

ISSN 0970-0277

**OSMANIA PAPERS
IN
LINGUISTICS**

Volume 29

2003

Editor
K. NAGAMMA REDDY



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

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Committee on Publications

J. Venkateswara Sastry
K. Nagamma Reddy
A. Usha Rani
K. Ramesh Kumar

Editor

K. Nagamma Reddy

Osmania Papers in Linguistics (OPiL) is an annual refereed research journal devoted to the publication of articles in the field of general and applied linguistics. It also includes book reviews and review articles.

The journal publishes work primarily by the staff, students, and visiting faculty of the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University. However, articles may occasionally be invited from scholars outside Osmania on special topics. All contributions must be in English. Views expressed in *OPiL* are only those of the authors.

This publication is supplied to institutions, societies, and Departments of Linguistics in exchange for similar publications. Others may send their subscription orders and matters relating to payments, exchange, and change of address to the Head, Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad 500 007, India. The annual subscription rate for *OPiL* (one volume) is Rs.25 or US \$ 6 (excl. postage).

Articles for publication, review copies, and communications relating to editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, *OPiL*, Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad 500 007, India.

ISSN 0970-0277

ISSN 0970-0277

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 29

2003

Editor

K. NAGAMMA REDDY



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

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 29, 2003

CONTENTS

	Page
H. S. Ananthanarayana Rule Organisation and Rule Application in Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar	1
B. Gopal Rao Teaching Language through Literature in ESL Curriculum	7
Jagannath Vidyalankar Plural in Telugu Nouns	17
Khateeb S. Mustafa The -ende Construction in Dakkhini	33
B. Ramakrishna Reddy Reference and Meaning of Dravidian Demonstratives	49
L. Ramamoorthy The Notion of Tamil Development in Pondicherry: Theory and Practice	63
K. Ramesh Kumar The Pronunciation of /th/ in Telugu: A quantitative Analysis	79
K. Rangan, M. Suseela and S. Rajendran Agreement System in Tamil	93
J. Shakuntala Sharma Code-Sliding : An Emerging Style in Multilingual Speech	115
<i>News of the Department</i>	123

RULE ORGANISATION AND RULE APPLICATION IN HEMACHANDRA'S PRAKRIT GRAMMAR

H.S. Ananthanarayana

The main principle on which rules are organised in grammatical treatises, viz. the principle of *adhikāra* 'governing rule' and anuvṛtti process of carrying *adhikāra* into subsequent rules' is not specific to them but is found employed also in several *Shāstras* written in *sūtra* style. It may be found even in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedic texts. Either the whole of the *adhikāra* statement or any part of it may be taken into the subsequent statements by anuvṛtti process. The verbal element *dhattam* in the statement *iṣamūrjaṃ asmāsu dhattam* 'confer on us food and nourishment' (TB.I.1.5) is carried into the following statement, *prāṇān paśuṣu* '(confer) vitality on cattle' (TB.I.1.6). The verbal form *ālabhate* of the first sentence, *brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabhate* 'one offers a Brahmin to Brahma' (TB.III.4) is assumed in the following sentences upto the end of that chapter. Another instance of this principle may be found in Āp. Dh.Sū. (I.1.2-3) *dharmajñāsamayaḥ pramāṇam* 'the convention of those who know the law is the authority' and *vedāśca* 'also the Vedas (are authority)'. •

Similarly, the principle of *vidhi* 'injunction, command' and *niṣedha* 'negation' and the principle of *paratva* 'posteriority' in rule application are found utilised not only in grammatical works but also in other works. Some examples need only be cited in support of this. In the *īśopaniṣad* (verse 1), *tena tyaktena bhūñjīthān* 'through renunciation of that (world) may you enjoy' is a Vidhivākya and *mā gṛdhaḥ kasyasvid dhanam* 'covet not anyone's riches' is its *niṣedha*. In the

Taittirīyopaniṣad (I.xi.2), *yānyanavadyāni karmāṇi tāni sevītavayāni* ‘the acts that are not blameworthy are only to be practiced’ and *na itarāṇi* ‘not others’ are respectively *Vidhi* and *Niṣedha*. In the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, *sadāraṇyād edhān āhṛtyādho nidadhyāt* ‘fuel is to be collected always from the forest and placed on the ground’ (I.4.14) and *nāstamite samiddhāro gacchet* ‘one shall not go for collecting fuel after sunset’ (I.4.15) are respectively *vidhi* and *niṣedha*. We would be examining in this paper mainly the principle of rule application in Hemachandra’s Prakrit Grammar, briefly reviewing to begin with, the principle of rule organisation.

Hemachandra (1078-1172) presents his Prakrit grammar as a sequel to his Sanskrit grammar, *Siddhahemacandraśabdānuśāsana*, in only 1119 *sūtras*. The text is divided into four *pādas* of which Hemachandra devoted the first three *pādas* and a major portion of the fourth to the treatment of the principal Prakrit, Māhārāṣṭrī, and the remaining to the other five dialects, viz. Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paisācī, Cūlikāpaisācī, and Apabhraṃśa. The language of presentation is Sanskrit and Hemachandra wrote himself a *Vṛtti* called *Prakāśikā* on his grammar. It is diachronic in nature in that he considers Prakrit a derivative from Sanskrit (Vide 8.1.1 *atha prākṛtam* on which the *vṛtti* says: *prākṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam, tatra bhavam tata āgatam vā prākṛtam*). Hemachandra wrote his grammar at the request of the king Siddharāja, son of Mularāja of Culukya dynasty. He is classified as belonging to the Western school of Prakrit grammarians and his grammar of Prakrit is the best known and the most complete that is available to us.

The distinction between what is ‘common’ (*sāmānya*) to groups of entities and what is ‘particular’ (*viśeṣa*) to subgroups of these is the underlying principle in Hemachandra’s grammar, keeping generally with the Indian Grammatical tradition.

Accordingly, he formulates general rules (*utsarga*) and related exceptions (*apavāda*) takes precedence over a related *utsarga* so that it applies preferentially in its own domain. Once the domains of all possible exceptions to a general rule have been set aside, the remaining domain is the one in which the *utsarga* takes effect.

As an instance of this principle, we may cite rule 8.1.15 *striyām ād avidyutaḥ*, which states that the final consonant of nouns in feminine, excepting the word *vidyut*, is substituted by [ā]. The rules that follow provide different substitutes in the same environment. Rule 8.1.16 *ro rā* states that the substitute is [rā] when the final consonant is [r]; 8.1.17 *kṣudho hā* states that the substitute is [hā]. Thus the replacement of the final consonant by [ā] and of final consonant by [rā] or [hā] are respectively *utsarga* and *apavāda*; the latter counters the former so that the two operations complement each other. We thus get *sariā* from Sanskrit *sarī* 'stream', and *girā* from Skt. *gir* 'speech', *chuhā* from Skt. *kṣudh* 'to be hungry'. The domain of application of the substitution of *rā/hā* for the final consonant by 8.1.16-17 is included in the domain of re-placement of final consonant by [ā] provided by rule 8.1.15. It may be noted that rule 8.1.15 is itself an *apavāda* to rule 8.1.11 *antyavyaṇjanasya* (10.luk), which states the deletion of the final consonant of words.

Related to *utsargāpavāda* principle is the principle of *vidhi* 'provision' and *niṣedha* 'cancellation'. *Vidhi* operates in a general domain and *niṣedha* in a specific domain. For example, a *vidhivākya* is found in 8.1.11 *antyavyaṇjanasya* (10.luk) 'the final consonant of a word gets deleted, (e.g. *jāva* from Skt. *yāvat* 'as far, as long'). Its *niṣedha* is found in 8.1.12 *na śrad udoḥ* 'not so in the words *śrad* and *ud* (e.g. *saddhā*, *uggayam* from Skt. *śraddhā* 'faith', *udgatam* 'appear'). Another instance of *vidhi* is found in 8.2.89 *anādaḥ śeṣādeśayor dvitvam* 'the

remaining consonant as well as the replacing consonant, which is non-initial, gets doubled, (e.g. *bhuttam* from Skt. *bhuktam* 'eaten' via *bhutam* by rule 8.2.77 *ka ga ṭa ḍa ta da pa śa ṣa sām ...ūrdhvam luk* 'k,g, etc., are deleted when they are first members of a cluster'; 8.2.1 (*saṃyuktasya*). Its *niṣedha* is found in 8.2.92 *na dīrghānusvārat* 'it is not doubled when following either a long vowel or an *anusvāra*' (e.g. *nīsāso* from Skt. *niśśvāsa* 'outgoing breath', *tamsam* from Skt. *tryasram* 'a triangle'). The relation obtaining between *vidhi* and *niṣedha* is parallel to the relation between *utsarga* and *apavāda*. The essential difference between *niṣedha* and *apavāda* is that while the latter counters an *utsarga* by providing another positive operation, a *niṣedha* counters a *vidhi* by cancelling its operation. Examples may be multiplied; but it is sufficient to note from the above instances that Hemachandra has very usefully and effectively employed the principle, which was in vogue in this kind of writing.

Rules in the grammar are to be arranged in the order of their application to give us the correct final forms of words, if more than one rule needs to apply in their derivation. We may illustrate the working of this principle by two rules in Hemachandra's grammar. Rule 8.2.77 *ka ga ṭa ḍa ta da pa śa ṣa sām ...m ūrdhvam luk* states that in a cluster (8.2.1 *saṃyuktasya*) *ka*, *ga*, etc., standing as first members get deleted. Accordingly, Skt. *śaktam* 'be able' *khaḍgaḥ* 'sword' develops to *sato* and *khago* respectively. And by rule 8.2.89 *anādaḥ śeṣādeśayor dvitvam* 'the remaining consonant, not being initial, gets doubled, giving us the correct final forms *satto* and *khaggo*.

Sometimes two rules may be bound simultaneously applicable in a given situation and we must then have a principle to decide unambiguously as to which of the two rules should apply. This principle in grammar is called *paratva* principle,

which is invoked when there is conflict (*virodha* or *vipratishedha*) between two rules of equal applicability (*tuljabala*). In such instances, the rule that is later placed in the grammar prevails over the rule placed earlier (*vipratishedhe paramkāryam*).

The working of this *paratva* principle may be illustrated by the following rules. As has already been explained, plosives being the first members in a cluster are deleted by rule 8.2.77. Nasals being the second members of clusters are deleted by rule 8.2.78 *adho manayām*. *l*, *v*, and *r* get deleted in either position by rule 8.2.79 *sarvatra lavarām avandhre*. The question that arises now is, what rule applies in a cluster of plosive and nasal, say as in *lagna* 'auspicious time' or *rukma* 'gold'. Both rules 8.2.77 and 8.2.78 may apply here simultaneously. Should we apply rule 8.2.77 and delete the plosive or apply rule 8.2.78 and delete the nasal? Here, the *paratva* principle helps in taking the correct decision and thereby applying the nasal deletion rule, which is placed later in the grammar. This gives us the right forms *lagga* and *rukka* in Prakrit. Similarly, in clusters of plosive and semivowel where both rules 8.2.77 and 8.2.79 have equal applicability, the semivowel deletion rule which is placed later in the grammar takes precedence in giving us the correct final forms *ukkā* and *vikkavo* in Prakrit from Sanskrit *ulkā* 'meteor' and *viklavaḥ* 'confused'. In the same way, in clusters of semivowel and nasal where both rules 8.2.77 and 8.2.79 can simultaneously apply, the semivowel deletion rule is preferred by the posteriority principle. Thus, Sanskrit *karma* 'work' correctly derives as *kamma* in Prakrit.

In concluding this, it may be remarked that whether it is Pāṇini writing a descriptive grammar for Sanskrit language or Hemachandra writing a historical grammar for Prakrit, they both belong to one Indian Grammatical Tradition. Accordingly, they follow the same set of general principles in rule formation (viz.

sūtra style), rule organisation (*adhikāra-anuvṛtti*; *vidhi-niṣedha*) and rule application (*paratva* concept). The differences in details may be attributable to the languages being treated (Sanskrit in one case and Prakrit in the other) and the method followed (synchronic versus diachronic). They both have given us a good model in their respective areas for either a descriptive or a historical treatment of other Indian languages.

(TB = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa)

TEACHING LANGUAGE THROUGH LITERATURE IN ESL CURRICULUM

B. Gopal Rao

Literature and language are mutually complementary. The apprehensions of literature professors that propagation of language teaching may reduce the popularity of literature are baseless. A meaningful interaction – if created between the two disciplines by the material producers at any level – would be very beneficial to the learner. This would be very suitable to the undergraduate students as they are more matured than the secondary school and the junior college students.

English has now acquired the status of a second language in India. Though not spoken by Indians in their home situations, English is the language most widely used for social and professional purposes in India. Moreover, “for most people, the ability to use their first language is rarely matched, even after years of study, by a comparable ability with second language.” (Yule, 1986 : 150) So, good proficiency in English is an inescapable inevitability for all the educated and urban people.

Use of literature to teach language has been an accepted practice in the academies of ancient India, Greece and some other nations. For instance Sanskrit learning for a beginner would start with Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa in ancient days. The strength of such a methodology was in the harmonious blending of language and literature in the teaching methodology. The content was taught through an analysis of language used and the language processes. Thorough understanding of language facilitated understanding and enjoyment of literature.

The present situation of English in India with reference to language – literature harmony is not encouraging. It is rather unfortunate that the very objective of teaching language or literature is being ignored for various reasons. English is taught totally as a content-based subject ignoring the fact that the majority of Indian learners come from regional media background. As a result the needed proficiency is not imparted to the learners. The mushrooming so-called English institutes are cashing on this situation, which is a result of the failure of the regular English Departments of Colleges in teaching literature and language. The “English” institutes are designing their courses on grammar or vocabulary development making language-teaching dry and ineffective.

The only solution lies in making a controlled and meaningful use of literature to teach language. It not only gives a taste of English literature but also develops in the student a feeling for the native idiom. But the syllabus designers should be cautious to pick and choose relevant and contemporary pieces of literature to be used in a second language class. A literary piece if taught properly “may achieve the esthetic level of literature through the qualities of its expression ... Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* and Cervante’s *Don Quixote* are notable for both “expression and content” (Lado, 1979 : 1954). More importantly, they should relate the prescribed pieces to the day-to-day lives of the learners.

The main thrust of my paper suggests a happy blend of language and literature in teaching and testing methodology of English courses, which should provide a viable solution to the present problem.

Recent course materials have quite rightly incorporated many ‘authentic’ samples of language – for example, travel timetables, city plans, forms, pamphlets, cartoons,

advertisements, newspapers or magazine articles. Learners are thus exposed to language that is as genuine and undistorted as can be managed in the classroom context. Literature is a valuable complement to such materials, especially once the initial 'survival' level has been passed. In reading literary texts, students have also to cope with language intended for native speakers and thus they gain additional familiarity with many different linguistic uses, forms and conventions of the written mode: with irony, exposition, argument, narration, and so on. And, although it may not be confined within a specific social network in the same way that a bus ticket or an advertisement might be, literature can none the less incorporate a great deal of cultural information. Language enrichment is one benefit often sought through literature. Literature provides a rich context in which individual lexical or syntactical items are made more memorable. Reading a substantial and contextualised body of text, students gain familiarity with many features of the written language – the formation and function of sentences, the variety of possible structures the different ways of connecting ideas, linguistic clues which broaden and enrich their own writing skills. A literary text can serve as an excellent prompt for oral work. In all these ways, a student working with literature is helped with the basic skills of language learning. Moreover, literature helps extend the under graduate learner's awareness of the range of language itself. Literary language is not always that of daily communication, but it is special in its way. It is heightened: sometimes elaborate, sometimes marvellously simple yet, somehow, absolutely 'right'. The compressed quality of much literary language produces unexpected density of meaning.

The overall aim, then, of our approach to the teaching of literature is to let the student derive the benefits of communicative and other activities for language improvement

within the context of suitable works of literature. Sharing literature with students is a spur to their acquiring these benefits, provided the teacher makes a balanced selection of activities and presents them with confidence.

Each novel, short story or play can spark off a wealth of different activities. Tasks and exercises based on a literary text can provide valuable practice in listening, speaking or writing, as well as improving reading skills. Literary works of all kinds are now becoming increasingly available in spoken form on cassettes. These can be especially useful in providing extensive listening practice. The chunks heard at one time can be longer than would be possible with many other types of recorded passage, because once a book has been started, students are within a familiar context and have a whole set of expectations about what they are hearing. These are two conditions, which are recognised as being helpful to comprehension in a foreign language. Similarly, a shared book provides a network of familiar vocabulary, which means that it can be used for oral or written work with a minimum of pre-teaching of new words or expressions.

When a teacher while teaching a novel can highlight words either for comprehension or for stylistic analysis, students are asked to extract specific kinds of words or expressions from a part of the work studied. A visual means of indicating different categories of words is the star diagram given for *Lord of the Flies*, which can be used as class or home reading activity. To enrich learners' vocabulary, the teacher can give them a whole series of terms or expressions that must be assigned to specific features or characters in their book. Worksheets can be used to sensitise students to the metaphorical dimension of words in the book they are reading. The text of a book often offers excellent opportunities to practise specific areas of language. The advantage of the literary text is that it provides a context for

language work. Exercises can be quite open-ended, so that in addition to language improvement, they incorporate student response. Word puzzles are simple to create, with follow-up writing tasks designed to help learners use their new vocabulary.

Questionnaires are usually very helpful in sparking discussion. A simple kind lists statements with answer boxes to be ticked, such as: agree/disagree/not sure. These can be prepared to be filled in at home, with follow-up in the next lesson; alternatively, they can be completed during class time. Students are then asked to discuss their choices with fellow students, either in pairs or in groups. It is entirely in order to use the text of a novel to practise specific areas of language, though in our experience this should be done briefly so as to maintain the 'magic' of the narrative and the reader's immersion in its fantasy. Examples on Prepositions, Phrasal Verbs, Active Voice & Passive Voice, Degrees of Comparison and fill in the blanks with appropriate words etc., can be explained while teaching grammar in the class.

As this particular activity is fairly mechanical, the teacher can adopt various tactics to sustain interest:

- Students form groups, set missing prepositions (using sentences from the chapter) for other groups to complete.
- Sentences for completion are then used for a quiz – can groups identify what each sentence is referring to, and who is speaking?

Structural practice linked to student response, prediction, etc.: Students can consolidate their control of grammatical forms by completing sentences, while at the same time making explicit their response to characters and situations in the novel. Continuous practice sessions in the classroom will help the

students to develop confidence in their listening, writing and reading skills. While it may seem “obvious at first glance that Practice has an effect of language competence, it should also be obvious that different kinds of Practice have different effects on developing competence.” (Allwright, 1988 : 235)

The sentences, which follow, are more open-ended, and, although the structure is being controlled, the learner’s use of language is more personal and creative.

Complete what these characters might say:

- Piggy: We don’t be rescued unless
 Things won’t work on the island unless
- Ralph: We won’t be rescued unless
 Things won’t work on the island unless
- Jack: I don’t want to be rescued unless
 We won’t have a good time unless

In the long run ultimately what is required for effective teaching is “testing procedures, linked to the needs of particular instructional programmes, reflecting a communicative view of language learning and teaching, but which is within the design and administrative powers of the teacher” (Oller Jr., 1986 : XVII)

Another illustration could be done from Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*. The vocabulary of the learners could be improved by taking the words used in the text, which are related to sea travel. Similarly, words related to travel by train and travel by air could be expected. The skill of narration could be inculcated by a question like the following:

“Imagine that Gulliver went to a country called Gigantisthan. There everyone was ten times bigger than him. Can you narrate briefly his experiences there?”

Higher literary texts like *Huckleberry Finn* could be used for analyzing the psychology of children and the concept of adventure whereas “The Scarlet Letter” could be used for gender discrimination. “To Sir With Love” is the best book on racial discrimination, which could be understood against the backdrop of the Indian situation of discrimination against weaker sections of the society.

It is a different kettle of fish when it comes to teaching poetry. When a poet writes a poem he uses the English words that are available to all speakers of English. What makes him a poet, however, is that he uses them with greater awareness, greater sensitivity and greater artistry. The Poem “as a whole is not made up, as inferior writing often is, of more comments or directions to the reader about what he should feel and how he should react but of concrete detail” (Hooper 1989 : 96). Before we teach a poem the students must be allowed to read the poem twice or thrice. The teacher should not criticize them for making mistakes and on the contrary he should lead them to a realization of their mistakes. This can be done through questioning. The class will get excited and interested as the teacher leads them to an understanding of the meaning and the rhythm of the poem. Remember that poetry written in English follows the usages of English grammar. Here are few points to watch:

- (a) *Pronouns*. Are they subjective or are they objective? What noun do they refer to? Ask the same thing of relative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns.

Notice the pronoun 'him' again in those lines by Milton:

... Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky...

The students could mistakenly think that 'Him' referred to 'Almighty Power'. 'Him' however is objective and is the object of the verb 'hurled'. So the grammar is: subject + verb + object, viz., 'the Almighty Power hurled him'.

- (b) *Different functions of words*: In English one word can often have two or more functions. For example, the word 'head' can function as: a noun, e.g., He hurt his head, an adjective, e.g., He is the headwaiter, a verb, e.g., the centre forward tried to head the ball.
- (c) *The vocabulary of the poem*: How well has the poet chosen his words? Are there any outstanding examples of apt or unapt choices of words? Is the vocabulary simple or difficult? Has he used any words in individual or unusual ways?
- (d) *The grammatical structure of the poem*: Is the structure simple or difficult? Has the poet taken any liberties with the structures of the language? Has he used any individual, or archaic structures?

(Remember that a writer like Shakespeare was not using archaic structures when he wrote. He was using the language of his time.) How has he used grammar to get his meaning across more effectively? E.g., inversions, dialogue, questions, exclamation, etc..

What we have been doing so far with English literature is that we are treating it as only a content oriented subject. If we could change our attention to teach language through the same

texts, the Indian learner would not only benefit by learning the language, he would also develop positive approach toward English literature too. Giving heavy literature texts to the students who are poor in English language is like feeding the just born baby with a rich and delicious dessert. If we change our attitudes and respond to the needs of the learners, we can use our literary texts in the second language classroom too. Otherwise, there is a danger of literature facing rejection, which has already begun. In fact this concept of using literature for language teaching has originated in our land through the Sanskrit tradition where the texts were literary and the taught skill was language to begin with.

References

Allwright, Dick. 1988. *Observation with Language Classroom*. London : Longman.

Hooper, A.G. 1989. *An Introduction to the Study of Language and Literature*. Calcutta : Orient Longman.

Lado, Robert. 1979. *Language Teaching – A Scientific Approach*. New Delhi : Pearl Offset Press.

Oller Jr., John W. 1986. *Language Tests at School*: London: Longman Group Ltd.

