people representing divergent languages and cultures.

It will lead to conglomeration of various world-outlooks. In order to reach mutual understanding between the people of different ethnic groups, each one of them has to spare their traditional knowledge and also reduce the quality of generally-known linguistic units. This situation

necessitates to poly-functionally useful symbols about whose knowledge speaker can rely upon hearer. The poly-functionality of symbols represents basically paradigmatic and syntagmatic polysemy which directly allows to increase informational load on the context, on the distribution of function of lexical units in the speech stream, on the usage of lexical units to specify relations between expressed meanings (particularly connected with production of definite positional limitations) and finally on the order of sequence expressing senses in the sentence. This is normally interpreted as fixed word order. And there is a strong tendency toward unaltered sound oblique of using symbols.

In such limitations on the selection of means of linguistic expression, which makes difficult to represent all topics linguistically, fixation of definite communicative racurse seems to be not expedient. That is why, the internal determinant in isolating language can be said as occasional communicative racurse while the external determinant represents conglomeration of divergent languages and cultures.

After such an exhaustive analysis of four language types in terms of external and internal determinants, it is not difficult to see the interconnectivity between various types. For instance the gradual change in the external determinant of incorporative language, which is reflected in the growth of micro-linguistic communities leads to the evolution of these languages from the stage of word-sentence to the stage of ergative type. If the linguistic community continues to increase in its size with settled life at one place, then the ergative type will gradually turn into inflectional type. Thus incorporative and inflectional language types represent two opposite poles of the same process. Agglutinative and isolating languages are nearer

with respect to the absence of specific, fixed communicative racurse. Likewise methods of systemic typology allow to show that four Humboldtian morphological types though at surface level represent as four different unconnected types, they are originally interconnected with transitional variants. This invites conclusion that stadial classification of languages should practically be treated as only a fragment of Humboldtian morphological classification.

Systemic-determinative view suggests that the genesis and development of languages in definite typological directions is motivated by social needs (demands) of particular linguistic community. Depending on the life style of the community (external determinant), language evolves in a specific typological direction which becomes predominant tendency of language internal determinant. Each language type evolves a particular communicative racurse. The relationship between four Humboldtian morphological types and internal and external determinants has been shown in the following table:

Language type	Internal determinant Communicative racurse	External determinant
Inflecting	Eventual	Macro-community Settled, cultivation.
Agglutinating	Indicative	Nomadic, Cattle-breeding
Isolating	Occasional	Macro-community with divergent languages, and cultures
Incorporating	Situational	Micro-community, living in isolation

**Table: 1. The correspondences between language type – external and internal determinants.**

Against the background of this description, let us return to the concrete issues. Among number of questions

still to be answered is what was the language external motivation for switching over by the Aryans from inflectional type of language to agglutinative type. If macro-community, cultivation and settled life are among the prerequisites as per systemic typological theory for inflectional type to start and to develop, then the question still remains as to what obstructs the continuation and improvement of the inflectional system by Dravidians. These questions all point to linguistic problem solving as a clue to motivations for typological drift. Because typological drift does not necessarily occur in any given instance of potential areal linguistic contact, considerable caution needs to be taken in proposing deterministic explanations. Clearly we know enough about social needs to argue that 'communicative necessity' prioritises the selection of language type by the communities. It is primarily through the study of what prevents Aryans to improve their inflectional morphology that we can begin to hope to answer the question of motivation. Yet another unsolved puzzle is what compels Dravidian to remain with agglutinating technique despite of there being well settled, cultivated mode of life. Another important question for any typological theory of language is what happens when two different language types meet together or which type is preferred by the community when it has to make a choice between two different types of languages.

Turning now to the analysis of above raised questions, let us begin with widely accepted contention regarding lifestyle of Indo-Europeans. The social conditions enumerated in systemic-determinative typological enterprise have existed in the zone where ancestors were settled. Moreover, they were preserved exclusively in Balto-Slavic territory, emigrants of which according to a well-known theory represent the Aryans.

A later part of them have migrated to South and South-East regions of Asia including to Indian sub-continent. Notably, only Indo-Aryans after their migration lived predominantly in the conditions in which the community once again over thousands of years had occupied highly populated and settled areas although the levels of its homogeneity were drastically decreased. And Dravidians, with whom Aryans came into contact while migrating, had also represented mainly settled people with huge density of population. One may raise a question, here as to why did not Dravidians develop inflectional type rather than sticking to agglutinative system.

In this connection let us recall the genetic nearness of Dravidian and Uralo-Altai languages as it was mentioned earlier. Agglutinative technique is optimal in the conditions of intercourse when representatives of a big community can support their communicative contacts only periodically. Such conditions occur only in nomadic cattle-breeding economy. And this fact is well agreed with high level of agglutination in Turkic languages. However, the motherland of Uralo-Altains was Eastern Asia-region of Savic hills and their settling over Northern Eurasia was connected with 'chronical migration'. Hence, it is not astonishing that all Uralo-Altai languages are characterised with certain level of agglutination though the settlement of some of Uralo-Altains and, mainly, some Finno-Ugric people is secondary.

Andronov points out "Dravidian people and tribes are not aborigines of India and have come in not early thousand years of B.C." Basing on this assumption, it seems very natural the reconstructing relationship of Dravidian with Uralo-Altai languages. We find further

compelling evidence of more direct relationship, if we examine the typological nearness of these languages particularly with Finno-Ugric family. Both of these people have long ago transformed into a settled mode of life. The Indo-Aryans had only pushed Dravidians to South of Indian sub-continent and totally cut their original territorial connection with Uralo-Altains.

Before answering the question as to why did the language of Dravidian cultivators, who lived on the territory of Indian subcontinent for more than thousands of years before coming of North-Aryans, remain with agglutinating type without altering its system towards inflectional type, let us attempt to explain why has been Indo-European language of Aryans originally cultivators, and also continued their profession as cultivators after settling in India, gradually converted from the language of highly developed inflection to agglutination. In other words, why did the agglutinative, but not inflectional language type occur commonly convenient to both Dravidians and Aryans on Indian subcontinent?

In this connection, let us refer to the observations made by Bouduen de Courtenay while commenting on mutual influence of language of those people who live in a close geographic and cultural contact. This situation as per Bouduen virtually leads to 'plucking' of both languages to such feature like easiness in learning their grammatical system. In this situation more difficult give place to easier, simpler wins over more complicated. So, the speaker of more complicated grammatical system through the phase of bilingualism completely transfers to simpler one. The 'delicate' version of such mutual influence is manifested in the bilingualism of representatives of complicated language. It automatically leads to a regular decoding from one language to another.

Such transformation can be effectively implemented if those languages are coming nearer both structurally and typologically at the cost of simplification of elements of complicated language system. This areal nearness has been found in Balcan languages. Though Bouduen emphasised on the areal nearness of Germanic, Finno-Ugric languages on the banks of Baltic sea, a more bright manifestation and transformation of inflectional Indo-Aryan languages to agglutinative Dravidian, we observe in the Indian subcontinent. Now it is clear that why did particularly inflection give place to agglutination. The agglutinative languages in comparison with inflectional are more regular, more sensible as it was expressed by Bouduen and that is why particular Dravidian agglutinative grammatical system has in the said conditions became general Indian.

Now it is perhaps easy to explain why did not Dravidians living more than thousands of years on the territory of India before coming of the Aryans in the conditions of cultivated, settled life develop inflectional technique. A possible answer for this question is that as Dravidians are also migrated people to India, and consequently, the same problem would have exactly arose to them with aborigines. Seemingly, Dravidians met with Austroloid tribes whose language, from systemic determinative point of view, was most probably incorporative which is very difficult to learn. In these conditions, the priority will automatically go to agglutinative system. But the difference lies in the fact that in case of Dravidians and Aryans both of them are migrants to India, and the preference has been given to more simple grammatical system whereas in the case of Dravidian and Austroloid tribes – the system emigrants

was taken hold over the system of aborigines for the same reason. But this is only half of the story.

The conservation of Dravidian agglutinative system for so many thousands of years before as well as after the conversion of Aryan languages into agglutination seems from systemic determinative framework a natural event which has occurred under the influence of external communicative and social needs. Here one can observe a peculiar type of influence of Dravidian language zone on non-Dravidian. So far as internal communicative conditions, i.e. conditions connected with the intercourse within the language community, are concerned they would have been instigated the evolutionary replacement of Dravidian grammatical system in the direction of inflectional system without any external interference. However, as the process of decreasing of differences between typological characteristics of Dravidian and Aryan languages accompanied by closer and mutual fusion of various linguistic elements is intensively taking place, the role of external-communicative conditions will significantly be decreased. Then, the internal communicative factors will gradually occupy their positions. Hence, one can notice typological displacements not only in Indo-Aryan, but also Dravidian languages. This illustrates slow, but gradual loss of Dravidian agglutinative features in favour of inflection.

Presumably, if any new factors would intervene in the conditions mentioned above, then one can predict that after some time Dravidian and Aryan languages would form a 'new family' through areal nearness. This means, they will convert into secondary genealogical-devisable entity. However, that new Indian language delivered from pressures of said external communicative factors

starts acquiring quickly clear inflectional characteristics. It may take hundreds of years, if not thousands of years.

## TEMPORAL NOTION IN MALAYALAM AND TAMIL

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### 1. Introduction

Malayalam and Tamil are closely related Dravidian languages. Tense and time references are signalled in a similar way in these languages. But a close examination reveals that there are a few significant differences. An attempt is made in this paper to focus on this problem.

Rajaraja Varma (1895) explains three kinds of temporal notion for Malayalam, which are indicated in the verbs. They are past, present and future (markers *-i*, *-um*, and *-unnu*). The earlier grammarians Gundert, Seshagiri Prabhu, George, Adronov and Asher have also used the same three tenses for Malayalam.

The future tense marker *-um* indicates the future time notion and *-unnu* indicates the present time notion in Malayalam. But these two markers are also used to convey habitual notion.

- (1) *me:y ma:sam ma<sub>l</sub>a peyyunnu* (Ma)  
May month rain rain pre-tens  
'It rains during the month of May'
- (2) *ma:rccu muppatinu sku:L a<sub>t</sub>akkunnu* (Ma)  
March 30<sup>th</sup> school close-pre-tns  
'The schools close on 30<sup>th</sup> March'
- (3) *su:ryan kilakku udikkunnu* (Ma)  
sun east rise pre-tns  
'The sun rises in the east'.

Asher and Kumari (1997:286) opines “.... there is not a one-to-one correspondence between these forms and past, present, and future time”.

In Malayalam *-uLLu:* is added with the past and present tense forms only when the sentence has the emphatic participle *-e:*. The form *-uLLu:* cannot be added with the future tense marker *-um*. It can be added to the infinitive *-uka* or after the verb root.

- (4) *avan-e: pa:T-i-yuLLu:*  
 he emph sing-pt be  
 ‘He only sang’
- (5) *avan-e: pa:TunnuLLu:*  
 he emph sing pre-be  
 ‘He only sings’
- (6) *avan-e: pa:T-uka-yuLLu*  
 he emph sing-inf-be  
 ‘He only will sing’
- (7) *avan-e: pa:T-u:*  
 he emph sing  
 ‘He only will sing’

The present notion is expressed in these languages without the use of the present tense marker.

