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(Special Volume in Honour of Professor Aditi Mukherjee)

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Editor

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

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

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**Special Volume in Honour of
Professor Aditi Mukherjee**



Professor Aditi Mukherjee

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Editorial

This special volume is brought out in honour of Professor Aditi Mukherjee, who superannuated on September 30, 2008. Professor Aditi Mukherjee was born on September 8, 1948 to Bengali parents and had her education at Delhi. She received her Master's Degree in English Literature and P.G. Diploma, M. Litt. and Ph.D. degrees in Linguistics from Delhi University. She started her teaching career as Lecturer in English from Lakshmi Bai College, Delhi University, Delhi. She joined as a Reader in the Department of Linguistics, O.U., in the year 1982 and became a Professor in 1989. She held many academic and administrative positions in the University during her illustrious career. Some of the positions which she held in OU are: Head of the Department for two terms (1990-92 & 2005-2007), Board of Studies Chairperson, Coordinator, CAS and ASIHSS programme and Dean Faculty of Arts, from 2001-2004.

Prof. Aditi Mukherjee was a recipient of (a). Fullbright Scholarship, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, USA during 1976-77, (b). Nuffield Fellowship, University of York, England in 1986 and (c). Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla during 1997-1999. She has authored three books, and edited seven books. She has published more than 20 research articles in international and national journals. She has organized and participated in several national and international seminars. She supervised the research work of 3 M.Phil. students and a Ph. D. scholar. Professor Aditi Mukherjee lectured to the participants of more than 20 UGC refresher/Orientation courses and she was also a resource person for several workshops. Currently she is working for Anusaraka - a project on Machine aided translation at IIIT, Hyderabad.

This special volume contains 12 research papers by her colleagues, friends and students on various aspects of linguistics which Professor Aditi Mukherjee is interested.

The first article is ‘Meaning Without Grammar and With It’ by Amritavalli. She discusses how some items of grammar can change meaning although others do not affect meaning. The paper draws examples from English and Kannada to prove this point. The paper also gives experimental evidence in support of this. The author points out that there is a lot of hidden grammar, or meaning, contained even the “little words” like *or* and *oo*, in English and Kannada respectively, which speakers of these languages do not even notice them. But a linguist should be able to notice, investigate and unravel the semantic nuances that exist in the languages.

The second article is by Vasanta on ‘Speaking of Motion: On the Convergence of Language Typology, Lexical Semantics and Sociolinguistics’. The article deals with the relationship between conceptual organization and linguistic expression of motion events. Studies on this topic have shown that the path (direction) of motion constitutes the core component of motion event encoding. It shows that there is a two way distinction existing among languages with respect to the way path is lexicalized. In Verb-framed or V-languages (such as French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Japanese), Path is expressed in the main verb in a clause (‘enter’, ‘exit’, ‘ascend’ etc), as opposed to Satellite-framed or S-languages (such as, Dutch, English, German, Russian and Chinese), in which Path is expressed by an element associated with the verb (in/out/up etc), while the main verb itself expresses manner of motion or sometimes even the cause. Researchers have also argued for the need to examine different varieties (dialects) associated with V-languages and S-languages before delineating cognitive consequences of observed lexicalization patterns for language acquisition, processing and translation. The article also reviews select literature on this topic with a view to raise discussion on appropriate methodologies for extending this research into multilingual contexts involving Indian languages.

The third article is on ‘Political Semantics and Historical Context of South Asian Studies’ by Bapuji. The article highlights the studies in South Asia in the context of inter-imperialist rivalry between the United States of America (America) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the

former Soviet Union) for the world hegemony in general and South Asia in particular. The author offers an historical account of themes and perspectives in the study of South Asian Languages during the last sixty years. The article is aimed at drawing the attention of the scholars working in the field of South Asian Languages and Linguistics to the fact that research in a given branch of knowledge is consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally driven by certain historically specific motivations.

The fourth article is on 'Language, Capabilities and Recognitions: Educational Possibilities' by Geetha Durairajan. The author opines that the main functions of a language curriculum in societal-cum-individual plurilingual countries has to be fine-tuned and augmented to this 'varied language use.' However, language classrooms, both in India and in other multilingual countries, exist as watertight, self-sufficient compartments that neither recognize nor provide mutual spaces for languages to interact with each other. This is in direct contrast to the checkered mosaic of different language bits that make up the typical day of a plurilingual person. Therefore, the isolating, prescriptive view of language can be traced, at one level, to monolingual assimilationist language paradigms, to a view of language as a system of internalized rules, and to a non-recognition of these varied 'functionings' as 'capabilities.' The author makes an attempt in this article to examine the theoretical underpinnings required for an articulation of a plurilingual language(s) curriculum in the Indian educational context, and to explore the practical possibilities and realizations of such a curriculum.

The fifth article is on 'Critical Language Awareness and Teacher Education' by Imtiaz Hasnain. The author studies the importance of language awareness and teacher education at the primary school level. The article focuses on the changing patterns of power and social control of the minority languages and language changing practices in contemporary society in various works. The author argues that it is imperative to develop new technologies to meet the demands of language use in new types of media, for example, Internet, TV etc. The National Curriculum Framework recognized the importance that has to be given

to develop appropriateness in the use of language in education. The author feels that the teacher education program is the starting point from the perspective of critical language awareness. For this teachers have to be trained to pay attention to the role of language practices in reproducing or changing structures of domination.

The sixth article which is by Sukhvinder Singh deals with 'Syntactic Innovations in Newspaper Punjabi'. The author discusses two types of syntactic innovations namely, i) Passive Type of Construction and ii) NP Type of constructions found in the Punjabi language of the News headlines. As far as the passive construction in Punjabi is concerned, the main verb invariably occurs in perfect form followed by the operator (verb) *ja* 'to go', or *ho* 'to happen'. But the present study reveals that the language of News headlines contain *wallō* which is a passive marker, equivalent to English *by*. This marker is used instead of passive operators *ja* or *ho* and the phrase structure of passive sentence, normally, remains nominal (NP type).

In the seventh article on 'Verbless Sentences in Telugu: A Psycholinguistic Perspective' Swathi and Sailaja, discuss the production of verbless sentences in the spontaneous speech of adults. The study is based on the observations made on a picture description task which was administered to 30 Telugu speaking adults in the age range of 21 to 57 years. Twenty pictures were presented through computer for this purpose. The study has taken into account 600 sentences. The authors feel that there is psychological reality for the existence of the verb in underlying representation in verbless constructions in Telugu.

The eighth article is on 'Prosodic Features in the Women's Speech of Fisherman Community - An Overview' by Suneeta Tripathy and Soumya Sivedita Tripathy. The authors stress the importance of prosodic or suprasegmental features *viz.*, pitch, loudness, duration with other parameters. These are indispensable for the proper exchange of views, ideas, feelings etc. The authors conducted a field study for this purpose with an intention to study the various suprasegmental features employed by the women speakers of fisherman community of Berhampur and

Gopalpur areas. These areas have a mixed group of Oriya and Telugu speakers. The use of these prosodic features in the speech of the two groups of participants were analyzed and compared with the sentences that occur in Standard Oriya. The authors conclude, that the prosodic features in the Oriya speech of the women of the fisherman community especially who hail from Andhra and speak Telugu in their speech community, get influenced by regional and socio-cultural aspects. The same is also found where the Ganjam accent does have influence over the speech of Oriya fisherwomen.

In the next article Arunachalam, analyses the famous lyric of W.B. Yeats's 'An Irish Airman Foresees his Death' in the framework of Halliday and Hasan's *Cohesion in English* (1976). The analysis shows that the poem has a well knit textual structure with the employment of different types of cohesive ties namely reference, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion to provide link and continuity between the utterances to form a full-fledged text. It also brings out the fact that some sub types of the above cohesive devices and a particular type of cohesion called substitution are conspicuous by their absence, leaving a scope for the use of more types of cohesive devices in the poem.

Usha Rani's article deals with the 'Character Reference in a Narrative'. The author makes an attempt to analyze nominal and pronominal references for characters in a sequential picture description by 50 Telugu-English speaking adults. She opines that certain observations in the present study could be substantiated with the earlier work done on narratives by R.S. Tomlin (1987). The study shows that in the narrative while referring to characters belonging to the same gender, nouns were preferred to pronouns to avoid ambiguity.

In his article on 'Relative Constructions in Telugu', Vijayanarayana deals with the general framework required for describing a relative construction crosslinguistically. The paper also discusses structural and semantic peculiarities of relative constructions in Telugu.

The final paper is by Lakshmi Bai on 'Causative Formation in Hindi and its Implication for Complex Predicate Analysis'. She points out that the occurrence of the two morphological causatives, namely –*aa* and –*vaa* in Hindi is determined by the nature of activity encoded in the verb. Based on this, the author argues that certain Noun and Light verb combinations cannot be interpreted as complex predicates in the –*vaa* causatives. The study also discusses the outcome of a small experiment undertaken to check whether gapping of the nominal in a N + V combination can help determine whether it is complex or not.

I am extremely thankful to the authors for responding to our invitation and contributing their papers and to my colleagues in the department for extending their help and cooperation in bringing out this special volume.

Professor Aditi Mukherjee served the department for nearly 26 years in various capacities and contributed her might in developing the department. Therefore, as a token of respect and reverence to her, we are happy to bring out this 34th issue of Osmania Papers in Linguistics as a special volume in her honour. The faculty, research scholars and students wish Professor Aditi Mukherjee good health, wealth, happiness and academically fruitful retired life.

K. Ramesh Kumar

- 1992-1994 Chairperson, Board of Studies in Linguistics, Osmania University.
- 2001-2004 Dean, Faculty of Arts, Osmania University.
- 2003-2008 Coordinator, UGC Programme CAS-Phase III.
- 2005-2007 Head, Department of Linguistics, Osmania University
- 2005-2007 Coordinator, UGC Programme ASIHSS in Linguistics.
- Currently working for 'Anusaaraka' – a project on machine-aided translation at IIT, Hyderabad.

FELLOWSHIPS/AWARDS

- 1976-77 Fullbright scholarship at the University of Illinois, Urbana/ Champaign, USA.
- 1986 Nuffield Fellowship, University of York, England.
- 1997-99 Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla.

SPECIALIZATION

Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, Literacy studies.

COURSES TAUGHT IN OTHER UNIVERSITIES

- 1987 Course in Sociolinguistics, Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad.
- 1989 Courses in Sociolinguistics and Research Methodology, Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University, Hyderabad.

- 2004 Summer School Course on Bangla language. University of Zagreb, Croatia.

BOOKS (authored)

2002. Literacy in India: The Present Context. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
1996. Language maintenance and Language Shift among Panjabis and Bengalis in Delhi. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.
1989. Tense in Indian English (co-authored with R.K.Agnihotri and A.L.Khanna) New Delhi: Bahri Publications.
1978. Evaluation of Communicability in Village Settings (Co-authored with R.N.Srivastava et al). New Delhi: UNICEF.

BOOKS (translated)

1993. Passing Time in Biharipur (with R.K.Agnihotri) from Hindi to English. New Delhi: Penguin India
1987. Harinath De: a Biography from Bangla to English . New Delhi: National Book Trust (NBT).
1982. Asian Short Stories from English to Bangla. New Delhi: NBT.

BOOKS (edited)

- 2007 *Osmania Papers in Linguistics* Vol. 32.
- 2002 *Practice and Research in Literacy* (co-edited with D.Vasanta). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

- 2001 *Language Matters: Papers in honour of Prof.C.Ramarao* (co-edited with B.Vijayanarayana and K.Nagamma Reddy). Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation.
1996. *Word Order in Indian Languages* (co-edited with V.Swarajya Lakshmi). Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation.
1993. *Tense and Aspect in Indian Languages* (co-edited with B.Lakshmi Bai). Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation.
1989. *Language Variation and Language Change*. Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics.
1984. *Modernization of Indian Languages in News Media* (co-edited with Bh.Krishnamurti). Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics.

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- 2003 'dillir panjabi ar bangalider bhasha'. In *Bangalir Bhashachinta* edited by Sandip Bandyopadhyay. Progressive Publishers: Kolkata. Pp. 114-117.
- 2003 Book Review: '*Translation, Text and Theory: The Indian Paradigm*' edited by Rukmini Bhaya Nair. Sage Publications: New Delhi. 2002. In ICSSR Review: New Delhi.
- 2002 'Language, dialect and literacy'. In *Practice and Research in Literacy* edited by Aditi Mukherjee and D.Vasanta. Sage Publications: New Delhi

- 2000 'The Sylhetis in Leeds: an attempt at a sociolinguistic profile' (with M.K.Verma, A.L.Khanna and R.K.Agnihotri). *The Journal of Social Studies*, 91.Pp. 38-58.
- 2000 'The Standard problem'. In *Directions in Indian Sociolinguistics* edited by R.S.Gupta. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study. Pp.86-93.
- 1999 'Freire's dream of freedom'. Book Review of Paulo Freire (1998) *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy and Civic Courage*. In Summerhill Review. Shimla: IIAS.
1998. Book Review of Rajendra Singh (ed., 1997) *Grammar, Language and Society: Contemporary Indian Contributions*. OPIl vol. 22-23.
- 1996 'Subject-verb proximity and problems of translation' (with Dipti Mishra Sharma). In *Word Order in Indian Languages* edited by V.Swarajya Lakshmi and Aditi Mukherjee. Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University and Booklinks Corporation.
- 1994 'Analogy, borrowing (lexical and structural) and translation'. Unit for PGDTS: University of Hyderabad.
1993. 'Language modernization and language standardization: options for the term planner'. Unit for PGDTS: University of Hyderabad.
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- 2001 *Language Matters: Papers in honour of Prof.C.Ramarao* (co-edited with B.Vijayanarayana and K.Nagamma Reddy). Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation.
1996. *Word Order in Indian Languages* (co-edited with V.Swarajya Lakshmi). Hyderabad: CAS in Linguistics and Booklinks Corporation.
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1992. 'Planning Hindi for mass communication'. *The Administrator* (special issue). Mussoorie: Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration. Pp. 73-80.
1991. 'Language in use and Convergence: some preliminary thoughts' (with B.Lakshmi Bai). *OPiL* 16-17, special issue in honour of Prof.H.S.Ananthanarayana. pp. 95-115.
1991. 'Syntactic strategies and politeness phenomena' (with K.V.Subbarao and R.K. Agnihotri). *International Journal of Sociology of Language*. 92: 35-53.
1989. 'Some socio-psychological correlates of linguistic assimilation'. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*. 75: 27-46.
1987. Published 8 units on the Bangla language for the *Foundation Course in Bengali*. New Delhi: IGNOU.
- a. Inflection and derivation in Bangla. Block 2: 19-30.
 - b. Sandhi in Bangla. Block 2: 37-46. (c-h are language teaching materials and linguistic analysis based on texts taken from literature and other disciplines)
 - c. Poetry : Rabindranath Tagore and Sukanta Bhattacharya. Block 2: 31-36.
 - d. Short story: Narayan Gangopadhyay. Block 3: 3-12.
 - e. Short story: Jim Corbett (Bangla translation). Block 4: 31-42.
 - f. Science: the animal kingdom. Block 3: 23-32.
 - g. Sociology. Block 3: 45-65
 - h. Anthropology. Block 4: 15-22.