Yule, George. 1986. *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

PLURAL IN TELUGU NOUNS

Jagannath Vidyalkankar

Telugu¹ has the following inventory of consonants and vowels:

Consonants

p	ph	t		ʈ	ʈh	c	ch	k	kh
b	bh	d	dh	ɖ	ɖh	j	jh	g	gh
				s	ʂ	ʃ			h
m				n	ɳ				
				l	ɭ				
w				r		y			

Vowels

Telugu has ten underlying vowels – a set of lax vowels and a set of tense vowels.

i	u	ī	ū
e	o	ē	ō
a		ā	

Telugu nominals fall into seven classes on the basis of how they form their plurals. All the seven classes are given below:

I I. Telugu is the language spoken in Andhra Pradesh, in India, by approximately thirty-five million people. This is one of the four major languages of Dravidian family, which is the fifth, or sixth largest family in the world. Telugu is second only to Hindi-urdu in number of speakers in India. II. Originally this paper was submitted for a course in phonology under Professor I. Howard of the Linguistics Dept., University of Hawaii, I would like to thank him for his comments on the paper and the inspiration he gave me to purpose this. III. Later on I worked with Professor A. Lyovin of the same department and university and he revised several of my rules. I cannot thank him enough for his helpful suggestions and the labour in making professional corrections. In this paper I have used the feature system of *The Sound Pattern of English* (by Chomsky and Halle, 1968).

A. Suffix -lu

<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
suttee	suttelu	hammer
(w)raata	(w)raatalu	writing
maaṭa	maaṭalu	talk
guḍḍa	guḍḍaiu	cloth
katte	kattelu	wood
kala	kalalu	dream
balla	ballalu	wooden table

B. *u* of nominal stem retained

guddu	guddulu	blow
ceppu	ceppulu	sandal
weeru	weerlu	root
tannu	tannulu	kick
pannu	pannulu	tax
kommu	kommulu	horn
peeru	peerlu	name

C. Loss of: final *u*, *i* and consonant assimilation

guḍi	guḷḷu	temple
guuḍu	guuḷḷu	nest
waakili	waakiḷḷu	courtyard
puṇḍu	puḷḷu	boil
kannu	kaḷḷu	eye
kaalu	kaalḷu	foot
baṇḍi	baḷḷu	cart
illu	iḷḷu	house
nooru	nooḷḷu	mouth
gooru	gooḷḷu	nail
uuru	uuḷḷu	village
pantulu	panṭuḷḷu	teacher
rookali	rookaḷḷu	mortar

D. Final *u*, *i* of nominal stem lost

kuṭṭu	kuṭlu	sewing
ceṭṭu	ceṭlu	tree
guḍḍu	guḍlu	egg
reḍḍi	reḍlu	a person of a particular caste
oṭṭu	oṭlu	swear
naaṭu	naaṭlu	sowing

E. Nominals ending in vowel + *m* + *u*

gurramu	gurraalu	horse
pustakamu	pustakaalu	book
paāṭhamu	paāṭhaalu	lesson
gruhamu	gruhaalu	house

F. Final *i* becomes *u*

katti	kattulu	sword
pandi	pandulu	pig
noppi	noppulu	pain
gadi	gadulu	stage
pani	panulu	work
puli	pululu	lion
mati	matulu	wisdom, brain
suudi	suudulu	needle
daari	daarulu	door
nalli	nallulu	a bed-bug
banti	bantulu	a ball

G. Underlying final long vowel

guṇḍi	guṇḍiilu	button
ceḍḍi	ceḍḍiilu	underwear
laḍḍu	laḍḍuulu	sweet ball

However, within the framework of generative phonology it is possible to handle all the above classes without setting up morphological classes at all. That is, by positing different underlying representations of the stems we can account for the allomorphy in all nouns by general phonological rules. Hence, these classes are only surface classes.

Class A. Stems ending in vowels *a* or *e* form their plural by adding -lu:

//suttee// //kala//
//kaṭṭe// paaṭa//

Class B. This is the most general class. Stems ending in underlying non-retroflex geminate clusters followed by *u* or ending in a single non-retroflex consonant followed by *u*:

//ceppu// //peeru// //kommu//
//guddu// //laagu// //pannu// etc.

Class C. Stems ending in underlying retroflex consonant + *u* or + *i*:

//paṇḍu// //gooru//
//panṇu// //kaaḷu//
//iḷḷu// //guḍi//

Class D. Stems ending in geminate retroflex clusters + *u* or + *i* or single voiceless retroflex + *u*:

//cettu// //guḍḍu// //reḍḍi//
//naaṭu// //oṭṭu// //kuṭṭu//

Class E. Stems ending in an underlying *m* not followed by a vowel:

//pustakam// //gurram// //paaṭham//

Class F. Stems ending in a single or double non-retroflex consonant + *i*:

//kaaki// //katti// //nalli//

Class G. Stems ending in underlying long vowel:

//guṇḍii// //ceḍḍii// //laḍḍuu//

Class A and B nominals form their plurals by adding the suffix *-lu* to the singular forms. Nominals in Class C and D lose their final high vowel so we need a rule, which is given as follows:

Rule 1. High vowel deletion

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{tense} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \left| \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \end{array} \right] - lu$$

That is, short *i* and *u* elide before *-lu* when preceded by a retroflex consonant.

The forms in Class C suggest a couple of assimilation rules that are given below:

Rule 2. Consonant assimilation

I Progressive

(i)

$$\text{SD: } \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cor} \\ +\text{ant} \end{array} \right]_1 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cor} \\ -\text{ant} \end{array} \right]_2 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{high} \end{array} \right]_3 - \#$$

SC: 1 → 1

2 → 1

3 → 3

That is, a retroflex consonant preceded by a non-retroflex consonant and followed by final *u* or *i* becomes non-retroflex:

panṇu

pannu (rule 2I (i)) (singular)

ilḷu

illu (rule 2I (i)) (sing.)

(ii)

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{cods} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{ant} \\ + \text{lateral} \\ - \text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ant}] \quad \left| \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \end{bmatrix} - \#$$

In other words, a single retroflex lateral becomes non-retroflex when followed by a final *u* or *i*:

kaaḷu

kaalu (rule 2I (ii)) (sing.)

waakiḷi

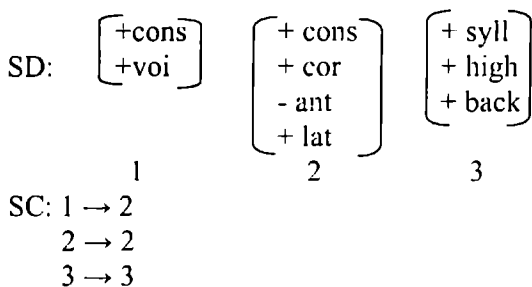
waakili (rule 2I (ii)) (sing.)

(iii)

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{cons} \\ + \text{cor} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{lateral} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [- \text{ant}] \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{cons} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{ant} \\ - \text{tense} \\ + \text{voi} \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix} \#$$

This is, *l* of *-lu* becomes *!* when preceded by a non-geminated voiced retroflex consonant.

II Regressive



That is, a voiced retroflex consonant gets assimilated to the following retroflex lateral of the plural suffix.

It is interesting to notice that the assimilation in rule 2I (iii) is of place of articulation and the assimilation in rule 2II is of manner of articulation.

The derivation of plural forms in Class C proceeds as follows:

guḍi + lu	kaa!u + lu
guḍ + lu (rule 1)	kaa! + lu (rule 1)
guḍ + !u (rule 2I (iii))	kaa!!u (rule 2I (iii))
gu!!u (rule 2 II)	

But the forms given below are different from the examples derived above:

pṇḍu	pu!!u
illu	i!!u
paṇḍu	pa!!u

These forms suggest a rule of cluster simplification:

Rule 3. Cluster simplification

[+ cons] → ø / – CC

Derivation for the forms given above is as follows:

puṇḍu + lu
 puṇḍ + lu (rule 1)
 puṇḍ + !u (rule 2I (iii))
 puṇ! + !u (rule 2 II)
 pu!!u (rule 3)

In rule 2I (iii) the feature – tense is needed as germination of retroflex consonants blocks the assimilation in Class D forms. Cluster simplification rule cannot occur before the consonant assimilation rule, so these rules will be ordered accordingly.

il!u + lu	panṇu + lu
il! + lu (rule 1)	panṇ + lu (rule 1)
il!u + !u (rule 2I (iii))	panṇ + !u (rule 2I (iii))
i!!u (rule 3)	pan! + !u (rule 2II)
i!!u	pa!!u (rule 3)
illu (rule 2I (i)) (sing.)	

r behaves like a retroflex consonant when it occurs in between two non-low back vowels, so we need the following rule:

Rule 4. Retroflexion

<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-right: 10px;"> + con + cor + ant + son - nas - lat </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">→</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">[-ant]</div> </div>		<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-right: 10px;"> + syll + back - low </div> <div style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">—</div> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> + syll + back - low </div> </div>
--	--	--

Feature –low is to avoid the vowel *a*. This rule must apply to such forms as *gooru*, *nooru* immediately so that we can apply rule 1 (to drop *u*). In other words this rule must precede rule 1 in the order.

gooru + lu (rule 4)
 goor + lu (rule 1)
 goor + !u (rule 2I (iii))
 goo!!u (rule 2II)

When *r* does not occur in between two non-low back vowels, the consonant assimilation and high vowel deletion rules do not apply. An example from Class B follows:

weeru + lu
 weerulu²
 daari+lu
 daarulu³ (Class G, to be explained later)

As stated above, the feature –tense in rule 2I (iii) prevents the consonant assimilation rule from applying, otherwise we would end up with **ce!lu* and **gu!!u* instead of *ce!lu* and *guḍlu* in Class D.

The derivation of forms in Class D proceeds as follows:

ceṭṭu + lu	naaṭu + lu
ceṭṭ + lu (rule 1)	naaṭ + lu (rule 1)
ceṭ!lu + (rule 3)	naaṭ!lu +

2. & 3. Further pronounced as *weerlu* and *daarlu* (as also *laḍlu* for *laḍḍuulu*, *panlu* for *panulu* and even *maaṭalu*) but that is a problem of Sandhi in informal speech.

guḍḍu + lu
 guḍḍ + lu (rule 1)
 guḍlu (rule 3)

Notice that here rule 2I (iii) cannot apply as feature + voi is included there (this prevents / from becoming /).

The forms in Class E suggest the following 3 rules:

Rule 5. Vowel epenthesis

$$\phi \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ + \text{back} \end{array} \right] \left| \begin{array}{c} [+ \text{cons}] \end{array} \right. \text{ — } \#$$

That is, *u* is added to the final consonant,

Rule 6. Vowel lengthening

$$[+ \text{syll}] \rightarrow [+ \text{tense}] \left| \begin{array}{c} - \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{cons} \\ - \text{cor} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{nas} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right. \text{ — } lu$$

That is, a vowel followed by *m*, which is followed by *-lu* gets lengthened.

Rule 7. *m* deletion

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{cons} \\ - \text{cor} \\ + \text{ant} \\ + \text{nas} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset \left| \begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{tense} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right. \text{ — } lu$$

In other words, *m* when preceded by a long vowel and followed by *-lu* gets deleted. This rule will follow rule 6.

Derivation for the forms in Class E follows:

pustakam	pustakam + lu
pustakam + u (rule 5)	pustakaam + lu (rule 6)
pustakamu (sing.)	pustakaalu (rule 7)

It is interesting to notice that in Telugu *u* is added to the borrowings⁴, which have a consonant in final position⁵. A Telugu speaker may say *pustakamulu*, *gruhamulu* like *paamulu* in Class B. Different underlying forms give different plurals. Telugu has two plural forms for the word *eddu* 'ox' *eddu* and *eḍḍu*. *eddu-eddu* belong to Class B. *eḍḍu* comes from underlying **eḍḍu* (of Class D) which never occurs. The plural of *ceyyi* 'hand' is *ceetulu*, which comes from underlying *ceti*, which is an oblique form (and also occurs in compounds like *ceetipani* 'hand-work'). Similarly the plural of *myyi* 'well' is *mutulu*, which comes from underlying form *muti*, which is an oblique form. Both these forms (*ceetulu*, *mutulu*) belong to Class F. *gurramu* 'horse' is a Telugu word (like *paamu* 'snake' of Class B) but it seems it got reinterpreted as a foreign word and is treated like other Sanskrit words like *pustakam*, *gruham* and *paatham*.

The forms in Class F suggest the following rule:

⁴ English word *car* is borrowed in Telugu. The singular form is *kaaru* and plural form is *kaarulu* (*kaarlu*). Similarly *boot*: *buuṭlu*- *buuṭlu*, *vote*: *vooṭu*-*vooṭlu*, *pass*: *paasu*-*paasulu*.

⁵ *u* may be added to the borrowings even if the form has a vowel *u* in the final position if the speaker considers it a borrowing. For example, the Sanskrit form *jantu* is borrowed in Telugu but *u* is added to it and the form becomes *jantuwu* (with glide formation). Similarly the Sanskrit word *guru* in Telugu is borrowed and *u* is added to it which makes the form *guruwu* (*guruvumu* 'to the guru').

Rule 8. Vowel assimilation

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{tense} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{back}] \quad - lu$$

That is, a short *i* becomes *u* when followed by *-lu*.

Derivation of Class F forms follows:

kaaki + lu	kaakulu (rule 8)
puli + lu	pululu (rule 8)
katti + lu	kattulu (rule 8)
ceeti + lu	ceetulu (rule 8)

As the rule 8 is stated in its most general form, it could apply to Class C and D forms and give us the incorrect forms (*guḍi* → **guḍulu*, (*reḍḍi* → **reḍḍulu*, but we will handle this problem by the proper ordering of the rules.

That is, the rule 1 will always apply before rule 8. Once the rule 1 applies (i.e., *i* gets deleted), rule 8, automatically, will not apply.

Forms in Class G have a long vowel in the plural and a short vowel in the singular. We assume that the underlying forms in this class have a long vowel in the final position, which becomes short by the following rule:

Rule 9. Vowel shortening

$$[+ \text{syll}] \rightarrow [- \text{tense}] / - \#$$

That is, a long vowel becomes short in the final position. Telugu never allows a long vowel in the final position in all the borrowings from Sanskrit. Urdu and other Indian languages, which have long vowels in the final position, Telugu has short

vowels in the final position but the length is preserved in the plural forms. For example:

Skt. strii → Telugu stri (Sg.)
 Striilu (pl.) 'women'

So, we assume that the underlying form of each nominal in Class G has a long vowel in the final position.

guṇḍii
 guṇḍi (rule 9) (Sg.)
 guṇḍii + lu
 guṇḍiilu (Pl.)

Notice that no rule can apply here and bring any change in the plural form.⁶

The rules given above are listed again here for convenience.

Rule 1. High vowel deletion

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \begin{bmatrix} + \text{cons} \\ + \text{cor} \\ - \text{ant} \end{bmatrix} - \text{lu}$$

⁶ There are still some forms, which cannot be explained in terms of the rules which I have posited so far. For example:

raai	raa!lu	'stone'
pe!li	pe!li!lu	'marriage'
celli	celle!lu	'younger sister'

But they are very small group of words. In fact, I could think of only these three words, which cannot be explained by the rules given in this paper.

Rule 2. Consonant assimilation

I Progressive

(i)

$$\text{SD: } \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ ant} \end{bmatrix}_1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ - \text{ ant} \end{bmatrix}_2 \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ high} \end{bmatrix}_3 \quad \text{SC: } \begin{matrix} 1 \rightarrow 1 \\ 2 \rightarrow 1 \\ 3 \rightarrow 3 \end{matrix}$$

(ii)

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ - \text{ ant} \\ + \text{ lat} \\ - \text{ tense} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ ant}] \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ high} \end{bmatrix} \#$$

(iii)

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ ant} \\ + \text{ lat} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [- \text{ ant}] \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ - \text{ ant} \\ - \text{ tense} \\ + \text{ voi} \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ high} \\ + \text{ back} \end{bmatrix}$$

II Regressive

$$\text{SD: } \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ voi} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ - \text{ ant} \\ + \text{ lat} \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ high} \\ + \text{ back} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{SC: } \begin{matrix} 1 \rightarrow 2 \\ 2 \rightarrow 2 \\ 3 \rightarrow 3 \end{matrix}$$

Rule 3. Cluster simplification

$$[+ \text{ cons}] \rightarrow \emptyset \text{ / - CC}$$

Rule 4. Retroflexion.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ ant} \\ + \text{ son} \\ - \text{ nas} \\ - \text{ lateral} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [-\text{ant}] \quad / \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ back} \\ - \text{ low} \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ back} \\ - \text{ low} \end{array} \right]$$

Rule 5. Vowel epenthesis

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ high} \\ + \text{ back} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad [+ \text{ cons}] - \#$$

Rule 6. Vowel lengthening.

$$[+ \text{ syll}] \rightarrow [+ \text{ tense}] \quad / \quad - \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ - \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ ant} \\ - \text{ nas} \end{array} \right] \text{ lu}$$

Rule 7. *m* deletion.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ cons} \\ - \text{ cor} \\ + \text{ ant} \\ + \text{ nas} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ syll} \\ + \text{ ten} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad - \text{ lu}$$

Rule 8. Vowel assimilation

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{syll} \\ + \text{high} \\ - \text{tense} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{back}] - \text{lu}$$

Rule 9. Vowel shortening.

$$[+ \text{syll}] \rightarrow [- \text{tense}] / - \#$$

ORDERING OF RULES

The following two groups of rules need ordering:

I 1,2,3,4, & 8 II 6 & 7

These rules are ordered as follows:

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| I | 4. Retroflexion | 4-1-2-(Iiii-II) |
| | 1. High vowel deletion | <i>gool!u</i> |
| | 2. Consonant assimilation | rule 2 & 3 are the result of rule I |
| | I (i) | 1-2 <i>gu!u</i> |
| | (ii) (iii) – II | |
| | II <i>pa!u</i> | |
| | 3. Cluster simplification | 1-(2)-3 <i>guḍlu</i> |
| | 8. Vowel assimilation | (1)-8 <i>kaakulu</i> |
| II | 6. Vowel lengthening | 6-7 <i>pustakaalu</i> |
| | 7. <i>m</i> deletion | |

Rule 5 and rule 9 do not need any ordering.

THE -*nde* CONSTRUCTION IN DAKKHINI

Khateeb S. Mustafa

0.0 Several studies have already come up that set forth the convergence between Dakkhini¹ and Telugu. It is now very clear that Dakkhini has converged with Telugu and vice versa. Different scholars have taken up different areas to study the existing convergence between the two languages. Thus Khader has probed into the relative participle structure of Dakkhini and says that the latter has been influenced by Telugu in this respect. Kachru (1979, 1986) has analysed the structure of quotative construction, causative and relative clauses of Dakkhini and argues that all these structures are identical to the ones that exist in Dravidian system. Pray (1980) and Mustafa (1981) have looked into a few features of Dakkhini and claim that Dakkhini has picked up these features from Telugu. Mustafa (1979) has also analysed the pattern of echo-word formation in Dakkhini and argues that in the formation of echo-word Dakkhini has been influenced by Telugu. Further he (1996) has studied the morphological and syntactic behaviour

¹ Dakkhini is the form of speech current in Delhi in 1300 A.D. It is a descendant of New Indo-Aryan dialects then prevalent in and around Delhi. It may be considered as an ancestral predecessor of what is today known as 'Hindi-Urdu'. The dialect moved to Deccan with the troops of 'Alau'ddin Khilji (1295 A.D.) and also by the shifting of capital from Delhi to Devgiri (1327 A.D.) by Sultan Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. In Deccan the dialect developed and flourished independently. The kings of many independent kingdoms such as Bahmani, Ādil Shāhi and Qutub Shāhi that came into being in Deccan after the fall-out of Tughlaq patronised the dialect. It was elevated as the official language. It was also cultivated as a literary vehicle and during 14-17th centuries it produced a good deal of literature. However in subsequent years it remained only as a spoken dialect in Deccan, which it continues even for today.

of Dakkhini verb, *rhā-* and has argued that the latter in many ways is identical to Telugu verb *uṇḍ*. Arora (1986, 1989) and Arora and Subbarao (1988, 1989) have embarked on topics such as complementation, dativisation, relativisation, conjunctive participles etc. and argue that in all these instances Dakkhini rejects the native Hindi-Urdu pattern and shows a remarkable identity with Telugu. While all these studies have endeavoured to establish the convergence of Dakkhini with Dravidian system in synchronic perspective, Swarajya Lakshmi (1984) has studied the convergence of Telugu with Urdu in diachronic perspective.

In the present paper we propose to discuss the *-ānde* (*~-nde*) element and *ānde* (*-nde*) construction in Dakkhini. The *-ānde* (*~-nde*) is a verbal suffix in current Dakkhini. It may be argued that this element is the same as *-ne de* of Hindi-Urdu. It may be assumed that, historically, Dakkhini and Hindi-Urdu, two varieties of the same speech, that is, the Delhi speech of 13th century (see note on Dakkhini) possessed *-ne de* as permissive verb sequence. But currently this *-ne de* has morphologically contracted in Dakkhini to become *-ānde* (*~-nde*). Further it has been reanalysed syntactically too to perform many different functions not known to the *-ne de* of Hindi-Urdu. An interesting point about Dakkhini *-ānde* (*~-nde*) is that it is identical to the Telugu verbal suffix *-ni* in many respects. Thus it may provide a good example of morphological and syntactic reanalysis in the context of the convergence of languages belonging to two different language families.

For the convenience of discussion the paper is divided mainly into three sections. Section one identifies the morphological and syntactic characteristics of *-ne de* of Hindi-Urdu. Section two analyses the *-ānde* (*~-nde*) element of Dakkhini and adduces arguments as to why it cannot be

considered equivalent to Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* both morphologically and syntactically. The third section tries to allude the deviant behaviour of Dakkhini with respect to *-ðnde* (*~nde*) to its convergence with Telugu, a language which it has been in intimate contact with for the last six centuries.

The data for the paper has been drawn from Dakkhini spoken in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. Further the paper is based on the present author's knowledge of Hindi-Urdu and Telugu, the latter as spoken in Rayalseema region, especially Chittoor district.

1.0 Let us first take up the Hindi-Urdu verb *de* 'give'. This may occur at least in three different ways. Firstly, as a finite/non-finite verb in sentences e.g. *o cae vale, do kôp cae de* 'hello, tea vendor! provide two cups of tea'. *ðhmôd ko us ke valid rozana tin rupe dete hði* 'Ahmad's father dialy pays three rupees to Ahmad', *sonu ko sðu rupe dekôr hðm ne bðri gðlðti ki* 'we committed a big blunder in paying hundred rupees to Sonu'. Secondly as a compound verb e.g., *mðzdur ko pðise de do* '[you (sg. Non-hon.)] pay money to the worker', *kya ap ne kðpre dhodiye* 'did you (sg. Hon. For.) wash the clothes?', *vo ðksðr mera kam kðrdeta hði* 'he often does my work'. Thirdly, as a permissive verb. In this case it is always preceded by the 'oblique infinitive form' of another verb e.g.; *mUjhe bahðr jane do* '[you (sg.non-hon.infor)], please allow me to exit (lit. to go outside)'; *ap mUjhe bolne kðb dete hði?* 'When do you (sg.hon.for.) allow me to speak?'; *sðrkar ajkðl perð ko kaþne nðhð deti* 'now-a-days the govt. does not allow the trees to be felled'.