- (8) *enre kaivasam 100 ru:pay-e: uLLu:*  
 my in hand hundred rupees-emph be  
 ‘There are only one hundred rupees with me’
- (9) *e:nkiTTe 100 ru:pa-ta:n irukku (Ta)*  
 with me hundred rupees-emph have  
 ‘There are only one hundred rupees with me’

The modals in these languages convey the future notion as well as the attitudinal meanings simultaneously:

- (10) (a) *ñā:n vara:m* (Ma)  
I come-modal  
'I will come (certainty) (willingness also)'
- (b) *na:n varu-v-e:n* (Ta)  
I come-fu-PNG  
'I will come'
- (c) *avan var-a:m* (Ma)  
he come-modal  
'He may come (uncertainty)'
- (d) *avan varal-a:m* (Ta)  
he come modal  
'He may come (uncertainty)'

In (10a) *-a:m* the modal in Malayalam conveys both the notions of futurity and certainty. It is noted that the *-a:m* in (c) where the subject is in third person, indicates futurity and uncertainty. Here the subject plays an important role for the semantic contribution of the modal. The Tamil sentence (10d) behaves like the Malayalam counterpart (10c). Another significance noticed here is the absence of the modal *-a:m* in the Tamil sentence (10b). Here in order to indicate the future time notion and the modal meaning, future tense marker is used:

- (11) (a) *ni: var-aNam* (Ma)  
you come modal  
'You should come'
- (b) *ni: var-a ve:NTum* (Ta)  
you come-inf modal  
'You should come'

There is a collocational problem in Tamil and Malayalam. The modal *-aNam* (<*ve:Nam*) occurs with the verb root while the modal *ve:NTum* occurs after the infinitive of the verb in (11b).

## 2. Temporal dependence

The interpretation of one temporal expression needs the interpretation of the other. This is termed as the temporal dependency. Consider the following examples :

- (12) (a) *avaL karayumpo:L avan ciriccukonTirunnu* (Ma)  
 she weep fu he laugh-ptcont  
 'When she was weeping he was laughing'
- (b) *avaL aLumpo:tu avan cirittukkoNTirunta:n* (Ta)  
 she weep-fuhe laugh-pt prog PNG  
 'When she was weeping he was laughing'.

In the above sentences the matrix sentences cannot give a complete interpretation of meaning without interpreting the meaning of the constituent sentences. Here the time of utterance is not significant. The above type of temporal dependency is termed as 'temporal anaphora' (Smith 1981)

## 3. Timeless sentences

In Tamil and Malayalam there are sentences with overt tense markers. These sentences may not indicate specific time notions but show habitual notion.

- (13) (a) *su:ryan kilakku udikkunnu* (Ma)  
 sun east rise-pre  
 'The sun rises in the east'
- (b) *su:riyan kilakku utikkum* (Ta)  
 sun east rise fu  
 'The sun rises in the east'

In the Malayalam sentence (13a) in order to indicate a habitual notion present tense marker is used whereas Tamil makes use of the future tense marker. Here timeless truth is indicated by the markers. The temporal adverbials

*eppo:lum*, *ennum* (Ma) and *eppavum*, *dinamum* (Ta) are used in such constructions. Here there is no implication of the time of the utterance :

- (14) (a) *avan divasavum sku:Lil po:kunnu* (Ma)  
 he daily school-loc go-pretns  
 'He goes to the school daily'
- (b) *avan dinamum sku:Lukku po:kir-a:n* (Ta)  
 he daily school-dat go-pre-PNG  
 'He goes to school daily'

In (14) both in Tamil and Malayalam the present tense marker is used to indicate habitual notion. The habitual notion is mainly signalled by *divasavum* 'everyday'. If this form is deleted from the sentence, it will indicate only the present notion.

- (14)(c) *avan sku:Lil po:kunnu*  
 he school-locgo-pre tns  
 'He goes to the school'

Here in (14c) the action takes place at the time of the utterance.

Let us consider the following sentences :

- (15) (a) *haidrajanum o:xijanum ce:rnnal*  
 Hydrogen-con oxygen-con mix if  
*veLLam uNTa:k-um*. (Ma)  
 water become-fu  
 'Hydrogen and oxygen make water'.
- (b) *haidrajanum a:xijanum ce:rta:l*  
 Hydrogen-con oxygen-con mix if  
*tanni:r uNTa:k-um* (Ta)  
 water become-fu  
 'Hydrogen and oxygen make water'

Here in the above sentences the future marker *-um* is added with the verb. The future marker does not convey the future meaning alone. Here it mainly signals the inductive truth, where the result can be verified by experiments.

#### 4. Tenseless sentences

There are different kinds of sentences in Tamil and Malayalam without the tense markers.

- (16) (a) *na:lum na:lum eTTu* (Ma)  
 four-con four-con eight  
 'Four plus four is eight'
- (b) *na:lum na:lum eTTu* (Ta)  
 'Four plus four is eight'

In the above sentences tense markers are not used and there is no indication of specific time notion.

#### 5. Tenseless negative sentences

There are negative sentences in Tamil and Malayalam where there are no tense markers used :

- (17) (a) *avan vi:TTil illa* (Ma)  
 'He is not in the house'
- (b) *avan vi:TTil illai* (Ta)  
 'He is not in the house'
- (18) (a) *avan innale vi:TTil illa:yirunnu* (Ma)  
 he yesterday house-loc neg be pt  
 'He was not there in the house yesterday'
- (b) *avan ne:rru vi:TTil illai* (Ta)  
 he yesterday house-loc neg  
 'He was not there in the house yesterday'.

## 6. Some peculiarities with negatives

- (19) (a) *kuma:r na:TTil po:yilla* (Ma)  
 Kumar native place-loc go-pt-neg  
 'Kumar did not go to his native place'
- (b) *kuma:r u:rukku po:kavillai* (Ta)  
 Kumar native place-loc go-inf-neg  
 'Kumar did not go to his native place'.

In (19a) the past form is used to indicate the past temporal notion whereas (19b) uses only the negative form *illai*. In (19a) Malayalam makes use of the past tense with the verb *po:* to indicate the past notion. In the Tamil sentence (19b) the verb carries the infinitive marker *-a* and the negative marker *illai*. It is significant to note that the sentence conveys a past notion.

### Malayalam

### Tamil

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (20) (a) <i>avaL va-nn-illa</i> (pt.)<br>she comp-pt-neg<br>'She did not come' | (b) <i>avaL var-a-villai</i> (pt)<br>inf. -neg.<br>'She did not come' |
| (c) <i>avaL var-unn-illa</i><br>she come-pre-neg<br>'She does not come'        | (d) <i>avaL var-a-villai</i><br>she come-inf<br>'She does not come'   |
| (e) <i>avaL var-uka-illa</i><br>she come-inf.<br>'She will not come'           | (f) <i>avaL-var-a mai:Tta:L</i><br>'She will not come'                |

In Malayalam the negative form *illa* occurs after past, present and future tenses. But in Tamil *infn+illai* is used to indicate past and present meanings. To indicate the future negative another negative form *-ma:TT* – is added. This is a significant difference between Tamil and Malayalam.

**Note:** This is a revised version of the paper presented to the International Conference on Architecture of Grammar, held at CIEFL, Hyderabad during 15-17 January 2002.

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## THE MAINTENANCE OF TELUGU LANGUAGE IN MAURITIUS

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### 1. Introduction

Mauritius is a tiny pear shaped island situated in the Indian Ocean with longitude 57, 33E and latitude 20, 17S. It is on the east coast of Madagascar and about 4698 km (2019 miles) south- south- west of Mumbai. It was discovered by the Portuguese in 1505 and was subsequently held by the Dutch, French and British before independence was attained in 1968. It is a multiracial and multilingual country as its descendents came from India, China, Africa and Europe. Nowadays all the inhabitants consider themselves as Mauritians and they live in peace and harmony as they are all allowed to practise their respective religion, culture and tradition. Mauritius has an area of 1860sq km with a population of about 1.2 million. The different ethnic groups are as follows: Indo-Mauritian 60%, Creole 27%, Sino-Mauritian 3%, Franco-Mauritian 2% and the various religions can be classified as follows: Hindu 52%, Christian 28.3%, Muslim 16.6% and others 3.1%. There are about 60,000 Telugus on the island who represent 5% of the total population. Indian languages like Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and Marathi are taught at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Mandarin is not yet introduced at tertiary level but students can learn this language up to Higher School Certificate. English is the official language and French is considered as a semi-official language though it is being used in many spheres of life. The link language of all Mauritians, which cuts across all linguistic and religious groups, is the Mauritian French based Creole.

## 2. Telugu language

Telugu, a Dravidian language, is spoken by 7 million people (1991 census, India) and was declared the official language of Andhra Pradesh in southern India in 1966. It has literary texts beginning from the 11th century CE. Telugu (<telugu) is also known as *Tenugu* (<tenungu) and *a:ndhram*. On comparative grounds, it is a member of the South Central subgroup of S[outh]D[ravidian]. Its other close sisters, spoken to the north and northwest, are Gondi, Ku:i, Kuvi, Ku:bi (KoNDa), Pengo, and MaNDa. Culturally, it has had closer links for centuries with the other two literary languages to the south and west, Tamil and Kannada.

## 3. Varieties of Telugu language in Mauritius

Through a sociolinguistic survey, which I conducted I observed that there are 3 varieties of Telugu which coexist over the island of Mauritius at present. The three categories are not based on sex or region and neither are they based on economic status but on age group and literacy. They can be classified as follows:

- 1) Old generation *vya:vaha:rika* Telugu (OGVT)
- 2) Middle generation *gra: nthika* Telugu (MGVT)
- 3) New generation *siSTavya:vaharika* Telugu (NGST)

### 3.1 Old generation *vya:vaha:rika* Telugu (OGVT)

Most of the people belonging to OGVT speak a type of colloquial Telugu, which they have acquired directly from their parents and grandparents whose mother tongue was Telugu and were born before 1930. Most of them are the grandchildren of the immigrants who came to the island during the colonial period. Many immigrants were able to read and write in Telugu and they transmitted the

language to their children. As most of the Telugu immigrants came from various Andhra villages, they had the speech and dialects of various regions, which they transmitted to their children who belonged to the period 1870-1930, and who in turn transmitted to their children. In the speech of this group of people (OGVT) there are many colloquial forms, which were used by their parents and grandparents who hailed from the Madras Presidency especially from Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam regions which form part of present Andhra Pradesh.

It is also observed that the following Telugu phonemes were missing in their speech just as the speech of the uneducated and common people of Andhra Pradesh where /c/, /j/ are being substituted by /s/ and /z/ respectively as in:

1. /seplu/ 'fish' which is /ce:pa/or /cæ:pa/ in NGST
2. /kurso/ and /kurco/ 'sit'
3. /ra:zu/ and /ra:ju/ 'king'
4. /sali/ and /cali/ 'cold'
5. Personal names like /lakShmi/ and /lakSmaNuDu/ became /lacimi/ and /lacmuDu/ respectively.
6. Names like /kawsalya/ > /kamsel/ and
7. /cellelu/ > /selul/ 'younger sister'

Moreover the following observations were made while interviewing the people of the OGVT group :

8. While talking to each other with their peer group they used the word /a:lakincu/ 'to listen to'. This term is being substituted by /vinu/ to convey the same meaning by the subsequent Telugu speakers of MGGT and NGST.
9. In the formation of verb also, OGVT does not use the full form of the verb. Very often one can

hear/*vastadi*/'she will come' and */vacciNDu/* or */vaccuNDu/* 'he came'.