1984. 'The use of Articles in Indian English: errors and pedagogical implications' (with R.K.Agnihotri and A.L.Khanna). *International Review of Applied Linguistics*. 22.2: 115-129.
1982. 'Predictors of achievements in English Tenses: a socio-psychological study' (with R.K.Agnihotri and A.L.Khanna). *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 8.2: 89-105.
1978. 'Reference groups and their influence on attitude towards language issues' (with D.M.Taylor, R.K.Agnihotri and Shree Krishan). In *Papers in Linguistics* edited by D.P.Pattanayak. Mysore: CIIL.
1976. 'An inter-dialectal attitude survey of some dialects of Bengali'. *Papers in Linguistic Analysis*. 1.1: 84-93.

Eleven Programmes coordinated / produced for EMMRC (UGC).

PROJECT REPORTS

1983. *Variations in the use of Tense: a Sociolinguistic Perspective* (with R.K.Agnihotri and A.L.Khanna). ICSSR: New Delhi.
1986. *Language Maintenance and Communication Networks among the Sylhetis in Leeds*. Nuffield, University of York, England.
1992. A Preliminary study of case-markers in children's language (co-investigator Prof.B.Lakshmi Bai). CAS in Linguistics, Osmania University.
1999. *Literacy: the Indian Context*. IIAS: Shimla.

2003. Evaluation of Curriculum Transaction in Government Schools in Andhra Pradesh. Anveshi Research Centre for Women, Hyderabad.

PAPERS PRESENTED IN SEMINARS/CONFERENCES

2008. 'Participial verbs as discourse in Hindi' connectors'. Analyzing Narratives: Perspectives from Hindi and Telugu (March 28-29), Osmania University, Hyderabad.
2005. 'Who can stutter in English?' International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL-6) at Osmania University, Hyderabad.
2003. 'Gender in studies of language maintenance/shift in multilingual situations'. International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL-5, July 5-9) at Moscow State University, Moscow.
2003. 'The genderedness of language maintenance and language shift'. National Seminar on Multilingualism and Communicative Strategies, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
2002. Keynote Address at National Workshop on Language and Evaluation, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad.
1999. 'Face and Literacy'. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla.
1998. 'The question of code in literacy'. National Symposium on Literacy, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1997. 'The myth of standard development'. SALA, JNU, New Delhi.
1996. 'Literacy and language standardization'. Research-cum-study week On Sociolinguistics in India. Retrospect and Prospect,

Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla.

1993. 'Subject-verb proximity and problems of translation' (with Dipti Mishra Sharma). National Seminar on Word Order in Indian Languages, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1992. 'Whither Hindi Ho!' National Seminar on Language, Context and Communicability, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1991. 'Language maintenance and language shift in the modern Indian context'. National Seminar on Hindi Linguistics, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad.
1988. 'Language policy: need for empirical feedback' (with Dipti Mishra Sharma). International Conference on Language and National Development, Hyderabad.
1985. 'Is there a method in the madness?: English Tenses and the second language learner'. National Seminar on Tense and Aspect in Indian Languages, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1984. 'Translation and communicative competence'. Seminar on translation, Central Institute of Hindi, Hyderabad.
1983. 'Processes of linguistics assimilation'. DLA Conference, Pondicherry.
1983. 'Differential patterns of code-mixing: Panjabi/English and Bengali/English'. Seminar on Hindi Sociolinguistics, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad.
1981. 'Syntactic strategies and politeness phenomena' (with K.V.Subbarao and R.K.Agnihotri). National Seminar on Politeness Phenomena, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

1980. 'Relativization in Bengali: the Dravidian connection' (with C.Ramarao). DLA Conference, Hyderabad.

SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES ORGANIZED

1983. Secretary for the National Seminar on Language Variation and Language Change, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1984. Secretary for the National Seminar on Word in Indian Languages, Osmania University.
1985. Secretary for the National Seminar on Tense and Aspect in Indian Languages, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1988. Secretary for the International Conference on Language and National Development, Hyderabad.
1993. Director of the National Seminar on Word Order in Indian Languages, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1998. Director for the National Symposium on Literacy, Osmania University, Hyderabad
2004. Director for the National Seminar on Lexical Semantics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

- 2000 Evaluation of curriculum transaction in schools in Andhra Pradesh, Anveshi Research Centre for Women, Hyderabad.
- 2004 Dynamics of Multilinguals in Adilabad District, CAS in Linguistics, O.U.

RESEARCH SUPERVIZED

1984. M.Phil by Mina De on 'Bangla Gerunds'.
1986. M.Phil by Sukhvinder Singh on 'Deretroflexion in Doabi dialect of Punjabi: a Sociolinguistic study'.
1995. M.Phil by N.Prasanna Lakshmi on 'A stylistic approach to the poetry of Dom Moraes'.
2008. Ph.D. by Haobam Basantarani

RESOURCE PERSON FOR WORKSHOPS

1983. Workshop on Indian Dialectology, Tamil University, Thanjavur, Tamilnadu.
1984. Workshop on Advanced Sociolinguistics, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.
1988. Workshop on Advanced Sociolinguistics. Bharatiar University, Coimbatore.
- 1997-99. Taught at 8 teacher-training workshops organized by the West Bengal District Primary Education Programme (WBDPEP) in Kolkata and Udaipur, by the Ministry of Human Resources Deveopment, Govt of India.

LECTURED AT UGC REFERESHER/ORIENTATION COURSES

1990. One lecture on 'Issues related to Medium of Instruction', Orientation Course, University of Hyderabad.

1991. Four lectures on 'Perspective in Sociolinguistics', Refresher Course in Linguistics.
1991. Member of the Advisory Committee, Refresher Course in Applied Linguistics, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
1992. Lecture on 'Contact and Typology', Refresher Course in Linguistics, CIEFL, Hyd.
1993. Two lectures on 'Indian English', Refresher Course in English, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
1995. Member of the Advisory Committee, Refresher Course in Applied Linguistics, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
1995. Two lectures on 'Language Standardization: the ideological problem', Refresher Course in Applied Linguistics, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
1996. Member of the Advisory Committee, Refresher Course in Linguistics, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
1996. Four lectures on 'Sociolinguistic Methodology', Refresher Course in Linguistics, CIEFL, Hyderabad.
1997. One lecture on 'Problems of teaching the standard language', Orientation Course, Academic Staff College, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
1997. Evaluated the video-recorded mini-lectures by the participating teachers, Orientation Course, Academic Staff College, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

- 1997. One lecture on 'The politics of language', Orientation Course, JNU, New Delhi.
- 1997. Two lectures on 'Language/dialect choice in English Teaching', Refresher Course in English, University of Hyderabad.
- 2000. Evaluated the performance of participating teachers, Orientation Course, Academic Staff College, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
- 2003. 'Is it possible to be a 'neutral' and apolitical teacher of English in the classroom?'

MEANING WITHOUT GRAMMAR AND WITH IT*

R. Amritavalli

The EFL University

ABSTRACT: The paper discusses how some items of grammar can change meaning although others do not affect meaning. The paper draws examples from English and Kannada and proves this point. The paper also brings out experimental evidence to suggest that grammatical meaning is best acquired in meaningful contexts, and that a special mental effort is necessary when contextual meaning is the opposite of the grammatical meaning. The paper also discusses how hidden grammar, or meaning, is reflected under even the “little words” like *or* and *oo*, in English and Kannada respectively, that the speakers of these languages doesn’t even notice them. But a linguist can notice these differences, investigate and spend their energies in unraveling these semantic nuances that exist in the languages.

1. Grammar creates meaning

1. Grammar in the word order of English

The psycholinguist Merrill Garrett is said to have once remarked, “It is grammar that enables us to say the unexpected, and to be understood when we do so.”¹ If we combine this with the journalistic adage that “Man bites dog” is news, but “Dog bites man” is not news, we see that there is grammar in the word order of English: Subject-Verb-Object. In this language, which has no case markers to identify the doer and distinguish this role from the goal or object of an action, the clue to these “thematic roles” is the word order. We say that English is a “Verb-Object” language, whereas languages like ours are “Object-Verb” languages.

Our languages are also Object-plus-Post position languages, unlike a Preposition-plus-Object language like English. There is a stage in our learning of English when this way of grouping together the words in a sentence has not yet been understood. I once presented to some learners an English sentence in a magazine: “Can you name every plant

in your garden?"- and asked them what it meant. The way they started to interpret it in Telugu was *anni cefla-lo*, or "every plant in," showing that they were grouping together the English preposition *in* not with the noun phrase "your garden", but with the preceding noun phrase "every plant", as they would in Telugu. So at this stage they knew the meanings of the individual English words, but they were using the word order of Telugu. A similar anecdote I have is of a child saying in English "I-Anupama searching – going," to mean "I am going to look for Anupama." Once again, the child produced English words in Telugu word order.

When we learn a language, then, we must find out the meanings of words, and also how to put them together in ways that are understood uniformly by all speakers of that language. How do we do this? The suggestion is that at the beginning, we use contextual and situational meaning to work out the grammar. This is known as "semantic bootstrapping" (a hypothesis stated in Pinker 1982, and subsequent work by him). Let us look at word order again. A child born to English-speaking parents must understand that "The girl pushed the boy" and "The boy was pushed by the girl" essentially describe the same event: the pusher is the girl, the one who gets pushed is the boy. But these sentences present first the girl, and then the boy, as the first noun phrase in the sentence!

You and I know that this happens because "The boy was pushed by the girl" is a passive sentence; and we know that it is a passive because of the "passive morphology" or grammar, *be+push+ed – by*. We can also "tell" older learners this fact. But native English speaking children know this structure by the age of three, and it is obvious that they have not been "told" these facts. They simply have to "understand" the grammar by themselves, on their own. How do they do this?

Linguists have discovered that they do this by attending to the meaning of a class of passive sentences called "irreversible passives." Take for example a sentence like "The dog ate the cake." Its passive form is "The cake was eaten by the dog." Now we know that in the real world, dogs eat cakes, but cakes do not eat dogs. That is, some actions

of eating are not reversible between the eater and the “eatee” – the eaten thing cannot be an eater. So given the words *dog*, *cake* and *eat*, no matter in what order these words occur, only one sensible meaning is derivable. It is this appeal to sensible meaning that tells the two-year old child that the sentence “The cake was eaten by the dog” does not mean anything like “The cake has eaten the dog.” Although *the cake* occurs in the subject position that usually indicates the doer of an action, something else must show that the cake is being eaten and not doing the eating. Thus the young child begins to pay attention to the “passive morphology” that signals this reversal of word order.

It has been experimentally shown that there is a stage in the acquisition of the English passive when the child can understand irreversible passives like “The cake was eaten by the dog,” but not “reversible passives” like “The girl was pushed by the boy.” Given an action where either the subject or the object is a potential doer, only the grammar – the passive morphology – is a reliable clue to the sentence’s intended meaning. So a child who is still in the process of acquiring this grammar is easily confused by such a sentence. There is a video that shows a small American child being asked by experimenters to show them the sentence “The car bumped the truck.” The child uses a toy car to bump a toy truck. Then the experimenters say, “Now show me ‘The car was bumped by the truck’.” The child is silent for a puzzled moment; then she asks, “Again?”

To sum up, it is easier to learn the passive from sentences like

The cake was eaten by the dog,

where the meaning is a clear clue to the grammar, than from sentences like

The girl was pushed by the boy,

where the real world allows both meanings to occur, and only grammar can tell us who pushed whom. The first sentence allows for “semantic bootstrapping.”

There is a particular type of language loss, called Broca's aphasia, where grammar is lost. Patients with brain damage after (for example) a stroke, if they have Broca's aphasia, have difficulties understanding "who pushed whom" in a passive sentence, although they have no difficulties in understanding that "something was eaten." Caplan and Hildebrandt (1988:2) tell us that adult patients who could not correctly identify agents and patients in certain sentences could nevertheless do this when these meanings "could be inferred directly from the individual meanings of the words in the sentence and knowledge about possible and probable events in the real world." For illustration, consider the work of Carramazza and Zurif (1976), who asked patients to match sentences with pictures to show their understanding. Let us look at the three sentences

The apple the boy is eating is red.

The girl the boy is chasing is tall.

The boy the dog is patting is tall.