1.1.0 In the present paper we are, however, concerned with the third kind of occurrence of *de*, that is, when it occurs as a permissive verb. As exemplified above here it is preceded by the oblique infinitive form (*-ne*) of another verb and is

'permissive' in its purport. A construction, which has such an occurrence of 'de' may be labelled as a 'permissive construction'². The verb 'de' in a permissive construction, even though preceded by another verb, functions as the main verb and admits finite suffixes just like any other main verb e.g.,

1. choro, jane do
'alright, leave it, it does not matter [lit. {you (sg. hon. in for)}] leave (it), let (it) go'
2. ap mUjhe jane dijiye
[you (sg. hon. for)] please let me go'
3. ðise bōdmaš ður mōkkar admi ko mōi jane dū?
'(ironical ! you mean) shall I have to forgive such a roguish and deceitful person?'
4. kUch bhi ho, kōl se tUm bāccō ko Is grōund mē khelne nōhī dēge
'what ever it may be, from tomorrow onwards you will not let the children play in this ground'.
5. tUm ne Unhē kīcōn mē kyū anedīya?
'why did you allow them in kitchen? (lit. why did you let them (rem.) come in the kitchen?)
6. vo mUjhe šehr kōhā jane dete hōī?
'does he (rem.hon.)let me move to city? Not really'. [lit. where does he (rem. hon.) allow me to go to city?]
7. cōprasi mUjhe ðndōr nōhī jane de rōha hōī
'the peon is not allowing me (to go) inside'

² On the analogy of 'causative construction' that is, which has a causal verb in it (see Kachru 1986: 167)

8. cahe kUch bhi ho, Us ko yōhā se bhagne nōhī dena hōi
'come what may, (we) should not let him escape from here'

1.1.1 *de* as a permissive verb is capable of occurring in a few subordinate clauses while in a few it cannot occur.

9. *ōgōr ap ne Use bolnediya to āccha nōhī hoga*
'if you (sg.hon.for) allow him to speak (please mind it), it won't be proper'

10. * *ap ke Usko ane dene pōr, mUjhe ācāmbha hUva*

11. * *mUjhe bazaar jane dekōr, bōccō ne hōlva bōnaya.*

1.1.2 *de* as permissive is incapable of admitting a compound verb (as we have in *zakīr ne rakeś ko pōise de dīye* 'Zakir paid money to Rakesh') e.g.,

12. * *tUm Use ane dedo*

1.1.3 *de* as permissive is also incapable of being followed by the aspectual verb *ja* [as we have in *tUm bolte jao, mōī likta jāūga* 'you (sg.hon.infor) continue dictating and I shall continue writing'] e.g.,

13. * *ap Use pōrhne dete jālye, xUd likte jālye.*

2.0 Now let us consider the Dakkhini -*ōnde* (~ -*nde*) suffix and -*ōnde* (~ -*nde*) construction. The -*ōnde* (~ -*nde*) is basically a finite verb suffix (Khan and Mustafa 1984). As has been argued in sec. 0.0 this suffix is the same as 'permissive verbal sequence', -*ne de* of Hindi-Urdu (cf. 1.1.0). It may be noted that -*ne de* is a bimorphemic entity. However in Dakkhini the same has undergone morphological contraction to become a monomorphemic entity. Thus it has morphologically re-evolved and reanalysed itself. Further the

*-ðnde (~ -nde)*³ of Dakkhini has no independent occurrence – neither in complete form nor in partial form; it occurs only as a suffix. Whereas the *de* of *-ne de* (of Hindi-Urdu) can occur independently too. Considering its structure and the kind of meaning it imparts in the language the Dakkhini *-ðnde (~ -nde)* has been labelled as ‘permissive-imperative’⁴ (Khan and Mustafa 1984: 53).

Compared to *-ne de* of Hindi-Urdu, the *-ðnde (~ -nde)* of Dakkhini is different in its syntax too. In other words, it has been reanalysed syntactically too. All this strongly suggests that Dakkhini has aspired to remodel and refashion itself as per its local structural requirements.

2.1 Deferring the discussion on the syntactic reanalysis of *-ðnde (~ -nde)* to the later part of this section, here we adduce evidence to our claim that Dakkhini *-ðnde (~ -nde)* is a monomorphemic verbal suffix and that it cannot be considered equivalent to *-ne de* of Hindi-Urdu.

Firstly, as we have said above the Dakkhini *-ðnde (~ -nde)* is a monomorphemic entity. It does not yield for morphological division into two or more morphemes. This can be corroborated,

³ The *-ne de* of Hindi-Urdu in getting itself transformed to Dakkhini *-ðnde (~ -nde)* seems to have undergone semantic reanalysis too. Consider the following. Dak.: *mɔl jand* ‘let me go’ vs. Hindi-Urdu: *mUjhe jane de* ‘allow/permit me to go’. The *-ðnde (~ -nde)* construction of Dakkhini would be better translated in English with ‘let whereas the Hindi-Urdu construction with ‘allow/permit.....’. The Dakkhini construction is ‘uttered informally as if the permission is to be sought (to do a particular act) by the subject. When followed by rising intonation symbolized by question it may convey a sense equivalent to English ‘Shall (the subject) do (some thing)?’ (Khan and Mustafa 1984:53)

⁴ The label is helplessly poor. This is a peculiar verbal form in Dakkhini (Khan and Mustafa 1984).

by considering the following two sentences one each from Dakkhini and Hindi-Urdu.

14. Dak. : (chor), ja -nde (chor, jande)

leave	go	permissive-
		imperative
		suffix

15. Hindi-Urdu: (chor) ja -ne de(chor, jane de)

leave	go	oblique give
(imp.)		infinitive (imp.)
		suffix

‘it’s okay, leave it, it does not matter [lit. leave (the matter), let (it) go]’

These two sentences are identical to each other semantically. The syntax too is almost the same. But morphologically they are not parallel to each other. However, supposing that they are parallel to each other if we attempt to divide the Dakkhini *-nde* into two segments viz; *-n* and *de* the Dakkhini sentence loses its original meaning and acquires a different meaning – (chor), *jan de* ‘[leave (it), give life]’. This however is not tenable for our purpose. The Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* on the other hand can be analysed into *-ne* ‘oblique infinitive suffix’ and *de* ‘give (permissive verb)’. Therefore one has to conclude that the Dakkhini *-nde* (*~nde*) is a monomorphemic entity.

The second argument derives from consideration of the following sentences.

16. Dak: *mḍī* *ja* *-nde* (*mḍī jande*)
 | | |
 I go permissive
 imperative suffix

17. H.U.: *mUjhe* *ja* *-ne* *de*
 | | | |
 to me go oblique give
 infinitive
 suffix

‘let me go’

Again the above sentences are semantically the same but constructionally different. In Dakkhini sentence the verb *ja*- corresponds to *mḍī*, which is the subject of the sentence. Further the latter is in the nominative case, which generally is the case of the subject of any verb and which occurs without case marker. The sentence has no other subject, which *-nde* can correspond with. Conversely *-nde* is just the permissive-imperative suffix added to *ja*-. It need not have another subject to correspond with.

Contrary to the above situation in Hindi-Urdu sentence (17) the subject of *ja*- is *mUjhe* ‘to me’. Does the verb *de* ‘give’ too have a subject to correspond with? Yes it has and obviously it is an implicit *tu* ‘you (sg. Non-hon. infor.)’, which is deleted here as is generally demanded of an imperative sentence. All this goes to prove that the Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* and the Dakkhini *-ḍnde* (~*-nde*) are two different entities. The former is a periphrastic verbal form while the latter is a monomorphemic form.

The third point as to the morphological status of Dakkhini *-ḍnde* (~ *-nde*) is as follows. Suppose in the above Dakkhini sentence (16) the verbal suffix *-nde* has *-n* [supposedly an

allomorph of oblique infinitive suffix] and *-de* as permissive. In the same breath supposing that *jan* [supposedly oblique infinitive of *ja*] corresponds to *mðĩ*, if we are to introduce the Dakkhini pronoun *tu* [you (sg.non-hon)] the above Dakkhini sentence is rendered ungrammatical - **tu mðĩ jande*. But it is not ungrammatical in Hindi-Urdu. Look at sentence no.17 above *tu mUjhe jane de* 'you (sg.nori-hon, infor.) allow me to go'. This amply proves that *-nde* (*~ðnde*) of Dakkhini is a monomorphemic verbal suffix and is not *-n* plus *-de*, a situation which we have in Hindi-Urdu.

The fourth piece of evidence as to the morphological status of Dakkhini *-nde* (*~ðnde*) comes from its capability to admit or not to admit other finite verb suffixes. The Hindi-Urdu *de*, like any other verbal stem, readily admits the finite verb suffix, to cite a couple of examples from section 1.1.0.

tu ne Unhẽ klcðn mẽ kyũ ane dlya 'why did you allow them in kitchen?'

vo mUjhe šehr kðhã jane dete hði? 'does he (rem. Hon.) let me move to city?'

The same is not true with respect to Dakkhini *-nde* (*~ðnde*). Look at these Dakkhini sentences which are rendered ungrammatical with other finite verb suffixes of Dakkhini :

18. **Uno sondI -ye*

19. **tUme ande - tði.*

The inference therefore is obvious

2.2. In the above lines we have discussed the morphological status of Dakkhini *-ðnde* (*~nde*) and tried to establish that the latter is a monomorphemic entity. In the following lines we would like to bring forth the evidence as to how *-ðnde* (*~nde*)

construction is syntactically different from Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* construction.

In the first instance let us consider the transitive or intransitive status of Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* and Dakkhini *-ðnde (~nde)* construction. Let us consider the following two Hindi-Urdu sentences.

20. mUjhe ðndðr jane dijlye
 | | | |
 object inside in.tr. tr.

‘[you(sg.hon.for.)] please allow me inside’.

21. (ðgðr ap ki bat manlū to)
 kya ap mUjhe yðhā krIket khelne dēge?
 | | | | | |
 subject in.dir.object dir.object tr. tr.

‘[if (I) agree to your point], will you allow me to play cricket here?’

Note that irrespective of whether the embedded verb is intransitive or transitive the sentence is transitive only. This is typical of all Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* constructions. This however is untrue of the Dakkhini *-ðnde (~nde)* construction. Consider the following sentences:

22. Uno mðidan mē dhðuðnde
 | |
 subject in.tr.

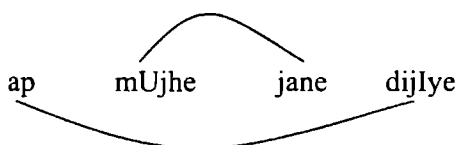
‘let them (rem.) run in the ground’

23. Ino xðt lIkhðnde
 | | |
 subject object tr.

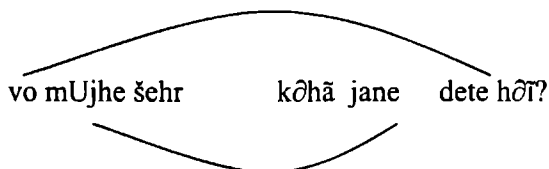
‘let them (rem.) write a letter’

It may be seen that the Dakkhini -*ðnde* (~-*nde*) construction may be intransitive if it contains an intransitive verb and it is transitive if the verb is transitive.

The second argument is favour of the fact that the Dakkhini -*ðnde* (~-*nde*) construction is different from Hindi-Urdu construction may be provided by consideration of the following two sentences, which are from sec. 1.1.0



'[you (sg.hon.for.) please let me go']



'does he(rem.hon.) let me move to city?

'[lit. where does he (rem.hon.) allow me to go to city?]

It may be noticed that the above Hindi-Urdu sentence comprises two subjects – one corresponding to oblique infinitive form of verb and it is in dative form; two, corresponding to the permissive verb *de* and it is in nominative form. This is typical of all Hindi-Urdu -*ne de* constructions.

Contrary to this situation, a Dakkhini -*ðnde* (~-*nde*) construction typically has only one subject. The verb here always corresponds to this subject only. Further the subject is always in nominative form. Look at this Dakkhini construction:

pðhele hðme uððnde 'let us wake up/get up first'

Any attempt to introduce another subject in dative form on the pattern of Hindi-Urdu construction renders the above Dakkhini construction ungrammatical and unacceptable. See this:

*pōhele hōme tUje Uṭhōnde

The third piece of evidence can be had from the fact that the Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* construction is typically characterised by a matrix sentence and an embedded sentence. The subject of the embedded sentence is always in its dative form and the verb in oblique infinitive form. As far the subject of matrix sentence, it may be explicit or implicit. In the former case it is always in its nominative form. Similarly the verb in matrix sentence is always *de*. Consider the following.

24. hōm Itni āsani . se tUmhē chuṭne nahī dēge
embedded sentence

‘we will not allow you to escape so easily’

matrix sentence: hōmdēge

embedded sentence: tUmhē chuṭne

25. kUch ḍur der Use sone dijlye
embedded sentence

It may be noted that in sentence 25 the subject in the matrix sentence is implicit whereas in sentence 24 it is explicit.

Contrary to the above situation in a Dakkhini *-nde* (~*-ōnde*) construction no embedded sentence exists. Needless to say that it has one subject and one finite verb only and they correspond to each other.

The arguments put forth above and the evidence provided prove beyond doubt that the Dakkhini *-ōnde* (~*-nde*) and Hindi-Urdu *-ne de* are one and the same entity. In Dakkhini the *-ne de*

(rem.)', verb *ja* 'go' and *-nde* 'permissive-imperative suffix' of Dakkhini sentence with *ame* 'she (rem.)', *po* 'go' and *-ni* 'permissive-imperative suffix (?)' of Telugu.

Let us consider a transitive *-ōnde* (~ *-nde*) construction of Dakkhini and its counterpart in Telugu. This gives further confirmation.

28. Dak: Une am kha nde
 | | | |
 he mango eat permissive
 (rem.) imperative suffix
29. Tel: vāḍu māṇḍi kāyi tin ni
 | | | | |
 he(rem.) mango fruit eat permissive
 imperative suffix(?)
- 'let him(rem.) eat the mango'

Here again there is one-to-one correspondence.

3.1 Further corroboration of our proposition will be provided by considering a couple of syntactic features of the Telugu sentence just given above.

Tel: vāḍu māṇḍikayi tṇni
 'let him(rem.) eat the mango'

Supposing *tṇni* 'let eat' does not correspond to *vāḍu* but corresponds to an implicit subject like Tel. *nUvvu* 'you', if we are to introduce the latter in the above sentence, it is rendered ungrammatical:

**nUvvu vāḍu māṇḍi kayi tṇni*

A closer look at Telugu sentences 27 and 29 and others like them reveal that these may be intransitive and further they do

not possess embedded sentences with them. These are the features of Dakkhini -*nde* (~ -*nde*) sentence too at syntactic level. Therefore it can be said with a measure of confidence that the permissive verb sequence which exists in the contemporary Hindi – Urdu has been reanalyzed morphologically to become Dakkhini -*nde* (~-*nde*). The latter has also been syntactically reanalysed so that its system parallels with that of Telugu.

(The findings in this paper are based on the data of Dakkhini and Telugu spoken in Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh collected by the author himself and the latter's knowledge of Hindi-Urdu as spoken in Delhi, Aligarh, Lucknow etc.)

References

- Arora, Harbir, 1986. Some aspects of Dakkhini Hindi-Urdu syntax with special reference to convergence. Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Delhi.
- _____. 1989. Noun modification in Dakkhini, *Indian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol.xvi, West Bengal Institute of Linguistics, Calcutta.
- _____ & Subbarao, K.V. 1988. *Convergence and syntactic change. The case of the conjunctive participle in Dakkhini Hindi-Urdu*. Papers from *Chicago Linguistic Society*, Chicago.
- _____ & _____. 1989. Convergence and syntactic reanalysis: The case of so in Dakkhini. *Studies in Linguistic Sciences*, Vol. 19, No.1, University of Illinois, Illinois.
- Kachru, Yamuna 1980. *Aspects of Hindi Grammar*. Delhi : Manohar Publications.

- _____ 1986. The syntax of Dakkhini: A study in language variation and change. In Bh. Krishnamurti (ed.): *South Asian languages : Structure, Convergence and Diaglossia*. Delhi : Motilal Banarasidass.
- Khan, I.H. & Mustafa, K.S. 1984. Simple finite verbs in Dakkhini, *Indian Linguistics*, 45, No.1-4.
- Lakshmi, Swarajya. 1984. *Influence of Urdu on Telugu*. Hyderabad.
- Mohiddin, Khader S. 1980. *Dakkhini Urdu*. Annamalaiagar: Annamalai University.
- _____ n.d. Some aspects of Dravidian influence on Dakkhini syntax. In *Dravidian Syntax* (ed.) S.Agesthalingom and N. Rajasekharan Nair, Annamalaiagar: Annamalai University.
- Mustafa, K.S. 1979. Echo-word formation in Dakkhini *Indian Linguistics* 40, No.4.
- _____ 1981. Some aspects of phonological and grammatical convergence of Dakkhini and Telugu. In *Proceedings of the Seminar on 'Language convergence, pidginisation and simplification'*, Mysore.
- _____ 1986. The verb *rhō-* in Dakkhini: A case of reanalysis. *Aligarh Journal of Linguistics*, Vol.4, No.1.
- _____ 2000. *A Descriptive Grammar of Dakkhini*. Delhi : Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Prakasam, V. 1970. *The Syntactic Patterns of Telugu and English: A study in Contrastive Analysis*. Hyderabad : CIEFL.

REFERENCE AND MEANING OF DRAVIDIAN DEMONSTRATIVES

B. Ramakrishna Reddy

1. Introduction

While philosophy is the study of the fundamental nature of knowledge, reality and existence; the philosophy of language is concerned with the relationship between these and language (Cart, 1994). The analysis of such features of language as reference, meaning, truth, verification, speech acts and logical necessity has been the concern of philosophy of language (Searle, 1969). A preliminary exploration into the philosophical problems of meaning and reference as reflected in the lexical and grammatical structure of demonstratives (pronouns) in (selected) Dravidian languages is the goal of the present endeavour. Word in natural language consists of form, meaning and reference. The relationship between the members of this triad has attracted the attention of linguists as well as philosophers (Lyons, 1968 and 1995; Lamarque, 1994).

Reference is the relationship that holds between linguistic expressions and what they stand for in the real world (Strawson, 1971). It is a context-dependent aspect of utterance - meaning and is intrinsically connected with existence. Referring expressions in natural languages include names, noun phrases (or definite descriptions) and pronouns. Pronouns can, in turn, be classified into personal pronouns and demonstratives among others. In the literature on philosophy of language, the demonstratives are variously labelled as indexicals, deictic expressions, egocentric particulars or token-reflexive expressions (Lezenberg, 1997).

2. Deictic expressions

“By deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participants in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee” Lyons (1977: 637). The speech act participants of speaker and hearer play a primary role in the cognition, production and comprehension of natural language utterances.

2.1 Deictic context

- (i) Egocentricity and subjectivity of deictic centre would be around the speaker, i.e. the central person (deixis) is the speaker. The divisions into speaker, addressee and referent have their reflexes in grammar as first, second and third person pronouns respectively. The output hierarchy in conjunction (of these pronouns) indicates the dominance of speaker/ addressee over the other pronouns i.e. the hierarchy of I person > II person > III person, is well attested in natural languages. It is a universal across the world's languages and an obvious evidence for the centrality of participant roles in a speech event.
- (ii) The central place in a speech event is the speaker's location at the time of utterance.
- (iii) Central time is the one at which the speaker produces the utterance.
- (iv) Discourse centre is the point with which the speaker is currently identifying himself in the production of utterances.
- (v) Social deixis springs from the speaker's social status, rank and role in relation to that of addressee/referent.

2.2 *Deictic field*

The pragmatico-semantics is anchored on the relevance of speech act participants (situation) for the interpretation of certain linguistic structures, i.e. the role of speaker - addressee (I and II persons), place of their location (here) and the time of speech event (now). Concrete physical space as well as abstract metaphorical events measured and identified with the aid of person, space and time deixes are noticed and explained by linguists and philosophers (Fillmore 1977, Lyons 1997, Stalnaker 1972).

Persons, objects, places and events are identified and named. The linguistic reflexes are the nouns, noun phrases and their substitutes (i.e. pronouns, adverbs etc.). Identification involves two major steps: (i) Content-Description of the referent consisting of such features as number, gender, animacy, class, status etc., and (ii) pointing its location in comparison with the deictic centre (person, place and time). The latter is the basis for deictic words and the former for the pragmatico-semantic information found in certain pronouns. Both the kinds (of information) are lexicalized in the Dravidian demonstrative pronouns (e.g. Tamil *ivan* 'this male person', *avan* 'that male person') and only the former information is grammaticalized through verbal inflexions (i.e., agreement features, cf. Ramakrishna Reddy, 1991, 1992 and 2003).

2.3 *Deictic systems*

Deixis is one of the referential categories that indicate the relevance of extralinguistic context of utterance in determining the proper interpretation of linguistic elements. The extralinguistic context of situation may include such factors as the participants of a speech event (the speaker and addressee), and the spatio-temporal orientation of the speech act. Certain areas of linguistic structures, accordingly, depend on these

pragmatic elements of language use for their accurate semantic reading(s). Deictic systems of natural languages are, thus studied under the divisions of (i) person deixis (ii) place deixis (iii) time deixis (iv) discourse deixis, and (v) social deixis (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1990).

Person deixis is concerned with the interlocutors of speaker and addressee of a speech act and it is typically manifested in the first and second person pronouns, and the related lexical and grammatical structures. Spatial deixis deals with the location of an object (or person) relative to the location of the speaker and/or the addressee (i.e. location relative to that of the speech event). The combination of person and place deictics gives rise to the spatial division as lexicalized in such linguistic elements as demonstrative adjectives, locative adverbs, demonstrative pronouns and others (Ramakrishna Reddy, 2002). Temporal deixis refers to the location of an event in time relative to the time of speaking and it is represented by tense, time adverbials and other temporal expressions. Discourse or textual deixis deals with items that refer to a part of the ongoing conversation (or a written text) itself, and the notions of given and new; topic and comment seem to have a crucial role here. Sociocultural dimensions of social rank, age, and social status of the addressee or referent in relation to the speaker, constitute as the bases of social deictics, which can be gathered from the use of honorifics, vocatives, polite-pronouns, greetings and extended use of kin-terms. Any lexical choice from a given set of synonyms, automatically signals the social proximity or distance between the speaker and addressee or the referent.