10. Also at word-final position, the bilabial nasal /m/ is omitted in OGVT as in */masō/* 'meat', */pustakō/* 'book' and */naTkō/* 'drama' whereas in NGST it is pronounced and in MGGT the /m/ becomes /mu/

11. Other common features in OGVT

<i>MST</i>	<i>OGVT</i>
a. <i>/guNDeka.ya/</i>	> <i>/gunkay/</i> 'heart'
b. <i>/ku:ra/</i>	> <i>/kvara/</i> 'curry'
c. <i>/appaLam/</i>	> <i>/aplō/</i> 'thin wafer of black gram also called <i>papad</i> '
d. <i>/pa:yasam/</i>	> <i>/payasō/</i> 'sweet dish with sago milk and sugar'
e. <i>/ta:mba: Lam/</i>	> <i>/tamba:lō/</i> 'large plate usually of copper, used for serving betel and nut on auspicious occasion and worship'
f. <i>/ciranji:vi/</i>	> <i>/siranji/</i> 'long-live', a term of affection, implying a blessing of long life on the person addressed or spoken of. It is observed that this term is gradually becoming out of use in MGGT and NGST.

12. In OGVT the aspirated phonemes are still present in such terms like */bharta/* 'husband', */bha:ryal/* 'wife', */bhakSincul/* 'to eat', 'devour', */bhajan/* 'worship accompanied by music, chanting or prayers' whereas in MGGT and NGST speakers, aspiration is neglected.

### **3.2 Why and how did the changes occur?**

In fact, there are many reasons for the above changes, which occurred gradually. The speakers of the MGGT and NGST groups started to read and write Telugu officially or on their own whereas the OGVT group acquired the language through direct contact and exposure in a Telugu speaking environment, which was very common during those days where most of the people were living in the sugar estates' camps.

Nowadays many Telugus became owners of their own land and house and they have migrated to other villages and towns. They have little opportunities to meet each other except on social or religious functions, which are more prevalent in urban areas. Another reason is that the economic and social conditions of the Telugus have changed. Many women are working and most of them prefer to work in textile industries and offices rather than in sugarcane fields. Communication between parents and children is limited and the impact of radio and television has worsened the situation. Storytelling by parents and grandparents hardly exists nowadays as majority of children spend most of their time outside the house. Leisure activities are diversified and increased a lot also.

Daily contact with the parents and grandparents, with other family members and with the Telugu community was an important factor to maintain the mothertongue. That is why the form of speech of the MGGT and NGST groups tends to be nearer to the bookish form than to the conversational form as used in Andhra Pradesh and the Mauritian OGVT group. School language is considered very prestigious. Most of the youth prefer to use English and French rather than Telugu. The size of the population of Telugu speakers was very small and moreover they migrated to various urban areas and many of them

gradually shifted from Telugu to French and Creole as they were more exposed to these languages, which have always been considered of higher status.

OGVT speakers who are a precious jewel for the Telugu community in Mauritius want to use the language but unfortunately they cannot find their peer group who will understand them perfectly because they are all scattered in different localities. The inability of the Telugu minority group to maintain the home as an intact domain for the use of their language has become decisive for language shift. The only rare occasions when they can meet are on religious occasions like *Rama bhajana* ceremony, weddings, *pasupu* function on wedding occasions, and *ammoru panduga* (worship of village Goddess). NGST speakers find it difficult to communicate with OGVT speakers because of their limited vocabulary and Creole speaking natural environment. They find it difficult to translate everything from Creole to Telugu to allow them to converse with the OGVT speakers coherently and fluently.

### **3.3 Middle generation *granthika* Telugu (M.G.G.T)**

This category of Telugu speakers is generally between the age group of 40 -70 years. They are the people who have been influenced by the colonial situations. Most of them know reading and writing in French and English, which they studied at school. They had to learn Telugu on their own, as there were not many qualified teachers available during that period. Also, as they had to attend school during daytime they were more exposed to English and French studies apart from the fact that they made new friends who do not speak Telugu. Thus, as they did not share the same mothertongue, they had to switch on to Creole, which every student can speak.

Many people left their houses for school or work and many migrated to urban places for jobs. All these circumstances made them leave their homes where their mothertongue (Telugu) is alive in the daily usage. No language contact among family members and friends means no language use and this finally leads to language shift and ultimately may end in language loss.

But since they wanted to keep their mothertongue, which is a symbol of Telugu identity, (see Anenden 1990) and since they still loved their language, they learned Telugu privately. But the only books available were all written in classical literary style (*gra: nthika bha: sha*). This situation continued until the year 1975. So almost all the Telugu students before 1975 were using those textbooks. Finally they all started speaking in *gra: nthika bha: sha*. Thus, resulting in a problem of communication and confusion between speakers of MGGT and the other two generations, OGVT and NGST.

Here, also, the middle age group people of MGGT got the influence of Creole and French on their Telugu. At this stage, as a result, the social identity associated with English and French began to expand into formerly Telugu domains and Telugu became a marker of low social class and the signs of language shift became more and more apparent.

### 3.4 Some characteristics of MGGT

- (i) In MGGT the speakers use all the words and sentence patterns as written in their classical literary style textbooks. No other colloquialisms were added. Some examples are: */pustakamu/* 'book', */ma: msamu/* 'meat'.
- (ii) The most controversial and confusing element between OGVT and MGGT is the tense suffix markers. Hereunder are some examples of the MGGT speech and the corresponding OGVT verb endings :

## MGGT

## OGVT

- (iii) */va:ru veLLucunna:ru/ /va:llu veLtu:nna:ru/* 'they are going'  
*/ni:vu cu:cedavul /nuvvu su:sta:vul* 'you will see'  
 (iv) */va:Du bho:nce:se:nul /va:Du bho:nse:siNDul* 'he ate'  
 (v) */campedanul /sampesta/* 'I will kill (you)'

Among the MGGT speakers there are *Purohits* and many Telugu teachers who are still using this type of Telugu for their preaching and teachings. They have found it very difficult to adjust with both generations who speak OGVT and NGST.

### 3.5 The new generation *sistavya:vaha:rika* Telugu (NGST)

This type of Telugu is prevailing almost everywhere now as it is being taught in the primary, secondary and tertiary institutions of Mauritius. But in the present examination of the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Telugu question paper, one can still find questions written in *gra:nthika bha:sha*. Even the Telugu texts and syllabus include a portion of old Telugu poetry written completely in classical Telugu language, which is still considered as a prestigious and official language by many scholars.

Dr. Ananda Murthy came to Mauritius in 1970 as an ITEC expert from Andhra Pradesh. After analysing the language situation of the island, he recommended a number of changes in the teaching of Telugu language in the primary schools and also in writing of textbooks. From then onwards, the Telugu textbooks were written in *Vya:waha:rika bha:sha*, the 'Modern Standard Telugu' as it is used in Andhra Pradesh. This variety of NGST is very similar to the present old Telugu generation (OGVT). As far as vocabulary items are concerned they are free from the colloquial of OGVT. NGST is a language used by the educated people and is

also called *shishta yya:waha:rika bha:sha*. It is the same written language style, which is spoken in Mauritius. It has no colloquial and the use of Sandhi is very rare. The phonemes of NGST are same as M.S.T of Andhra Pradesh. NGST is also used by the *Purohits* from Andhra Pradesh who are working in the temples run by the Telugus. Nowadays in Telugu dramas, competitions and at the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation also, presenters use NGST in the radio and television programmes. Through the teachings of NGST, the Telugus of Mauritius are able to communicate in a standard language which can help them to understand the Telugu movies shown on the local television and also to help them to communicate with the outside Telugu world and maintain their Telugu language, culture, and identity.

#### **4. The emergence and importance of the Telugu Evening School or *Baitka* and their future**

Under British Rule Governor Higginson took interest in the education of Indians in Mauritius and in 1852 a school was run on experimental basis in the district of Savanne to teach Indians in their own vernaculars (*Telugu vani*-1990 and see also Beaton 1859). But due to lack of parental support it was given up. When the colour bar was lifted, the Royal College started admitting Non-Europeans. The church offered to open up schools for Indians. It was partly to propagate their religion among the Indians. They first introduced Tamil because large numbers of Tamils were already Christianised. But the French plantation establishment opposed the idea since they were afraid that Indian language development would be at the expense of French, by then a non-ruling class language. While a few school-age children of the Blacks

and Creoles were attending primary schools none of the 5000 or eligible Indian kids was attending any school (Beaton 1859 and Varma 1973). Indians were suspicious of religious domination but later on they overcame their prejudice against schooling. But then the French Creoles resented the presence of Indian children sitting along with their wards in the schools. While the French language was the medium of instruction the Indians felt ill at ease. This compelled the authorities to open separate schools for Indians with Indian vernaculars particularly Hindustani and Tamil as media.

It is ironic that illiteracy in Indian languages, particularly Bhojpuri, helped preserve the native languages. It has been observed that as literacy in a European language increases, the functional role of Telugu decreases leading to code shift eventually (as is the case with MGGT speakers). Since literacy in general was lower in Mauritius during the late 19th century and early 20th century, the people used their mother tongues as vehicles of communication, thus preserving their currency and use. Even when Indian languages were introduced in schools, they were used as means to facilitate the learning of English. The Christian schools used Indian languages to facilitate the Bible teaching.

The Royal Commission of enquiry (1872-75) reported that in the Royal College, Port Louis chairs were created for Hindustani (Rev. William Wright) and Tamil (Prof. Rajaruthnum Mudaliar) (Ramyead 1997 and *Telugu vani* 1990). Governor Arthur Phayre started four pilot schools for teaching of Indian vernaculars in 1870 but when he was transferred from Mauritius the special committee on Indian vernacular schools recommended their discontinuance in the state-owned schools. This led to the setting up of *Baitkas* (evening schools) where voluntary teaching of Indian

languages began. Most of them were run from the teachers' houses or temples and the classes included a large number of women. The emphasis was more on religious instruction and singing of *Bhajans* rather than language. Most of these *Baitkas* were for Bhojpuri and only few for other languages. Many minority groups (Tamil, Telugu, Marathi) also attended these *Baitkas*. The songs sung by Telugus at *Ammoru panduga* and Tamils at *Cavadi* festivals were Telugu and Tamil but the style and rhythm was totally Bhojpurian. Till the early period of the 20th century the Telugus were also a more settled community. Yet, not much can be said about its social and religious life in those years. Whereas temples and shrines had been built on estates since the 1850's, the first Telugu temple appeared only in 1923 and a second one in 1925 (*Telugu vani* - 1990). They were the *Vishnu Mandiram* at St. Pierre and the *Simhadri Appanah Mandiram* at Beau Vallon.

#### **4.1 Andhra Maha Sabha Evening School**

Along with the construction of new temples, *Baitkas* were also started and new branches of the Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha emerged everywhere. The Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha conducts its annual examinations in Telugu for students of Std I to VI (Primary) and form I to form V (Secondary level) courses. After completing and passing the Form V examinations the students can join the Teacher's Training College course in Telugu. They can do so if they possess the Cambridge School Certificate in Telugu also. The Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha has its own education and culture committee. It takes care of the evening schools and conducts Telugu examinations every year. The table below (Table 1) shows the situation of the evening schools for the year 1997. The data were

collected from the supervisor of the Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha.