Which sentence is easy to understand? The first one, because we know that apples are red, and that boys eat apples. The second one is "reversible": both boys and girls can chase and be chased, and both can be tall. The grammar tells us that the boy is the chaser (he is chasing the girl), and the girl is tall.

Now look at the third sentence. Who is patting whom? The dog is patting the boy! This absurd meaning can be conveyed only by the grammar, and not by the real world! So it is no surprise to find that Broca's aphasics get the first kind of sentence right, and the second and the third kinds of sentences become more difficult for them to understand; they get them wrong. They have lost their grammar, but not their world knowledge.

The discovery that certain kinds of meanings – such as "absurd" meanings – can be conveyed only by grammar has great significance. For very soon after children learn language, they start to enjoy myths,

fables and legends in which the most fantastic events take place. Hanuman grabs the sun and puts it into his mouth, the cow jumps over the moon, the beanstalk grows into the sky. It would be interesting to examine how many such narratives need grammatical knowledge to be correctly understood. It would also be interesting to find out at what age a child can understand a lie! Is it possible that lies occur only because we have grammar, to create a meaning that does not exist?

II. The meaning of the definite and indefinite articles in English

Let us now look at some experiments that found out how much attention English-speaking children pay to the meaning of the definite and indefinite articles (Karmiloff-Smith 1979:185ff.). Children between the ages of 4 and 11 were told the following story:

“Mary’s little dog was running about in her garden. He ran and ran. Soon the dog got very tired. He flopped down to sleep and crushed the flower growing in the garden. Mary was very angry.”

This story is described as “counterpragmatic,” because normally a garden has many flowers in it; but the story refers to “**the** flower growing in the garden,” which means that there was only one flower growing in the garden! Notice that this is a little like the sentence “**Man** bites dog;” the event is unlikely in the real world, and the intended meaning is purely dependant on the grammar.

The story was followed by the following questions:

How many flowers were growing in Mary’s garden? (Expected answer: one)

How do you know? (Expected answer:... *the* flower) (after repeating the story) What did I say the dog did? (Expected answer: ...*the* flower)

The results showed that in the vast majority of cases, until about the age of 8 years, children did not use the clue from the definite article to agree that there was only *one* flower in Mary's garden. They replied that there were lots of flowers in the garden, for example; and added words like *always* and *usually* that showed that they were using their world knowledge.

This experiment is interesting and surprising, because other experiments have shown that children as young as 18 months can understand the difference between a proper name ("Dax") and the name of a thing ("a dax"), using the clue from the indefinite article. But in these experiments, there was no attempt to be "counterpragmatic." These infants were introduced to a doll which was called either "a dax," or "Dax." When later they were asked to bring "a dax" or "Dax" from a box with many other dolls in it, they brought any of the dolls in the box if they had been told that the doll was "a dax." But if they had been told that the doll was "Dax," they took this to be the doll's name, and brought the very same doll that had been introduced to them.

What these experiments seem to suggest is that grammatical meaning is best acquired in meaningful contexts, and that a special mental effort is necessary when contextual meaning is the opposite of the grammatical meaning.

2. Meaningless grammar

But the relationship between grammar and meaning is not one-to-one. We have seen that passive morphology and the articles can be essential clues to meaning. But much grammatical morphology is in fact meaningless – as a linguist called Sigurðsson argues in an article "Meaningful silence, meaningless sounds" (2004). Take for example agreement morphology. In Hindi-Urdu, adjectives and possessive pronouns agree with the head noun, so that we say *meerii pehlii kitaab* 'My first book' but *meraa pehlaa pustak* 'My first book', regardless whether the speaker is male or female. Many non-Hindi speakers may find this meaningless! Let's take subject-verb agreement. For some time,

linguists thought this had a function: that languages that indicated the subject by agreement on the verb, were also those languages that could drop the subject. So in Telugu we can say *vastaanu* 'I will come', *vastaaru* 'He (honorific) will come', etc., without saying *neenu* 'I', or *vaaru* 'He (honorific)', because the verb agrees with the subject.

It is true that in a language like English, which has very little agreement morphology, we cannot drop the subject. But Malayalam and Chinese do allow us to drop the subject, and they have no agreement morphology at all! So it is difficult to argue for a functional analysis of agreement morphology.

3. Hidden grammar

Let me in the end look at a very ill-understood and hidden aspect of grammar that contributes to meaning in a dramatic way. Let us first look at two examples in English. Can you think of the equivalents of these examples in Telugu, Tamil, or Kannada, as we go on? The first example is:

John or Bill will come.

In Kannada and Telugu I can say, *John-oo Bill-oo bartaane/vastaaḍu*. So it looks like the morpheme *or* is translated as the morpheme *-oo* in our languages. But now try to translate the next example using only this simple rule:

Either John will come, or Bill will go.

If I simply say in Kannada, *John bartaan-oo, Bill- hoogtaan-oo*, I get the meaning of a question, or a doubtful sentence! In order to get the English meaning I need to put in a negation: *Illa John bartaane, illa Bill hoogtaane*; and notice there is no *oo* in my translation.

I try to explain these facts (Amritavalli, 2003) by showing that there is a hidden negation in English *either*, that corresponds to Kannada

illa; and that sentential *oo* and *or* have precisely opposite “default interpretations” in Kannada and English: *oo* is interpreted as if it is paired with the question “whether,” and *or* is interpreted as if it is paired with the declarative “either.” Notice that (therefore) the negation is overt in the Kannada declarative disjunction, but the *wh-* must be overt in English question disjunction. Notice also that *wh-* words move to the front of the sentence in English, but not in Kannada. These linguistic facts are all related.

The point is that there seems to be a lot of hidden grammar, or meaning, under even the “little words” like *or* and *oo*, which is so obvious to the speakers of these languages that they don’t even notice it. But this is what linguists spend their energies investigating.

NOTES

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1. Reported in Marshall (1988: xi)

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SPEAKING OF MOTION: ON THE CONVERGENCE OF LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY, LEXICAL SEMANTICS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS*

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ABSTRACT: One of the central themes of cognitive linguistic research reported in recent years is the relationship between conceptual organization and linguistic expression of motion events. Much of this research has shown that Path (direction) of motion constitutes the core component of motion event encoding. A two-way distinction is said to exist among languages with respect to the way Path is lexicalized. In what was termed Verb-framed or V-languages (such as French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Japanese), Path is expressed in the main verb in a clause ('enter', 'exit', 'ascend' etc), as opposed to Satellite-framed or S-languages (such as, Dutch, English, German, Russian and Chinese), in which Path is expressed by an element associated with the verb (in/out/up etc), while the main verb itself expresses manner of motion or sometimes even the cause. S-languages with fine-grained distinctions of Manner allow speakers to build up rich imagery of manner of motion while experiencing events. These speakers therefore were found to describe a great deal of dynamic aspects of the movement within the motion event. V-language narrations on the other hand are more elaborate in describing location of protagonists, objects and end states of motion. A more thorough analysis of lexical semantic space and grammatical context in which motion events are lexicalized across genetically and typologically different languages suggested that considerable intra-typological variation exists in relation to encoding of manner of motion, and therefore, it is more appropriate to treat S-languages as Hi-manner-salient languages as opposed to V-languages which are Lo-manner-salient. Further, a case was made for a third, equipollent category of languages in which both Path and Manner are equally important in encoding motion events, particularly in languages that make use of serial verbs (e.g. Thai) as well as sign languages. Researchers have also argued for the need to examine different varieties (dialects) associated with V-languages and S-languages before delineating cognitive consequences

of observed lexicalization patterns for language acquisition, processing and translation. An attempt is made in this paper to review select literature on this topic with a view to raise discussion on appropriate methodologies for extending this research into multilingual contexts involving Indian languages.

1. Typology based on motion event encoding

According to Talmy (1985, 2000), a dynamic motion event, also referred to sometimes as spatial localization event has four basic components:

- Motion: Presence of activity (movement, displacement)
- Figure: The moving object
- Ground: The reference object with respect to which the figure moves
- Path: The association function relating the figure to the ground

In the English sentences given below, these components can be readily identified:

John	went	into	the room
The bottle	floated	into	the cave
The bird	flew	out of	the hole
[Figure]	[Motion]	[Path]	[Ground]

Path, with the function of localizing (associating) the figures with respect to the ground is considered as the core schema of conceptualization. A motion event can also have a 'manner' or 'cause' that is conflated with motion in English and most other Germanic, and Slavic languages as well as Chinese. In these languages, Path is expressed through satellites to the verbs such as prepositions, adverbs or particles. Since English, Dutch, German, Polish and Russian, labelled as Satellite framed or S-languages do not prefer to encode path in the main verb, this slot is available for elaborating manner information (thus for instance,

participants (adults as well as children) narrate different versions of 'Frog-stories' that depicted series of pictures portraying several action events. Lets look at the data reported by Ozcaliskan and Slobin (1999) relating to the scene in which an owl flies out of a hole in a tree in one of the frog stories. This data was collected from monolingual middle-class children (3, 9 and 11 years) and adults (18-40 years) from literate backgrounds speaking English (S-language), Spanish, and Turkish (V-languages). The number of participants in each age group in each language ranged from 30-50. In the examples given below the number in the square brackets denote the age of the participant.

English (S-language)

[3] an owl flew *out of* a tree

[5] an owl popped *out*

[adult] an owl pops *out of* the hole

Percentage of manner verbs across the age groups = 42%; path verbs = 15%

Turkish (V-language)

[4] 'bird *exits* from the nest'

[9] 'from there *exits* an owl'

[adult] 'from the hole *exited* an owl'

Percentage of manner verbs across the age groups = 30%; path verbs = 49%

Spanish (V-language)

[5] '*exits* an owl'

[9] '*exits* the owl'

[adult] 'from the hole *exited* an owl'

Percentage of manner verbs across the age groups = 28%; path verbs = 36%

The English speakers not only used greater number of manner verbs but greater diversity (64 types) compared to Turkish (46 types)

and Spanish (34 types). Turkish and Spanish narrators used lower percentage of manner verbs and higher percentage of path verbs than English narrators across all the age groups. Similar results were reported in another study (Ozcaliskan and Slobin, 2003) in which manner of motion expressions were compared between Turkish and English speakers. In this research, speakers belonging to a V-language type appeared to have recourse to mental images of physical scenes (read Ground) with less focus on manner of movement of the protagonist (read Figure) and more focus on Path which associates Figure to the Ground as compared to speakers of an S-language and that these typological schematizations of Manner and Path are evident quite early in developmental time.

Elsewhere Slobin (1997 cited in Ozcaliskan and Slobin, 1999) argued that description of a motion event involves two cognitive frames: a discourse frame and a typological frame with the former referring to a journey that a moving figure makes in a narrative text which could be universal, and the latter refers to the tools provided to and constraints imposed on speakers in expressing motion within a particular language of a given typological frame. In other words, children facing the task of learning their native language have to contend with not only semantic distinctions encoded by their language but also rely on language specific schematizations of motion events such as differential attention to Path, Ground, and Manner of movement, some times even with the help of co-speech gestures.

2. Granularity of Semantic Space

Ozyurek and Ozcaliskan (2000) while discussing their Turkish data based on Frog stories raised an important question – what if the language has verbs that conflate manner and path (by representing both in the same lexical unit and / or a clause)? Turkish for instance reportedly has such verbs, e.g. *tirman* ‘climb-up’. They reanalyzed the data reported in an earlier study discussed above (Ozcaliskan and Slobin, 1999) to see

how many of what type of verbs were present in the narratives of English and Turkish children and adults. Table –1 below summarizes these findings:

	V: Manner only		V: Manner+satellite		V: Manner+Path Conflated		V:Path only	
	E	T	E	T	E	T	E	T
Age 3	13%	8%	36%	NP	5%	14%	39%	71%
Age 6	8%	10%	24%	NP	9%	11%	41%	70%
Age 9	10%	14%	22%	NP	15%	23%	36%	52%
Adult	10%	16%	32%	NP	11%	17%	33%	59%

Table-1: Different types of lexicalization patterns in English (E) and Turkish (T) speakers’ narration of frog stories . NP = Not permitted by the language

The following observations can be made from the results displayed in the table:

(1). The manner + satellite pattern, typologically specific to English emerged by age 3 years and there is little, if any, developmental increase. (2) Path only verb pattern use is substantially higher among Turkish speakers than English as predicted by the typological frame into which these two languages have been classified. (3) Manner +path conflation pattern, though less frequent in both languages, was used relatively more frequently by Turkish speakers than English speakers across all ages suggesting that manner of motion is not unimportant in a V-language.

In Korean, a verb final language (also considered as a V-language), the main verb is a deictic expression and both manner and path are subordinated to it. Thus the construction,

John ran into the room
 Fig. Motion + Manner Path Goal

would be expressed as shown:

john-i pang -ey ttuwui -e tul -e o -all -ta
 John room loc. run conn. Enter conn. come past Decl.
 Figure Goal MannerPath Deixis

In other words, there is no evidence for a “natural” ordering of the semantic elements of motion events across languages, and even within a given language the ordering is subject to morpho-syntactic constraints (see Slobin 2004, 2005). Research has also shown that these language specific lexicalization patterns are learned fairly early. For example, Korean children by the age of 20 months have been shown to be able to distinguish between words for spontaneous and caused motion; that they learn a variety of transitive verbs that conflate Path with notions of Figure and especially Ground, and learn to extend them to different classes of motion events much better than English speaking children; their intransitive Path-verbs are limited for many months to posture verbs (see Choi and Bowerman, 1991 for more details).