The evolution or emergence of deictic notions is based on the location of the speaker in a given speech act situation. Thus the speaker and his location (physical, temporal, real or imaginary) constitute the deictic centre of any context of

utterance. Of the five deictic systems introduced above, the nature and representation of the spatial deixis as in Dravidian demonstratives is explored briefly in the following paragraphs.

Lexicalization and grammaticalization of pragmatics are best represented through the deictic expressions as manifested in lexical semantics, syntax and morphology. The interrelationship of these levels of linguistic analysis is further confirmed and reinforced by the spread of deixis across linguistic structures. Secondly within linguistics itself, deictic system overlaps the branches of psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, historical linguistics, comparative typology and areal linguistics, deserving analysis from the theoretical viewpoints of each. Thirdly, the phenomenon of deixis is an interdisciplinary subject drawing the attention/interest of philosophers, psychologists, social anthropologists, sociologists and scientists concerned with information technology, machine translation and artificial intelligence (cf. Diesel, 1999; Segerdahl, 1996 Levinson, 1983 and Lyons 1995).

3. Lexicalisation of place deixis

The systems of demonstratives exhibit a rich variety of distinctions (Fillmore, 1982; Anderson and Keenan, 1985): The two-term systems of proximate versus distant wherein the entity close to/at the speaker and away from him/her, respectively are more frequent as in Telugu, Gondi, Modern Tamil, Modern Kannada, Malto, Kolami, Malayalam, Parji, Koṇḍa, Gadaba, Tulu, Toda, Kota and Koḍagu. There are also languages with a three-term system of proximal, medial and distal, i.e. a two-way division of the non-proximate. The distinction between the two non-proximates emerges on the criterion of visibility. The Kondh Dravidian languages of Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Indi-Awe and Manda reflect this distinction transparently e.g. *i*: 'proximate' *u*: 'distal-

visible' and *e*: 'distal non-visible'. A three-way division is also reported for Old Tamil, Middle Kannada and Jaffna Tamil. The Laxmipur dialect of Kuvi is said to have a four-way division though the pragmatic distinction between the last two is yet to be established (Israel, 1979:182). A five-term division is found in Kharia, a Munda language (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1990).

Deictic elements, just like nouns, are basically referring expressions, but the similarity ends there. Nouns identify the entities by naming them in an arbitrary fashion in a conventional way, whereas deictics (at least those of our concern) do this by pointing gesturally the location of the entities relative to the speaker, and then describing them (the entities) in terms of some qualitative or semantic information pertaining to the relevant entity under focus. There are several areas of lexical structure that recognise and represent the deictic distinctions as an integral part of their make-up (Ramakrishna Reddy, 2002).

3.1 *Demonstrative adjectives*

While explicating the deictic systems in the preceding section, the nature and division of the demonstrative bases were provided in some detail. It suffices here to observe that these deictic elements act as attributes and appear before head nouns within a noun phrase, as can be seen from the following examples: (Note that D stands for distance from deictic centre: D1 proximate, D2 Remote/Remote visible, D3 Remote non-visible and D4 far removed non-visible Remote).

(1) **Telugu**

D1	<i>i: abba:yi</i>	'this boy'
	<i>i: abba:yilu</i>	'these boys'
D2	<i>a: ba:wi</i>	'that well'
	<i>a: ba:wulu</i>	'those wells'

(2) Manda

D1	<i>i: marke</i>	'these trees'
D2	<i>u: puṭke</i>	'those birds'
D3	<i>e: na:yu</i>	'that village'

(3) Kuvi

D1	<i>i: ɔo:la</i>	'this boy'
D2	<i>e: ɔo:la</i>	'that boy'
D3	<i>hu: ɔo:la</i>	'that boy'
D4	<i>he: ɔo:la</i>	'that boy'

It may be pointed out here that none of the languages of our enquiry exhibits any concord between the deictic attribute and the head of the Noun Phrase. Attribute does not mark even the number agreement as noticed in English (this boy: these boys) and Hindi (*yah laṛka: ye laṛke*)

3.2 Demonstrative adverbs

The recognition and division of the degrees of distance is transparently reflected in the locative adverbs as they indicate the spatial distinctions relative to the location of the speaker in a speech event. Here the deictic bases (enumerated above) combine with a semantic element denoting the sense of 'place' and the product of this combination is a demonstrative adverb. The locative adverbs with different deictic systems can be represented as in (4)

(4) Kuvi	Manda	Telugu
D1 <i>imba?ã</i>	<i>i:ba</i>	<i>ikkaḍa</i>
D2 <i>emba?ã</i>	<i>u:ba</i>	<i>akkaḍa</i>
D3 <i>humba?ã</i>	<i>e:ba</i>	
D4 <i>hemba?ã</i>		

In these examples each item clearly denotes the division of space with the deictic element (i:, u:, e:) and the descriptive label for place (*mha?*ã in Kuvi, *ba* in Manda and *kaḍa* in Telugu, the order being deictic element + descriptive element.

A similar strategy of encapsulating different types of information into a lexical item is adopted in the formation of other adverbs as well, as illustrated from Telugu in (5)

(5) Description		Location
	D1	D2
Time	<i>ippuḍu</i>	<i>appuḍu</i>
Direction	<i>iṭu</i>	<i>aṭu</i>
Manner	<i>iṭla/ila:</i>	<i>aṭla/ala:</i>
Side	<i>iwatala</i>	<i>awatala</i>
Quantity		
(-countable)	<i>inta</i>	<i>anta</i>
(+countable)	<i>inni</i>	<i>anni</i>
Human (plural)	<i>indaru</i>	<i>andaru</i>
Reason	<i>induku</i>	<i>anduku</i>

The items listed as adverbs are of heterogeneous nature in that their reference ranges from concrete (physical) features like direction to abstract qualities like manner or reason. But the incorporation of spatial demonstrative into their lexical formation is the point under focus.

3.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The pronominal system in Dravidian languages can fruitfully be divided into participant and non-participant pronouns, the former standing for the first and second persons and the latter for the rest. The non-participant pronouns are conventionally termed as third person pronouns. But Dravidian does not have any unmarked, typical third person pronoun equivalent to the English

he, she, it or *they*. What we do come across in these languages (under the so-called third person pronouns) are the demonstrative pronouns that encapsulate several semantic features into their lexical composition. The semantico-pragmatic information that is lexicalised in the demonstrative pronouns is anchored on the following two parameters of:

- (6) (i) Referential or Locational information or Distance indicator
- (ii) Qualitative or Descriptive or Grammatical information

The system and distinctions involved in the parameter of locational or deictic information are the same as indicated above. There is hardly any variation within a given language regarding the function and use of a recognised deictic feature, whereas variation in semantic information across the languages is quite common.

There is a rich variety of descriptive information that is encoded into the lexical structure of demonstrative pronouns under study. The recognizable salient semanticosyntactic features include number, gender, animacy, and human among others. Languages do differ from each other in the selection of a particular list of features for lexicalization, but there seems to be an implicational hierarchy in the incorporation, for example if a language encapsulates gender/animacy in its structure, we can predict that it might have incorporated the number as well. The process of lexicalization involves the selection of particular feature(s) from each of the two parameters and their combination. In other words, the demonstrative pronouns, each one of them encapsulates the deictic as well as the descriptive information into its lexical structure, as represented in the following paradigm.

(7) Manda demonstrative pronouns

Gender	Number	Proximal	Distal visible	Distal non-visible
Masculine	Sg.	<i>ivan</i>	<i>uvan</i>	<i>evan</i>
	Pl.	<i>ivar</i>	<i>uvar</i>	<i>evar</i>
Feminine	Sg.	<i>idel</i>	<i>udel</i>	<i>edel</i>
	Pl.	<i>ivahij</i>	<i>uvahij</i>	<i>evahij</i>
Neuter	Sg.	<i>i:d</i>	<i>u:d</i>	<i>e:d</i>
	Pl.	<i>i:v</i>	<i>u:v</i>	<i>e:v</i>

Apart from person, number and gender the grammatical dimension (in conjunction with locative adjective) indicates the distinctions of time, manner, direction, reason, quantification, countability and animacy. Syntactically these demonstrative pronouns represent Noun Phrases with a structure consisting of Modifier + Noun, which in turn derives from an underlying relative clause consisting of Place adverb + Existential verb + Relative marker + Head Noun.

(8a) *adi* 'that object'

(8b) *a: pustakam* 'that book'

(8c) *akkaḍa unna pustakam*

Place Adv ExistV+Re. Noun

(8a) is derived from (8c) by the application of deletion and pronominalisation transformations.

A comparison of demonstratives in Telugu, Manda and Kuvi with that of English and/or Hindi suggests some interesting points, such as

- (a) All languages divide the space into two or more than a two-term system. They do differ on the number of the degrees of distance recognised.

- (b) English and Hindi do not differentiate (lexically) between adjectival demonstratives and the pronominal demonstratives which two are distinguished in Dravidian languages that we are concerned with.
- (c) Number and/ or gender agreement within a Noun Phrase between determiner-deictic and the head noun is found in English and Hindi, but not in Dravidian.
- (d) Demonstrative pronouns in Manda, Telugu and other Dravidian languages lexicalise a rich variety of semantic information pertaining to the referent (noun); which is lacking in English and Hindi. But note that English compensates it by having a separate set of the third person pronouns distinct from demonstratives and Hindi does it through its verbal and adjectival concord and other morphological devices.
- (e) In spite of the multitude of deictics in Kuvi, Manda etc., there is a set of unmarked forms in each, and it is this member which is preferred in a neutral situation such as for use as an anaphora. In a discourse context it is the remotest demonstrative which is used for backward reference, for example Manda uses forms like *e:van*, *e:di* etc., in this context.

4. Summary and desideratum

A description of demonstratives as recognized in the lexical system of certain Dravidian languages has been attempted here. The description demands that the data deserve to be interpreted from several levels of linguistic analysis comprising morphology, syntax, lexical semantics, and pragmatics. Thus deixis turns out to be a phenomenon relevant to more than one area of linguistics and any analysis of any language can ill

afford to ignore its importance. Especially the relevance of deixis and speech act theory for linguistic analysis suggests the need to interpret language structure from the viewpoint of pragmatics. Any study of languages – be it descriptive, typological or comparative, will have to accommodate the facts, problems and solutions detailed here at some length.

The foregoing investigation has brought out the processes of lexicalization of place deixis through such categories as adjectives, demonstratives and locative adverbs. However, the reflection of spatial deixis in the verb roots equivalent to such verbs as 'come, go, bring, take' etc, is left out for future study. The syntactic processes under investigation, transparently exhibit, on the one hand the centrality of participant deixis, and on the other the unification of the speaker and addressee as a single unit in the pragmatico-semantic structure of the languages. Thus the Dravidian languages preserve much in their lexicon and grammar for the speech act theory and pragmatics, which theories are much debated in the works on philosophy of language, especially by philosophers (cf. Searle, 1969; Stalnaker, 1972; Mey, 1994; and Martinich, 1997).

References

- Anderson, S.R. and E.L. Keenan. 1985. Deixis. In Shopen, T. ed., *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 259-308.
- Asher, R. E. ed. 1994. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Carr, P. 1994. Philosophy of linguistics and science. In R. E. Asher, ed. 1994 Vol. 6. pp 3027-3028.
- Diesel, Holger, 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function and Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Fillmore, C.J. 1982. Towards a descriptive framework for spatial deixis. In Jarvella, R.J. and W. Klein, eds. *Speech, Place and Action: Studies in Deixis and Related Topics*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd. pp 31-59.
- _____. 1997. *Lectures on Deixis*. Stanford: CSLT Publications.
- Israel, M. 1979. *A Grammar of the Kuvi Language*. Trivandrum: Dravidian Linguistics Association.
- Lamarque, P. V. 1994. Philosophy of language. In Asher, R. E. ed. Vol. 6. Pp 3015-3021.
- _____. ed. 1997. *Concise Encyclopedia of Philosophy of language*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Levinson, S.C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lezzenberg, M. 1997. Indexicals. In P.V. Lamarque, ed. 1997. pp 222-226
- Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1975. Deixis as the source of reference. In Edward Keenan ed. *Formal Semantics of Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 61-83.
- _____. 1977. *Semantics* (2 volumes). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1995. *Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martinich, A.P. 1997. Philosophy of language. In John V. Canfield ed. *Philosophy of Meaning, Knowledge and Value in the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge. pp 11-38.
- Mey, J.L. 1994. Pragmatics. In Asher, R.E. ed. 1994 Vol. 6. pp 3260-3268.

- Ramakrishna Reddy, B. 1987. Tense and aspect in Manda. *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 13. pp 20-38.
- _____. 1990. Some lexico-grammatical aspects of place deixis in Dravidian and Munda. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, Vol. XXI pp 46-62
- _____. 1991. Predicate agreement in Dravidian. *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies*, Vol. 1. Pp 33-44.
- _____. 1992. Spatial deixis in South-Central Dravidian. In B. Lakshmi Bai, and B. Ramakrishna Reddy, eds. *Studies in Dravidian and General Linguistics: Festschrift for Bh.Krishnamurti*. Hyderabad: Osmania University. pp 171-185.
- _____. 2002. Preliminaries to lexical structure in Dravidian. *Dravidian Studies*, Vol.1, No.1. PP 70-90.
- _____. 2003. Agreement in Manda : Grammar and Meaning. In B. Ramakrishna Reddy ed., *Agreement in Dravidian Languages*. Chennai: International Institute of Tamil Studies. pp.220-244.
- Searle, J.R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Segerdahl, Par. 1996. *Language Use: A Philosophical Investigation into the Basic Notions of Pragmatics*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Stalnaker, Robert C. 1972. Pragmatics. In Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman, eds. *Semantics of Natural Language*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Co. pp 380-397.
- Strawson, P.P. 1971. *Logico-Linguistic Papers*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

THE NOTION OF TAMIL DEVELOPMENT IN PONDICHERRY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

L. Ramamoorthy

0. An event

On May 2001, the Government of Pondicherry witnessed a mild protest by a group of Tamil scholars in the name of Tamil development. The group walked through the streets of Pondicherry to surrender to the Government, the awards viz.. *Tamil Ma:mami* and *Putuvaik kalai Ma:mami*. The awards were given to the Tamil scholars by the Government in appreciation of their contribution to Tamil language and literature on the 26th February 2001 for the year 1999-2000. The same group of scholars had earlier pleaded with the Government to institute such awards to be distributed to the scholars who excelled in the fields of literature, art, dance, etc. Even then, two scholars have surrendered the awards while the others kept them. The reason cited by them for returning the awards is that the employees of the Government are not putting their signature in Tamil. The Government of Pondicherry had issued orders in this regard as early as 1997, advising all the employees of Pondicherry Government to put their signature in Tamil in all official correspondences. The scholars have blamed the Government and the officials for not implementing the order sincerely. Even though the Government has issued and circulated the order twice it could not ensure the desired effort. From the point of view of these scholars, this particular act made them to think that the Government is considering Tamil as an unsuitable language even for signature purpose. The scholars are none other than the active members of the Action Committee for Tamil Development (ACTD). What is the role of Tamil signatures in

the development of Tamil? In this context, this paper tries to analyse this issue in the light of language planning theories and the actual policies of the Government.

1. Notion of Tamil development

The notion to Tamil development from the point of view of ACTD is to be analyzed since they are active members of language development. The notion of Tamil development in Pondicherry can be gathered from the activities of Tamil groups; and journals, books etc. they publish. There are two monthly magazines viz. *teli Tamil* and *Velium tu:ya Tamil* which have been exclusively published for Tamil development in Pondicherry for the last ten years. The journal *tel tamil* reflects the attitudes of the ACTD scholars. A few lines of a poem of the great poet of Pondicherry, Bharathidasan's is taken as a motto of their journal. The lines go like this

*keTal enke tamiLin nalam ankellam
talaiyiTTuk kiLarcci eeyka*

“Wherever the welfare of Tamil/Tamils is affected and interfered, Protest against it”

Hence, they orient their activities towards conducting protest meetings for development of Tamil, giving advice to the Government in the form of demands, conducting regular literary meetings, organizing rallies both in urban and rural areas to create awareness about Tamil development etc.

The contents of the Journals also clearly indicate their notion and ideologies with respect to Tamil development. From the contents, it is inferred that the *teli Tamil* emphasizes the preservation of traditional grammar, music etc., writing Tamil without spelling and sandhi mistakes, avoidance of loan words, criticism/appreciation of the activities of the Government, other

institutions, and other activities related to Tamil culture etc. The articles in this Journal are selected by giving preference to Tamil grammar, Tamil music, etc.

The contents of the *velium tu:ya Tamil* are slightly different from *teḷi Tamil*. It publishes creative writings, which are written in pure Tamil. It follows the tradition of *Pa:vanaṛ*, a Tamil purist in the coinage of technical terms. It publishes pure Tamil equivalents for English and other loan words. Both the magazines emphasise purism in language and keeping Tamil tradition intact in grammar, music, spelling, etc. This is due to the devotional attitude of the people towards Tamil, which is explained in the last section of this paper.

2. Ideologies of the ACTD

Before analyzing the policies of ACTD, we may look at the types of language planning. There are two types of language planning viz. status planning and corpus planning, based on function and structure of the language.

Status planning or allocation of language use (Haugen 1983) for specific functions is the first type of language planning carried out by the national policy making body of a country. This type of planning is always associated with language policies. Language planners refer to this type of planning as 'decision making'. Language policies of a nation with reference to the question of official language, medium of instruction, language of mass media, language of judiciary, etc., come under this type.

The second type of planning viz., corpus planning is the one connected with language materials, which have to be developed according to the language policies of the concerned nation. Corpus of a language (from sound to sentence) undergoes

changes in order to make the language materials simple, effective and efficient in communication.

As for the Pondicherry situation is concerned, the ACTD group suggests certain policies both at status and corpus levels. These policies are given to the Government in the form of demands to develop Tamil. Since it is not a Government authorized body, the active members could only put forward their demands with regard to Tamil. The consolidation of those demands given to the Government since 1996 clearly portrays their policies with regard to status and corpus levels. Their notion of Tamil development is categorized under four areas of language use as follows.

2.1 Use of Tamil in administration

- 1) Implementation of official language Act 1965
- 2) To activate the Tamil development wing
- 3) To make Tamil proficiency and Tamil typing as compulsory qualification for government jobs.
- 4) Publication of administrative/legal glossaries
- 5) Teaching of Tamil to non-Tamil officials
- 6) Giving training to Government officials in Tamil administration.
- 7) Non-Tamil IAS/IPS officials should not be employed in Pondicherry.

2.2 Use of Tamil in education

- 1) Compulsory Tamil medium education upto V Standard English be introduced from VI standard onwards as second language.
- 2) All English medium schools should be converted into Tamil school by a single order.
- 3) Tamil should be used from pre-KG to postgraduate level.

- 4) Even higher education and professional courses be in Tamil.
- 5) To cancel the recognition of the schools which do not follow Tamil medium or Tamil as a language.
- 6) Reservation of seats for Tamil medium students in professional courses and bonus marks to the Tamil medium students in the competition.
- 7) Joint entrance test for professional courses be in Tamil/Malayalam/Telugu
- 8) The existing status that a child can complete its school education without studying Tamil should be changed.

2.3 Use of Tamil in public domains

- 1) Name boards of all Govt/private establishments be in Tamil
- 2) The name *puducherry* should be used instead of Pondicherry.
- 3) Personal names should be in Tamil
- 4) Use of Tamil numerals and Tamil calendar.
- 5) Registration of all vehicles be in Tamil
- 6) Tamil should be the languages of temple i.e. religious domain
- 7) Use of other languages like Sanskrit in the private marriage functions should be banned
- 8) Sanskrit should not be taught in Govt. institution.

2.4 Other activities to develop Tamil

- 1) All Govt. officials should put their signature in Tamil.
- 2) Preference should be given to Tamil medium candidates in Govt. jobs.
- 3) Books written in Tamil should be purchased by allowing 15% discount instead of 25% as that of English and the number of copies purchased be enhanced.
- 4) One among the Tamil scholars be nominated to legislature (MLA)
- 5) Govt. should listen to the advice of Tamil scholars in solving language related problems.

- 6) Names of Tamil teachers should be on the top of the attendance Register maintained in schools.
- 7) To award titles like *tamil ma:mani* and *putuvaik kalaina:mani* to the reputed Tamil scholars
- 8) To award prizes to best Tamil books
- 9) To institute awards in the name of reputed Tamil scholars like *Thiruvalluvar*, *Pa:vendar*, etc.
- 10) To declare *Thirukkural* as the national book of India.
- 11) To release a postal stamp in honour of *Bharathidasan*.
- 12) To award scholarship to Tamil scholars.

One of the demands of the Tamil scholars was that the Govt. should listen to their advice in Tamil development matters. The Govt. irrespective of the political parties, from time to time implement certain language related programmes in consultation with these scholars.

3. Language situation in Pondicherry and actual language policies

The Union Territory of Pondicherry has a very interesting language composition. This is primarily due to the scattered location of the regions in three different linguistic areas. The Union Territory of Pondicherry comprises four regions viz. Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam. Yanam is adjacent to Andhapradesh where Telugu is the dominant language. Mahe, where Malayalam is the dominant language is adjacent to Kerala. Pondicherry and Karaikal are regions linguistically encompassed by Tamil nadu where Tamil is the major language. In addition to these three languages, several other Indian and foreign languages are spoken in this territory. The language situation in Pondicherry is a peculiar one since 55 different languages have been attested as mother tongues of the people according to 1961 census.

3.1 Language policy in Pondicherry

Generally speaking, the formulation of the official language policy in Pondicherry takes these factors into consideration. Three languages are used for official purposes viz. Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. However, English and French are also recognized for official purposes as per the official language policy. The official language policy of the Union Territory states that the Tamil language should be used for all or any of the official purposes. In case of Mahe and Yanam, Malayalam and Telugu may be respectively used for official purpose. The English language may also be used for all or any of the official purposes. The French language shall remain the official language of the establishments so long as the elected representatives of the people shall not decide otherwise (ACT 28, Gazetteer, Pondicherry Vol.I P.II).

3.2 Language education policy in Pondicherry: A dual policy

Even though the Union Territory has an official language policy, it did not have any specific education policy of its own. Due to geographical discontinuity of the areas that constitute the Union Territory, the Territory adopts the policies of the adjacent major states as its own. When it comes to school education, the area that lies closer to the major linguistic state adopts the educational policy of the adjoining state. For example, the area of Pondicherry and Karaikal, which lie close to Tamil Nadu and wherein Tamil is the dominant language, the educational policy of the state of Tamil Nadu is closely adopted. Mahe, which is close to the state of Kerala, adopts the educational policy of the state of Kerala, whereas the Yanam area adopts the policy followed in Andhra Pradesh. Public examinations for various stages of schooling are also conducted by these states for the students of Pondicherry.