**Table 1**  
*Situation of Telugu Evening Schools (Baithkas) in Mauritius as at July 1997*

Regions	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers (Male)	No. of Teachers (Female)	Primary School Teachers	Others (Non-Primary School Teachers)	Allowance (Govt)	Allowance (Branch-Society)	School Building Premises (Mandram)	Other Buildings	No. of Pupils (Boys)	No. of Pupils (Girls)	No. of New Schools	No. of close down schools
<b>South</b>													
Savanne (Sivananda Govt. School Centre)	4	2	6	3	5	7	1	4		38	67	-	1) Saint Aubin 2) Souillac 3) Surinam
Grand Port (Beauvallon Govt. School Centre)	4	4	2	3	3	6	0	4		70	83	1	1) Beauvallon 2) Trois-Boutiques
<b>Central</b>													
Plaines Wilhems (Emillien Roche Couste Govt. School)	8	3	3	2	4	4	3	5	3	81	129	-	
<b>North</b>													
Riviere du Rempart (Bheewa Mahadeo Govt. School)	8	6	3	5	4	7	-	6	2	165	176	1	1) Morcellement 2) Goodlands 3) L'esperance 4) Poudre-D'or
Riviere du Rempart B	6	4	3	4	3	5	3	5		78	112	1	1) (Mon Loisir) Pont-Pralin
Private (Private and non-Affiliated)	1	-	1	1	-	1	0	1		8	12	-	
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>579</b>		
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>37</b>		<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>			<b>30</b>		<b>1019</b>			

From the above table it is quite clear that most of the Telugu students come from rural areas (Northern, Eastern and Southern regions) and that the girls who represent

57% of the total students' population are more interested to learn the Telugu language in all the centres listed above. It also gives the indication that there are more students from the Northern part of the Island (Riviere du Rempart). The data also indicated the dark future of the Telugu Evening Schools where 10 schools have ceased to operate during that year whereas only 3 new schools were started in the rural areas. The schools were closed because there was scarcity of teachers and in some cases the students were not attending the classes and also because of internal problems of the Sabha members. Only 31 schools are being operated out of the 80 branches of the Mauritius Andhra Maha sabha. This implies that 62% of the M.A.M.S branches are not running a Telugu language school.

It also shows the lack of interest of the Government Telugu teachers (qualified teachers) where only 15% (18 out of a total of 125 teachers) are involved in the teaching at evening school level as compared to 19 private teachers who represent 51% of the total evening school teachers. Most of these teachers are being paid an allowance by the Government or the Sabha branch. It is observed that there are poor conditions to demotivation which lead to negative implications for continued Telugu language teaching and learning. Therefore, the Telugu teachers, who represent the main pillars of the Telugu community should react and be more active. They should motivate and attract the children to learn the Telugu language. Out of the 31 schools, 25 are being run in the *Mandiram's* building compartment while the remaining 6 are being run in other buildings. This shows that 80% of the schools are being accommodated in the *Mandiram's* buildings only. These buildings are thus considered as the cradles for the Telugu community for preserving their language and culture.

## 4.2 Certificate of Primary Education

Some of the data can also be compared with the figures given in the table below (Table 2) which shows the number and percentage of passes at Certificate of Primary Education Examination by subject and gender, 1998.

Table 2 Number and percentage of passes at Certificate of Primary Education Examination by subject and gender, 1998									
Subject	Total			Male			Female		
	Number examined	No of Passes	% of passes	Number Examined	Number of Passes	% of passes	Number Examined	No of passes	% of passes
<b>Republic of Mauritius</b>									
English	26,654	18,987	71.2	13,656	8,989	65.8	12,998	9,998	76.9
Mathematics	26,646	19,749	74.1	13,653	9,754	71.4	12,993	9,995	76.9
French	26,653	21,119	79.2	13,657	10,066	7.7	12,996	11,053	85.0
E.V.S	26,651	18,890	70.9	13,656	9,256	67.8	12,995	9,634	74.1
Asian Lgs.	14,781	9,916	67.1	7380	4,013	54.4	7,401	5,903	79.8
<b>Island of Mauritius</b>									
English	25,595	18,298	71.5	13,125	8,676	66.1	12,470	9,622	77.2
Mathematics	25,589	19,007	74.3	13,124	9,394	71.6	12,465	9,613	77.1
French	25,593	20,304	79.3	13,125	9,697	73.9	12,468	10,607	85.1
E.V.S	25,591	18,153	70.9	13,124	8,906	67.9	12,467	9,247	74.2
Asian Lgs.	14,781	9,916	67.1	7,380	4,013	54.3	7,401	5,903	79.8
Hindi	9,025	5,863	65.0	4,521	2,370	52.4	4,504	3,493	77.6
Urdu	2,996	2,079	69.4	1,513	834	55.1	1,433	1,245	84.0
Tamil	1,245	863	69.3	614	360	58.6	631	503	79.7
Marathi	358	247	69	154	86	55.8	204	161	78.9
Telugu	452	328	72.6	203	118	58.1	249	210	84.3
Modern Chinese	78	58	74.4	28	19	67.8	50	39	78.0
Arabic	627	478	76.2	347	226	65.1	280	252	90.0

Source: Central Statistical Office- Digest of Education Statistics Vol. 15, 1998: 59

Here again one can observe that only a small number of students are learning Telugu at the Primary schools and a percentage of 72.6% passes was recorded during that year. The general negative tendency of other Asian languages also can easily be noticed as only 55% of the total students who took English and French were examined in the Asian languages. For the Telugu, out of the 452 examined 249

were girls and the percentage of passes was 84.3% for the girls and 72.6% for the boys. Here again the performances of the girls are better than the boys.

## 5. Conclusion and suggestions

There is a strong tendency for language shift from Telugu to Creole and other European languages, which can be attributed to such cases as migration, industrialisation, economic changes, school language and other government pressures, urbanisation, higher prestige for the language being shifted to and a smaller population of Telugu speakers. The overall situation shows a negative tendency and clearly indicates that immediate steps have to be taken by responsible institutions and various socio-cultural organisations of the Telugu community to improve the condition.

The Evening Schools reflect the living cultural situation and represent the cultural cradle of the Telugu community. It is there only that the future generation of the Telugus lie. Many Telugu Schools are getting closed, this implies that not many people are really motivated and interested to learn the language and culture though they all have the strong desire to preserve their Telugu identity. Identification with the language and positive attitudes towards it cannot guarantee its maintenance. It is therefore the duty of one and all to protect his language and religion and it would therefore be good if the Telugus become conscious of the prevailing situation and it is high time for them to get up and do something to preserve the Andhra traditions and rich culture which they inherited from their ancestors.

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## THE VERBS 'TO BE' AND 'TO BECOME' IN RAJ GONDI DIALECT\*

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### 1. Introduction

Gondi is spoken in five different states of central India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Orissa and Maharashtra and has several dialects. The present paper restricts itself to the Raj Gondi dialect (hereafter RGD) of Adilabad district, Andhra Pradesh. Equivalents of 'to be' and 'to become' in most languages have many morphological and syntactic variations. In lexical use, they express such meanings as existence, stay, location, process, state etc. They are also used in various grammatical functions in marking, differentiating and combining tenses, aspects and moods, auxiliary verb formation etc.

The present paper makes an attempt to look into the morpho-syntactic structure of *man* 'to be' (the locative-existential) and *aa-* 'to be/become' (predicative copulative) and the tense and aspectual distinctions, how they are manifested on them and the agreement system. The verb *man* 'to be' acts like an existential verb and *aa-* 'to be/become' acts like a copula, which is optional. *aa-* can also occur as an auxiliary verb with *man-* to express tense distinctions. The Gondi data are compared with that of Telugu mainly and with other South Central Dravidian (hereafter SCDr) languages. This comparison will show the similarities and differences among them. All the SCDr languages have the verb root *man-* which means 'to be' etc. (Telugu: *manu-* 'to live, exist'; Gondi: *mandaana*, *man-* 'to remain, be, abide'; Konda: *man-* 'to be, stay, dwell'; Kui: *manba-* 'to be, exist, remain, abide'; Kuwi, Pengo,

Indi-Awe, Manda: *man-* 'to be'. Telugu also has another verb *uNDu* 'to be, exist, live, dwell'. The other verb root *aa-* 'to be' occurs in most of the Gondi dialects as well as in the other languages. Konda, Pengo, Manda, Kuwi: *aa-* 'to be'; Telugu *agu, avu* 'to be, become etc.'; Kui. *aava* 'to become, be happen, sufficient' (Burrow & Emeneau 1984).

Traditional grammarians who have written grammars for the literary Dravidian languages have not made any distinction between tense and aspect. The reason for this as stated by Ramakrishna Reddy (1987:24) is the moment of speech event seems to be the foundation for the traditional division of tense into past, present and future. The deictic anchor here is the present moment (i.e. 'the now-and-here') and on that basis events, processes and actions are located into three divisions as prior to (past), simultaneous with (present), and subsequent to (future) the moment of speech-act'. Both these grammatical categories (i.e. tense, and aspect) are concerned with time. However, these two must be distinguished as tense deals with the location of time of a situation (i.e. event time) with reference to the situation of utterance (i.e. speech time), therefore it is referred to as deictic, whereas aspect is not relative to the time of utterance, so it is non-deictic in nature. In other words, aspect is concerned with the temporal properties of situations such as completion, repetition, and duration (Comrie 1976). Tense and aspectual distinctions are manifested in the inflectional morphology of Dravidian languages. A language might have one of the categories or both of them.

## 2. Analysis

The verb *man* 'to be' shows a four-way tense distinction of past, past habitual, present and future (in future the tense is marked for only 1st and II<sup>nd</sup> persons) in

positive and three-way tense distinction in negative in RGD. The other languages of this subgroup such as Telugu (Rayalaseema and Telangana dialects) show a three way distinction on *uNDu* 'to be' in positive but two way in negative. In Manda the verb *man-* shows a three-way distinction in negative but two-way in positive, whereas for other verbs it is a two-way distinction i.e. past vs. non-past (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1987:26-27). The structure of a finite verb in RGD is as follows:

Verb root + tense + Person, Number, Gender (PNG) suffix

## 2.1 Tense

### 2.1.1 Past tense

Let us look at the following paradigms of *man* 'to be' and *aa-* 'to be/become' in the past tense.

	Positive <i>man-</i>	Negative	Positive <i>aa-</i>	Negative
<i>nan</i>	<i>mat-t-oon</i> to be+ past+ PNG	<i>mac-cil-oon</i> to be+not to be+PNG	<i>aa-t-oon</i> be+past+PN G	<i>aa-cil-oon</i> bc+not tobe+PNG
'I	was	was not	became	did not become'
<i>mam</i>	<i>mat-t-oom</i>	<i>mac-cil-oom</i>	<i>aa-t-oom</i>	<i>aa-cil-oom</i>
'we (excl)	were	were not	became	did not become'
<i>marat</i>	<i>mat-t-aaT</i>	<i>mac-cil-w-aaT</i>	<i>aa-t-aaT</i>	<i>aa-cil-w-aaT</i>
'we (incl)	were	were not	became	did not become'
<i>nim</i>	<i>mat-t-i</i>	<i>mac-cil-w-i</i>	<i>aa-t-i</i>	<i>aa-cil-w-i</i>
'you (sg)	was	was not	became	did not become'
<i>miraT</i>	<i>mat-t-iiT</i>	<i>mac-cil-w-iiT</i>	<i>aa-t-iiT</i>	<i>aa-cil-w-iiT</i>
'you (pi)	were	were not	became	did not become'
<i>woor</i>	<i>mat-t-oor</i>	<i>mac-cil-oor</i>	<i>aa-t-oor</i>	<i>aa-cil-oor</i>
'he	was	was not	became	did not become'
<i>ad</i>	<i>mat-t-a</i>	<i>mac-cil-e</i>	<i>aa-t-a</i>	<i>aa-cil-e</i>
'she/it	was	was not	became	did not become'
<i>wuur</i>	<i>mat-t-eer</i>	<i>mac-cil-uur</i>	<i>aa-t-eer</i>	<i>aa-cil-uur</i>
'they (±hum,+masc)	were	were not	became	did not become'
<i>aw</i>	<i>mat-t-aaŋ</i>	<i>mac-cil-eŋ</i>	<i>aa-t-aaŋ</i>	<i>aa-cil-eŋ</i>
'they (±hum, -masc)	were	were not	became	did not become'

From the above paradigms it is clear that the past tense marker in positive is *-t-* in both the verbs in all persons. In negative it is verb root + *cil* + PNG suffixes. The verb root *man-* due to morpho-phonemic change (of palatal assimilation) has become as *mac-* before *-cil-*. In negative the structure is verb root 'to be' (*mac-*) + 'not to be' (*-cil-*) + negative marker (*-w-*) + PNG suffix. The negative suffix *-w-* occurs on *-cil-* for 1st pl. inclusive and 2<sup>nd</sup> person. It signals that the negative marker *-w-* is triggered whenever addressee (sg., pl.) is subject of the sentence. The presence of PNG suffix agreement markers on the verb in past negative is a characteristic feature of some of the South Central Dravidian languages. In Telugu the negative verb *lee-* does not show this kind of agreement markers in the past negative.