Researchers began to point out that there is a need to analyze more varied constructions that will capture more discourse strategies. Lemmens (2005) for instance has argued that in Dutch and Swedish, both considered as S-languages, the use of posture verbs is obligatory when the location of entities is at issue, whereas, no such obligation exists for English and German which are also S-languages, may be because of the availability of aspectual distinctions in the latter. They argued further that by its extensive use of posture verbs, Dutch invests heavily in the domain of static location, whereas English invests less in posture by choosing to encode more dynamic distinctions. When the focus was shifted to posture and location verbs, a division of labour seemed to exist between movement and location as shown figure-2 below:

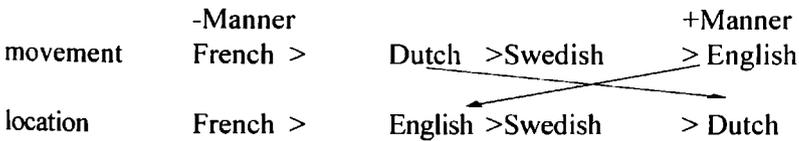


Figure 2: Division of labour between movement and location

3. Revised typology

Slobin (2006) noted that much evidence in support of Talmy's typology (S-languages vs. V-languages) is based on examples drawn from languages with a single finite verb in a clause, either a path verb or a manner verb. With Thai, Mandarin Chinese and some West African serial verb languages, it is difficult to decide which verb in a series, if any, is the "main" verb. To decide the level of attention paid to the Manner in different languages, he offered a notion called manner salience and argued that by examining narrative fiction, oral narrative, news reporting, conversations, translations and such other instances of language use, the degree of manner salience can be determined. Another measure of manner salience could be reflected in the size and diversity of manner expressions in a language as pointed out earlier. Slobin offered empirical evidence for putting languages on a cline of manner salience (with the help of criteria listed below) instead of being slotted into V-language or S-language:

4. High Manner-salient languages

Speakers regularly and easily provide information about manner when describing motion events because an accessible slot is available in the

Main verb in S-languages

Manner verb in serial-verb languages

Manner morpheme in bipartite verbs

Ideophones

5. Low manner-salient languages

Manner is subordinated to Path – manner information is provided only when manner is foregrounded for some reason. Slobin's (2003) work revealed that in the English novels, there are 62 types of manner of motion verbs, both mono-morphemic and phrasal verbs. The Spanish

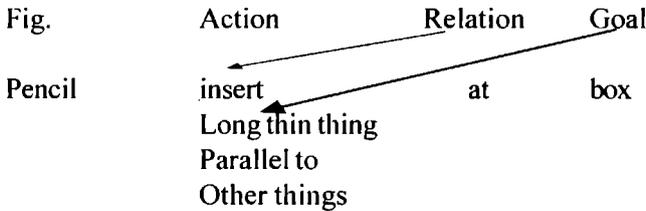
novels in contrast, have only 27 types; the Turkish novels 20 types which corroborates the lower expression of manner in V-languages. This also has an implication to translation in that in translation from a manner-rich language to manner-poor language, there is a loss of manner information 38% (English to Spanish) or 32% (English to Turkish). When translation goes the other way, most of motion verbs conveying manner are preserved (95% for Spanish to English, 80% for Turkish to English). I am not going to discuss the third type equipollent-languages proposed by Slobin to account for observations from sign languages.

Using the term, 'Complex Event Encoding' or (CEE) to refer to cause/manner verb + Path phrase constructions (such as for instance, The bottle floated into /out of the cave), Narasimhan (2003) shows the inadequacy of Talmy's two-way distinction between S-languages and V-languages. She showed that since Hindi Manner verbs cannot combine with Path expressions to convey the manner of directed motion, Hindi can be considered to have the characteristic typical of V-languages. However, she goes on to show that Hindi and English do not differ in the lexicalization of complex meaning in the verb and that the semantic properties of motion verb lexicon in these two typologically different languages are in fact similar in the relevant respects. The differences she argues between these two languages lie in the role that phrase-level frames or 'constructions' play in the grammar of the language. She has demonstrated that in addition to using path-encoding motion verbs, Hindi also uses the strategy of encoding deixis in main verbs (e.g. come and go), somewhat similar to the strategy used in Korean spontaneous motion expressions with adpositional or adverbial phrases to further specify the path. Her main argument is that not all cross-linguistic variation in lexicalization of motion events can be attributed to lexical resources and that one needs to study not only general semantic profile of a verb but also the grammatical environment in which it occurs. Drawing on subsequent research on developmental consequences of linguistic typology of motion event encoding, Narasimhan and his colleagues have argued that while the typology does influence the frequency of verbs used in early constructions, there is a need for studying semantic specificity

(spatial properties of Figure / Ground, and the level of granularity with which verbs (light Vs heavy verbs) divide up motion events. Thus for instance, English can manage all the below listed constructions with a single verb, 'put', whereas, Tzeltal (a Mayan language) requires at least five different verbs.

- Putting firewood on the fire
- Setting a bottle down on its side
- Putting a pencil into a cup of pencils
- Setting down a bottle upright
- Setting down a frying pan, a bowl on a table etc

The reason for the encoding differences between Tzeltal and English will become apparent if we look at the following example:



That is, in Zeltal, a lot of plàcement information is compressed into the verb (action slot) and therefore, relation and goal need not be mentioned. Children choose instead to use verb alone.

6. Dialectology meets typology

Making yet another case for studying intra-typological differences in V and S-languages, Berthele (2004) has argued that we need to examine spoken corpora for expressions of displacement across languages and make a distinction among the following:

1. Verbal encoding (i.e., by verb stem)
2. Adnominal encoding (i.e., by prepositions, post-positions or cases)

3. Adverbial encoding (i.e., by verb affixes or verb particles)

Some of the S-languages use (2) and (3) strategies while V-languages may use strategy (1) and still others might combine (1) and (2). Basically the argument was that there is a need to study all kinds of displacements in the motion event including the following:

- Figure displaces to Ground
- Figure displaces into Ground
- Figure displaces up
- Figure displaces away from Ground
- Figure displaces out of Ground
- Figure displaces down

Berthele collected data on both motion events and static events using Frog story narrations from 10 Standard High German (SHG) adults; 8 Muotathal (MU) dialect of German spoken in central Switzerland; 10 French speakers. Recall German in Talmian typology is considered as S-language, and French, a V-language. The main observations of this study were that (1) Speakers of French did use more Path verbs than speakers of both varieties of German (2) There were considerably higher % of Manner verbs for SHG, in fact, more than French with MU falling in the middle (3) MU narrators used a high proportion of non-motion verbs; they were extremely poor in the use of finite manner verbs. Instead, they exhibited high degree of spatial relational semantics with elaborate Path and place arguments resembling a V-language like French. After discussing these results against the prevailing sociolinguistic and cultural context of Switzerland (the questions of orality, literacy and presence of diagraphia imposing functional constraints), the author concluded that dialectologists should reconnect with neighbouring linguistic disciplines to investigate issues of language use and how they shape linguistic forms; that the disciplines of cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics offer a rich repertoire of theories and concepts that can be adapted within variationist / dialectological frameworks.

Motion event encoding in bilinguals

By now the readers might begin to wonder about questions such as, what happens when Spanish (V-language) speakers learn (and master) English, an S-language? Even though, I have not reviewed studies dealing with co-speech (co-verbal) gestures, it should be noted that expression of Path linguistically as well as gesturally is restricted by the language. Gale Stam (2006) reported that advanced learners of English (whose L1 is Spanish) were found to use same verbs as native English speakers, while intermediate learners sometimes used phrasal verb constructions such as “get-in” suggesting that though the learners are using a correct form in English, they are applying L1 Spanish meaning to it in the context of the protagonist going up the drainpipe in the motion event they used to elicit data. Gesturally, both groups of learners had an increase in the number of path gestures they produced with satellites and verbs + satellites following the L2 English pattern. Whether accumulation of path components in speech and / or gesture in L1 learners whose native language is considered as V-language can be interpreted as a reflection of L2 proficiency awaits more research. There is some research that is also calling for a rethinking of the typological framework for motion event processing by gathering data on diverse genetically and typologically diverse languages by obtaining similarity judgments from native speakers (of urban vs. rural; literate vs. semiliterate) using video-animated motion events. If a V-language speaker makes as many same-manner choices as a S-language speaker, then it would cast doubts on the typology discussed in this paper as well as the notion of manner salience (see Bohnemeyer et al 2007 for details). One need to think of gathering similarity judgments (using similar or different manner-salient expressions) on different groups of bilinguals with different competencies.

The picture gets more complicated when we move to the multilingual scene in India. In my opinion, the complexity has to do with (1) the way languages are learned and used in our context, something that is very different from the sequential bilingualism in the West, (2) the

difficulty in identifying a sizeable population of speakers who share similar socio-economic and socio-linguistic backgrounds, (3) lack of assessment tools to categorize language use abilities and patterns in different domains, (4) lack of spoken language corpora in Indian languages providing catalogs of linguistic structures, their function and use patterns, (5) lack of coding procedures for recording and analyzing co-speech gestures, (6) Difficulty in dealing with homogenous categories of languages such as Hindi and Telugu; that is, lack of readily available knowledge about semantic profiles of motion verbs in different dialects of these major languages, among several other factors. The exciting prospect it seems to me is that linguistics has a future, provided it is ready to erase the artificially drawn boundaries within itself and with its neighbouring disciplines.

NOTES

- * The studies reviewed in this paper are limited to very few studies dealing with three sub-fields of linguistics in which Prof. Aditi Mukherjee has special affinity for, and expertise in.
- 1. This paper is a preliminary outcome of the readings I have undertaken to explore some of the ideas generated at the three meetings held during 2007-08 (in Manesar, Haryana, New Delhi and Bangalore) sponsored by the Department of Science and Technology, Govt. of India, towards putting together an interdisciplinary team to investigate brain organization and normative multilingualism in India during the 11th plan period.

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POLITICAL SEMANTICS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES*¹

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ABSTRACT: This paper attempts at an analysis of political semantics and historical context of studies in South Asia in general and South Asian Languages in particular. It traces the origin of the concept of 'Asia' to the colonial period and 'South Asia' to the Neo-colonial period. The paper situates the studies in South Asia in the context of inter-imperialist rivalry between the United States of America (America) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the former Soviet Union) for the world hegemony in general and South Asia in particular. The paper tries to offer an historical account of themes and perspectives in the study of South Asian Languages during the last sixty years. The paper is aimed at drawing the attention of the scholars working in the field of South Asian Languages and Linguistics to the fact that research in a given branch of knowledge is – consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally – driven by certain historically specific motivations.

1. Defining 'South Asia'

The notion of "Asia" was not found before modern times until the western colonists named it so.² Asia, according to the modern geography, is the largest of the seven continents into which the world is divided (EAH).

Geographical location of South Asia

The notion of 'South Asia' came into currency after the Second World War. South Asia, geographically speaking, is that part of Asia, which includes: the mainland that lies between the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean, plus the adjacent Islands (Patterson 1981: XIV). It is also called the "Indian Subcontinent" or the "Indo-Pak Subcontinent"

because India and Pakistan are considered as major countries apart from other minor countries, viz. Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Maldives Islands that constitute South Asia (Masica, 1976: 9; EAH).

Economy of South Asia

South Asia was a colonial society until the mid-twentieth century. The South Asian countries were either direct 'colonies' or 'protectorates' of the 'Great' Britain until formal independence was declared. Thereafter South Asian countries have gradually transformed into semi- or neo-colonies of Imperialist powers like the USA, the USSR, Britain and Germany.³ A semi- or neo-colony is one which is economically exploited, politically dominated and culturally influenced to a considerable extent by Imperialist powers. The South Asian countries are semi-feudal and semi-capitalist in nature. A semi-feudal or semi-capitalist is one where social relationships resemble partially those of the feudal societies of middle ages and partially those of capitalist societies in the modern times.⁴

Social Classes in South Asia

Broadly speaking, we may find the following social classes in South Asia.⁵

(1) Large-land owners. [Cultivating landlords, Absentee landlords, Capitalist tenants who do not perform any labour but exploit the surplus labour/value of others].

(2) Large-capital owners. [Productive capitalists, Money capitalists, Trading capitalists etc., who do not perform any labour but exploit the surplus labour/value of others in the form of profit, interest, commission].

(3) Managerial class. [Those who receive substantial portion of the surplus value as a reward for their function of controlling the process of exploitation of labour on behalf of the large-capital owners and landlords. This class includes also the State functionaries who manage the common affairs of the exploiting classes.]

(4) Petty-bourgeois proprietors. [Those who own slender capital, small landed property, few instruments of labour etc., and hire others' labour in addition to their own labour.]

(5) Independent producers. [Those who have slender capital, small landed property, few instruments of labour and *do not* hire others' labour but depend solely on the labour of their family members.]

(6) Wage-labourers. [Those who do not own any property: land, capital or instruments of labour but solely live on the sale of their labour: mental or manual; skilled or unskilled; clean or unclean.]

(7) Lumpen proletariat. [Ruined labourers who find no work to do but engaged in dangerous, mean, harmful 'criminal' activities like beggary, burglary, prostitution, murder etc.]

Politics in South Asia

The Political (State) power in South Asian countries is wielded by the ruling classes: the landlords and the capitalists assisted by their managerial class. Though South Asian countries have 'democratic' institutions, what exists in reality is 'democracy for the few'. Equal rights to all citizens are available on paper but in actual practice it is mainly the ruling classes who are able to enjoy them. The State machinery in South Asia is 'comprador' in nature. That is, it is subservient to the interests of the 'Imperialist' powers.⁶

Culture of South Asia

Since the culture is an 'ideological reflection of a given economy and politics', culture in South Asia is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. That is, we have 'feudal culture' on the one hand and 'imperialist culture' on the other. Feudal culture manifests in religious fanaticism, superstitious notions, illiteracy, caste hierarchy and oppression, ethnic discrimination etc. Imperialist culture manifests in 'commodification' of every aspect of life, anarchic and perverted sexual relations, insensitivity for the fellow human beings, alienation, criminalization of political as well as daily life etc. As the ruling classes legally own and or effectively control not only

'material means of production' (like land, factories, mines, means of transport and communication) but also 'mental means of production' (like mass media of all sorts: newspapers, TV, films, publications etc.), the ideas of the ruling class control the minds of the ruled class also.