Hence, Pondicherry Union Territory has two different policies with respect to language education.

- 1) Three-language formula as adopted in Kerala and Andhra Pradesh for Mahe and Yanam regions respectively.
- 2) Two-language formula in Pondicherry and Karaikal as adopted by Tamilnadu.

4. Government programmes with reference to language development

The Pondicherry Government is implementing so many programmes in the name of Tamil development and culture through various departments. The Government issued order to keep name boards in Tamil as early as 1977. It also established the Tamil development wing during 1990. The following programs of the Government illustrate the status of Tamil development in Pondicherry.

- Awarding grants-in-aid to publish creative literature and research publications to the natives of Pondicherry.
- Awarding grants-in-aid to troupes of drama, dance for enacting social reformative plays.
- Awarding grants-in-aid to voluntary agencies for conducting literary events, conferences, literary shows etc.
- Instituted research fellowship in the names of Bharathiyar, Bharathidasan and Savarirayalu Naicker.
- Instituted literary award in the name of Kamban for best poems, short stories, drama and articles.
- Instituted an award in the name of Nehru for best children literature.

- Instituted cash awards and titles *putuvaik kalai ma:maNi* for the scholars who excelled in the fields of literature, music, prose, dance and art.
- Instituted medals and cash award to the senior scholars of literature for the languages Telugu and Malayalam, The titles viz., *Tamil ma:maNi*, *Telugu ratna* and *malayala Ratna* respectively are being given.
- Granting pensions to the age-old indigenous scholars.
- Organizing events like literary meet, music & drama festivals to commemorate the birth and death anniversaries of the great personalities like Bharathiyar, Sankara doss Swamikal.
- Organizing cultural events like Tamil music festival, dance festivals, *cittiraikkalai vila*, *Pongal Kalaivila* in four regions of Pondicherry.
- Organize classical and folk festivals for youth.

Apart from these, the Government of Pondicherry has issued orders with respect to the use of Tamil for signing in official matters. It also initiated steps to implement compulsory Tamil medium education upto V standard. The following academic programmes are also implemented through various departments:

- 1) Conducting of All India seminars on national integration and multilingualism with special reference to literature.
- 2) Publishing glossary of technical terms of education department.
 - Teaching Tamil to non-Tamil Government officials
 - Published translation of best literary poems of the poets belonging to Pondicherry into English

- Published the Private diaries of Sri Ananda Rangappa Pillai

The whole activities of the Government with respect to Tamil development shall be categorized as to encourage the scholars, Tamil tradition and to entertaining the public.

5. Modernization of Tamil – The need of the hour

A close examination of the actual practices of the government in the light of language development theories will show the validity of the activities with regard development of Tamil. Any planning with respect to languages can be done either by the Government or by Government authorized individuals /groups. Weinstien (1980:50) defines languages planning as the Government authorized, long term, sustained and conscious efforts to alter the language's function in a society for solving communication problems. Taking suitable policy decisions and proper implementation techniques solves the problems with respect to language's function and forms. In the case of Tamil, the planning efforts have to be directed towards modernizing Tamil suitable for expressing the modern concepts, while functioning in the new domains. Modernization of Tamil means attaining inter-translatability with languages of industrialized countries by developing new vocabulary for new areas of knowledge and new styles and registers (Ferguson 1968). Hence introduction of Tamil in the new domains of activity and creation of technical terms, registers are some aspects of modernizing efforts, which are consciously planned. Whether the existing developmental programmes of the Government are directed in this direction remains doubtful. A study of the Government policies and the demands put forwarded by the Tamil scholars clearly reveals that the policies are framed in accordance with the demands of the scholars.

Further these programs can be analyzed under the light of two theories viz. theory of instrumentalism and sociolinguistic theory. The theory of instrumentalism treats language as a tool or instrument, which implies that it can be evaluated, regulated and improved and even new languages can be created. In this theory the linguistic features are evaluated from the point of view of economy, objectivity, clarity, elasticity etc. Modernization of languages conceives language as a tool for progress and hence script reforms, relaxation of spelling rules, simplification of sandhi and syntax, bridging the gap between speaking and writing, new vocabulary and writing in science, new forms of communication like letters, news papers, magazines etc are emphasized. But the activities of the Tamil scholars are not in this direction. They stick on to traditional grammar and rigid spelling and sandhi rules. Modernization exploits the dialectal sources for coining technical terms, which are strictly prohibited in the name of purism by the scholars.

6. Non-literary development

From the Tamil development programmes adopted by the Government and suggested in the writings of the Tamil scholar, we could notice that the emphasis is on the literature, and literary aspects of Tamil. This reveals the fact that they equated literary development with the language development. In fact, literary development is one aspect of language development. The real language development lies on the non-literary development as well. Creation of encyclopedias, compilation of dictionaries, translation of materials from other sources, creation of textbooks for all subjects, form major part of language development. These scholars not at all envisage these aspects. They give importance to Tamil tradition, grammar, music, and purism. In this era of globalization and free trade explosion, Tamil has a vital role to play. Tamil should be developed in such a way to suit these global forces.

Development of Tamil should not be a uni-directional as the scholars emphasized, but it should be a multifaceted effort.

In the sociolinguistic theory of language development, social aspects of language development are given importance apart from the technical aspect. In this theory languages are considered as symbolic system. Most of the activities of the Government of Pondicherry are of sociolinguistic is nature. It, created lot of schemes for Tamil welfare and organized festivals to maintain the cultural tradition. These activities of the Tamil scholars with respect to Tamil development can be considered as an effort of ethnisization as Annamalai (2001) calls it. He states that the efforts of ethnisization looked Tamil as a symbol for distinctiveness and mobilization and it focused on continuity with past with little changes as necessary, resisting and removing the influence of other languages as well as spoken Tamil in the forms of the written Tamil, promotion of past literature through publication and political protection for the interests of Tamil language. Scholars. agenda for Tamil development falls within the efforts of ethnisization. We could find the trace of this ethnisization in the attitudes of people that have been nurtured for many decades.

7. Attitudes towards Tamil

enikal uTal poruL aavi yelluam - enkal

inpat tamil moLike taruvoom

- Bharathidasan

‘Our body, Wealth our very breath

We will surrender to our sweet Tamil.’

uyir tamiLukku, uTal maNNukku.

‘Life to Tamil and body to earth’

The above rhetoric of mid-twentieth century is an eloquent testimony for the attitudes of Tamils towards their mother tongue. Every speech community has certain attitudes towards

their language, which need not be similar. There were also some folk attitudes like what do people think about their own language and others. But the attitudes of 'sacrificing all', for the sake of Tamil is peculiar and unique. Further, the attitudes of Tamils towards their mother tongue differ largely if one compares the attitudes of the other language speaker like Malayalam and Telugu towards their mother tongue from the point of view of language development also.

The devotional attitude of Tamils towards their mother tongue is not a sudden phenomenon. It has its deep roots at social, political, historical and cultural levels, which should be ascertained from the beginning of the 20th century. It is a type of 'linguistic culture' as Schiffman (1996) states, which contains the existence of earliest records about languages, myths, attitudes and elaborate cultural luggage's about language. The linguistic culture of Tamils had been nurtured on the following points :

1. The major starting point is the propagation of the discovery of uniqueness of Tamil by European missionaries. There was a belief among the people that Tamil was derived from Sanskrit, which was convincingly disproved by Robert Caldwell. Taking clues from his writings, Tamil pride was built up by creating myths in terms of origin and divinity as equal to that of Sanskrit.
2. The knowledge of existence of unique literary tradition such as Sangam literature dating from Ancient Period and independent grammar viz, *Tolkappiyam* inculcated a sense of pride and self-consciousness among Tamils, which are absent in other languages of this family. For this, the Tamil community owed much to the untired hard work of U.Ve.Cuvaminatha Iyyar.

3. The printing and publication of ancient Tamil literary works and writings of the scholars helped large section of the people to know about their literary tradition.
4. The establishment of pure Tamil movement by Maraimalai Adigal and the political support it gained, created awareness about the social inequalities and the growth of influence of Sanskrit on Tamil.

Thus, Tamil has been transferred into an object of devotion in the course of social mobilization and political empowerment of its people.

8. Conclusion

With these theoretical and practical aspects of Tamil development, if we analyze the protest of the Tamil scholars in the signature issue, it may look trivial. But it has a deeper consequences and connotation. Tamil signatures are symbolic identification of Tamil use in administration. Showing allegiance to Tamil is the duty of every official since it is the official language of the State. Using of Tamil for signature purpose should come automatically not by force like Government orders. This type of spontaneity will come if Tamil is developed through the participation of the people. Establishment of many welfare schemes by the Government may develop a kind of dependence on the government. Making Tamil as a resource for economic mobilization alone develop a sense of positive attitude and identification with Tamil. To achieve this, multifaceted development of the Tamil by the participation of people with the government support is necessary.

References

- Annamalai E. 2001 *Managing Multilingualism in India: Political and Linguistic Manifestation*. New Delhi: Sage Publication.
- Ferguson C.A. 1968. Language Development. In *Language Problems of the Developing Nations* (eds) Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Haugen, Einar, 1983. The implementation of corpus planning : Theory and practice. In *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*. New York: Mouton.
- Ramamoorthy, L. 2000. *Modernization in Tamil*. Pondicherry : PILC.
- Weinstein, Brian. 1980, Language planning in Francophone Africa. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 4(1) : 55- 77.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF /th/ IN TELUGU: A QUANTITATIVE STUDY*

K. Ramesh Kumar

1. Introduction

In sociolinguistics we study the co-variation of language and social features for understanding the nature of language and its role in society. As speakers of language we have the facility to say the same thing in different ways. For example, I may say in Telugu *nēnu cadivutunnānu, cadivutāṇḍānu, cadivutunna, sadivutunnānu, sadivutāṇḍānu, sadivutunna*. 'I am reading' depending upon the social context and to whom I am speaking. Speakers of the Telugu language who use similar dialect forms share the same dialect of Telugu.

In any language, there is bound to be such variation. Even in monolingual speech communities variation is noticeable. Research on urban social dialects in the English speaking countries and studies on social dialects in Indian languages both show this evidence. It is generally agreed upon that social class differences correlate with linguistic differences but the social groupings are less well established. In some societies like ours due to caste differences, there might be differences in the speech as well. Gumperz's (1958) linguistic study of Khalapur village in India demonstrates the upper caste and lower caste differences in their speech.

In other societies social class differences may be more fluid. Their class may be viewed on a continuous scale with social distance between individuals measured by factors like level of education, occupation, income and residence. "In any language if

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the *Nineteenth South Asian Languages Analysis - Round Table*, 18-20 July 1998, University of York, York.

there is co-distribution covariance with social status then it may be referred to as 'socially diagnostic'. In terms of social significance, these features may carry social prestige or they may be stigmatised. Socially prestigious features are adopted by high status groups as indicators of social status while stigmatised features are associated with low status groups," (Bright, 1992: 5). From these points we can say that the presence of aspirated consonants in Telugu is a prestigious feature whereas its absence is considered as substandard. These social values reflect the attitudes of members of our society. The above social markers have a regular effect on a listener's judgement of a speaker's social status. The speaker's social status thus can be judged based on the social markers, which are present in his speech. But these social markers may not be present when he is conscious of his speech. Therefore, depending upon the formality of the situation speakers modify their speech. This type of style difference often co-varies with social class differences.

For the first time, Labov introduced a systematic methodology for investigating New York City social dialects (1966). Since then an enormous research has been done in this field. Labov, to study the linguistic variables, selected features, which could be easily quantified. He considered phonological variables such as postvocalic /r/, which was, either present or absent. This was one of the first features to be studied in detail by Labov and other sociolinguists. Traditional dialectologists generally select Rural, Old, Male, and Uneducated informants, whereas Labov carried out tape-recorded interviews with 103 randomly selected informants as representatives of the various social classes. He has shown that the fluctuations in the use of postvocalic /r/ in New York City can be explained through certain social factors and it was not free variation. Based on his research, Labov developed the concept of a sociolinguistic variable. (i.e. the linguistic variants correlating with social variants).

A variable is an item, which varies under test conditions. Therefore, a social variable refers to the behavioural factors that may be isolated to correlate with linguistic diversity. (Wolfram and Fasolk, 1974:73). The factors such as age, sex, style, religion, caste, income, etc., which reflect the social background of the informants are social variables, whereas a linguistic variable is an element which is known in advance to have different manifestations. For example, one word may have more than one pronunciation i.e. *katha/kadha/kada/kata* 'story'. The intervocalic sound in these examples may be called the linguistic variable (th) with its four variants [th], [dh], [d], [t]. /

The amount of variation in a language may differ from time to time and it continuously shifts its social and linguistic position. Weinreich (1968) referred to this as the embedding problem, i.e. the acquisition of how variability and change are embedded in a social and linguistic matrix.

One of the effects of contact between standard and non-standard varieties is the spread of obligatory rules downward from styles, until they become more frequent in casual style. Formal style has been found to be the point for the introduction of new prestigious phonological forms.

In this context, the present paper aims to explore the connection between social and stylistic variation in Telugu. In Dravidian languages, aspirated consonant phonemes are not a native phenomenon. This feature is borrowed into Dravidian languages from Sanskrit through vocabulary. As a result, in standard Telugu the aspirated consonants are phonemes¹. Standard Telugu has certain phonological, morphological and syntactic features. Nagamma Reddy (1982) states that the

¹ The educated speech variety of Krishna, Guntur, East Godavari and West Godavari, (A.P.) is considered standard Telugu.

“aspirated phonemes in Telugu could be treated as marginal phonemes since they vary freely with the un-aspirated ones and in addition, occur only in the borrowed words of certain styles of speech”. The survey of occupational vocabulary and other studies on Telugu dialects do not any difference between aspirated and unaspirated in the speech of illiterates. Krishnamurti (1957:179) points out that even in the educated speech aspiration is not consistently maintained i.e., the aspirated and un-aspirated stops freely alternate with difference in style, emphasis, tempo, etc., Sastry (1994) mentions that the educated Brahmin speakers have aspirated consonants in their phonological system both in formal and informal styles, whereas educated non-Brahmins have it only in formal style of speech. Therefore from this it is clear as Nagamma Reddy stated further that there are two types of alternations: (1) The phonologically aspirated consonants being replaced freely by corresponding un-aspirated stops and (2) The phonologically un-aspirated consonants aspirated, when the syllable containing a stop is stressed or the word in question is emphasized e.g. *phedda* ‘very big’.

This paper focuses on the first point to study the free variation of voiceless aspirated dental plosive [th] in the speech of Telangana students in different styles of speech namely, spontaneous, careful, pairs and casual styles of speech. The linguistic variable (th) even though written as ఠ in Telugu, its phonemic status is marginal.

Some linguists who worked on Telugu language gave a phonemic status in their phonemic inventory. For example, Krishnamurti (1962 & 1977), Sjöberg (1962), Lisker (1963), Nagamma Reddy (1981), Jagannath (1981), Kelley (1959 & 1963), Sastry (1972 & 1978), Mahadeva Sastry (1985). Krishnamurti (1957) did not treat it as a separate phoneme.

Form these studies, it is evident that the aspirated /th/ is a marginal phoneme in Telugu. In standard Telugu, it occurs only in clusters like *samstha* 'institution', *sthalam* 'place'. This has a free variant [dh] in word medial position therefore Krishnamurti (1957) treats [th] as an allophone of /dh/. In the Telangana dialect of Telugu this linguistic variable (th) is in free variation with the following four variants: (th)-1 = [th], (th)-2 = [dh] (th)-3 = [d], (th)-4 = [t]. The study intends to find out whether the students are sensitive to the standard form or not and also tries to find out patterns if any for making certain conclusions based on the Labovian methodology. The null hypothesis is that caste does not play a significant role in educated speech.

2. Methodology

2.1 Selection of informants

A representative sample of 150 informants belonging to four caste groups on a random sample method was selected. They are all students belonging to Telangana region (i.e. the 10 Telangana districts namely: Karimnagar, Adilabad, Khammam, Medak, Warangal, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Ranga Reddy, Hyderabad and Mahaboobnagar in Andhra Pradesh). All of them are post-graduate students studying different courses in the Osmania University. The informants drawn from the three main caste groups (namely Forward Caste, Backward Caste and Scheduled Caste) were as follows: 20 males and 10 females from Brahmin caste (Priestly class, FC 1); 20 Males and 20 Females from each of the three caste groups. Forward Castes (FC 2 i.e. Reddys (Landlords), Vaisyas (Marchants), Velamas etc.), Backward Castes (BC Wadla (Carpenters), Goud (Toddy Tappers), Mangali (Barbers), Chakali (Washermen), etc.) and Scheduled Castes (SC Harijans, 'Leather workers and shoe makers' etc.) Based on the socio-economic factors of the different castes the Andhra Pradesh Government has classified

these groups. The informants were drawn from those classified lists. The students selected were in the income range of Rs.12,000 to 18,000 per annum.

A few lines must be mentioned here about the caste system prevalent in Indian society. In our society an individual belongs to a particular caste based on his birth: therefore, he cannot move from one caste to another. Apart from this even to this day in rural areas there are certain restrictions with regard to marriage, interdining, drinking etc., between the castes. These rules and regulations determine the social relations and social hierarchy and they are also reflected in the language they use.

2.2 Preparation of questionnaire

A questionnaire containing the aspirated stop consonant [th] in Telugu was prepared with the test words for data elicitation. With the help of pictorial stimuli the spontaneous responses of the pronunciation of the word *ratham* 'chariot' was elicited. After the informant's first response as if I haven't heard the pronunciation properly, I made the informant to repeat the word. The main intention was to examine if there is any self-correction or not among the selected group of speakers. This resulted in the careful pronunciation of the test word. A pair of words containing aspirated and unaspirated [th]/[t] consonants written in Telugu were given to the students and they were asked to read those words. The test words given were *śapatham* 'an oath of perseverance' *śatam* 'one hundred'. A five minute conversation on topics related to movies, daily activities and incidents were asked and in between the test word *katha* 'story' containing the aspirated sound [th] was elicited in order to see whether there is any variation in the pronunciation or not. A small passage containing words with aspirated consonants was given for reading. In the passage the test word *ratham* 'chariot' was used for eliciting the pronunciation of the aspirated consonant [th].

The data so collected was coded and entered into the computer in d-base package. An SPSS package was used for statistical analysis the chi-square test method was applied for finding out the significance of the linguistic variable (th) for social variable caste.

As already mentioned, the linguistic variable (th) in the Telangana dialect of Telugu is being realised in four different forms. They are given ranks as follows based on the prestige they have in the society.

(th) – 1=[th] Voiceless aspirated dental plosive

(th) – 2=[dh] Voiced aspirated dental plosive

(th) – 3=[d] Voiced un-aspirated dental plosive

(th) – 4=[t] Voiceless un-aspirated dental plosive

The actual frequencies of each variant for each group were counted and they were multiplied by the respective variant rank order and added. The total so obtained was then divided by the number of instances of (th) variable. This result gave the index of each group. In other words, based on this index we can say which of the four variants a particular group is using. The possible scores observed were arranged from 1.0 to 4.0 For the sake of convenience and in order to have scores, final indices are calculated by deducting 1 from the answer and multiplying by 100. By this method we got the scores ranging from 0 to 300. Consistent use of (th) – 1 was given -0, (th)-2 100, (th)-3 200, (th)-4 300. (Chambers & Trudgill, 1990:62). A lotus package was used for taking graphs.

3. Analysis of the data

The responses for the variable (th) in pair reading style are calculated as shown below for the four caste groups.

Brahmin (FC 1)	FC 2	BC	SC
16 x (th)-1=16	23x1(th)-1=23	11x (th)-1=11	12 x (th)-1=12
10 x (th)-2=20	7 x (th)-2=14	12 x (th)-2=24	7 x (th)-2=14
2 x (th)-3=6	10 x (th)-3=30	10 x (th)-3=30	10 x (th)-3=30
2 x (th)-4=8	0 x (th)-4=0	7 x (th)-4=28	11 x (th)-4=44
30	50	40	100

$$50/30=1.67-1-0.67 \times 100$$

$$67/40=1.68-1-0.68 \times 100$$

$$93/40=2.33-1=1.33 \times 100$$

$$100/40=2.5-1=1.5 \times 100$$

$$\text{Brahmin Group Index}=67$$

$$\text{FC 2 Group Index}=68$$

$$\text{BC Group Index}=133$$

$$\text{SC Group Index} = 150$$

The above calculations and the final scores indicate that the Brahmin, FC 2, BC, students have used the (th)-2 variant [dh]. The group indices 1.67, 1.68 and 2.33 respectively confirm this, whereas the SC group index 2.5 shows that they are towards using the (th)-3 variant [d]. From this it is evident that as the social caste hierarchy decreases there is a clear tendency of using the non-standard form. This is reflected from the increasing number of index scores.

3.1 Reading passage style (RPS)

The reading passage style of the linguistic variable (th) is computed and the scores group-wise are: Brahmin group 1.8, FC 2 group 2.78, BC group 3.15, and SC group 2.98. From this we can say that Brahmin group uses the variant (th)-2 [dh] i.e. the standard form, FC 2 group, BC group, and SC group, use the variant (th)-3 [d].

A comparison of the four caste groups shows that the Brahmins use the standard aspirated consonant [dh], whereas the other groups use the unaspirated consonant of the standard form.

3.2 Careful style of speech (CFS)

The Brahmin group index 2.13 indicates the use of (th)-2 variable, FC 2 group index 2.83 indicated the tendency towards the

use of (th)-3 variant, BC group index 2.98 indicates the use of (th)-3 variable and SC group index 3.13 indicates the clear (th) -3 variable.

A comparison of the four caste groups for the careful speech indicates that the Brahmin speakers are trying to self-correct their speech by using the standard Telugu aspirated consonant. This shows that they are sensitive to this feature whereas the other caste groups do not show of much self-correction in their speech to use the standard aspirated consonant. The index increases as we move from the upper caste to lower caste in the social hierarchy.

3.3 Pictorial stimuli style (PSS)

The pictorial stimuli responses indicate that the Brahmin group has a high tendency towards using the variant (th)-3 i.e. the unaspirated consonant [d] of the standard aspirated consonant [dh]. This is evident from the 2.8 index. The FC 2 group 3.4 index indicates that there is high percentage of using the unaspirated counterpart of the standard aspirated consonant [dh]. There is a tendency towards using the (th)-4 variant, whereas the SC group index 3.2 indicates the use of (th)-3 variant. i.e. the unaspirated consonant of the standard form [dh].

A comparison of the indices of the four caste groups for PSS indicates an increase in the use of un-aspirated consonant from upper caste to lower caste. But SC group shows a narrow decrease in the use of un-aspirated consonant when compared with the BC group.