### 2.1.2 Present tense

	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
<i>nan</i>	<i>ma-nt-oon</i> to be+ present+PNG	<i>sell-oon</i> not to be+PNG	<i>aa-nt-oon</i> be+present+ PNG	<i>aay-φ-oon</i> be+ neg.marker+PNG
'I	am	am not	will become	will not become'
<i>mam</i>	<i>ma-nt-oom</i>	<i>sell-oom</i>	<i>aa-nt-oom</i>	<i>aay-oom</i>
'we (excl)	are	are not	will become	will not become'
<i>marat</i>	<i>ma-nt-aaT</i>	<i>sel-w-aaT</i>	<i>aa-nt-aaT</i>	<i>aay-w-aaT</i>
'we (incl)	are	are not	will become	will not become'
<i>nim</i>	<i>ma-nt-i</i>	<i>sel-w-i</i>	<i>aa-nt-i</i>	<i>aay-w-i</i>
'you (sg)	are	are not	will become	will not become'
<i>miraT</i>	<i>ma-nt-iiT</i>	<i>sel-w-iiT</i>	<i>aa-nt-iiT</i>	<i>aay-w-iiT</i>
'you (pi)	are	are not	will become	will not become'
<i>woor</i>	<i>ma-nt-oor</i>	<i>sell-oor</i>	<i>aa-nt-uur</i>	<i>aay-oor</i>
'he	is	is not	will become	will not become'
<i>ad</i>	<i>ma-nt-a</i>	<i>sell-e</i>	<i>aa-nt-a</i>	<i>aay-o</i>
'she/it	is	is not	will become	will not become'
<i>wuur</i>	<i>ma-nt-eer</i>	<i>sell-uur</i>	<i>aa-nt-iir</i>	<i>aay-uur</i>
'they (+hum,+masc)	are	are not	will become	will not become'
<i>aw</i>	<i>ma-nt-aaj</i>	<i>sell-ej</i>	<i>aa-nt-aaj</i>	<i>aay-ooj</i>
'they (±hum,-masc)	are	are not	will become	will not become'

From the above data it is evident that the present tense suffix is *-nt-* and it is followed by PNG suffixes. With the verb roots ending in *-n*, due to morpho-phonemic change the final *-n* is dropped before the present tense suffix. In negative *man-* has *sel-* as the negative verb and it is followed by the PNG suffixes, for *aa-* it is followed by negative marker- $\phi$ -/*-w-* (*-w-* occurs before 1st person plural (incl.)) and II person suffix, elsewhere  $\phi$  + PNG suffixes.

It seems for the verb root *aa-* the tense distinction is past vs. non-past. But if we consider the equational sentences (9) and (10) where its presence is optional, we may have to set up present tense also. This deserves further investigation. The paradigm is listed below.

<i>nan</i>	<i>aa-nd-un.</i>	<i>aay-<math>\phi</math>-oon</i>
I	be+pres+Iper	be+neg.marker+I.per.
'I	am	am not'
<i>mam</i>	<i>aa-nd-uum</i>	<i>aay-oom</i>
'we (excl)	are	are not
<i>marat</i>	<i>aa-nd-aaT</i>	<i>aay-w-aaT</i>
'we (incl)	are	are not
<i>nim</i>	<i>aa-nd-i</i>	<i>aay-w-i</i>
'you (sg)	are	are not
<i>miraT</i>	<i>aa-nd-iiT</i>	<i>aay-w-iiT</i>
'you (pi)	are	are not
<i>woor</i>	<i>aa-nd-uur</i>	<i>aay-oor</i>
'he		
<i>ad</i>	<i>aa-nd-a</i>	<i>aay-o</i>
'she/it		
<i>wuur</i>	<i>aa-nd-iir</i>	<i>aay-uur</i>
'they (+hum,+masc)		
<i>aw</i>	<i>aa-nd-aaŋ</i>	<i>aay-ooŋ</i>
'they (+/-hum,-masc)		

## 2.1.3 Future tense

	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
<i>nan</i>	<i>mand-k-a</i> to be+tense+ PNG	<i>mann-<math>\phi</math>-oon</i> to be+ neg+ PNG
I	will be	will not be'
<i>mam</i>	<i>mand-k-oom</i>	<i>mann-oom</i>
we (excl)	will be	will not be'
<i>marat</i>	<i>mand-k-aaT</i>	<i>man-w-aaT</i>
'we (incl)	will be	will not be'
<i>nim</i>	<i>mand-k-ii</i>	<i>man-w-i</i>
'you (sg)	you will be	will not be'
<i>miraT</i>	<i>mand-k-iiT</i>	<i>man-w-iiT</i>
'you	will be	will not be'
<i>woor</i>	<i>man(d)-aa-nt-oor</i>	<i>mann-oor</i>
'he	will be	will not be'
<i>ad</i>	<i>mand-u</i>	<i>mann-oo</i>
'she/it	will be	will not be'
<i>wuur</i>	<i>mand-iir</i>	<i>mann-uur</i>
'they	will be	will not be'
(+hum,+masc)		
<i>aw</i>	<i>mand-uurj</i>	<i>mann-oorj</i>
'they	will be	will not be'
( $\pm$ hum, -masc)		

From the above paradigm it is evident that in positive the structure is: to be(*man-*)+ future tense marker (*-k-*) + PNG suffix. In negative the structure is: to be (*man-*) + neg. marker+ *- $\phi$ -/w-* +PNG suffixes.

## 2.1.4 Past habitual

	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
<i>nan</i>	<i>man-d-unu</i>	<i>manji-mann-<math>\phi</math>-oon</i>
I	to be+tense+ PNG	to be+ participle+ to be +neg+PNG
'I	would have been (there)	would not have been (there)'
<i>mam</i>	<i>man-d-umu</i>	<i>manji-mann-oom</i>

we (excl)	would have	would not have'
<i>marāT</i>	<i>man-d-aTu</i>	<i>manji-man-w-aaT</i>
'we (incl)	would have	would not have'
<i>nim</i>	<i>man-d-i</i>	<i>manji-man-w-i</i>
'you (sg)	would have	would not have'
<i>miraT</i>	<i>man-d-iiT</i>	<i>man-w-iiT</i>
'you	would have	would not have'
<i>woor</i>	<i>man-d-uur</i>	<i>manji-mann-oor</i>
'he	would have	would not have'
<i>ad</i>	<i>man-d-u</i>	<i>manji-mann-oo</i>
'she/it	would have	would not have'
<i>wuur</i>	<i>man-d-iir</i>	<i>manji-mann-uur</i>
'they	would have	would not have'
(+hum,+masc)		
<i>aw</i>	<i>man-d-uuj</i>	<i>manji-mann-ooj</i>
'they	would have	would not have'
(±hum, -masc)		

From the above paradigm it is evident that in positive the structure is: to 'be' (*man-*) + habitual tense marker (*-d-*) + PNG suffix. In negative the structure is: to be (*man-*) + past participle + to be (*man-*) + neg. marker (*-φ/-w-*) + PNG suffixes.

From the above discussion it is clear that in RGD *man* has a four-way tense distinction (i.e. past, past-habitual, present and future and the tense markers are *-t-*, *-d-*, *-nt/-*, *-nd-*, *-k-* respectively) in positive and three-way in negative. But *aa-* has a three-way tense distinction, namely past, present and future. The tense markers are *-t-*, *-nd-*, *-nt-* respectively. The existential 'to be' shows a similar three-way distinction in Rayalaseema and Telangana dialects of Telugu, and also Kuwi, Manda and Indi-Awe. This seems to be a unique characteristic of this verb in SCDr languages.

## 2.2 Aspect

Tense and aspect in Dravidian are verbal categories, which are generally used with categorization of a narrated event. As has already been pointed out, aspect deals with the internal temporal constituency of narrated event. This is divided traditionally into perfective and imperfective. This is also distinguished on the basis of semantic notions such as repetition, frequency, inception, termination, duration etc. Some languages might express these differences while some others may not and as a result there may be innovations and gaps. In RGD the aspectual distinctions are expressed through the compound verb formation. The first (main) verb contains the participial form and the second (auxiliary) verb contains the tense and PNG markers. Both the verbs *man* and *aa* can occur as auxiliary verbs.

### 2.2.1 Perfective

#### 2.2.1.1 Past perfective

	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
<i>nan</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-oon</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
I	be + parti+ be+past+Jper. suffix	not to be+ neg+marker
'I	had been there	had not been there'
<i>mam</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-oom</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>marat</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-aaT</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>nim</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-i</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>miraT</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-iiT</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>woor</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-oor</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>ad</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-a</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>wuur</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-eer</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>
<i>aw</i>	<i>man-ji-mat-t-aan</i>	<i>sel-w-eke</i>

In the above paradigm in positive the structure is: Main verb (*man-*) + past participle (*-ji-*) + auxiliary verb (*-man-*) + past tense marker + PNG suffixes. In negative it

is negative verb *sel-* + negative marker (-*w-*) + *eke* (a non-distinctive marker found throughout the paradigm).

### 2.2.1.2 Future perfective

<i>nan</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-oon</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-oon</i>
	to be+ parti + be+	to be + part +be +
	be (aux) + tense+ I per. sg.	not to be + I. per. sg.
'I	might be (there)	might not be (there)'
<i>mam</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-t-oom</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-oom</i>
<i>marat</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-aaT</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-w-aaT</i>
<i>nim</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-i</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-w-i</i>
<i>miraT</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-iiT</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-w-iiT</i>
<i>woor</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-oor</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-oor</i>
<i>ad</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-a</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-e</i>
<i>wuur</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-eer</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil-uur</i>
<i>aw</i>	<i>man-ji-man(d)-aa-nt-aan</i>	<i>man-ji-mac-cil~en</i>

The structure in positive is *man-* + participle (-*ji-*)+ *man(d-)*+ be (*aa-*)+ tense suffix+ PNG suffix. In negative it is : *man-* participle -(-*ji-*) + be(*mac*)+ not to be (-*cil*) + PNG suffix.