Geo-political importance of South Asia

South Asia is a "strategic part of the world" since it is "a valid link in the Indian Ocean's geo-strategic and commercial systems" (Patterson, 1981: XV; CEI: 235). For example, "The entire west is dependent on the Indian Ocean area not only for its raw material needs, but for its markets as well. The Soviet Union too is dependent on this ocean, for 80% of Soviet sea-borne trade passes through the Indian Ocean." (Chopra, 1983:108) This fact led to the beginning of a "serious study of all aspects of South Asia" (Patterson, 1981: ix).

2. Inter-imperialist rivalry and the emergence of South Asian Studies as a distinct discipline

Owing to the active involvement in the war on the side of the Allied Forces, and because of consequent economic problems, Britain had to give way to the USA to dominate the world, more particularly Asia. However, the America saw a contender for world domination in Russia (the Soviet Union of Stalin's era) which emerged as a strong power in the world political scene. The US interests in South Asia, as some political scientists observed, have been a function of "its strategic competition with the Soviet Union and the US policy's inherent drive of maintaining its global superiority over other competing and potential powers and interests." (Muni, 1993: 57). The Soviet Union also recognized South Asia especially "India as a state which counted in International affairs." (K.P.S. Menon, the Indian Ambassador to USSR in 1950s, as cited in Singh 1987).

Before examining the historical context of the emergence of South Asian Studies as a distinct discipline, we need to highlight one important aspect of South Asian economies especially that of India, the major constituent of South Asia. In India, until the end of 70s, we had

predominantly 'mixed economy'. This was nothing but 'peaceful co-existence of State/Public sector and private sector'. The state sector had been predominant while private sector occupied a secondary position. The beneficiaries of the State sector were State Capitalists and the advocates of the private sector were private capitalists. The political representatives of the State capitalists tilted towards Soviet Union while those of pure private capitalists favoured USA. Whereas the Indian State represented both the interests: of State capitalists as well as private capitalists. However, the USSR and USA favoured India and Pakistan respectively due to their own political and strategic reasons.

The American Initiative

The American initiative included establishment of centres for Area studies, introduction of exchange programs and permitting private foundations. However, "there have been fluctuations in the US involvement in South Asia depending upon its intensity and style of competition with other great powers at global level." (Muni, 1993: 58).

We offer an account of American initiative in developing Area studies in general and South Asian studies in particular based on two important and relevant works published in America: one by Nathan Pusey (1978), one of the former Presidents of Harvard University and another by Norman Palmer (1984), a scholar of International relations with special reference to India and America. However, we do not subscribe to the ideological perspective of these two writers who uncritically glorified the imperialist role of the United States in the 'underdeveloped' countries.⁷

America attained a new dominant 'imperialist' economic position in the world by the end of the Second World War. This economic position led to a "virtual explosion" of academic interest (which reinforced the imperialist interests) in International studies of all kinds in general and foreign languages in particular. The post war educational policy of America aimed at the production of highly trained people familiar with the languages and cultures of other nations.

America's intense rivalry short of actual war, i.e., Cold War, with the Soviet Union in the field of economy, politics, military and ideology prompted the flow of not simply American dollars but also officers of American government and Agents of American Business across the world, more particularly the ex-colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As a result, a new field of study called 'Area Studies' came into existence. Careers in government and in private service required intimate knowledge of distant places and languages including those of South Asia. To meet such requirements many steps have been taken. Let us chronologically present those steps, instances of American involvement in Area studies in general and South Asia in particular.

Year	Nature of the initiative
1939-1945	Office of the Strategic Services brought scholars from various academic disciplines to find answers to specific, urgent economic, social and political problems relating to places in the world of strategic importance. University of California, Berkeley published Emeneau's 'Kota Texts' in 1944.
1946	The Full Bright program, authorized by Public Law 584, "provided the means over time for some hundred thousand Americans to study in universities, in twenty countries abroad...and for some fifty thousand students... to study here, as well as for many faculty exchanges."
1947	The first department of South Asian Regional Studies at the University of Pennsylvania was established. Rockefeller Foundation (established by an imperialist oil corporation) allocated one lakh dollars to the American Council for Learned Societies to conduct an "Intense Language

Program” under the directorship of the then Secretary-Treasurer of Linguistic Society of America.

Foreign Service Institute of the State department of the USA started a Language Training Program.

An American official said, “Competence in Languages and Linguistics are the big guns of American armament in the Ideological World War III.

1949 President Truman’s Point Four emphasized the US International interests including those of its colleges and universities must encompass all the underdeveloped as well as the developed countries of the world.

1953 Inadequacy of US scholars who specialized in India and Pakistan was felt by the Officials.

1954 Establishment of Centre for Middle Eastern Studies to reinforce instruction and research in the languages, literature, history, economics, politics and cultures of the vast geographical areas extending from the Mediterranean to the frontiers of India.

Establishment of the Centre of International Legal Studies at Harvard. [“The motivation for this was recognition that not only was the govt. of the US henceforth to be active on the world stage, but that American industry, agriculture, trade, and finance were to be increasingly commingled with similar activities in other countries.”]

Establishment of the Harvard’s Graduate School of Public Health. [Concerned with rural and economically poor areas of the world: Asia, Africa and Latin America.

- 1955-1965 Ford Foundation (established by an imperialist automobile corporation) contributed to International and Area Studies.
- University of California, Berkeley published Emeneau's 'Kolami' in 1955.
- 1957 Launching of first Russian sputnik was an incentive for increased American expenditure in research especially in Sciences.
- 1958 Establishment of Center for World Religions at Harvard. Establishment of Center for International Affairs at Harvard.
- 1958 National Defence Education Act [for study in various fields that are critical for modern foreign languages and defence. Its thrust areas included Linguistics and Language education.]
- Establishment of Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages at Hyderabad to provide for the study of English language and literature, to organize research in the teaching of the subject and to train teachers in India.
- 1958-1969 Ford Foundation spent 10,42,000 dollars on CIEFL for the appointment of British and American specialists, training of Indian staff abroad, the import of books and equipment and short-term rupee expenditure.
- 1960 'International Journal of American Linguistics' brought out a special issue on 'Linguistic Diversity in South Asia'.

- 1961 Passing of Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act. [Revised form of the Fulbright Program of 1946.]
- There were 100,000 Americans in 20 countries and 50,000 foreign students in US.
- University of California, Berkeley published Krishnamurti's 'Telugu Verbal Bases'.
- 1962 \$2,185,000 allocated to the US educational Foundation in India.
- University of California, Berkeley published Emeneau's 'Brahui'.
- 1963 Establishment of the American Institute of Indian Studies. [15 American universities, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Institute of International Education and Ford Foundation.]
- 386 Indians received grants from official US sources.
- 1964 481 Indians received grants from official US sources.
- Mid-1960s Dramatic increase of American scholars and students in India in the field of Social sciences and Humanities.
- 1965 Establishment of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities to promote research.
- 419 American scholars received support from the US government to do research in India.
- 1966 Establishment of the Educational Resources Centre in India by the University of the State of New York with US government funding. [To

identify and develop resources for study and research of Indian history and culture.

1967 409 Indians received grants from official US sources.

419 American scholars received support.

1969 University of California, Berkeley published Stephen Tyler's 'Koya' grammar.

1970 University of California, Berkeley published Jyothirindra Das Gupta's 'Language Conflict and National Development'.

1971 Center for Asian Studies of the University of Texas at Austin published the proceedings of the 'Symposium on Dravidian Civilization'.

1972 547 American scholars received financial support for doing research on India.

1973 America allocated nearly one billion dollars annually for language training.

University of Washington Publications on Asia of the Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies published a volume on 'Studies in the Language and Culture of South Asia'.

1974 About \$400,000 allocated. International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics published 'Contact and Convergence in South Asian Languages'.

Mid-1970s Significant decline of American scholars due to tension in Indo-US relations during the 1971 crisis in South Asia [$<$ Indo-Pak war for Bangladesh] and the state of Emergency in 1975-77.

- 1976 The University of Chicago published 'Defining a Linguistic Area: South Asia'.
- 1977-1979 Increased presence of American scholars in India during the Janata period.
- Late-1970s Sharp decline of funds from US govt. and private American Foundations led to a scarcity of opportunities to teach and publish about South Asia.
- 1982 (summer) India and US agree to designate 1984-85 a special Indo-US year with special emphasis on culture, educational and scientific cooperation.

The Soviet Attempts

Though the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) claimed itself to be the real friend of colonial and neo-colonial countries including those of South Asia, it had all kinds of bourgeois practices in its international relations. It converted the East European countries as its satellites. In the post Second World War period it began to compete with America for world hegemony. It too pursued the policy of imperialism like America. In South Asia, it patronaged India as opposed to Pakistan which received patronage from America. Apart from the strategic and commercial interests that it has in the Indian Ocean, there are two reasons for Soviet Union's ideological proximity to India. One reason is that the pre-1947 India as well as the India of the late sixties witnessed the 'Communist' oriented peasant and trade union movements and there has been some ambiguous admiration for Soviet Union among considerable sections in India. Another reason is that the Indian State pursued the policy of some sort of State capitalism which is akin to that of 'Soviet State capitalism'.⁸ Because of these reasons of self-assurance, the Soviet Union did not take as much initiative as the United States did in the field of 'South Asian Studies'. Yet we find collaboration between the Soviet Union and India in the field of South Asian scholarship.

Based on few specific studies (Kaushik 1971, Remnek 1975, Chandra 1981 and Kidwai 1981) on Indo-Soviet cultural relations, we

may cite the following instances of Soviet attempts with reference to South Asian studies.⁹

Year	Nature of the Attempt
1949	The Conference of Moscow Orientologists held.
1950	Reorganisation of the Institute of Orientalology.
1952	Establishment of Book Exchange with India. [Regular influx of Indian journals and government documents to Soviet Union.]
1953	Cultural contacts. [About 14 Indian delegations visited Soviet Union].
1954	Exhibition of Hindi films in Soviet Union. Delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences toured India.
Mid-1950s	Beginning of the modern period in the development of Soviet Indology.
1955	Artists, writers and public figures attended the Republic Day celebrations in India. During Nehru's visit to USSR, copies of the Russian edition of 'Discovery of India' were sold out in no time in several leading cities of the Soviet Union. Exhibition of Indian Art, Culture and Handicrafts. A journal of Soviet Orientalology began. 105 Historians, 37 Economists, 75 specialists in Languages and Literatures were working in the Institute of Orientalology.
1956	Research trips were encouraged. Establishment of the Institute of World Economy and Institute of International Relations.
1956-1960	Increase in the volume of Academic Orientalological literature. (Quadrupled).

- 1957 A separate press for publishing Orientological literature.
- 1960-1980 Moscow's Children's Theatre performed the play 'Ramayana'.
- Many Soviet writers have been translated into various languages of India.
- The Soviet Publishing houses brought out books in major Indian languages (Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Gujarati and Marathi).
- The total number of Indian books published in the languages of the USSR is reported to exceed 30 million copies.
- 1970-1980 About 300 scholars have exchanged visits between the two countries.
- Scholarships were given by the Soviet Union for students to pursue Master's degree in Russian.
- 1970 Large companies and artistic groups from the Soviet Union gave concerts in India.
- 1971 & later Institutional links between universities of the two countries.
- 1972 A Joint Indo-Soviet Commission in the field of Social Sciences formed.
- 1973 First Bi-National History seminar in Moscow.
- 1976 Second Bi-National Conference in History.
- 1981 Third Bi-national seminar in History.

3. Themes and Perspectives in the study of South Asian Languages and Linguistics

An examination of Bibliographies of the publications that have been brought out since late-30s indicate that the most of the work was undertaken by American and Indian scholars who received support from various agencies mentioned above.¹⁰ Different branches of Linguistics received different degrees of attention during the last six decades. Historical-Comparative Linguistics (with special reference to Dravidian and Indo-Aryan), Descriptive/General/Theoretical Linguistics, Anthropological Linguistics, Aerial/Typological Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, Sociolinguistics including Language Planning, Psycholinguistics and Computational Linguistics. The amount of work done by the scholars of the former USSR with reference to South Asian languages is comparatively less than those of their American counterparts. The publications brought out by the former Soviet Union in South Asian languages have been largely the translations from Russian and occasionally from South Asian languages to Russian.

As regards the perspectives of the scholars who worked in the area of South Asian Studies, we find the following trends. In disciplines like Sociology, Political Science, History and Economics, the scholars maintained Status-quoism or Reformism. Very rarely do we come across radical criticism of social reality. In literature and Linguistics studies, the scholars paid little or no attention to the social reality within which a given literature or language is embedded. If we take a rapid glance at the prefaces and the contents-pages of works in South Asian languages, it appears as though the scholars were exclusively preoccupied with the collection of huge masses of data and making certain Linguistically significant generalization. Very rarely do we find language study—whether historical or theoretical — as something connected with living social individuals or groups. Those who conducted commendable field work related to non-literary/tribal/aboriginal languages studied those languages in a social vacuum. Even those who conducted studies under the label ‘Sociolinguistics/Sociology of Language’ have not attempted at a critical analysis of the social reality. These trends are very common in

the works that came out from America or those sponsored by American Foundations.

As regards the works from Soviet Union, we find two trends. Some of them had American orientation while others reproduced 'His Master's Voice'. That is, they analysed social reality from the perspective officially laid down by the ruling Communist Party which represented Bureaucratic State capitalism.