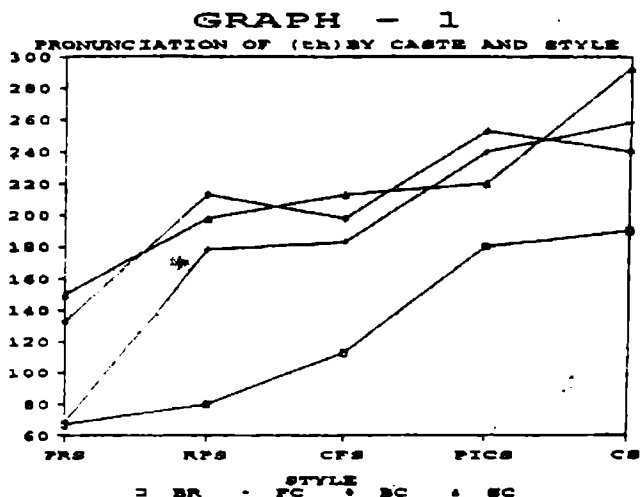
3.4 Casual style of speech (CSS)

The casual styles of speech for the four caste groups indicate the following indices: Brahmin group 2.9, FC group 3.58, BC group 3.4, and SC group 3.93. From this we can say that the Brahmin group uses (th)-3 [d] variant the un-aspirated

of the standard form, FC and SC groups use (th)-4[t], and BC group uses (th)-3[d] variant. However in BCs there is a tendency to use the (th)-4 variant.

A comparison of the four caste groups, casual styles indicate that there is un-aspirated pronunciation in all the four groups irrespective of upper or lower caste. But the Brahmin and BC groups used the un-aspirated consonant of the standard form i.e. (th)-3 where as the FC 2 and SC groups used the unaspirated consonant i.e. (th)-4 = [t].

The B.C. group is conscious of the standard form [dh] and wants to be closer to the standard form but at the performance stage they are pronouncing the un-aspirated consonant [d]. By this we can state that there is a tendency in the B.C. students



The graph -1 with reference to pairs indicates the lines in the formal speech in the four caste group speakers clearly making the

distinction in the pronunciation of the aspirated consonant /th/. While Brahmin and FC groups have a very low index score, BC and SC groups index scores are at higher levels. This indicates that as the social caste hierarchy from upper caste to lower caste decreases, the use of variant (th)-1 changes to variant (th)-2. The right hand side of the graph indicates that as the style from formal to informal increases the pronunciation of the aspirated consonant differs. The steep rise in the graph lines indicates this. But in BC group there is a steep decrease in the pronunciation of un-aspirated consonant. This is evident from the cross over pattern in the graph. Labov's (1966) New York City study of the variable (r) indicates the higher percentage of postvocalic /r/ in LMC than UMC speakers in the formal style as hypercorrection. This kind of sociolinguistic marker seems to reflect the linguistic insecurity of the speakers. The hypercorrection by BC group students surpassing the FC group students indicates the tendency to modify their speech by pronouncing the standard form. This may be due to the reason that the BC group does not want to reveal their social identity in their speech when they are conscious.

3.5 Chi-square test results

The Chi-square test was found to be statistically significant at 0.05% level signifying that there are statistically significant differences among the four caste groups under consideration with regards to the pronunciation of the variable (th) for different contextual styles of speech.

4. Conclusion

The study reveals that the linguistic variable (th) has a relationship with its social variables, caste and style. The correlation is evident from the comparison of the formal casual styles of speech with that of the four caste groups. The use of aspirated consonant is decreasing in general from formal style to

casual style in the four caste groups. The Brahmin caste which is at the top of the social hierarchy is behaving distinctively different in pronunciation of the aspirated consonant and is more conservative in its speech in formal style but in the informal style the direction of change is towards the standard pronunciation of the variant (th) -2 [dh]. The backward castes, which are closer to the forward caste 2 in the social hierarchy, are trying to show their pronunciation as closer to the upper caste speakers. This is evident from the crossover pattern in the graph, which can be explained as an instance of hypercorrection. The standard aspirated consonant [dh] pronunciation is spreading from formal to casual style in BC group. The SC group, which is at the bottom of the social hierarchy shows an increase in the pronunciation of (th)-4 variant i.e. un-aspirated consonant [t].

The steep rise in the graph line from formal to casual speech styles can be noticed. The study reveals that the caste is playing a significant role in the speech differences of the four caste groups. We can conclude that the variation in Telangana students' speech tells us about the speaker identity i.e. to which social group he belongs and the change that is taking place in the Telangana dialect of Telugu.

Acknowledgements: I am thankful to all my informants for their cooperation and for sparing their valuable time. I am grateful to Prof. K. Nagamma Reddy, O.U. and Prof. B. Ramakrishna Reddy for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am also thankful to my other teachers in the Department for their kind encouragement and support.

References

- Bright, W. ed. 1992. *International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics*. Vol.4:4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chambers, J.K. and Trudgill, P. 1990. *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fasold, R. 1990. *The Sociolinguistics of Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gumperz, J.J. 1958. Dialect differences and social stratification in a North Indian village. *American Anthropologist*, 60: 668-81.
- Jagannath, 1981. *Telugu Loanword Phonology*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Arizona.
- Kelley, Gerald, 1959. Telugu vowel phonemes. *Indian Linguistics*. 19, 146-158.
- _____. 1969. Telugu. In *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 5, *Linguistics in South Asia*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Krishnamurti, Bh. 1957. Sandhi in modern colloquial Telugu. *Indian Linguistics*, 17. 178-188.
- _____. 1962. *A Telugu Dialect Dictionary of Occupational Vocabularies*, Vol.1, *Agriculture*, 'Introduction (in English)', 99-130, Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Sahithya Akademy.
- _____. et. al. 1977. *A Short Outline of Telugu Phonetics*. Calcutta: Indian Statistical Institute.
- Labov, W. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington : Centre for Applied Linguistics.
- Lisker, L. 1963. *Introduction to Spoken Telugu*. New York: American Council of Learned Societies.
- Mahadeva Sastry, K. 1987. *Vyākaraṇa dīpika. bāla prouḍha vyākaraṇamula vyākhyānam*. (in Telugu). Vijayawada: Gangadhara Publications.
- Nagamma Reddy, K. 1981. *Telugu Consonants and Vowels: An Instrumental Study*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh.

- _____ 1982. A kymographic and spectrographic study of aspiration in Telugu. *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*. 7-8, 131-154.
- Sastry, J.V. 1972. *Telugu Phonetic Reader*, CIIL Phonetic Reader Series 4. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- _____ & Krishnamurthy, N.D. 1975. *Conversational Telugu: A Microwave Approach*. Madras: M. Seshachalam.
- _____ 1994. *A Study of Regional and Social Dialects: A Prosodic Analysis*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Sjoberg, A.F. 1962. Co-existent phonemic systems in Telugu: A Socio-cultural perspective. *Word* 18, 269-279.
- Wardaugh, R. 1990. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Weinreich, U. et. al. 1968. Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In *Directions for Historical Linguistics*, ed. By Winfred P. Lehman and Yukov Malkiel, 95-188. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wolfram, Walt and Fosold, R.W. 1974. *The Study of Social Dialects in American English*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

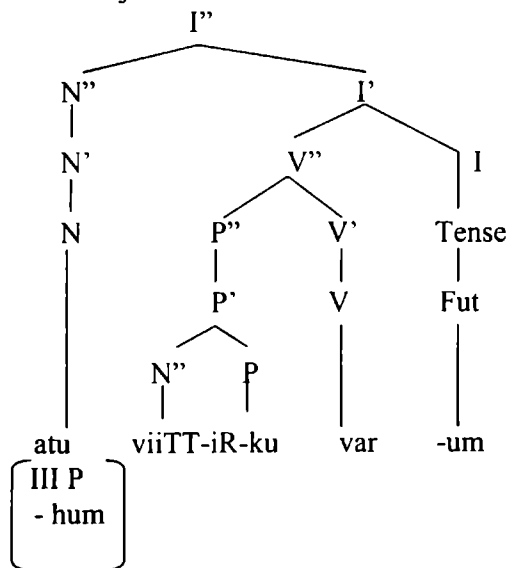
AGREEMENT SYSTEM IN TAMIL

K.Rangan, M.Suseela and S.Rajendran

In Tamil, we have sentences of the following type:

- (1) atu viTT-iR-ku var-um
 'it' 'house- to' 'come-will'
 'It will come to the house'
- (2) avai viiTT-iR-ku var-um
 'they (non-hum)' 'house- to' 'come-will'
 'They will come to the house'

-um expresses the future tense when the subject NP has a non-human. One may describe this situation that *-u* is the future tense marker and PGN is unmarked. I of tense (case) control the subject NP of the sentence.



In negative sentences when tense is future the non-human suffix *-tu* occurs.

- (3) atu viiTT-iR-ku var-aa-tu
 'it' 'house-to' 'come-neg. fut.- it'
 'It will not come to the house'
- (4) avai viiTT-iR-ku var-aa-tu'
 'come-neg. fut-they'
 'They will not come to the house'

Here *-aa* expresses both negation and future tense. But *-tu* occurs with both the non-human singular and plural NPs when they function as subjects. Under non-human, singular vs. plural distinction is not made.

Positive Sentence

PERSON	FUTURE	AGR (PGN)
III (-hum)	-um	Φ

Negative Sentence

PERSON	FUTURE & NEG	AGR (PGN)
III (-hum)	-aa	-tu

When we consider the past and present tenses, PGN markers are found for all three persons. First we take the III P and see what are the markers available.

Past

- (5) avan viiTT-iR-ku va-nt-aan
 'he' 'house- to' 'come-past-he'
 'He came to the house'
- (6) avaL viiTT-iR-ku va-nt-aaL
 'she' 'house- to' 'come-past-she'
 'She came to the house'

- (7) avar viiTT-iR-ku va-nt-aar
 'he/she' 'house - to' 'come-past 'he/she-hon'
 'She/he (hon) came to the house'
- (8) avarkaL viiTT-iR-ku va-nt-aarkaL
 'they (hum)' 'house - to' 'come-past-they'
 'They came to the house'
- (9) atu viTT-iR-ku va-nt-atu
 'it' 'house - to' 'come-past-it'
 'It came to the house'
- (10) avai viiTT-iR-ku va-nt-an-a
 'They'(non-hum.) 'house- to' 'come-past-they'
 'They came to the house'

Present

- (11) avan viiTT-iR-ku varu-kiR-aan
 'he' 'house-to' 'come-pres-he'
 'He comes to the house'
- (12) avaL viiTT-iR-ku varu-kiR-aaL
 'She comes to the house'
- (13) avar viTT-iR-ku varu-kiR-aar
 'He/she (hon.) comes to the house'
- (14) avarkaL viiTT-iR-ku varu-kiR-aarkaL
 'They come to the house'
- (15) atu viiTT-iR-ku varu-kiR-atu
 'It comes to the house'
- (16) avai viiTT-iR-ku varu-kinR-an-a
 'They come to the house'

-ar is an alternant marker for III P human plural².

- (17) avarkaL viiTT-iR-ku varu-kinR-an-ar
 'They come to the house'

The basic division in III P is human vs. non-human (*uyartiNai* vs. *akRiNai*). Under non-human, we have singular vs. plural distinction. The same distinction (singular vs. plural) is maintained under human also. Under singular, the major division is honorific vs. non-honorific. The distinction between masculine and feminine comes under non-honorific.

Positive sentences³

Person	Singular				Plural			
III	Human		Non-Human		Human	Non-Human		
	Hon.	Non-hon		Fut	Non-fut		Fut	Non-fut
		Male	Female		atu	ar	ϕ	atu
	-aar	-aan	-aaL	ϕ	a	aarkaL		a

As far as negative sentences are concerned, we have already mentioned that, in future, the PGN marker *-tu* occurs after the negative marker. The negative marker *-aa* may be specified as

+Neg.
+Fut.
-Hum.

When the NP is marked as [+human], the markers given above in the table come with the negative marker *-maaTTu*.

- (17) avan viiTT-iR-ku var-a-maaTT-aan
 'he' 'house- to' 'come-inf.-neg. fut.-he'
 'He will not come to the house'

- (18) avaL viiTT-iR-ku var-a-maaTT-aaL
 'She' 'house- to' 'come -inf.-neg. fut. -she'
 'She will not come to the house'

(19) avar viiTT-iR-ku var-a-maaTT - aar
'He/she will not come to the house'

(20) avarkaL viiTT-iR-ku var-a-maaTT -aarkaL
'They will not come to the house'

There is no agreement when Tense is non-future. In the place of *maaTTu* and *-aa*, *illai* occurs with all human and non-human subject NPs in III P.

(21) avan viiTT-iR-ku var-a(v) -illai
'he' 'house- to' 'come-inf.- neg. non-fut.'
'He did/does not come to the house'

(22) avaL viiTT-iR-ku var-a(v) -illai
'She did/does not come to the house'

(23) avar viiTT-iR-ku var-a(v) -illai
'He/she (hon) did/does not come to the house'

(24) avarkaL viiTT-iR-ku var-a(v) -illai
'They did/do not come to the house'

(25) atu viiTT-iR-ku var-a(v) -illai
'It did/does not come to the house'

(26) avai viiTT-iR-ku var-a(v) -illai
'They (non-hum) did/do not come to the house'

Negative sentences⁴

Person	Future				Non-future
III	Singular			Plural	Φ
	Hon.	Non-Hon		aarkaL	
		Mas	Non-Mas		
	aar	aan	aaL		

In IP and II P, gender distinction is not made. The distinction between singular and plural is found in all three persons.

- (27) *naan viiTT-iR-ku varu-v-een*
 'I' 'house- to' 'come-fut.-I'
 'I will come to the house'
- (28) *naankaL viiTT-iR-ku varu-v-oom*
 'We (excl.)' 'house- to' 'come-fut.-we'
 'We will come to the house'
- (29) *naam viiTT-iR-ku(p) poo-v-oom*
 'We (Incl.)' 'house- to' 'go-fut.-we'
 'We will go to the house'
- (30) *nii viiTT-iR-ku varu-v-aay*
 'you' 'house- to' 'come-fut.-you'
 'You will come to the house'
- (31) *niir viiTT-iR-ku varu-v-iir^s*
 'you (hon.)' 'house- to' 'come-fut.-you'
 'You will come to the house'
- (32) *niinkaL viiTT-iR-ku varu-v-iirkaL*
 'you (pl.)' 'house- to' 'come-fut.-you'
 'You will come to the house'

Besides singular vs. plural distinction, honorific vs. non-honorific distinction is recognized in II P. In I P plural, inclusive vs. exclusive distinction is made morphologically and not syntactically. i.e. though we have two different forms *naam* and *naankaL* to denote exclusiveness and inclusiveness, the marker *-oom* is found in both the cases (see examples 28-29).

Conjoined noun phrases

When two noun phrases of different personal pronouns are conjoined, the agreement marker shows number and follows the principle of hierarchy of personal pronouns. Examine the following sentences in Tamil in which different personal pronouns are conjoined.

- (37) taruman-um naay-um meelooka-tt-iR-kuc
cen-R-aarkaL
'Dharma-and' 'dog-and' 'upper-world-to'
'go-past-they(hum. and non-hum)'
'Dharma and the dog went to heaven'

- (38) iiv-um paamp-um iRaivan-ai etir-tt-aarkaL
 'Eve-and' 'snake and' 'God-acc.' 'oppose-
 past-they (hum. and non-hum.)'
 'Eve and the snake opposed the God'

-aarkaL is III P human plural that occurs as PGN marker with verb when a human and non-human NPs are conjoined in subject position.

Disjuncted noun phrases

The principle of hierarchy we mentioned in the preceding section holds good.

- (39) naan-aavatu niyy-aavatu poo-v-oom
 'I-or' 'you-or' 'go-fut.-we'
 'Either I or you will go'

- (40) niyy-aavatu avan-aavatu poo-v-iirkaL
 'Either you or he will go'

In (39), the IP Pl. marker occurs when both I P and II P NPs come as the subject of the sentence. Similarly when II P and III P NP are used disjunctively, the II P Pl. marker *-iirkaL* occurs with verb. The III P human pl. marker will be used if III P human NP and III P non-human NP were used disjunctively. Examples (41) and (42) exemplify this point.

- (41) avan-aavatu avaL-aavatu poo-v-aarkaL
 'he-or' 'she-or' 'go-fut.-they (hum.)'
 'Either he or she will go'

- (42) aracan-aavatu yaanaikaL-aavatu kooTTai(y)-ai
 'king-or' 'elephants-or' 'fort-acc.'
 aZi-pp-aarkaL
 'destroy-fut.-they (hum. and non-hum.)'
 'Either the king or the elephants will destroy the fort'

As far as personal pronouns are concerned either conjoined or disjuncted, the principle of hierarchy may be shown as

$$I\ P > II\ P > III\ P\ (\text{human})$$

NPs with distributive quantifiers

In Tamil, the head N follows the quantifiers such as *ovvoru*, *ellaa*, etc.

- (43) *ovvoru maaNavan -um*
'every student'

- (44) *ellaa aaciriyarkaL -um*
'all teachers'

In the following sentences we have the head nouns such as *paNiyaaLar* 'employee', *naTikai* 'actress', etc. But we have -*aarkaL*, a marker denoting III P human pl. occurring in these examples.

- (45) *ovvoru paNiyaaLar -um lancam vaankuvatu*
'every' 'employee' 'bribe' 'getting'
*illai enRu capatam eTu-tt-aarkaL*⁶
'not' compl. 'oath' 'take-past-they (hum.pl.)'
'Every employee took an oath that they would not take bribe'
- (46) *ovvoru naTikar -um iyakkunar -ai aaTTi(p)*
'every' 'actor' 'director-acc.' 'control-pres.-
paTai(k) -kiR -aarkaL
they (hum.pl.)'
'Every actor controls the director'

The occurrence of anaphora *taan* changes the scene.

- (47) ovvoru maaNavan-um tana(k)-ku veelai
 'every' 'student' 'one-self-to' 'job'
 kiTaikk-um enRu ninai(k)-kiR-aan
 'get- fut.' compl. 'think-pres.-he'.
 'Every student thinks that he will get (some) job'
- (48) ovvoru aaciriyar-um tankaL-ukku patavi
 'every' 'teacher' 'themselves-to' 'job'
 uyarvu kiTaikk-um enRu nampu-kiR-aarkaL
 'promotion' 'get-fut.' compl. 'believe-pres.-they (hum.)'
 'Every teacher believes that he will get promotion
 in his job/career'

It seems that the head N *aaciriyar* and *tankaL* denote plural and therefore the marker *-aarkaL* occurs with verb in (48). In (47), the head N is masculine singular *maaNavan* and the anaphora *tan* is singular. So we have masculine singular suffix *-aan* with the verb.

There are sentences in which we have both III P masculine /feminine singular marker and also III P human plural marker.

- (49) ovvoru natikai(y)-um iyakkunar-ai
 'every' 'actress' 'director-acc.'
 aaTTippatai(k)-kiR- aaL
 'control-pres-III P Fem. sg.'
 'Every actress controls the director'
- (50) ovvoru naTikai(y)-um iyakkunar-ai
 aaTTippaTai(k)-kiR-aarkaL
 'Every actress controls the director'
- (51) ovvoru maaNavan-um tana(k)-ku veelai
 kiTaikk-um enRu ninai(k)-kiR-aarkaL
 'Every student thinks that he will get a job'

In both (48) and (49) *naTikai* is the head N. But we find *-aaL*, III P feminine singular marker occurring with the verb *aaTTippaTai*

in (48). In (49), *-aarkaL*, III P human plural suffix is occurring with the verb though *naTikai* III P feminine singular comes as the subject of the sentence. Similarly, we have sentences (47) and (51) in which *maaNavan* III P masculine singular functions as the subject. The difference between these two sentences is that in (47) *-aan* III P masculine singular occurs whereas in (50) it is *-aarkaL* III P human plural that occurs with the verb.

We have a situation in which the N, which is III P human masculine/feminine singular occurring with distributive quantifiers, is controlled by both III P human singular and plural markers. Similar trend is observed between III P human honorific singular and III P human plural.

- (52) *ovvoru kuTimakan-um taankaL*
 ‘every’ ‘citizen’ ‘they’
 cutantiramaanaavarkaL enRu
 ‘free- compl.’
 karutu-kiR-aarkaL
 ‘consider-pres-III P hum. pl’
 ‘Every citizen considers that he is free’

- (53) *ovvoru kuTimakan-um taan*
 cutantiramaanavan enRu karutu-kiR-aan
 ‘Every citizen considers that he is free’

Both *-aar* and *-aarkaL* occur even though the NP functioning as the subject of (52) and (53) is *kuTimakan*.

Interrogative pronouns

In Tamil we have interrogative pronouns, which are controlled by the AGR when they occur in subject position.

- (54) *evan va-nt-aan?*
 ‘who-(mas.sg)’ ‘come-past-he’
 ‘Who came?’

- (55) *evaL* *va-nt-aaL?*
 ‘who-(fem.sg) ‘come-past-she’
 ‘Who came?’
- (56) *etu* *va-nt-atu?*
 ‘which-(sg)’ ‘come-past-it’
 ‘Which came?’
- (57) *evai* *va-nt-an-a?*
 ‘which-(pl)’ ‘come-past-they(non-hum.)’
 ‘Which came?’
- (58) *evar/yaar* *va-nt-aar?*
 ‘who (hum.hon.sg.)’ ‘come-past-he/she(hon.)’
 ‘Who came?’

With *yaar*, we have not only *-aar* as the PGN marker but also *-aarkaL* which denotes III P human plural.

- (59) *yaar* *va-nt-aarkaL?*
 ‘who (hum. pl)’ ‘come-past-they(hum.pl.)’
 ‘Who came?’

yaar occurs with both human singular and human plural markers *-aar* and *-aarkaL*.

The word *yaar* is no more an interrogative word when *-um* or *-aavatu* is added with this *yaar-um* is used in the sense of anybody and *yaar-aavatu* somebody. We get these meanings only in positive sentences.

- (60) *yaarum* *naaLai* *varal-aam*
 ‘anybody’ ‘tomorrow’ ‘come-may’
 ‘Anybody may come tomorrow’
- (61) *yaaraavatu* *naaLai* *varu-v-aarkaL*
 ‘somebody’ ‘tomorrow’ ‘come-fut.-they(hum.pl.)’
 ‘Somebody will come tomorrow’

In negative sentences, we have PGN marker.

- (62) *yaarum naaLai var-a-maaTT-aarkaL*
 ‘Nobody will come tomorrow’

When *yaaraavatu* comes, we do not get a simple negative sentence. Negation combines with interrogation.

- (63) **yaaraavatu naaLai vara-maaTT-aarkaL*
 ‘anybody’ ‘tomorrow’ ‘come-inf-fut.neg.-III hum.pl’
- (64) *yaaraavatu naaLai var-a-maaTT-aarkaL-aa-Q’*
 ‘Won’t someone come tomorrow?’

yaaraavatu is used as a part of NP in which case it expresses the meaning of ‘some’ i.e. it is a determiner which is indefinite.