### 2.2.2 Imperfective

#### 2.2.2.1 Past progressive

	Positive	Negative
<i>nan</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-oon</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-oon</i>
	be + parti+ be+ was +Ipr.suffix	to bc+prescnl+not to be+Iper. suffix
'I	was staying (there)	was not staying (there)
<i>mam</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-oom</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-oom</i>
<i>marat</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-aaT</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-w-aaT</i>
<i>nim</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-i</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-w-i</i>
<i>miraT</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-iiT</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-w-iiT</i>
<i>woor</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-oor</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-oor</i>
<i>ad</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-a</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-e</i>
<i>wuur</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-eer</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil-uur</i>
<i>aw</i>	<i>man-jeer-mat-t-aan</i>	<i>man-jeer-mac-cil~een</i>

In the above paradigm in positive the structure is: Main verb (*man-*) + present participle (*jeer-*) + auxiliary verb (*man-*) + past tense marker (*-t-*) + PNG suffixes. In negative it is: Main verb (*man-*) + present participle + auxiliary verb(*man-*) + not to be (*cil-*) + PNG suffixes.

### 2.2.2.2 Present Progressive

<i>nan</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-oon</i>	<i>man-jeer-sell-oon</i>
	to be+ pres.parti+ aux+tense+ Iper.	to be+ pres.part.+not to be+I.per.sg.
'I	am staying (there)	not staying (there)
<i>mam</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-oom</i>	<i>man-jeer-sell-oom</i>
<i>marat</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-aaT</i>	<i>man-jeer-sel-w-aaT</i>
<i>mm</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-i</i>	<i>man-jeer-sel-w-i</i>
<i>miraT</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-iiT</i>	<i>man-jeer-sel-w-iiT</i>
<i>wo or</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-oor</i>	<i>man-jeer-sell-oor</i>
<i>ad</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-a</i>	<i>man-jeer-sell-e</i>
<i>wuur</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-eer</i>	<i>man-jeer-sell-uur</i>
<i>aw</i>	<i>man-jeer-ma-nt-aaj</i>	<i>man-jeer-sell-ej</i>

### 2.2.2.3 Future progressive

<i>nan</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-oon</i>	<i>man-jeer-mann-Φ-oon</i>
	to be+pres. parti+to be+be+tense+I. pers.	to be+pres. parti+to be+neg.+I. pers.
'I	will be staying (there)	will not be staying (there)
<i>mam</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-oom</i>	<i>man-jeer-mann-oom</i>
<i>marat</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-aaT</i>	<i>man-jeer-man-w-aaT</i>
<i>nim</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-i</i>	<i>man-jeer-man-w-i</i>
<i>miraT</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-iiT</i>	<i>man-jeer-man-w-iiT</i>
<i>woor</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-oor</i>	<i>man-jeer-mann-oor</i>
<i>ad</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-a</i>	<i>man-jeer-mann-oo</i>
<i>wuur</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-eer</i>	<i>man-jeer-mann-uur</i>
<i>aw</i>	<i>man-jeer-man(d)-aa-nt-aarj</i>	<i>man-jeer-mann-oori</i>

## 3. Syntax

The verb *man* 'to be' in Raj Gondi expresses many meanings like exist, stay, live, dwell, wait, stop etc. The

following sentences give us the use of *man* in RGD and its equivalents in English.

### 3.1 Existential verb

- (1) (a) *maaDsa peen manta* 'God exists'  
 male God is  
 (b) *maaDsa peen selle* 'God does not exist'  
 male God is not
- (2) (a) *veylo peen manta* 'Goddess exists'  
 female God is  
 (b) *veylo peen selle* 'Goddess does not exist'  
 female God is not

The above 1(a) and 2(a) sentences show the existential verb *man* 'to be' and their negative counterparts as *selle* in 1(b) and 2(b) respectively.

### 3.2 Stay

- (3) *nim hakkeen man* 'You stay that side'  
 you that side is
- (4) *mnantoon saar hiikene* 'I am staying this side sir'  
 is sir this side

The above sentences (3) and (4) have the meaning of 'to stay' where the subject is [+animate].

### 3.3 Dwell

- (5) *daadalir pooliiskun verisi keeDate mandaantoor*  
 elder brothers police-to afraid forest are  
 'The elder brothers (naxalites) are dwelling in the forest being afraid of police'
- (6) *piirgaalum koovek marrakun phorro mandaanteer*  
 rainy season monkeys trees on are  
 'In rainy season monkeys are dwelling on the trees'

In (5) and (6) above the verb *man* means 'to dwell'.

### 3.4 Stativizer

- (7) (a) *ad muura jabbu-gaa manta* 'That cow is sick'  
 that cow disease is  
 (b) *ad muura jabbu-gaa selle* 'That cow is not sick'  
 that cow disease not  
 (c) *aa aawu jabbugaa undi* (Telugu) 'That cow is sick'  
 that cow disease is  
 (d) *ad muura jabbu-ne manta* 'That cow is still sick'  
 that cow disease-with is  
 (8) *maa neydun jabbun leeka manta* 'Our dog is sick'  
 our dog disease like is

In Telugu (7c) type of sentences express the meanings such as physical states, qualities and mental states. The subject complements in such sentences are morphologically composed of a noun or an adjective plus a complementizer [-*gaa*] (Vijayalakshmi 1982). RGD uses in such sentences as (7a) the borrowed element from Telugu [-*gaa*] or it uses the instrumental/locative suffix (~*te-* or ~*ne-*) e.g. (7d) or it uses a postposition *leeka* which means 'like' as in (8).

### 3.5 Copula

- (9) (a) *ad maa akkaal (aandu)* 'She is my sister'  
 she my sister is  
 (b) *ad maa akkaal aayo* 'She is not my sister'  
 she my sister is not  
 (10) (a) *aw maa akkaku (aandun)* 'They are my sisters'  
 they my sisters are  
 (b) *aw maa akkaku aayoon* 'They are not my sisters'  
 they my sisters are not

In (9(a)) and (10(a)), which are positive sentences the copula 'to be' is optional. These sentences show the resemblance of Indo-Aryan structure. Whereas in the negative (9(b)) and (10(b)) sentences it is obligatory to have the

negative verb, in Telugu equivalents of 9(a) and 10(a) type do not have an overt verb in the positive on surface structure. Such sentences were called as verbless sentences by Krishnamurti and Sivanand Sarma(1968), equative sentences by Ramarao(1968), copulative predications by Bhaskararao(1972). Ramakrishna Reddy also called them verbless sentences and stated that they have two nominals in surface structure. In interrogative sentences also the copula is optional.

- (11) *ad taDay daga kokoTnaṅ purpak aandunḱii*  
*kharabnaṅ aandunḱii?*  
 that tank in good flowers are bad are question  
 'Are the flowers in that tank good or bad?'
- (12) *nirmal kokoTnaay paTnam aanduu?*  
 Nirmal good town is  
 'Is Nirmal a good town?'
- (13) *hoo, kokoTna Tawunu aandu.*  
 Yes, good town is  
 'Yes, it is a good town.'

The copula construction is optional in interrogative constructions. In the constructions of yes-no question type RGD has got the typical Dravidian structural pattern of interrogative marker occurring at the end of the sentence or on the verb, which is the final element of the sentence. But it is interesting to note the RGD, like the Kondh Dravidian languages of Kui, Kuwi, Pengo, Manda and Indi-Awe has borrowed the Indo-Aryan yes-no question marker *ki* as it is found in (11). In sentence (12) the final vowel is lengthened together with the accompanying raised intonation to indicate the yes-no question.

### 3.6 Relativization

- (14) *boorte paTnam mantoroyo wooru palleTuur aayo*  
 who town be-dubitative he villager is  
 'The person who is not (there) in the town is a villager'
- (15) *boor palleTuur manwaalee maa daadaal (aanduur)*  
 who village be-conditional my brother is  
 'The person who is there in the village is my brother'
- (16) *boor palleTuur sellooro wooru maa daadaal aayo*  
 who village not to be-conditional he my brother is not  
 'The person who is not there in the village is not my brother'

### 4. Conclusion

This study shows that the verb *man-* has a four-way tense distinction i.e., past, past-habitual, present and future morphologized in both positive and negative of RGD, whereas for *aa-* it is a three-way distinction such as past, present and future both in positive and negative, but two-way in aspectual distinction on the participle form of the main verb which is followed by the finite forms of *man*.

The verb *man* expresses many meanings like exist, stay, dwell, have, etc. The verb *aa-* occurs optionally in positive in equative sentences in the surface structure and in the negative it is obligatory.

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## A NOTE ON NEGATIVE MARKERS IN TAMIL

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Tamil has the unmarked SOV word order, as in

- (1) *na:n oru puttagattai paDikkirēn*  
I a book reading (V+T+AGR)  
'I am reading a book'.

Tamil has one sentential negative *illai* as opposed to many morphological negatives.

The various morphological negatives commonly used in Tamil are *-adi*, *-um*, *-ma:TTi*, *-a:mal*, *inri*, *-e:n* etc., and most of these are used either with main or auxiliary verbs. Let us discuss it with some examples. A sentential/syntactic negative *illai* is always at the end of a sentence.

- (2) *avan pa:Da villai*  
he sing T(past) not  
'He did not sing'
- (3) *avan oru paiyan illai*  
he a boy not  
'He is not a boy'

Here, the negative 'not' *illai* occurs at the end of the sentence. The order of the verbal elements would be: V+Tense+AGR in case of affirmative and V+AGR+Neg. in case of negative. It is noticed that in the negative sentence, unlike in English, the tense/AGR is lost.

- (4) (a) *na:n paDitte:n*  
I read T (past) AGR  
'I read'

- (b) *na:n paDikkavillai*  
 I read T not  
 'I did not read'

In 4(a) the verb root *paDi-* takes the tense *tt* and the AGR *-en* in the affirmative sentence. But the *illai* is added, the verb takes the nominal or the gerundial suffix *-kka* and the AGR is lost. The *v-* is the only tense marker in this case where it shows the past. Consider another example.

- (5) (a) *na:n paDippe:n*  
 I read T AGR 'I will read'
- (b) *na:n paDikka ma:TTe:n*  
 I read+inf.suffix T not + AGR  
 'I will not read'

In the above example, the affirmative has no overt auxiliary verb, as in English i.e., 'will'. In the affirmative, the verb can be parsed as,

- (6) *paD i- + -pp + e:n*  
 root + T + AGR 'I will read'  
 and in the negative,
- (7) [*paDi + kka-*] + *ma:TT + e:n* 'I will not read'  
 Root + inf./ger.suffix aux.v.stem AGR (NO TENSE)

It may be mentioned here that *maTTi-* is a verb, which has only negative implication and has no affirmative counterpart.

*-a:Di* is another negative morpheme which attaches itself to auxiliary verbs like *pa:Da:* 'should', *ku:Da:* 'must', *muDiy-* 'can'. But unlike *ma:TTi-*, 'shall/will' the other auxiliary verbs have an affirmative form, like

- (8) *paDaDi* *paDum* 'should'  
 'should not' (literal or written form)

(9) *ku:DaDi*                      *ku:Dum* 'must'  
       'must not'                      (literal or written form)

(10) *muDiya:di*                  *muDiyum* 'can'  
       'cannot'

*-a:mal* 'without' attaches itself to the verb root and has a negative implication and gets an adjectival form.

(11) *avaL pa:Da muDiya:mal irinda:L*  
       she sing can T not was AGR  
       'She could not sing'

*inri-* is another negative marker, which is similar to *-amal* but is slightly different semantically. *inri* functions more as a 'not' form than 'without' although in isolation it is closer to 'without'.

(12) *avar paNakka:rar maTTuminri paDittavar ku:Da*  
       he rich only not learned also  
       'He is not only rich but is also learned'

*-e:n* is another negative morpheme which is used only in formal speech and is restricted to first person singular.

(13) *na:n paDye:n*  
       I read I not 'I do not read'

(14) *na:n ariye:n*  
       I know I not 'I do not know'

In the above examples, the negative is obtained by attaching the AGR element to the root of the verb directly, resulting in the declension of the verb.