Though the former USSR could influence the South Asian reading public ideologically through its translations to some extent, the USA has gripped the minds of the South Asian elite. As one Indian scholar pointed out, "...the upper Middle class is enamoured of the Western lifestyle; the Indian elite is partial to the major western newspapers and journals; and virtually every important Indian has a son or son-in-law resident in the west. In the 1980s, about 25,000 Indians on average migrated to America each year." (Thakur, 1996: 574).

NOTES

- * Originally presented at the Sixth International Conference on South Asian Languages (ICOSAL- 6) held at Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University [Hyderabad, January 6 - 8, 2005]
- 1. By 'Political Semantics', we mean the sum total of political contexts in which a term (e.g. South Asia) is used.
- 2. We do not mean that the word 'Asia' did not exist before the modern times. Here, we are concerned with the modern geographical division of the world.
- 3. An imperialist country will benefit from its neo-colony/semi-colony in several ways: It can sell some part of the huge masses of its commodities in its colony without 'competition'. It can also buy some part of the raw materials necessary for its industries from its neo-colony without 'competition' at cheaper rates. It can lend credit to its neo-colony from its giant banks and earns 'interest'. It can invest capital in its colony, establish 'productive, commercial and money-lending/banking' companies and earns profit, commercial commission and interest. When wars are waged with other imperialist countries for markets, it can use its neo-colonies as 'military

bases'. It can spread its ideology among the people, especially the intellectuals, of its colony.

4. There is controversy around these formulations: semi-feudal, semi-colonial etc.
5. We cannot undertake a concrete class analysis of all South Asian countries here. This identification of classes is non-rigorous and tentative in nature. But we have offered this class division based on our reading of relevant literature on South Asia.
6. The formulation 'Comprador' is again controversial like semi-feudal and semi-colonial. Based on our acquaintance with the relevant literature, we subscribe to this formulation.
7. Besides these two we have also drawn examples from Dil 1969, Gumperz 1969, Kelkar 1969 and Newmeyer 1986. Of all the scholars, Newmeyer alone offers a critical perspective on the nature of studies in Linguistics.
8. Soviet State Capitalism refers to the bureaucratic control (not legal ownership) of means of production in the Soviet society by the functionaries of the State and the so-called 'Communist' Party. In the former Soviet Union, we find State Capitalism in the place of private capitalism – wherein individuals, families or institutions possess legal ownership over the means of production.
9. Unlike American data sources, we do not find relevant Soviet data sources. Lack of relevant and concrete data, it seems, is characteristic of a State Capitalist society like former Soviet Union.
10. For Bibliographical information, we have relied on Bright 1969, Kelkar 1969, Dil 1969, Khubchandani 1973, Shapiro & Shiffman 1981.

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LANGUAGES, CAPABILITIES AND RECOGNITIONS: EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES

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ABSTRACT: Language users in plurilingual countries normally fulfill their communicative needs through a rich mixture of varied languages. As a social semiotic, therefore, 'linguaging' is cross-lingual in societal space. Although learnt and used outside education, it is also an integral part of it and one of the aims of language education is to enable language capability, particularly as a communicative tool. Thus, one of the main functions of a language curriculum in societal-cum-individual plurilingual countries should be to fine-tune and augment this 'varied language use.' However, language classrooms, both in India and in other multilingual countries, exist as watertight, self-sufficient compartments that do not even recognize, let alone provide mutual spaces for languages to interact with each other. This is in direct contrast to the checkered mosaic of different language bits that make up the typical day of a plurilingual person. This isolating, prescriptive view of language can be traced, at one level, to monolingual assimilationist language paradigms, to a view of language as a system of internalized rules, and to a non-recognition of these varied 'functionings' as 'capabilities.'

The attempt made in this paper is to examine the theoretical underpinnings required for an articulation of a plurilingual language(s) curriculum in the Indian educational context, and to explore the practical possibilities and realizations of such a curriculum.

1. Languages in Plurilingual Contexts

India is a country which is both societally and individually multilingual at the grassroots level and can be contrasted with a predominantly monolingual Japan at one end, and Canada and England at the other. Canada is officially bilingual but many individuals are monolinguals; England is officially monolingual but hosts many individual bi/multilingual speakers. Thus, assimilationist language education policies are not a problem in these other countries, for the aim of language

education is not to foster strong multilingualism (Skuttnab-Kangas, 1999). But this cannot be the case with countries like India. In such contexts, it is not enough for one language to merely recognize and tolerate another language. It is important for one language to not only respect, but nurture when needed, and whenever possible, share mutual space with the other languages (Durairajan, 2003). Such sharing, however, is not yet a reality in language classrooms in India.

2. Languages in Educational Space

One result of grassroots multilingualism is that in India, languages have varied relationships in both societal and educational space. At the societal level, it is a direct contrast to individual/societal monolingual countries. In those countries, two languages are considered as a nuisance, three languages uneconomic, and many languages absurd. In India, however, many languages are a fact of life, and it is the restriction of language choice which becomes a nuisance. The use of only one language as a communicative tool is not just uneconomic but absurd (Pattanayak, 1984a, cited in Mohanty 1990: 55). Communicative needs are met through a range of languages; this many splendoured mosaic remains, however, a societal phenomenon.

Attempts have been made to bring India's bi/multilingualism into educational space, but they have not been very successful. One attempt to retain and promote multilingualism happened at the level of policy and planning. This was the attempt to maintain and nurture Indian languages through the Eighth Schedule. It was assumed that the number of languages in this schedule would gradually increase, and many tribal languages could be brought into educational space. Instead, the Schedule has only incorporated languages that are perceived as languages of power and dominance, and ignored the minor and minority languages of any one region (Pattanayak, 1995). The schedule has also been described, by its harshest critics, as a device of language engineering to promote Hindi. In this game of language accreditation, two 'literary languages', Mythili and Rajasthani are grouped as 'varieties of Hindi' (Khubchandani, 1995).

Pattanayak (1995) has even gone as far as stating that the Schedule itself should be abolished.

Another attempt, also at the policy level, but with immediate implications for language curricula, is the three language formula. This was implemented as an outcome of the now four decades old National Policy on Education 1968. But even two decades ago, in 1986, (and this is true today as well), the New Education Policy and the accompanying Programme of Action, stated that there were implementation problems with this policy. One problem that was identified is that three languages, 'on paper', were seen as the minimum and not the maximum number that a child ought to learn; this never became a reality in language curricula. Secondly, it was assumed that wherever Hindi is a first language for a student, attempts would be made to teach a different Indian language, but Sanskrit soon took the place of this 'Indian' language. This caused a discrepancy, for it was easier to 'score' marks in Sanskrit than in other Indian languages.

The recognition of linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1995) has pushed language policy in India in two other differing directions. For about two decades, there has been an attempt to ensure that the home language is used as a medium of instruction at least at the primary level. This is in line with theorization about the psychological consequences of mother tongue medium instruction (Mohanty, 1990; Pattanayak, 1986). However, this cannot be implemented at higher levels of education, for it is impossible for India, a multilingual giant to provide education in its numerous mother tongues at the tertiary level, and this is not what is expected even by the theoreticians who argue for mother tongue medium instruction.

Today, in the 21st century, a different trend is setting in. There is recognition for English as the language of social and economic mobility; this 'hegemonic' but essential language is seeping into all levels of education. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has recently decided

that English will be the medium of instruction in all government schools from June 2009. Such a move is distressing, for it underscores the hegemony of English, but it is also perceived as educationally essential. The issue, in many contexts and states, is no longer whether English should be taught or not, or when it should be introduced in regional medium schools as a subject. Most states, where government/state-owned schools use the local/regional language as the medium of instruction, Tamilnadu, Kerala and Orissa, for example, are beginning to introduce English in Class One itself.

While it is no longer possible to deny the power of English, the answer cannot be a defeatist acceptance of attrition/loss. A plurilingual country like India, where assimilation to one target language has never been the norm, needs to view the whole of language education differently. Language attrition and loss (of many Indian languages) is never a deliberate planned outcome of policy in India, where language maintenance is valued. In fact, if it is discerned that it is likely to be an incidental outcome, steps may have to be taken to ensure that this does not happen. The use of regional languages as a medium of instruction (which itself is changing) is just a recognition, tolerance, and at the most respect, of one or more minority languages by a majority language group. The imposition of English as the only medium of instruction is a fast track to attrition and loss, and eventual death of many Indian languages.

3. Evaluating Language in Plurilingual Contexts

The successful use of a language for communication is normally viewed as 'ability', 'capability' or 'proficiency'. This capability, accessed through performance, is based on a certain theory of language, and assumes that the 'underlying trait' is 'captured' through it (Bachman 1990). There are many models of performance that inform the construals of proficiency; it is beyond the scope of this paper to delineate them in detail. (See McNamara 1996 for a comprehensive analysis). It is important to remember that all proficiency tests have as a point of

reference the 'very high level' of ability that is associated with either 'native speaker' or 'near native speaker' competence.

Such a model has many problems when applied to an educational context. First, it has a negative effect on learners who are at lower levels of proficiency; it is relevant only for "courses that are at the final stage of the long range syllabus – those that take learners from the 'advanced intermediate' to the 'advanced' level of proficiency" (Tharu, 2000). As such, a construal such as this one cannot capture the 'small gains' (Tharu, 1981) that will show that "*learning and development* are taking place, because the children are living and growing" (Tharu, 1998, n.p. emphasis in the original).

The second problem underlying this construal of proficiency is a view of language as a prescriptive system of rules; the rules may go beyond the linguistic and incorporate rules about what to say, when, why, where and to whom (Hymes, 1971/72). Proficiency can also imply the availability of grammatical, textual, illocutionary and sociolinguistic capability (Bachman, 1990). The search, in this 'multi capability articulation' is for a 'precise empirically based definition of language ability [to find] a common metric scale that will measure language abilities in a wide variety of context at all levels and in many different languages" (Bachman, 1990: 5). This standard, it is assumed will then become available, and can be used to define and measure language ability independent of specific languages, contexts and domains of discourse. Scores from tests based on this scale would then be comparable across different languages and contexts (Bachman and Clark, 1978, cited in Bachman, 1990: 6).

Such an attempt to find comparisons across languages is now possible, particularly with the work done with the CEFR proficiency level statements (2001) which are available in many languages; the argument made in this paper here is that in the Indian grassroots plurilingual context, this does not go far enough. The CEFR descriptors are beginning to be used to compare intra-individual language proficiency; the problem is

that each of these 'proficiencies' are assumed to exist separately. The languages stay in water-tight compartments, and a 'languages' proficiency cannot be articulated.

Languages in India do not exist in mutually exclusive contexts where it can be assumed that every single language function can and will be fulfilled by every other language. Languages share mutual and differentiated space. As a multilingual language user in India, my language profile will suffice to illustrate this point. I live in a community where both Telugu and Hindi are spoken, so having just 'picked up' those two languages, I use them whenever the need arises. My language of academics is English, and it has become my dominant language. When compared to English, I would have to be described as a not so proficient user of my own mother tongue, Tamil. This is in spite of the fact that I can read and write the language quite efficiently; it is also the language that comes most naturally to me when I need to express something that is close to my heart or something that has moved me deeply. Thus, any poetry that I write normally 'comes to me' only in Tamil. In spite of this ability to write creatively in my mother tongue, I would have to describe myself, using existing proficiency norms, as a 'deficient user' of Tamil because I would find it very difficult and, in fact, impossible to write an academic paper in Tamil or even conduct an workshop on evaluation for teachers in it. This is because all the content and load bearing words are in English, and all my cognitive academic language capability is largely restricted to English. Articulations of language proficiency which expect it to fulfil all communicative needs of any individual, can only perceive this 'gap' as an 'incapability.'

Language use in society, particularly in contexts where more than one language is used for communication, is not made up of narrow walls that cannot be crossed—whether domestic, national, or international. In contexts like India where societal and individual plurilingualism is the norm, language users comfortably switch between languages as and when required. Very often, the switch is a deliberate one, either to bond with the other speaker, or indicate a shift in topic, focus, etc. It is not necessarily

because there is a gap in language capability. An evaluation of language in multilingual contexts like India must attempt to incorporate this language 'switching' which is not code switching in the typical sense at all. From traditional sociolinguistic perspective, any switch between languages is perceived as caused by a 'proficiency gap' in that language. The notion of a 'lexical gap' in the language itself, or an emotional need to change languages is not generally accepted as the norm. Also, the affect and effect of one language on the other is viewed from a monolingual assimilationist perspective only as an interferent, as something that must be eradicated (Moraes, 1996; Durairajan, 1996-97). A lot of research has now been done on the use of an L1 as a scaffolding device in the learning of an L2 or a foreign language; this has not yet permeated evaluative contexts. .

The argument being posited in this paper, therefore, is that language proficiency particularly in the Indian context, needs to be envisaged differently; if not, the multiple mosaic that is language use in India will never be reflected in education and evaluation. In order to do this, it is necessary to step outside language education, outside education itself, and try to 'see' language use as 'functionings' and 'capabilities' (Sen, 1985 cited in Alkire, 2002: 4).

4. Languages as 'Capabilities'

Invoking the equality of opportunity, Sen focuses on the intrinsic capabilities of people, and argues that "the capability approach to a person's advantage is concerned with evaluating it in terms of his or her actual capability to achieve various valuable functionings as part of living" (Sen, 1993: 30). Capabilities of people thus are a combination of different functionings that they can achieve, depending on their intrinsic abilities and motivations. To assess the quality of life, one ought to gauge how people achieve 'valuable functionings' in their life with the help of capabilities within their reach. It is possible, that 'achievements of well-being' can vary from person to person because of 'personal diversities' or diversities in the freedoms derived from primary goods. Thus, equal

incomes can still leave much inequality in one's ability to manage one's life if one is disabled. Thus, inequalities in different contexts or individuals can vary depending on intra- and inter- personal variations. These could be innate qualities, or parental influence, background, family culture, etc. The Bernsteinian elaborated and restricted code articulation or the Bourdieuvian notion of culture capital would dovetail neatly into this argument. Sen's chief argument is that the Rawlsian notion of primary goods and resources will not lead to freedom because primary goods, given prior to the intrinsic capacities of individual agents, cannot lead to freedom. Sen made a general statement about the nature of capabilities. It was picked up by Nussbaum (2000) who found the need to give the notion of capability a local and plural specification. Her hope was that "humans internationally will recognize in the capability approach something relevant to their lives, its support for informed choices, its project of making political and economic development decisions respect a great range of kinds of human flourishing" (Alkire, 2002: 34).