- (65) *yaaraavatu oruvar naaLai varu-v-aar*
 ‘some’ ‘one’ tomorrow’ ‘come-fut.-he/she’
 ‘Some one will come tomorrow’
- (66) *yaaraavatu naalvar naaLai varu-v-aarkaL*
 ‘four persons’ -they (hum.pl.)’
 ‘Some four persons will come tomorrow’

Here the AGR controls the head viz. *naalvar* and *oruvar* depending on the linguistic contexts it is to be decided whether *yaaraavatu* is a determiner or head N. *yaaraavatu* when it occurs as head N is controlled by the III P human plural marker —*aarkaL*.

Infinitival clauses

There are sentences in Tamil in which an infinitival clause is embedded. Examine the following sentences.

- (67) *raaman ciitai(y)-ai(p) paarkk-a neeriT-T-atu*
 ‘Raman’ ‘Sita-acc’ ‘see-to’ ‘happen-past-it’.
 ‘Raman happened to see Sita’

In (67), the PGN is *-atu* and we have to interpret the infinitive clause as the subject of the sentence. We have *-aan* as the PGN marker in (68) in which case *raaman* has to be interpreted as the subject.

- (68) *raaman ciitai(y)-ai(p) paarkk-a neeriT-T-aan*
 'Raman happened to see Sita'

Treating infinitive clause as the complement of *neeriTu* will lead us to take the position that the subject NP of the matrix is empty and it is filled up by the movement of NP *raaman*. Agreement is compatible with the I (*-aan*) and the subject NP *raaman*. But, in (67), the PGN marker is *-atu*. It may control either the NP specified as <+III, -Hum. -pl.> or S functioning in the subject position. Can we say that the infinitive clause is moved to the subject position and it functions as a subject? Example (69) and (70) are also of the same kind.

- (69) *kauTaa kaankiras-in piTivaatatt-aal*
 'Gowda' 'congress-of' 'obstinacy-cause'
patavi(y)-ai iZakk-a veeNTiyiru-nt-atu
 'position-acc' 'lose-to' 'need-be-past-it'

'Gowda had to lose the position due to obstinacy of Congress'

- (70) *kauTaa kaankiras-in piTivaat-att-aal*
patavi(y)-ai iZakk-a veeNTiyiru-nt-aar

In (69), *-atu* is found as AGR marker whereas in (70) *-aar* is occurring as AGR marker.

An alternative way of dealing with these cases is that the infinitival clauses may be generated in the subject position of NP. In one case, the AGR controls the subject at D-structure level and in another case it is at S-structure level. Here the VP is extra posed and adjoined to VP of the matrix leaving the NP of the embedded sentences in order to function the subject of the matrix sentence at

S-structure level. The PGN marker *-atu* controls the subject at D-structure level and *-aan/-aar* at S-structure level. At present we are not in a position to argue for any stand though the first goes closer to the current framework of the theory and the second closer to the intuitive analysis of the grammatical structure.

Indirect sentences

In indirect sentences, the pro-form *taan* (or its variant forms) denotes III P singular and *taankaL* III P plural. But the PGN marker does not agree with these forms. It agrees with the subject NP of direct sentence.

- (71) *ciitaa*, “*naan* *raavaNan-ai(p)* *paar-tt-een*”
 ‘Sita’ ‘I’ ‘Ravanan-acc’ ‘see-past-I’
 enRu *con-n-aal*
 comp ‘say-past-she’
 Sita said, “I saw Ravanan”

The indirect sentence of (71) will be

- (72) *ciitaa taan ravaNan-ai paar-tt-een enRu conn-aal*
 self
 ‘Sita said that she saw Ravanan’

The pronoun *naan* of (71) is replaced by *taan* in (72). PGN marker in the embedded sentence is *-een* whether *naan* or *taan* functions as the subject NP. Further it appears that *taan* is not controlled by the PGN marker *-een*. The controlling mechanism operates at D-structure level; more evidences may further strengthen it.

- (73) *aracan makkaL-ai*, “*niinkaL veeru*
 ‘king’ ‘people-acc.’ ‘you’ ‘other’
 naaTT-ukku ooTiviT-unkaL,” *enRu kuuR-in-aan*
 ‘country-to’ ‘run-you-pl.’ comp ‘say-past-he’
 ‘The king told (his) people, “you run away (from my
 country) to other country’

- (74) aracan makkaL-ai taankaL veeru naaTT-ukku
 ooTiviT-unkaL enRu kuuR-in-aan
 'The king told his people that they run away to
 other country'

The PGN marker *-unkaL* does not share the features of *taankaL*. One could say that the number agreement (singular vs. plural) is found between the PGN marker and the subject NP of the embedded sentence. It is also doubtful because we have sentences of the following kind.

- (75) kaamaraajar kaankiras teertal-il tooRRat-aR- ku
 'kamaraj' 'congress-in' 'election-in' 'defeat-to/for'
 taan-taan-aa kaaraNam-aaka iru-nt-oom
 'self-emph-Q 'reason' 'be-past-we'
 enRu varunt-in-aar
 comp 'feel-past-he(hon.)'
 'Kamarajar felt sad that he was responsible for the
 defeat of Congress in election'.

In (74) *taan* functions as the subject NP of the embedded sentence but the PGN marker is I P plural *-oom*. One may be led to take the position that the control AGR/INFL on the subject NP in these cases is at the level of D-structure. The position is also questioned when we examine passive sentences in a later section.

NP of oblique object

So far we were concerned with the AGR controlling the NPs in subject position though there were cases in which the control of AGR could be either D-structure level or S-structure level. Here we examine some of the sentences in which the AGR controls either the head N of subject NP or the NP of oblique object i.e., it controls the NP of PP.

- (76) *enkaL-il palar avan-ai(p) virumpu-kiR-aarkaL*
 'we-in' 'many' 'he-acc' 'like- pres.-we'
 'Many of us like him'

- (77) *enkaL-il palar avan-ai virumpu-kiR-oom-we*
 'Many of us like him'

In (76) *palar* is controlled by the PGN marker *-aarkaL* whereas in (77) *enkaL* of *enkaLil* is controlled by the PGN marker *-oom*, I P plural. This is true with second person also.

- (78) *unkaL-il palar avan-ai virumpu-kiR-aarkaL*
 'you-in' -they(hum.pl.)'
 'Many of you like him'

- (79) *unkaL-il palar avanai virumpu-kiR-iirkaL*
 'you-in' -they(hum.pl.)'

The PGN marker *-iirkaL* controls the NP of PP *unkaL*, II P plural. Both *enkaL* in (77) and *unkaL* in (79) do not function as the subject of these sentences. There are cases in which we find agreement not only between PGN and subject NP but also between PGN and the oblique object.

Non-nominative NPs

There are verbs of the following in Tamil that take non-nominative NP (=datives), which, it is said, is controlled by the PGN marker.

- (80) *enak-ku(p) paci(k)-kiR-atu*
 'me-to' 'hungry-pres.-it'
 'I am hungry'

- (81) *ena(k)-ku vali(k)-kiR-atu*
 'me-to' 'pain-pres.-it'
 'I am feeling pain'

- (82) ena(k)-ku amaiccar-ai(t) teriy-um
 'me-to' 'minister-acc.' 'know-fut.'
 'I know the minister'

- (83) ena(k)-ku tamiZ teriy-um
 'I know Tamil'

In sentences (80-82), we do not have nominative NP, which is controlled by the PGN marker. In (83), the NP *tamiZ* is not the subject of the sentence. It is rather the object of the sentence. The accusative marker is optionally marked when the NP is inanimate. Marking of accusative marker is obligatory when the NP is animate (see example (82)). *-um* is here to be regarded not a marker for denoting future tense. It is rather denoting the habituality of an action. In Tamil, the future tense marker is used to express the habituality of an action.

- (84) avan tinamum paLLikkuuT-att-iR-ku(p) poo-v-aan
 'he' 'daily' 'school- to' 'go-fut.-he'
 'He goes to school every day'

- (85) cuuriyan kiZakkee utikk-um
 'sun' 'east' 'rise-fut.-o'
 'The sun rises in the east'

-um and its other variant forms express both future tense and habituality. When the marker *-um* occurs with the verbs of feeling/emotion/cognition, etc. it expresses the meaning of habituality. These verbs combined with aspectual auxiliary take the nominative NPs.

- (86) cujaataa kataikaL avan-ukku(p) piTi-tt-
 'sujatha' 'stories' 'he-to' 'liked-have- past -
 iru-nt-an-a
 they(non-hum.)'
 'The stories of Sujatha were liked by him'

- (87) *niRaiya moZikaL avaL-ukku terint-iru-nt-an-a*
 'many' 'languages' 'she-to' 'known-have-past-
 they(non-hum.)'
 'Many languages are known to her'

Here, (87) has alternant sentence in which *avaL* is the subject of the sentence controlled by the PGN marker.

- (88) *avaL niRaiya moZikaL terint-iru-nt-aaL*
 'she' 'many' 'languages' 'known-has-past-she'
 'She knew many languages'

In (88), we have two NPs that are not marked explicitly for case. The PGN marker controls the NP that functions as the subject of the sentence. In (87), there is only one NP that is nominative and the PGN marker controls the subject NP *niRaiya moZikaL*. Examine the following sentences in which we have different NPs functioning as the subject even though the verb is the same.

- (89) *avan niRaiya cinimaa naTikarkaL-ai(t)*
 'he' 'many' 'cinema' 'actors-acc.'
terintiru-nt-aan
 'known-has-past-he'
 'He knew many cinema actors'
- (90) *niRaiya cinimaa naTikarkaL avan-ukku(t)*
terint-iru-nt-aarkaL
-they(hum.pl.)'
 'Many cinema actors were known to him'
- (91) *avan-ukku niRaiya cinimaa naTikarkaL-*
ai(t) terint-iru-nt-atu
 'Many cinema actors were known to him'

It is clear that *-aan* in (89) and *-aarkaL* in (90) control their NPs functioning as the subject of the sentence. It is difficult to associate the PGN marker *-atu* in (91). Both NPs are [+ human] and

inflected for cases. The control of *-atu* or its variant form *-tu* in negative sentence in the type of sentences given above remains to be explained. Let us give some more examples in which *-atu/-tu* occurs but we are unable to associate with an antecedent NP.

- (92) *enakku vali(y)-aaka iruk-kiR-atu*
 'to me' 'pain' 'be-pres.-it'
 'I am feeling pain'

- (93) *enakku ippoZutu un(n)-ai(p) puri-kiR- atu*
 'to me' 'now' 'you-acc' 'understand-pres.-it'
 'Now I understand you'

- (94) *periyavarkaL viiTT-il kiTai(y)-aa-tu*
 'elders' 'house-in' 'be-not-it'
 'The elders are not in the house'

Specifying *-atu/-tu* as III P non-hum.sg. does not lead us anywhere near to understand the agreement phenomenon in these kinds of sentences. Further an in-depth analysis is required to understand the agreement phenomenon as a whole.

Notes

¹ The example given here though occurs more frequently, it is insisted that the sentence given below is correct.

avai viiTT-iR-ku vaar-aa

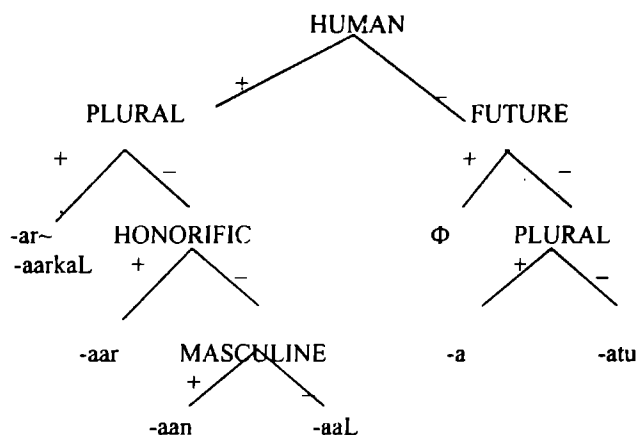
The PGN is unmarked even in the negative sentences when TEN is FUT and the subject NP non-human plural. Acceptance of (4) will lead us to treat *-tu* as non-human marker. The distinction between singular and plural is erased. This tendency is found spreading in other type of sentences too.

² *-ar* and *-aarkaL* are in complementary distribution. *-ar* occurs after the *caariyai* (the increment) *-an* which follows TEN. *-aarkaL* comes when there is no *caariyai*.

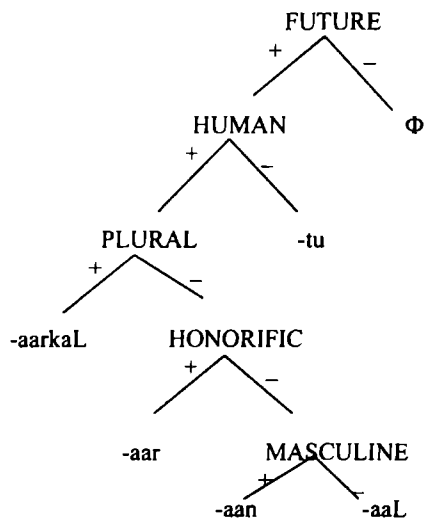
<i>avarkaL</i>	<i>neeRRu</i>	<i>va-nt-an-ar</i>
'they (hum)'	'yesterday'	'come-past-Φ-they'
'They came yesterday'		

avarkaL neeRRu va-nt-aarkaL
 'They came yesterday'

³. The information given there may be represented in branching diagram for the purpose of easy understanding.



⁴. The information given in table is presented in a branching diagram.



⁵ The II P honorific form *niir* is not used frequently. *niinkaL* is used mostly to express honorific. In some dialects both *niir* and *niinkaL* are used to denote honorific. *niir* is used when the addressee is equal and not very high in social status. *niinkaL* is used to express high level of respect. With the exception of Brahmin and some southern dialects, most of the dialects use *niinkaL* only to denote honorific.

⁶ Nouns such as *paNiyaaLar*, *naTikar* are singular honorific nouns. But in (45) and (46), they function as plural subject. In certain phrases these nouns denoting singular in isolation express plural number.

maaNavar viTuti
'students' hostel'

naTikar cankam
'actors' association'

aaciriyar kuuTTaNi
'teachers' federation'

CODE-SLIDING : AN EMERGING STYLE IN MULTILINGUAL SPEECH

J. Shakuntala Sharma

1. Introduction

The central issue in multilingualism research is code switching, the alternating use of several languages by multilingual speakers in the same discourse. Sometimes switching occurs between the turns of different speakers in a conversation, sometimes between utterances within a single turn and at times even within a single utterance. This form of speech behaviour does not necessarily indicate lack of competence on the part of the speaker in any of the languages concerned, but results from interplay of various dimensions, which are sociological, psychological and grammatical. Thus code switching is a dynamic and exciting multi-disciplinary field. Despite an extensive research on code switching, some researchers still tend to designate different types of code-alternation under one label, code-switching. By doing so, the finer distinctions in the underlying processes in different types of code alternation get lost and researchers erroneously come to the conclusion that code switching is mainly due to lack of competence. However, Gumperz (1964), in his pioneering work on code switching, pointed out that switching does not necessarily mean lack of bilingual competence and his findings have been endorsed by later research by other scholars.

2. Code-Sliding

My research on Hyderabad Telugu (Shakuntala Sharma, 2000) led me to the observation that code sliding is a type of code-alternation, which is distinct from code mixing and code

switching. In code sliding, an utterance (more specifically, a sentence) starts in one language and then gradually slides into another language, without having closed the sentence either semantically or grammatically, while code mixing refers to incorporating elements from another language, into a sentence in one language; code switching occurs when a speaker, within the same utterance, changes the code after having completed a sentence grammatically.

Examples :

Code sliding Whichever place you go to, *uttara:lu ra:stu: unDu*

Code mixing : They are all watching the *tama:Sa:*

Code switching: *ne:nu weLta:nu.* You also come with me.

More illustrations of code sliding that occurred in the discourses collected in Hyderabad, are given in the Appendix.

One may question here the need for coining the term, 'code sliding', when the term 'intra-sentential switching' is already there in literature. But the justification for the new term 'code sliding' comes from the fact that, in code sliding, *two grammars, along with their lexicons*, are operating simultaneously within a *single sentence* and hence a single semantic unit, and by calling it, 'intra-sentential switch', this important aspect will be totally lost. Also, it would be a challenging task in semantics and psycholinguistics to address the issue as to how *one* semantic unit (a sentence) breaks into *two* grammar-lexicons in the speaker's mind/brain.

3. Research on code-alternation

Research work done by Gumperz (1964) in India, on Hindi-English code mixing first drew the international attention to code alternation phenomenon and since then Spanish-English bilingualism (Poplak, 1981), Punjabi-English bilingualism

(Agnihotri, 1987), and many other language contact situations are being investigated with more modern technological devices and sophisticated research tools, resulting in the emergence of a dynamic inter-disciplinary field, generally termed as code switching (cs). This field is approached from diverse directions such as social network analysis, discourse analysis etc. However, whatever theoretical framework one presupposes to study code switching, it is an indispensable fact that our theoretical developments do depend on accumulation of descriptive studies on diverse language-contact situations and our ability to handle sensibly this accumulation. A systematic broadening of database is a necessary step in developing a sound theory. In the search for general principles underlying code switching, one should keep in mind that the sociolinguistic approach has a kind of priority over the grammatical structural approach in code switching studies, since the choice and alternation between different languages or varieties is triggered by social or psychological factors rather than by internal linguistic features of the languages involved. However, this does not mean that the grammatical models for code switching are not relevant. As explanatory rules they are necessary but are not sufficient.

4. Data collection in the present study

The present paper is based on my earlier research work (Shakuntala Sharma, 2000), which fetched me a Ph.D. from the P.S. Telugu University, Hyderabad under the supervision of Prof. B. Ramakrishna Reddy. The target population in the study was the English-medium-educated Hyderabad youth, both males (14) and females (20). A systematic collection of discourse data from the respondents was carried out and with the help of statistical models speech dynamics in terms of code-mixing-switching-sliding (CMSSing) was examined in my thesis (unpublished yet). The present paper, however, concentrates on a single aspect of CMSSing, namely code-sliding.

5. Speech dynamics in Hyderabad Telugu

Hyderabad city qualifies itself to serve as an interesting laboratory for research on multilingualism with its multicultural, multilingual and multidialectal population and a history which is markedly different from the rest of the state and yet, the city serves as the states' capital.

In Hyderabad Telugu, code alternation simply happens. It is not always a socio-linguistically motivated strategy. Nevertheless, it needs to be explained. If not in socio-linguistic terms definitely in terms of psychosocial factors. However, one cannot rule out every socio-linguistic reason from the explanation. On the other hand, it requires a kind of sieving of various social as well as linguistic factors such as the following :

- (i) *Register-specific mixing* : Administrative terminology and technical terms on sports, trade, commerce etc., heavily depend on English. Even when terminologies prepared by government-sponsored academies are available, mass media as well as Telugu speakers in general exhibit a marked preference to English terms over the tongue-twisting Telugu technical terms, which are derived from Sanskrit-based (*tatsam*) words.
- (ii) *Identity factor* : English terms are sometimes used to hide one's own mother tongue variety identification which places the individual in a particular region or in a particular caste group, or both, simultaneously.
- (iii) *Projecting an image* : To project oneself as an English-educated individual and to flaunt one's own facility with or fluency in English.
- (iv) *Mother-tongue deficiency* : Factor due to infacility with Telugu because of its infrequent use.

- (v) *More facility with English* : because of high frequency of its use in the work sphere and even in other domains.
- (vi) *Chance factor* : Definitely, there appears to exist a probabilistic element in code-MSSing. However, it may be noted that the concept of probability finds its application in a situation where a number of factors interact and produce a situation, which we cannot attribute to already known factors or to a single cause. That is, when information available is incomplete, we apply probability models; when we know everything about a phenomenon we do not require probability models.

6. Discussion on code sliding

During data collection, it has been observed that code sliding is exhibited more at higher competence level and in more talkative persons. They are more conscious of their speech, more articulate and they obviously relish what they are doing with language – they are aware that their listeners are impressed with the way they are taking liberties with language, which demonstrates their facility with two or more languages. When matrix¹ code is English, generally there is no mixing of Telugu but there can be switching as well as sliding. However, when the

¹ *Matrix language* : In earlier literature on code-switching, a distinction has been made between the base language, also called the matrix language, and the embedded language. But no clear-cut definitions or criteria are provided to decide which is the base language and which is the embedded language. It has been suggested by earlier researchers that one may go by frequency counts to decide the matrix language. But this definition fails in the case of Telugu-English sentences, wherein, sometimes all the content words are in English and only the auxiliary verb with Telugu inflexions completes the sentence (and the English words are sequenced according to Telugu syntax). In case of Telugu, I have observed that defining matrix language in a mixed code as the language to which the finite verb or the morphology of the finite verb belongs, provides an unambiguous criterion to decide the matrix language in a CMSSed utterance.

matrix language is Telugu, it is likely that there is a lot of mixing, some switching and some sliding, in that order.

The data presented in the Appendix are a clear illustration that code sliding defies the linguistic constraints proposed by Poplak (1981) and others accepted in principle by many researchers, thus providing an ample evidence for a need to reexamine these rules and constraints.

Language finds its existence in a society and gets its sustenance from individuals. Every individual inherits and internalizes language(s) of his immediate linguistic environment and uses language(s) for communication, self-expression and self-achievement; while doing so, the individual cannot go away tangentially from the social norms and from the expectations of his immediate interactants. A parallelogram law of forces is at work, one vector being the social group conventions and the other vector being his own creativity and innovative urge, what emerges as his verbal output is like the diagonal in a parallelogram. All these individual diagonals, once again jointly constitute a set of new social norms and this process goes on endlessly, leading to the dynamicity of language process.

In a stable monolingual society, where the conditions of existence are somewhat static over long periods of time, conventionality vector is more dominant and there is not much scope for a strong individual innovation. But in urban societies, especially when they are cosmopolitan and multilingual, there is a criss-cross of social norms and language habits -- in this linguistic ensemble, every individual is bound to lose some old linguistic habits and acquire new speech styles over a period of time.

In the late 1990's, when I was collecting data in Hyderabad, code sliding appeared to be an occasional phenomenon, while code mixing was very prevalent. [It is amusing to observe that

code switching was very much evident in old Telugu movies, among the males only, for obvious reasons, while code mixing was not as much as it is now]. But gradually code-sliding is emerging as a conversational style, especially over TV, if not in written medium. Earlier what was restricted to educated youth only, is now spreading to people of all ages and occupations. Thus code-sliding has been emerging as a speech style among the Telugu-English bilinguals and is very much in vogue.

Acknowledgement

My grateful thanks are due to Prof. K. Nagamma Reddy for her encouragement in submitting this paper.