Thus in Tamil the morphological negative is expressed through the verb. Therefore every verb has a distinct negative form. But some verbs have only the negative form, e.g., *maTTi*. Consider the following examples in detail:

- (15) (a) *na:n paDitte:n* 'I read'  
I read T + AGR
- (b) *na:n paDikkavillai* 'I did not read'  
I read inf. T + Neg
- (c) *na:n varive:n* 'I shall come'  
I come T AGR

*-e:n* is also the AGR element of the first person singular.

- (16) (a) *na:n paDittikkonDu irikke:n*  
I read + T ing am  
'I am reading'
- (b) *na:n paDittukkonDu illai*  
I read T ing not  
'I am not reading'
- (17) (a) *na:n paDippe:n*  
I read T AGR  
'I will read'
- (b) *na:n paDikka maTTe:n*  
I read +Inf./T + Aux V + AGR  
'I will not read'

In Tamil, generally the negative is formed by adding *illai*, which is the negative form of the verb *irikki* 'to be' to the nominal or gerundial stem of the verb. This is the morphological process involved in the formation of the above constructions. Take another example

- (18) *na:n pa:Divadillai*  
I sing + T not  
'I do not sing' (habitual present)

*pa:Di* is the root and *vadi* is the nominal suffix.

(19) *na:n paDiyadillai*

I sing T not

'I do not sing/I never sang' (Complete past).

In both (18) and (19), the addition of *illai* is the same. But the realization of tense *-va* and *-ya* between the verb root and the negative is noticeably distinct. Thus the sentential negative or syntactic negative *illai* is always placed at the end of the sentence. Let us now consider the morphological negatives and their distinctive nature. *a:di* is a bound morpheme which occurs with a default value with no AGR and attaches itself to the modal/auxiliary verbs. In association with the auxiliary verb *muDiya* it implies either 'cannot' or 'not possible'.

(20) *enna:l pa:Da mudiya:di*

I sing can not

'I cannot sing'

*pa:Di* is the root and *yadi* is the tense (past) marker.

(21) *na:n pa:Da muDiya:di*

I sing can not

'I cannot sing'

Though the structure of the sentences differs, the semantic implications are the same.

*-um* is another morpheme which functions differently in different environments. It is conjunctive in nature and as such, is used in the affirmative form. But used along with *illai* it has a negative value of the kind, 'neither...nor'.

(22) [*avaL [pa:Davum] [paDikkavum] seyida:L*]

she sing also read also did

'She sang as well as read'

(23) [*avaL [pa:Davum [paDikkavum] illai* ]

'She neither sang nor read'

In both these cases there are two embedded clausal sentences.

An interesting fact is that *o* can be used in place of *-um* which can be equated to 'either...or' But with the negative sentence *illai* gives neither...nor value to the sentence.

(24) [*avaL* [*pa:Davo*] [*paDikkavo*] *seydaL*]  
 she sing either read or did AGR  
 'She will either sing or read'

(25) [*avaL* [*pa:Davo*] [*paDikkavo*] *illai*]  
 she sing either read or not  
 'She neither sang nor read'

*ma:TTi* is predominantly a negative marker and has no affirmative counterpart.

(26) *na:n pa:Da ma:TTe:n*  
 I sing T modal AGR  
 'I will not sing'

Another noticeable feature of this modal verb is that it always has [+ Future] feature. *a:mal* is used in the sense of 'without' (having done something) and can attach only to the infinitival form of the verb. Let us consider the following example:

(27) *avan ennai ku:ppiDamal vanda:n*  
 he me call without come T AGR  
 'He came without calling me'

*inri* functions as 'without' or 'not only' in a sentence.

(28) (a) *avar paNakka:rum, paDittavarum ku:Da*  
 he rich also learned also  
 'He is rich and he is learned'

(b) *avar paNakka:rar maTTum inri paDittavarum ku:Da*  
 he rich only not learned also  
 'He is not only rich but is also learned'

This sentence is synonymous with 'He is rich and also learned' where, the sentence is affirmative as in Tamil using the corresponding correlative *-um*, which functions as the conjunction marker.

*inri* thus does not carry tense, aspect or AGR features. It is constant for all tenses and all genders and numbers. It may be mentioned that where used along with *illai* it has a different semantic implication. *inri*, however, is never used in the affirmative sense as *-um* is used.

- (29) *avaninri na:n illai*  
 he without I no/not  
 'Without him I do not exist'

Where the sentence has no tense or AGR features like many negative sentences. Here one clause is sufficient to be a complete sentence semantically.

*e:n* is also a negative morpheme which is never used in the affirmative sense. It denotes a formal style and is restricted to the literary and the written form alone.

- (30) *adai kkuritti na:n onrum ariye:n*  
 that about I nothing knows not AGR  
 'I do not know anything about that'

Notice that the *-e:n* is the negative marker and is also the AGR feature. It however carries no tense since it is always used as [-past] form of the verb. *e:n* used in the affirmative sentences commonly is an AGR element of the declined form of the verb, and is the first person singular form. It is not the negative morpheme discussed above.

- (31) *na:n varuve:n*  
 I come T AGR  
 'I will come'

- (32) *na:n pa:rpe:n*  
 I see T AGR  
 'I will see'

## Conclusion

Tamil being an inflectional language like other Dravidian languages shows the following features with regard to the formation of negatives :

1. The sentential negative is *illai*
2. *illai* is always placed sentence finally.
3. Other negative markers like *-adi*, *-amal*, *-um*, *-inri* also occur.
4. These morphological negatives are always attached to the main verb or to the modal/auxiliary verb as an inflectional suffix.
  - (a) In a negative sentence the (AGR) element of the verb is lost when the verb is (+ past & – Fut) and the tense feature is modified.
  - (b) The (AGR) element is retained when the verb shows (– past & – Fut) but the tense is modified.
5. The (AGR) element is retained if the modal/auxiliary showing (+ Fut & – Past) is used.



(4) **atanu maMtri ayyaaDu.**

he (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.) minister became (3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.)

'He has become a minister.'

(5) **ataniki ii pustakaanni ivvu!**

he (dat) this book (acc) give (imp)(2<sup>nd</sup>.s.)

'Give him this book!'

(6) **ii puli veeTagaaDicee caMpabaDiMdi.**

this tiger (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) hunter-by killed (pas)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

'This tiger was killed by the hunter.'

Sentences (2-6), in other words, represent intransitive, transitive, linking, imperative, and passive constructions respectively. Some verbs in Telugu can be classed simultaneously as both transitive and intransitive verbs and so, while *paaDu* 'sing' can appear as a transitive verb in (7), it could also appear in a sentence such as (8) where it is being used intransitively:

(7) **atanu bhakti giitaalni paaDutaaDu.**

he (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.) devotional songs (acc) sings (3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.)

'He sings the devotional songs.'

(8) **atanu baagaa paaDutaaDu.**

he (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.) well sings (3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.)

'He sings well.'

Functionally speaking, the subject in Telugu is typically used to encode what the sentence is about. Further, it is the subject that selects the predicator and the predicator in turn selects the object (s) and/or other functional elements in a given construction.

In linking constructions in the positive proposition if the verb is *av* 'be', there is a zero predicator as illustrated below:

(9) *neenu biida raituni.*

I (nom)(1<sup>st</sup>.m.s.) poor farmer (1<sup>st</sup>.m.s.)

'I am a poor farmer.'

(10) *ii aaTabommalu maa pillalavi.*

these playthings (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.pl.) our

children's (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.pl.)

'These playthings are our children's.'

(11) *aa ammaayi telivainadi.*

that girl (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.f.s.) clever (3<sup>rd</sup>.f.s.)

'That girl is clever.'

In (9-11), *biida raituni*, *maa pillalavi*, and *telivainadi* are functionally known as complements. Notice, in Telugu finite-verb predicators and complements agree, in some combination of person, number, and gender, with their subject.<sup>3</sup> (For instance, see gloss given in (1-11)). It should be further noted that such agreement is generally a given property of subjecthood in Telugu.

The following examples (12-14) are negative constructions corresponding to (9-11). Notice, unlike in (9-11), there is an overt predicator in (12-14):

(12) *neenu raituni kaanu.*

I (nom)(1<sup>st</sup>.s.) farmer be (neg)(1<sup>st</sup>.s.)

'I am not a farmer.'

(13) *ii aaTabommalu maa pillalavi kaavu.*

these playthings (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.pl.) our children's

be (neg)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.pl.)

'These playthings are not our children's.'

(14) *aa ammaayi telivainadi kaadu.*

that girl (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.f.s.) clever be (neg)(3<sup>rd</sup>.f.s.)

'That girl is not clever.'

In imperative constructions such as (5) above, the subject is generally not expressed overtly and it is implied and understood. Further, subjects in Telugu are also optionally omitted in some constructions. For instance, consider the example (15) given below:

- (15) *naaku caligaa uMdi.*  
 I (dat) cold is (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)  
 'I am cold.'

Ramarao (1999: 8) observes that in sentences such as (15) above, the first word is the *uddeeshyaM* and as such there is no subject in the surface structure. His observation seems to be reasonable, since in Telugu we find sentences such as (15) where subjects are optionally omitted. However, in such contexts there could always be some scope for the inclusion of relevant subjects. For instance, sentence (15) could also be expressed by including a subject element such as *ikkaDi vaataavaranaM*, as given in (16) below:

- (16) *naaku ikkaDi vaataavaraNaM caligaa uMdi.*  
 I (dat) here (obl) weather (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) cold is (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)  
 'For me the weather here is cold.'

Krishnamurti (1998: 229) observes that 'in unmarked word order, the subject NP occurs as the first constituent of a sentence'. In this respect let us consider the following examples (17-19), which are given in their unmarked word/element order:

- (17) *ii pillavaaDiki gajji leeciMdi.*  
 this boy (dat) itch (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) appeared (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)  
 'The itch appeared to this boy.'
- (18) *raviki jalubu ceesiMdi.*  
 Ravi (dat) cold (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) happened (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)  
 'Ravi caught cold' (lit: A cold happened to Ravi.)

(19) *ii gadiki reMDu kiTikiilu unnaayi.*

this room (dat) two windows (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.pl.)  
are (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.pl.)

‘This room has two windows.’

(20) *aameku deevuDu kanipiMcaaDu.*

she (dat) God (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.) appeared (3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.)

‘God appeared to her.’

(21) *ii kathaku oka niiti uMdi.*

this tale (dat) one moral (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) is (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

‘There is a moral to this tale.’

We find *ii pillavaaDiki*, *raviki*, *ii gadiki*, *aameku*, and *ii kathaku* as first elements of (17-21) respectively. If we go by Krishnamurti’s above-mentioned observation, these elements have to be treated as subjects, ignoring the fact that the subject element in Telugu has to be in nominative case and in agreement relationship with finite-verb predicators and/or complements.

In unmarked basic constructions subject can be identified by position. Thus, in constructions such as (2), (3), (4), and (6) given above, subject occurs as the first element. In other constructions such as (17-21), whose predicators consist of verbs such as *leecu* ‘appear’, *ceeyu* ‘happen’, *un* ‘be’, and *kanipiMcu* ‘appear’, it occurs as the second element.

In constructions such as (22) and (23), the predicator, i.e. *un* ‘be’, is optionally omitted:

(22) *vaaDiki verri.*

he (dat) madness (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

‘He has madness.’

(23) *aameku pogaru.*

she (dat) pride (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

‘She has pride.’