Nussbaum's list of central human functional capabilities includes areas like life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination, thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment. Environment is seen as both political and material. Political control over one's environment implies being able to participate in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. Material control includes amongst other things the freedom to seek employment on an equal basis with others and in work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason, and entering into mutual relationships of mutual recognition with other workers (2000: 78-80).

The terms language, language proficiency, or language capability do not find any place in this listing. However, it would help if the notion of 'capabilities' was applied to the articulation of language use. In a plurilingual country like India where many languages are and will continue to be used, the different languages in any person's repertoire are also

different ‘capabilities’. Some of them are more developed than others, and some get more official recognition. Thus, with the unfortunate ‘hegemony’ of English, proficiency or capability in that language is seen as much more valuable. At the same time, capability in a local, or worse still, tribal language, is not given equal value.

5. Identifying Language ‘Capabilities’ in Educational Contexts

This section reports on three research studies wherein the L1 has been used as a scaffolding device or as a resource in the teaching/enabling of an L2, in this case English. In these studies, an attempt has been made to identify and value the different language capabilities of the students. In the first study, prior knowledge of the first language (Bengali) was used as a scaffold to cognitively support the learning of the L2. One hypothesis was that a bilingual learner’s task performance in an L1-mediated L2 task would be better than in an L2-only task. The findings showed that in all three language categories—language complexity, linguistic variety and semantic content—there was an increase in the four groups studied, viz. good/poor in both Bengali and English; poor in Bengali but good in English, and vice versa; good in Bengali but poor in English. The experiment was conducted with 35 Class VII children in a state government regional medium school in Kolkata. (Mukhopadhyay, 2003).

In another study, learners’ knowledge of L1, (a dialect of Assamese called *Bajaali*) was used as a resource to enable the learning of English. This exploration was at the primary level (Class IV, year one of English) in a regional medium school in a remote village, Garemari, in Barpeta district of rural Assam. Here, knowledge of Assamese was used to enable reading capability, enhance vocabulary, and teach the use of basic language functions successfully in English (Pathak, 2005). The study was exploratory in nature, and dealt with the primary level. As such, no ‘test’ was carried out to prove that success had been achieved; the teacher’s ‘sense of plausibility’ (Prabhu, 1987) was accepted as a measure of the ‘small gains’ (Tharu, 1981) that had accrued. These two

studies did not deliberately set out to locate and value language 'capabilities', but attempted it in an indirect manner.

A study on the language needs of the technical work force, particularly the ITI (industrial Training Institute) sector, (Victor, 2007) used the capabilities argument of Sen and Nussbaum to explore and document the different things that these students (passed out from Class X and enrolled in Institutes that will 'convert' them into machinists, fitters and turners) could do with the languages at their disposal. The study was carried out in Hyderabad and most of the students spoke Telugu as their first language. They had studied through the vernacular/regional medium but needed English to write their record books and pass the ITI examination. Through its innovative approach, the study was able to value the different capabilities that these students (who are usually seen as those who work with their hands, and so do not have a need for language enabling) have. A deliberate effort was made to find out the capabilities these students had in order to read and understand the language of engineering drawing; the attempt was to document their declarative knowledge of tasks that they are able to accomplish with ease on the shop floor.

It is an accepted fact that explaining a complex procedure is difficult for most people, and more so for those who have not had the opportunities to develop their language skills. Task performance and task description are two different things, and require different capabilities. But it was felt that this was a 'capability' that had to exist in some form, for a technical person has to describe procedures for various purposes and across several situations to identify problems, troubleshoot, and improvise tools. It is also necessary to be able to report a malfunctioning in a machine with technical expertise. To do this, and document the 'language capabilities' these technical workers had, an innovative evaluation was attempted where speaking capability was evaluated, but no existing descriptors were used. Even the pre-determined categories to evaluate speaking had to be modified to suit learner capability. Three tasks, one from each of the three trades, machinists, turners and fitters,

were identified. The detailed verbal description of the task was collated with the help of a subject expert. It was also ensured that these tasks and procedures had been carried out by the students successfully. The uniqueness of this capability is that task operations are expressed through the language of drawing; thus the diagram can be read as it represents a set of rules and procedures. The sub-components of the tasks were listed on an Evaluation Sheet; even this had to be modified later, but such an attempt at evaluation was the one sure way to ensure that all the main action processes like milling, size measuring and drilling, which had been described could be documented. Indirect acts, like warning, caution or a general introductory statement about the sub-component were not successfully completed and this too showed up on the non-judgemental, but exhaustive evaluation sheet.

Students who, it was assumed did not have any English, could, with scaffolding and help (from a more abled peer or the interlocutor), not only do the task, but go 'meta' on it and talk about it. To read the picture, mental calculations had to be made, sub-steps kept in mind, and at the same time, the next task anticipated, while the present one was talked about. All this was done with very little margin of error. Terms were explained, but the connectors and cohesive devices were missing. Declarative knowledge was far from satisfactory, but this, interestingly, was the case with both regional and English medium students. Thus, this 'non-capability' with declarative knowledge is language-uniform, and not because of the lack of exposure to English. The result of this exploration was the envisioning of a tri-partite language curriculum, for self-development, learning subject content, and the work place (Victor, 2007).

One counter argument that could be made against this study is that this kind of evaluation is a like a work sample test which is difficult to list and validate. This is true, but what needs to be valued here is the genuine attempt made to document and measure the 'little' that these workers could do with English. A similar critique is possible against the exploratory study (Pathak, 2005) with the 'year one of English' children. Once 'capabilities' are identified, sensitive and fine tuned instruments

can be created to concretize them. After they are measured in their various forms, they can be translated into specifications and descriptions that can enter the domain of formal evaluation.

Not all evaluation happens, however, in formal contexts where sophisticated evaluation instruments are required. A major part of evaluation is assessment for learning, which is essentially pedagogic (Tharu, 2000, Durairajan, 2003). In such contexts, it is only an awareness of possibilities that is necessary. In plurilingual India, the awareness of the existence of other language 'capabilities' itself does not exist. The teachers of one language do not know anything about what their students can do with another language. This awareness needs to be inculcated, in teachers and then used for evaluation purposes, in order that pedagogy may enable learning.

6. Evaluating Plurilingual Language 'Capabilities'

Language use in India is like a holograph. There is no part without the whole, and no whole without the parts. Different individuals use different languages to fulfil different functions. With monolingualism being an exception, it is accepted that most Indians would have a languages profile; through this combination of languages they fulfil their communicative needs. These different languages are like branches on a tree; to climb the communication tree, the language user uses any foot hold or hand hold available or needed. At present, this kind of cross lingual movement is not accepted as the norm. A documentation of the different languages would just be additive and the description is of someone who can speak two, three or four separate languages,. Such a language profile does not capture the complex Indian reality. For this holographic multi-faceted language mosaic to be evaluated in a genuine manner, to enable the 'capability' to emerge, the various 'capabilities' need to be identified and valued by the teacher who is also the tester in the classroom. While it is not possible to enumerate the myriad ways in which this can be realised, a few examples can be cited. It is possible to visualize a common languages class, where 'capability' problems across

languages can be discussed. It will also be possible to teach, plan, and get texts written and evaluate similar tasks across languages. Similarly, it may be possible to capture common capabilities in a languages report card. This will benefit those who may have good receptive capability, but have problems with production in one or more languages.

A lot more research needs to be done in this area, but the argument that has been made is that if languages are perceived as sharing mutual and equal space, even with the existence of linguistic hegemony and cultural capital, a lot can be achieved with the notion of language proficiency as made up of potential and realized 'capabilities'. So far, in educational contexts, languages by and large have been perceived as incommensurable (Kuhn, 1962/70). They never meet, let alone interact. Such 'capable' interaction, it is hoped, will be enabling and rewarding for the plurilingual language user.

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CRITICAL LANGUAGE AWARENESS AND TEACHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: An attempt is made in this article to study the importance of language awareness and teacher education at the primary school level. The article focuses on the changing patterns of power and social control of the minority languages and language changing practices in contemporary society in various works. It is imperative to develop new technologies to meet the demands of language use in new types of media for example, Internet, TV etc. It also emphasizes the importance that has to be given to develop appropriateness in the use of language in education. The National Curriculum Framework has also stressed this point. The paper also addresses the hegemonic struggle of a group in sociolinguistic ordering, where each group would like to establish its hegemony over a domain. The author feels that the teacher education program is the starting point from the perspective of critical language awareness. Therefore, teachers have to be trained to pay attention to the role language practices play in the reproducing or changing structures of domination.

1. Introduction

Language awareness has been an important constituent in language education program and has, therefore, been playing an important role in language education in particular and teacher education in general. As a part of descriptive approach to knowledge about language, language awareness is certainly a step forward in the discretion of language understanding. However, what remains to be seen is how far the language awareness has been critical in its orientation. Its solemn engagement with the objectivity in making judgments about language thus calls for critical gaze and scrutiny, for most language awareness activities accept the descriptive account as given. It assumes that the norms for language behavior established in conventions of use over time are unproblematic and uncontested. Hence one needs to go beyond these assumptions. In

fact, awareness in 'critical' sense or the "knowledge about language" is required, which invites our attention to import social aspects of language, particularly those aspects which underline the relationship between language and power and denies the possibility that human can be fully objective in making judgments about complex language matters.

Knowledge about language has been in language education program, what is required is 'critical language awareness'¹ more so because contemporary challenges are affecting the role of language in social life. We are living in a period of intense social change, but how important language is within the changes that are being witnessed around? There are three ways in which this intense social change can be seen, namely:

(a) Changing patterns of power and social control

No more the power relations manifest the supremacy of a social group through coercion and domination. Rather through "intellectual and moral leadership" achieved through the manufacture of consent by means of ideology and discursive practice. (Gramsci, 1971) In fact, the post-Arnoldian cultural criticism is suggestive of a consensus that the age of ideology begins when force gives way to ideas. This shift from coercion to intellectual and moral leadership means that the common sense routine of language practices (e.g. classroom language) become important in sustaining and reproducing power relations. For example, the predicament of the minority language speakers who get ideologically metamorphosed to suffer from the syndrome of linguisticism whereby the minority children develop negative attitude towards their mother tongue and culture. Associated with this linguisticism is an 'invisible' ideology, which makes an appeal to learn a single dominant language: if the linguistic minorities learn the dominant language then they will not suffer economic and social inequality.²

(b) Changing language practices

A significant part of what is changing in contemporary society is language practices, for example, changes in the nature and relative importance of language in various types of work. Where there is a large-scale restructuring of employment leading to larger service sector and a smaller manufacturing sector, there is bound to have implications for linguistic demands of work, which can be seen in the context of growth of Call Centers. Changing language practices can also be seen to have affected professional-client interactions, for example, doctor-patient, teacher-pupil etc. which are marked by the contemporary society have brought about changes in language practices; there remains ambivalence in such changes. For example contemporary conversational style of language in such interactions has initiated “genuine opening up and democratization of professional domains”, thus suggesting a shift in power towards the client and the consumer. At the same time this conversational style “provides a strategy for exercising power in more subtle and implicit way” (Fairclough, 1992:5) and many professional are trained in such strategies, thus suggesting a control over power.

(c) Language as target for change

Language itself is more and more becoming a target for change, in the sense of technologization of language. For example, the relationship between languages can no longer be analyzed only through a geographical dimension. The arrival of new types of media (Internet, TV, satellites, etc.) oblige us to take virtual space into consideration. All these have repercussions for language, which becomes evident from the way Unicode is being developed particularly in the case of Chinese.³

There are therefore significant ways in which language is involved in contemporary processes of change. Language needs to be problematized to see how it works in different domains of language use-education, politics, media, etc. A critical orientation is called for particularly when there is an implicit exercise of power relations and language

practices are consciously controlled and inculcated. It is at this point that the task of a linguist assumes importance. As a linguist he should not just be content with describing language practices. He should be able to explain them and relate them to power and social relations which underlie them. In fact metalinguistic awareness about the nature of language structure and the ways in which language encodes processes of social exploitation must be a part of any language education program. As Fairclough has rightly pointed out,

language education focused upon training in language skills, without a critical component, would seem to be failing in its responsibility to learners. People cannot be effective citizens in a democratic society if their education cuts them off from critical consciousness of key elements within their physical or social environment. If we are committed to education establishing resources for citizenship, critical awareness of the language practices of one's speech community is an entitlement. (1992:6)

CLA not only problematizes language but also is a prerequisite to education and schooling. This has very eloquently been summed up by Paulo Freire. While discussing the neutrality of education process, Freire (1972) has pointed out,

There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring out conformity to it or it becomes the 'practice of freedom', the means by which men and women critically and creatively deal with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.

Inasmuch as the participation for change is the objective of education, development of CLA is necessary. To quote Freire (1972) once again:

Whether it be a raindrop (a raindrop that was about fall but froze, giving birth to a beautiful icicle), be it a bird that sings, a bus that runs, a violent person on the street, be it a sentence in a newspaper, a political speech a lover's rejection, be it anything, we must adopt a critical view, that of the person who questions, who doubts who investigates, and who wants to illuminate the very life we live.