References

- Agnihotri, Ramakant. 1987. *Crisis of Identity : The Sikhs in England*. New Delhi : Bahri Publications.
- Gumperz, John J. 1964. Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi. *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*. Edited by Horace G. Lunt. The Hague : Mouton.
- Poplak, S. 1981. Syntactic structure and social function of code-switching. In : *Latini Language and Communication Behaviour*. Edited by R.P. Duran. Norwood : N.J. Ablox.
- Shakuntala Sharma, J. 2000. *Speech Dynamics in Hyderabad*. Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished). Hyderabad : P.S. Telugu University.

APPENDIX

Some occurrences of code sliding from discourse data collected in Hyderabad.

1. Later I came to know that *ne:nu ma:Tla:De: bha:Sa koncem pure ga: unTundani wa:LLaki anipincindaTa.*
2. *ne:nu wekkirincinappuDalla:* he gets angry.
3. Hyderabad *anTe:* it is nothing but *Telugē: ka:ni Hindi word ni Telugulo: peTTe:sta:rannama:Ta.*
4. *ne:nu de:ni gurinci ba:dha paData:no:* she will make me forget that.
5. It is a disadvantage because *eppuDayina: Telugu paper-magazine cadawaDam kaSTam awuta:di.*
6. *annam ginne paTTuKunTe:* you have to wash your hands and then only touch the other vessels.
7. First of all what I would like to say is *manaki* human beings *ani pilustunnanduku* try to be as human as possible.
8. *ala:nTappudu mana governmente: e:do: ceyya:le* so that they get better opportunities here.
9. Actually *ne:nu Telugu ba:ga:ne: ma:Tla:Duta:nu ka:ni* I am not so very perfect in Telugu.
10. *manam ka:sta goDavalu:avi: taggincukoni mana* country development *ko:sam a:lo:ciste:* I think there will be no place like India.

NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT 2003

I. Sanction of CAS Phase III

The UGC Review Committee visited the Department and on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee, the UGC has sanctioned financial assistance for the III Phase of CAS (2003-2008) to the tune of Rs.13 lakhs under recurring grant and Rs.13.50 lakhs under non-recurring grant and also a JRF position. Prof. Aditi Mukherjee has been appointed as Coordinator of the programme.

II. Publications of the Faculty Members

Book Review/Editing:

Aditi Mukherjee

- Book review: *Translation, Text and Theory: The Indian Paradigm* edited by Rukmini Bhaya Nair. Sage Publications: New Delhi. In ICSSR Review.

Nagamma Reddy, K.

- Editor, *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, Vol.28. 2002. Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
- *Gender and violence: Souvenir with Abstracts of Papers*. Centre for Women's Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad. 2003.

Papers Published:**Aditi Mukherjee**

- 'Dillir panjabi ar bangalider bhasha'. In *Bangalir Bhashachinta* edited by Sandip Bandyopadhyay. Progressive Publishers: Kolkata. Pp. 114-117.

Nagamma Reddy, K.

- The Phonological Structure of Word in Telugu. In *Word Structure in Dravidian*. Edited by B.Ramakrishna Reddy, Kuppam: Dravidian University. 2003. pp.140-163.
- The vowel and consonant sounds of Indian languages. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*. Vol.32. 2003. pp.33-54.
- On the Phonological Status of Higher-Low Front Vowel in Telugu. In R.M. Sundaram et. al. editors *Facets of Language: A Festschrift for K. Rangan*, Tanjavur: Tanjavur Research Foundation. 2003. pp.333-348.
- Dimensions of Language Education: The Case of Telugu. In *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, 2002 (published, 2003) Vol.28. pp.5-22.

III. Seminars Organized

1. The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics at Osmania University has organized a two-day National Seminar on "Multilingualism in India: The Communicative Strategies" during January 3-4, 2003. Prof. V. Swarajya Lakshmi was the Director of the Seminar. Dr. A. Usha Rani and Mr.K. Ramesh Kumar were organizing secretaries.

Prof. J. Anantha Swamy, Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, inaugurated the seminar. Prof. Aditi Mukherjee

presented the Keynote paper of Prof. E. Annamalai, Former Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. Prof. Bh. Krishnamurti, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hyderabad presided over the function.

The inaugural session was followed by academic sessions. 15 papers were presented in the academic sessions followed by lively discussions. Different areas were covered by the paper presenters in their study of identifying or suggesting communicative strategies in the context of multilingualism.

Geetha Durairajan, Prema Kumari, Tara Ratnam, Lina Mukhopadhyay and R.Eshwar Chand have presented papers in the area of language learning and teaching in the context of multilingualism. While Ajit K.Mohanthly has discussed the communicative strategies used by the children in the multilingual context, Sudheer Bhan has discussed the communicative strategies found among bilingual anomic aphasics. Sandip Bandopadhyaya, in his paper has suggested an innovative approach in the preparation of teaching material for tribals in the context of multilingualism. While Swarajya lakshmi has observed some communicative strategies used in Telugu advertisements, A.Ramdas and A.Usha Devi have taken the flash news (Hindi, English) given in T.V. and folk arts respectively as their sources of study. Code mixing and code shifting, were identified as communicative strategies by Parimala Gantham and Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh and Sapna Bhat. Aditi Mukherjee has addressed the gender problem in the literature pertaining to language maintenance.

The Seminar was concluded with the Valedictory Session, presided over by Prof.Chekuri Rama Rao. Ms.Geetha Durairajan has presented the summary of the Seminar proceedings.

2. K. Nagamma Reddy as the Director, Centre for Women's Studies conducted a two-day National Seminar on "Gender and Violence", at ICSSR Hall, OU Library, on 9-10 April 2003, Osmania University, Hyderabad. The inaugural session of the Seminar was presided over by Prof. J. Anantha Swamy, Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University; Prof. Saraswathi Rao, Former Vice-Chancellor, S.K. University inaugurated the Seminar and Prof. Katyayini Vidmahe delivered keynote address. The OU Vice-Chancellor launched the Souvenir, edited by Prof. K. Nagamma Reddy containing the abstracts of papers. The post-inaugural session had four guest speakers – Prof. Nayani Krishna Kumari, Prof. F.D. Vakil, Sri C.N. Gopinatha Reddy and Smt. Sarala Rajya Lakshmi. All the speakers gave their respective perspectives on gender issues and on violence related activities and how to contain them.

The Seminar-theme "Gender and violence" consisted of five sub-themes, namely (i) General perspectives, (ii) Domestic violence, (iii) Gender justice and violence, (iv) reflections in language and literature, and (v) Culture, media and gender. The 30 research papers presented to the Seminar focused on different dimensions of gender studies with wider perspectives, followed by animated discussion. The Seminar attracted a cross section of participants numbering about 100 and hailing from different walks of life and affiliated to universities, institutions, social organization like NGOs and others.

The role of women in Indian family and society, the vulnerability and susceptibility to violence, empowerment of women both socially and economically, equality rights, the responsibility of state and elitists towards women development and several other related issues were discussed in the proceedings. The various forms and shapes of violence

like rape, wife-beating, sadistic attitude towards women, verbal violence, harassment, undermining of girl child by parents etc., were covered together with suggestions to contain such atrocities. The current thinking and emerging ideas among the specialists in Women Studies (incidentally most of them are women) were brought forth with guidelines for future courses of action. The discipline of women studies is both an academic as well as problem-oriented practical field at the same time. Its social relevance was a crucial point of discussion in the Seminar coupled with the offer of viable solutions to the sufferings of victimized women.

The valedictory session of the Seminar was presided over by Prof. M. Mutha Reddy, Registrar, Osmania University and Dr. Hemalatha Devi, Director, Women and Child Welfare; Government of Andhra Pradesh gave the valedictory address. The organization and the academic contents of the Seminar were highly appreciated by the experts as well as the other participants. Dr. Shakuntala Sharma summed up the proceedings of the Seminar and Prof. K. Nagamma Reddy, Director of the Centre, proposed a vote of thanks.

In the addition to the above, the following Seminars were organized by Dr.K.Nagamma Reddy :

- (i) As a Member of the Organizing Committee, Two-day Symposium was held on “The Challenges to Democracy in India” organized by The Indian Academy of Social Sciences in Collaboration with the ICSSR-Southern Regional Centre, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
- (ii) As a Director, Centre for Women’s Studies, A Discussion Meet on “International Women’s Day”; and “A Lecture-cum-Discussion Meet” on “Importance of Women in Indian Society” were held at Seminar Hall, College of Arts and Social Sciences, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

IV. Seminars Attended and Papers Presented

Aditi Mukherjee

- 'Gender in studies of language maintenance/shift in multilingual situations' at International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL-5) Moscow State University, Moscow.
- 'The genderness of language maintenance and language shift'. National Seminar on Multilingualism in India: The Communicative Strategies, CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Nagamma Reddy, K.

- 'Language education: The case of Telugu'. National Seminar on *Language Education and Literacy* Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi, February 2003.
- 'Role of Language in Tribal Education'. National Seminar on "Globalization, Indian State and Education Policy." Department of Sociology, Osmania University, February 2003. (Co-authored with B. Ramakrishna Reddy)
- 'Women Education and Development'. National Seminar on "Women's Rights and Changing Roles" March 2003. Department of Sociology, University College for Women, Kothi, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
- 'Syllable Structure And Quantity Adjustment In Telugu' 4th International Conference on South Asian Languages, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar, 2003.
- Technology, Society and Development. In 5th A.P. Sociological Society Conference, Department of

Sociology, Osmania University and ICSSR (SRC), Hyderabad. Presented a paper on The Tribal Language and Education. August 2003.

- Lectured on (1) Writing a research report and (2) Note: Footnote and Endnote. FOSSILS National Workshop on Research Design. Dravidian University, Kuppam. May 2003.
- Lectured on Acoustic features of speech sounds and syllable structure constraints in Indian languages. National Workshop on 'Development of Speech Corpora for Indian Languages'. Centre for Development of Advanced Computing, Anusoudhan Bhavan, Noida, Uttar Pradesh. July 2003.
- A joint paper with K. Ramesh Kumar on 'Technology Development for Indian languages'. 4th A.P. Sociological Society Conference on Technology, Society and Development, ICSSR Hall, Osmania University, Hyderabad. August 2003.
- 'The Phonological Status of higher-low vowel in Telugu'. 31st All Indian Conference of Dravidian Linguists, Kanchi, Tamil Nadu. June 2003.
- Participant member of the organizing committee in a two-day symposium on "The Challenges to Democracy in India". Organized by The Indian Academy of Social Sciences, A.P. Centre in Collaboration with the ICSSR-Southern Regional Centre. Hyderabad. September 2003.
- Participant, National Conference on State and Public Policy in South Indian States, organized by Southern Regional Centre, ICSSR, Osmania University,

Hyderabad and Sponsored by Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.

Swarajya Lakshmi, V.

- 'Advertisements in Telugu – Communicative Strategies in the Multilingual Context'. National Seminar on Multilingualism in India: The Communicative Strategies CAS in Linguistics. January 2003.

Vasanta, D.

- 'Phonological awareness and orthographic knowledge in the processing of Telugu words by 4th and 6th grade children'. Seminar on Child Language, University of Newcastle, U.K. July 2003.
- 'Software for teaching beginning prototype package'. National Conference on Language Technology Tools: Implementation of Telugu/Urdu Centre for Applied Linguistics & Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad. October 2003.
- 'Genetic determinism and neurodevelopmental disorders affecting language learning'. Discussion meeting on Genetic Determinism, Pelling, Sikkim. December 2003.
- Participated in a panel discussion on early detection of hearing loss organized by the Speech, Language and Hearing Society of A.P. At the Southern Regional Centre of the AYJ National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped, Secunderabad. December 2003.

Vijayanarayana, B.

- UGC sponsored Refresher Course in Linguistics, organized by the School of Language Development, Potti Streeramulu Telugu University, Hyderabad, February 2003.
- Attended One-Day Colloquium on Wordnet for Indian languages. Organized by SAP, Centre for ALTS, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, March 2003.
- Resource Person and Chaired the session on 'Morpho-Syntax II' in the Three-day National Conference on Language Technology Tools: Implementation of Telugu/Urdu organized by the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, in collaboration with the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. October 2003.

Ramesh Kumar, K.

- Participated in National Workshop on Word Net at CIIL, Mysore Jan 14-16, 2003.
- Participated in National Workshop on Morphological Processing for Indian Languages at Annamalai University, 17-2-2003 to 26-2-2003.
- 'Technology development for Indian Languages. (A joint paper with K. Nagamma Reddy) 4th A.P. Sociological Society Conference on Technology, Society and Development, ICSSR Hall, Osmania University, Hyderabad. August 2003.

V. Research projects

Nagamma Reddy, K.

- On-going: CIIL-HRD Project on “Content Development of Telugu” under LIS-India. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

Swarajya Lakshmi, V.

- Code-mixing in Telugu under CAS in Linguistics.
- Preparation of primary textbooks in Tribal languages in collaboration with Tribal Cultural Research Centre, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh.

Vasanta, D.

- Completed and submitted a report on the project “Development and Validation of a Computer-assisted instructional package for training script-specific word Reading skills in Indian Languages” funded by the Dept of Science & Technology, Govt. of India (in collaboration with the Dept of Biomedical Engineering, O.U. and IIIT, Hyderabad). November 2003.

VI. Extension activities of the faculty members

Nagamma Reddy, K.

- Lectured on ‘Phonetics: Theory and Practice’ as Resource person, UGC Refresher Course in Linguistics, P.S. Telugu University, Hyderabad. February 2003.
- Appointed as the Chairperson, Board of Studies in Linguistics, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University. She is also The Director, Centre for Women’s Studies, Osmania University.

- Chosen for distinguished standing and has been conferred with an honorary appointment to the Professional Women's Advisory Board, The Board of Directors, Governing Board of Editors and Publications Board of the American Biographical Institute, 2003.
- Expert member of the Board of Studies in Linguistics Andhra University, Vishakhapatnam. (2003-2007).
- Nominated by the Vice-Chancellor as External Member of the Advisory Committee for the establishment of Language Laboratory, February 2004. A.U. College of Arts and Commerce, Andhra University, Vishakhapatnam.
- Invited Chief Guest, Government Girls Primary School, Rasulpura, to speak on girls education International Women's Day. On March 8, 2003.
- Expert member of the Board of Studies in Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
- Elected Vice-President, The Indian Academy of Social Sciences, Hyderabad Chapter.
- Honorary advisor to English Monthly Magazine "The Wealth of India", Edited by Ashok Kumar, R.No.K4096 PressS.B/267/2002-2003(Govt.Regd).
- Resource Person of the Workshop on Research Design and Research Methodology, organized by the Folklore Society of South Indian Languages, Dravidian University, Kuppam. Delivered two talks: 1. Writing a Research report, and 2. Notes: Footnote and Endnote, May 2003.

Usha Rani, A.

- Organizing Secretary, National Seminar on Multilingualism in India: The Communicative Strategies held by CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Vijayanarayana, B.

- Nominated as the Member of Executive Committee, Linguistic Society of India. 2003-2005.
- As a resource person gave two lectures on 'Morphological Concepts' to the participants of UGC Refresher Course in Linguistics at the UGC Staff Training College, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad. October 2003.

Ramesh Kumar, K.

- Organizing Secretary, National Seminar on Multilingualism in India: The Communicative Strategies held by CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
- Resource Person for Preparation of Textbooks in Tribal Languages, for 1st to 3rd Classes, Tribal Calmar Research & Training Institute, Tribal Welfare Department, A.P, Hyderabad.

VII. Research Degrees Awarded**M. Phil.**

- Awarded M.Phil. Degree to Mr. T. Elisha for his thesis on *Language Awareness Abilities of Telugu Speaking Secondary School Children*.
Supervisor: Dr. D. Vasanta.

This thesis deals with a relatively under-researched topic in the field of educational linguistics, viz., language awareness. Specifically, it is concerned with assessment of Telugu language awareness abilities of secondary school children studying in Telugu medium schools. Since there are no ready tools to do the assessment, the candidate has designed a tool and field-tested it on 50 school children studying in two different secondary schools (one private and one Government, the medium of instruction in both schools being Telugu). Both the schools are located in Medak district in Andhra Pradesh. Data was also collected from 10 Government school-teachers who teach Telugu in the schools selected for the study. The tool called Telugu Language Awareness Test (TLAT) has three main sections: Section – A deals with sounds and letters carrying 40 marks; Section – B with meanings and grammar carrying 40 marks, and Section – C deals with issues of language use carries 20 marks. The entire test can be administered in less than one hour. Time taken by each candidate was also noted.

The main findings of this study are: (1) Telugu speaking secondary school children exhibited better awareness about sounds, letters, meaning and grammar components of the test than language use component which probed awareness about dialects and knowledge about spoken vs. written language (2) There is little, if any difference in the performance between boys and girls in both the schools (3) The overall performance of children in both the schools improves gradually, but from class VIII to class X (in the private school set-up) those in private school were able to complete the test slightly faster than those in the Government school (5) The performance of the adults (Government school teachers with Telugu Pandit qualification) was close to theoretical maximum especially on sections A and B offering content validity to the test. It appears that greater attention should have been paid to Section – C dealing with issues of dialects and differences between spoken and written language.

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter – 1 provides an introduction to the concept of language awareness; brief discussion on its role in education and the need for the present study. Chapter – 2 on Review of Literature reports studies undertaken on this subject, primarily in the Western context in relation to English language. These studies have been classified under the headings, Metalinguistic ability vs. language awareness; A framework for language awareness; Development of language awareness; Causes and function of linguistic awareness and Pedagogic implications. Chapter – 3 titled, Methodology provides a detailed description of the test, TLAT (with the Telugu original reproduced in the appendix); Method of administration of the test; Data collection, Scoring and Analysis. Chapter – 4 on Results and discussion contains tables displaying the results obtained on TLAT from the children belonging to the two schools as well as the adults. A brief discussion of the main results is also included in this chapter. Chapter – 5 summarizes the thesis and lists the major conclusions, their implications, limitations of the present study and suggestions for future research.

Reported by D. Vasanta

Ph.D.

- Awarded Ph.D. Degree to Mr. S. Rajendran for thesis on *Significance of Stress for Speech Systems in Hindi*.
Supervisor: Prof. K. Nagamma Reddy

The objective of the thesis is to examine the acoustic correlates of stress in Hindi, to evolve rules underlying the functions of stress in continuous speech, and to make use of these rules in developing speech systems for Hindi.

Chapter 1 presents the scenario of building speech systems and the requirement of segmental and suprasegmental knowledge sources for building speech systems. It introduces the prosodic features and the importance of stress. Chapter 2 deals with the problem in studying the acoustic correlates of stress. Previous studies on stress in Hindi indicate that stress exists in Hindi. Stress is a suprasegmental feature associated with syllable. While there was a larger consensus among the studies that syllables have to be necessarily classified into heavy and light, there was disagreement in assigning stress to a particular syllable. Most of the previous studies were based on perceptual criterion. Unlike languages like English where stress is marked in the lexicon, Hindi does not distinguish same word with difference in stress. This suggests that Hindi does not have lexical function but has demarcative function besides expressing emphasis in speech.

The third Chapter begins with analysis of disyllabic words consisting of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable. The acoustic properties such as duration, intensity, fundamental frequency (Fo), formants and their bandwidth, spectral tilt and excitation strength of the syllable nuclei were analysed. The results indicate that the duration of vowel in the unstressed syllable (initial syllable) is equal or higher than the stressed syllables. On the other hand, the intensity was higher by 4 dB for most of the cases in the stressed syllable (i.e., final syllable). The Fo was also consistently higher at the vowel in the stressed syllable. The bandwidth of the first formant in the stressed vowel is less compared to that of the unstressed vowel indicating that the vowels in the stressed syllables were produced with larger efforts.

Chapter 4 presents analysis of disyllabic words with different syllable patterns. The analysis indicates that Fo is found to be always higher for the final syllable irrespective of the quality and

quantity of the vowel in the syllable. Analysis of speech spoken in English by the native speakers of Hindi and experiments of word order confirm that the word final syllables show higher F_0 than the word-initial syllables.

Chapter 5 proposes an algorithm for locating the stressed syllables (usually word final syllables) in continuous speech in Hindi. The potential syllables were identified by using energy contour, pitch and first order LP coefficient. The algorithm was evaluated on a corpus of about 50 sentences in Hindi read out by five native speakers of Hindi representing different geographical region. The results showed that about 80% of the stressed syllables and about 28% of the function words were correctly recognized by the algorithm. Evidences were shown that the algorithm was robust enough to handle adverse speech input conditions like noisy speech and telephone speech.

The final chapter summarizes the work discussed in the previous chapters and proposes directions for future research studies on stress.

VIII. Appointment of Faculty

The University has appointed Mr. Mohd. Ansari as Assistant Professor in Linguistics and he has joined the Department on the 18th September 2003.

Printed at

Director, Department of Publications and Press

Osmania University

Hyderabad - 500 007. A.P.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Prof. H. S. Ananthanarayana

150 Anagha, First Phase, First Cross
Gangotri Layout, Mysore 570 009.

Prof. B. Gopal Rao

Department of English, College of Arts and Social
Sciences, Osmania University, Hyderabad 500 007.

Prof. Jagannath Vidyalankar

4643 E. Grandview, Phoenix,
AZ 85032, U.S.A.

Dr. Khateeb S. Mustafa

Urdu Teaching and Research Centre
Sapruon 173 211, Solan, Himachal Pradesh.

Prof. B. Ramakrishna Reddy

Flat # 114, Gayatri Towers,
Street # 1, Tarnaka, Secunderabad 500 017.

Dr. L. Ramamoorthy

Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture
112, Kamatchiamman Koil Street, Pondicherry 605 001

Mr. K. Ramesh Kumar

Department of Linguistics, College of Arts and
Social Sciences, Osmania University, Hyderabad 500 007.

Prof. K. Rangan, Dr. M. Suseela, and Dr. S. Rajendran

Department of Linguistics
Tamil University, Tanjavur 613 405.

Dr. J. Shakuntala Sharma

Flat # 3, Latha Apartments,
Vidyanagar, Hyderabad 500 044

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 29, 2003

CONTENTS

	Page
H. S. Ananthanarayana Rule Organisation and Rule Application in Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar	1
B. Gopal Rao Teaching Language through Literature in ESL Curriculum	7
Jagannath Vidyalkar Plural in Telugu Nouns	17
Khateeb S. Mustafa The -ande Construction in Dakkhini	33
B. Ramakrishna Reddy Reference and Meaning of Dravidian Demonstratives	49
L. Ramamoorthy The Notion of Tamil Development in Pondicherry: Theory and Practice	63
K. Ramesh Kumar The Pronunciation of /th/ in Telugu: A quantitative Analysis	79
K. Rangan, M. Suseela and S. Rajendran Agreement System in Tamil	93
J. Shakuntala Sharma Code-Sliding : An Emerging Style in Multilingual Speech	115
<i>News of the Department</i>	123