Notice, constructions (22) and (23) can also be stated respectively as (24) and (25) by including the predicator:

(24) *vaaDiki verri uMdi.*

he (dat) madness (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) is (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

'He has madness.'

(25) *aameku pogaru uMdi.*

she (dat) pride (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) is (3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

'She has pride.'

Further it is to be noted that, in Telugu, there can also be two objects in a transitive construction depending on the type of verb that functions as a predicator. However, a distinction has to be made between two types of objects, i.e. direct objects and indirect objects. Direct objects are accusative noun phrases and indirect objects dative. An unmarked transitive construction, with both direct and indirect objects in it, would have the following basic order:

subject - indirect object - direct object - predicator

In the case of English, if there is only one object in a sentence, it invariably functions like a direct object. But the same is not true in the case of Telugu. As an illustration, let us look into sentences (26) and (27) given below:

(26) *atanu nannu vaMciMcaaDu.*

he (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.) I (acc) deceived (3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.)

'He deceived me.'

(27) *atanu naaku tooDpaDDaaDu.*

he (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.) I (dat) helped (3<sup>rd</sup>.m.s.)

'He helped me.'

Though *nannu* and *naaku* are object elements in (26) and (27) respectively, the former, which is in accusative,

functions as direct object and the latter, which is in dative, functions as indirect object. Notice, it is the direct object that alone forms the subject of the corresponding passive construction. For illustration, consider the passive constructions (28) and (29) given below which respectively correspond to (26) and (27) given above:

(28) *neenu atanicee vaMciMcabaDDaanu.*

I (nom)(1<sup>st</sup>.s.) he-by deceived (pas)(1<sup>st</sup>.s.)

‘I was deceived by him.’

(29) \* *neenu atanicee tooDpaDabaDDaanu.*

I (nom)(1<sup>st</sup>.s.) he-by helped (pas)(1<sup>st</sup>.s.)

‘I was helped by him.’

Here, (29) is a starred construction because it cannot take the dative object of corresponding construction (27) as its subject. However, the English equivalent of the Telugu construction (27), i.e. *He helped me*, can have a corresponding passive construction, i.e. *I was helped by him*.

Further, let us consider (30) given below:

(30) *ramya raviki oka uttaraanni icciMdi.*

Ramya (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.f.s.) Ravi (dat) one letter (acc)

gave (3<sup>rd</sup>.f.s.)

‘Ramya gave Ravi one letter.’

In a corresponding passive construction to (30) the direct object, i.e. *oka uttaraanni*, becomes the subject as shown in (31) below:

(31) *oka uttaraM raviki ramyacee ivvabaDiMdi.*

one letter (nom)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.) Ravi (dat) Ramya-by

gave (pas)(3<sup>rd</sup>.n.s.)

‘One letter was given to Ravi by Ramya.’



### Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 3rd International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL - 3) held during January 4 - 6, 2001, at the School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.
2. The term predicator as given in Palmer 1971: 78.
3. For a detailed account of agreement in Telugu, see Vijayanarayana 2000.

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- Vijayanarayana, B. 2000. Agreement with special reference to Telugu. *Indian Linguistics* 61:1-4, 47-61. Also in *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* 10:2, 125-138.

## NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT 2002

### Publications of the Faculty Members

#### *Papers published:*

*Mukharjee, Aditi*

- *Language, dialect and literacy. In Practice and Research in Literacy, edited by Aditi Mukherjee and D. Vasanta. Sage Publications, New Delhi.*

*Nagamma Reddy, K.*

- *Duration-A phonetic cue to syllabification in Telugu. In Phonetics and Phonology – with reference to Indian languages, K.Nagamma Reddy and A.R.Fatih (eds). ESS ESS Publications, Aligarh and Creative Publications, New Delhi. Pp.49-61.*
- *Word initial and word final consonant clusters in South-Central Dravidian (Co-author: B. Ramakrishna Reddy). In Studies in Phonetics and Phonology – with reference to Indian Languages. K.Nagamma Reddy and A.R.Fatih (eds). ESS ESS Publications, Aligarh and Creative Publications, New Delhi. Pp. 172-178.*
- *Inter-influences between Kharia and Sadri: A note on language contact (Co-authors: B. Ramakrishna Reddy and Henry Tete I). In Studies in Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics – in memory of Prof.Arun Kumar Sharma. K.Ramesh Kumar (ed). CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University and Booklinks Corporation, Hyderabad. Pp. 11-20.*
- *The vowel and consonant sounds of Indian languages. International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics (in press).*

Ramesh Kumar, K.

- ☛ An acoustic study of vowels in Raj Gondi. In *Studies in Phonetics and Phonology – with reference to Indian Languages*. K.Nagamma Reddy and A.R.Fatihi (eds.) ESS ESS Publications, Aligarh, Creative Publications, New Delhi. 39-48.
- ☛ The role of translation in lexicography (Co-author : B.Ramakrishna Reddy). In *Studies in Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics : Papers in Memory of Prof. Arun Kumar Sharma*. (ed) K. Ramesh Kumar. Hyderabad : Osmania University and Book Links Corporation, 77-85.

Swarajya Lakshmi, V.

- ☛ Literacy and language pedagogy – a case study of Mahaboobnagar district. In *Practice and Research in Literacy*. Aditi Mukherjee and D.Vasanta (eds). New Delhi: Sage Publications and CAS in Linguistics. Pp. 239-246.

Vasanta, D.

- ☛ Perceptual and cognitive factors in language acquisition: Some clues from developmental disorders. In V.Swarajya Lakshmi (ed.) *Case for Language Studies-Papers in Honour of Prof. B.Lakshmi Bai*. Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation. Pp. 11-38
- ☛ A Review Article on *Gender and Discourse* by Ruth Wodak. London: Sage Publications. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*. Vol. 9, No.1.

Vijayanarayana, B.

- ☛ The proform *taan* in Telugu. In V. Swarajya Lakshmi (ed.) *Case for Language Studies: Papers in Honour of Prof. B. Lakshmi Bai*. Hyderabad: Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University and Booklinks Corporation, 141-152.

**A. Usha Rani & V. Sailaja**

- (NULL) subject in child language and agrammatism. In V.Swarajya Lakshmi (ed.) *Case for Language Studies : Papers in Honour of Prof. B. Lakshmi Bai*, Hyderabad : Centre for Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University and Booklinks Corporation. 39-59.

**Books edited:**

*Mukherjee, Aditi and Vasanta, D.*

- *Practice and Research in Literacy*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

*Nagamma Reddy, K. (Co-edited with Fatihi, A.R.)*

- *Studies in Phonetics and Phonology – with reference to Indian Languages*, ESS ESS Publications, Aligarh/ Creative Publications, New Delhi.

*Swarajya lakshmi, .V.*

- *Case for Language Studies – Papers in Honour of Prof.B.Lakshmi Bai*. Hyderabad: Booklinks Corporation and CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
- *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 26 & 27.

*Ramesh Kumar, K.*

- *Studies in Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics – Papers in Memory of Prof. Arun Kumar Sharma*. Hydeabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation.

**Papers presented at International Conference :**

*Nagamma Reddy, K.*

- Phonological structure and quantity adjustment in Telugu. 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL-4), December 2002 organized by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics,

Annamalainagar, in collaboration with the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

*Swarajya Lakshmi, V.*

- Cross dialectal communication in Telugu – strategies of successful comprehension, 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL-4), December 2002 organized by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalainagar, in collaboration with the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

*Vijayanarayana, B.*

- An additional argument in support of predicative adjectives in Telugu. Paper presented at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL – 4) (December 3-5, 2002), organized by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalainagar, in collaboration with the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

***Extension activities of the faculty members :***

*Mukherjee, Aditi*

- Keynote Address at National Workshop on Language and Evaluation, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad.
- Lecture on The English language and literature: The notion of minoritization, UGC Refresher Course for lecturers of English, ASRC, Hyderabad.

*Nagamma Reddy, K.*

- A series of ten lectures on Experimental Phonetics. Workshop on Phonetics, organized by Communication and Vision Unit, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. June-July.

- Held a UGC Visiting Professorship at the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar during November-December under the UGC Scheme of Academic Interaction and Research Collaboration. A series of lectures on Advanced Phonetics were given to the faculty and research scholars.

*Ramesh Kumar, K.*

- Attended UGC Refresher Course held at CIIL, Mysore during May.
- Participated in Workshop on Voicing in Dravidian Languages at CIIL, Mysore during June.
- Participated, NLP Workshop on Developing Language Resources for Machine Translation at IIIT, Hyderabad, from 17.6.2002 to 6.7.2002.
- On invitation participated in a Seminar on A Road Map to Language Technology - Short Term and Long Term Goals on 15-11-2002, conducted by the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad.

*Vijayanarayana, B.*

- On invitation participated as a panellist in a Seminar on A Road Map to Language Technology – Short Term and Long Term Goals on 15-11-2002, conducted by the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.

### ***Research Projects:***

*Nagamma Reddy, K.*

- Chief Resource Person-cum-Supervisor (CRPS) for the Content Development of Telugu Language under the Language Information Services (LIS)–India Project.

Central Institute of Indian Languages. (Ministry of Human Resources Development, Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Government of India.) Mysore.

Duration: One year 2002-2003; Value Rs.50,000/-

*Vasanta, D.*

- Interdepartmental collaborative project entitled 'Development and Validation of a Computer-assisted Instructional Package for Training Script-specific Word Reading Skills in Indian languages funded by the Department of Science and Technology, New Delhi. The coinvestigators are M.Venkateswara Rao of the Dept of Biomedical Engineering, O.U. and Prof. Rajeev Sangal of the International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad to develop electronic lexical resources initially in Telugu in the form of databases and to evolve an interactive computer program that will enable learners (both normal and learning disabled) to acquire sub-skills of beginning reading and spelling at their own pace.

Duration: one year 2002-2003; value Rs.2 lakhs

- Three year project entitled Development of Instructional Materials for Improving Linguistic Awareness of Telugu Speaking Hearing Impaired Children funded by the UGC New Delhi under Research Awards programme in March 2002 to design systematic teaching materials to enhance hearing impaired children's access to salient phonological and orthographic features of Telugu language that have an impact on their language learning and use in schools.

Duration: 3 years 2002-2005; value Rs.1.5 lakhs plus salary.

**Ph.D. Awardee :**

☛ Awarded Ph.D. degree to Ms. Usha Pannala for her thesis on *Science prose in Telugu*.

Supervisor : Professor C. Ramarao.

**Abstract of the Thesis**

This thesis is a functional study of science textbooks of plus two (+2) level. The study is limited to only four-science subjects viz., Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Zoology. The study aims to identify the dynamic linguistic processes present in this field of scientific communication, which focuses on the mechanisms of language modernization in Telugu at large. It is sought to identify the language structures specific to these disciplines and the factors governing the choice of such structures in texts.

The dissertation is organised into six chapters. While the first chapter is introductory in nature, chapter 2 deals with communicative functions of different kinds of pronouns. Chapter 3 deals with the functions of finite tenses in Telugu. As impersonal style of presenting information is a characteristic feature of scientific communication, chapter 4 deals with passives and other modes of impersonal sentences. In chapter 5 different types of sentences are examined with reference to three linguistic variables viz., structure, mood and rhetoric functions. Finally chapter 6 is a consolidation of the conclusions drawn from all the four core chapters.

It is pointed out that while most of the observations corroborate with those occurring in other languages, present tense in past progressive is found to have special relevance in scientific Telugu. With reference to impersonals, it is observed that in addition to a formal passive, three types of informal passives, and one active impersonal are used in this style of communication. The present work is only a beginning and much remains to be studied.

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