Critical language awareness about knowledge of language problematizes conventions of language use, appropriateness, status of mother tongue, native speaker and more importantly question of what we mean by 'language', and also helps us understand how benefits from multidimensional of language awareness work can be accrued to bilingual learners.

Appropriateness in the use of language is important in language education. Even sociolinguistic theory in the context of language and education informs us that it is not only the elaboration of a grammatical system that is involved in the development of language at schools, but also the ability to use language as an instrument for learning, and the ability to use language appropriately in different contexts, appropriateness has also been emphasized in the National Curriculum Framework (NCF).

Children come to schools with two or three languages already in place at the oral-aural level. They are able to use these language not only accurately but also appropriately. (2005: 33)

A child knows not only to understand and speak correctly but also appropriately in her language(s). She can modulate her behavior in terms to person, place and topic (2005: 35)

2. Appropriateness as ideology

How does one see the relationship between totality of the linguistic resources of a society and those who draw from it, i.e. between a language

and those who speak it in a complex society? NCF acknowledges language resources are divided in ways which correspond to the class and other divisions of the society, but looks at this division in a static way, as a synchronic state. It treats division as given, as having an innocuous existence without struggle or contestation over linguistic as well as cultural resources. Such a perception of speech community as a static synchronic entity is not only simplifying but also falsifying, for it makes struggle and contestation invisible. Struggle and contestation are the fundamental processes out of which speech communities are shaped and transformed. Language is embedded in social history. Historical perspective of language need not only be concerned with language change, but should also state language in social history. Marking varieties of a language for different purposes and different activities apparently is a sociolinguistic reality, but is also a political project in the domain of language. In fact there is a sociolinguistic ordering corresponding to the notion of appropriateness, which is the political objective of the dominant, hegemonic sections of a society in the domain of language. It is not simply a sociolinguistic reality. Appropriateness model succeeds in conflating the sociolinguistic reality and political project and thus becomes an aspect of ideology through which imaginary representations of sociolinguistic reality get projected which are in the interest of the dominant section of society.

How does the hegemony work or how is power exercised in society? Gramsci's theory of hegemony aptly answers this question. According to Gramsci, in the perpetuation of hegemony and dominance the discursive practices assume a far more important position than force or coercion because they help ideology to mask its actual intentions. The hegemonic group wins the consent or at least acquiescence of other groups to the practices and ideologies which constitute its domination. It is not something that is won once and for all. There is an ongoing struggle and hegemony is always open to contestation by other social forces to some degree. There is always an 'unstable equilibrium' in hegemony according to Gramsci, and hegemonic position is relative. A hegemonic group may achieve a relatively stable hegemony in some domain but not in others.

Similarly, there is a hegemonic struggle of a group in sociolinguistic ordering where each group is struggling to establish its hegemony over a domain. At a given point in time parts of the sociolinguistic order may be relatively stable, thus corresponding with a notion of appropriateness – varieties in a well defined neat complementary relationship in terms of functions and contexts and people using them appropriately most of the time. But this stable sociolinguistic ordering is a temporary phase and there is always a struggle and contestation for destabilization. Linguistic movements and resurgence of linguistic rights’ assertion are suggestive of this struggle over dominance and hegemony.

The notion of appropriateness has its parallel in speech community’s rule of communication – who says what to whom, when and where. Although it looks like an innocent sociolinguistic convention of speech community, it reflects struggle between social forces in Foucauldian sense. According to Foucault (1984: 10), “in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and its dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade it ponderously formidable materiality.” What constitutes the procedure is the ‘prohibition’, which according to Foucault (1984:109), is the knowledge that “we do not have the right to say everything, which we cannot speak of just anything whatever.” It is against the backdrop of the ideological intent and hegemonic agenda of the appropriateness model that CLA has to be used in teacher education for CLA reinforces the development of critical understanding of the sociolinguistic order.

Corollary to appropriateness is the issue of correctness, which has been quite emphatically given place in NCF. However, there is strange ambivalence that goes with the notion of appropriateness and correctness. NCF stance is quite democratic with regard to the notion of correctness. It not only emphasizes the “...child’s language(s) must be accepted as they are, with no attempt to correct them,” (2005:35) but is also critical conventionally trained language teachers’ approach that

“...associates the training of speech with correctness, rather than with the expressive and participatory functions of language.” (2005:38). As far as appropriateness is concerned, although NCF emphasizes that priority should be given to widening pupil’ repertoire of varieties of language (home language included) and their multilingual repertoires, it also recommended that the aim should be to acquire standard variety. The aim is additive in nature, i.e. to add standard variety to the repertoire, not to replace other dialects, and do so in a way that respects the language background of the people:

At the primary stage in child’s language(s) must be accepted as they are, with no attempt to correct them. By Class IV, if rich and interesting exposure is made available, the child will herself acquire the standard variety and the rules of correct orthography, but care must be taken to honour and respect the child’s home language(s) (2005:35).

In fact, there is a strong language awareness component built into the NCF document which is voiced through language as resource argument underlining the importance of home language, celebrating the plurality and diversity of language, treating multilingualism as a resource in language teaching program, and insisting that linguistic plurality of a child should be respected. But the question is how do we keep prestige and power associated with standard variety separate from home language and teach the former without detriment to the latter? How does it add without replacing the other? Perhaps it is at this point that the notion of appropriateness becomes handy in resolving this apparent paradox since the concept of appropriateness subsumes that different varieties are appropriate for different contexts and purposes, and all varieties have the legitimacy of being appropriate for some contexts and purposes. But these varieties are in the domain of private and quaint and exclude those public, formal and written domains which have more social prestige. In a situation where such division of labor may continue to be seen between standard variety and other varieties, the children are likely to get unsaid message that their varieties may be appropriate, but are pretty marginal

and irrelevant. Its consequences can be seen from results based on recent survey conducted by Secondary Education Board (SEB) of Gujarat bemoaning poor performance in the mother tongues by the students across the country (The Hindu). Classroom practices in general and language classes in particular have become monolingual where not only home language is neglected but also stigmatized in the classroom.

3. Conclusion

CLA in the context of teacher education not only demands problematization of variability and context specificity in language practices, but also the integration of the voices and experiences of learner with critical social analysis. From the perspective of CLA, ideological view must be taken as a starting point in the teacher education program. Teachers should be trained to pay attention to the role language practices play in reproducing or changing structures of domination.

NOTES

1. Critical Language Awareness (CLA) is built upon what is variously referred to as 'critical language study', 'critical linguistics', or 'critical discourse analysis'.
2. Although discussed in the case of Urdu, arising from the intellectual and moral leadership is the "cultural schizophrenic situation" in which the language of the linguistic minority has been relegated to the private sphere of family and, therefore, on the one hand, there is a clamor from the families of the linguistic minority to learn their language for cultural longevity, while on the other hand, the marker forces have left no incentive to learn them.
3. Elaboration of a norm called Unicode allows for the codification of 65,000 characters, which should be able to include all graphical systems used in the world today. The Unicode consortium envisaged the allocation of 20,000 codes for Chinese characters, notwithstanding the fact that the most complete Chinese dictionary has nearly 50,000 characters and Chinese ideograms do not constitute an open set (Jordan, 1998).

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SYNTACTIC INNOVATIONS IN NEWSPAPER PUNJABI

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, as the title suggests itself, an attempt has been made to discuss two types of syntactic innovations observed in the language of the News Headlines. These are i) Passive Type of Construction and ii) NP Type of constructions. As far as the syntax of passive construction in Punjabi is concerned, the main verb invariably occurs in perfect form followed by the operator (verb) *ja* 'to go', or *ho* 'to happen'. But in the language of News Headlines, *wYllō* passive marker, equivalent to English *by*, is used instead of passive operators *ja* or *ho* and the phrase structure of passive sentence, normally, remains nominal (NP type). Besides, in this paper, the research work available on passivization in Punjabi has also been reviewed.

1. Introduction

As the grammatical category of voice in Punjabi is concerned, Harkirat Singh (1988), Kapur (1988), and Puar (1990) have identified three types of constructions. These are active voice, passive voice and neutral. Neutral construction does not inflect for the category of voice, or in other words, it does not yield the active-passive variation / correspondence as far as the category of voice is concerned. The following sentences (1) and (2) represent the neutral clause;

- (1) *é sək šÉr ni jāndi hē*
this road city to go is

'This road goes to city'

- (2) *ləkki bót sundər hē*
girl very beautiful is

'The girl is very beautiful'

2. Structure of passive sentence in Punjabi

As far as the structure of passive sentence is concerned, there is no consensus among the Punjabi linguists. The syntactic construction treated as passive by Harkirat Singh (1988) and Duni Chander (1964) is termed as active (perfect) by Puar (1990).

- (3) *munḍe ne kltab pəɽ ləi hɛ*
 boy nomi. book read take is

‘The boy has read the book’

- (4) *ḍakṭər ne rogi ni dəwəi dliti*
 doctor nomi. patient to medicine gave

‘The doctor has given medicine to the patient’

Harkirat Singh (1988) and Duni Chander (1964) have treated the sentences (3) and (4) as passives. They argue that the PP *-ne* is not an agentive marker but a marker of instrumental case. “The book has been read by *munḍa* (boy)”. The second argument given by these scholars is that in passive construction in Punjabi, the verb invariably agrees with the object noun (like *kltab - ləi*; NG – concord). But Puar (1990) disagrees and claims that:

- i) PP- *ne* is an agentive marker, and remains agentive in the sentences (3) and (4) cited above and;
- ii) the verb-object concord does occur in non-passive construction too. The verb in Punjabi agrees with the noun which is not followed by any postposition. See the following examples:

- (5) *munḍa khānda hɛ*
 boy eats is

‘The boy eats’

- (6) *kuṛi khāndi he*
 girl eats is

'The girl eats'

- (7) *muṇḍe ne roṛi khādi*
 boy nomi bread ate

'The boy ate the bread'

- (8) *kuṛi ne roṛi khādi*
 girl nomi bread ate

'The girl ate the bread'

- (9) *muṇḍe ne kuṛi ni roṛi dItti*
 boy nomi. girl to bread gave

'The boy gave the bread to the girl'

The sentences (5), (6), (7), (8) and (9) all are active.

Without going further into the controversy of the number and structure of passives in Punjabi, two types of passive constructions (leaving aside the neutral one) are attested in Punjabi language. The phrase structure of passive sentence in Punjabi is made up of main verb followed by the operator (verb) *ja* 'to go' and *ho* 'to happen'. These can be represented as follows:

- i) main verb + *ja*
- ii) main verb + *ho*

The main verb of passive sentence always occurs in *-la* form (i.e. the perfect form) and the operator category of verb *ja* and *ho* can occur either in perfect or in non-perfect (progressive) form. The following examples can be seen;

- (10) *pəthərā ni məşina nal toṭla jānda he*
 stones to machines with broken go is

‘The stones are broken by / with machines’.

- (11) *é jagir ram sṅg di dltti hoi he*
 this property ram singh of given done is

‘This property has been given by Ram Singh’.

The sentence (10) represents the main verb + *ja* form and the sentence (11) represents the main verb + *ho* form. In both the sentences, the main verb occurs in perfect form (*-la* form). The operator verb *ja* in sentence (10) occurs in progressive form and the operator *ho* in sentence (11) occurs in perfect form.

But as far as the structure of passive sentence is concerned in the language of Punjabi newspaper headlines, the afore mentioned syntactic structures of passive sentence is maintained with additional post position *wəllōm* ‘from / by’ that occurs in place of *na*, or *da* in *ja* and *ho* type of passive sentences. The *wəllō* element is a typical and innovative passive marker peculiar to the language of news headlines. It seems that the *wəllō* type of passive construction is an innovative pattern which could have entered Punjabi language through the interference of English as most of the headlines that appears in the regional newspapers are direct and instant translation of English headlines. *wəllō* is roughly equivalent to English instrumental marker ‘by’. See the following examples:

- (12) *badal wəllō deş wlè fedrəl dānèa əpmauṅ upər zopr*
 badal from country in federal structure adopt on stress

‘Badal for federal structure in country’

- (13) *pəttərkārā wəllō bajpai de səmagəm da baikaʃ*
 press reporters from Bajpai of function of boycott

'Press reporters boycott Bajpai's function'

- (14) *kaləj ədlapəkū wəllō ɛəŋdɪgərh wlè tərna*
 college teachers from Chandigarh in protest

'College teachers to sit in protest at Chandigarh'

- (15) *kəptən wəllō voʃā di glɪti de baikaʃ di təmki*
 captain from votes of counting of boycott of threat

'Captain threatens to boycott the counting of votes'

- (16) *pərət wəllō tɪn dətawas ədikari bərtərf kərən di karwai*
 India from three embassy employees suspend do of action

'India suspends three embassy employees'

- (17) *pak wəllō ɛoʃi de kharʃku əzhər ni pərət dakhəl*
 Pakistan from top of terrorist Azhar to Bharat enter

hoŋ diā hədaltā
 happen of instructions

'Pakistan directs the top terrorist Azher to enter India'

- (18) *vɪrōdi ɪr wəllō dɪgvlje pasō tɪg pəttər di məŋg*
 opposition side from digvijay from resignation of demand

'Opposition demands the resignation of Digvijay'

In the examples from (12) to (18), the passive verbal structure (main verb + *ja* and *ho* passive marker) are ellipted in the sentence. In all the sentences the subject noun is followed by passive marker *wəllō* which transforms the agentive noun into an instrumental one.

This *wəllō* type of passive construction that normally does not occur in vernacular and literary Punjabi, is a peculiar innovation that comes to being at the hands of Punjabi Journalists.

The second innovation noticed in the field of syntax in Punjabi newspapers, is NP-Type of construction. The syntactic structure of majority of news headlines is nominal and the verbal part of the construction is deleted. Though the deleted part of the construction do remain semantically present at the underlying structure, it disappears from the surface structure. See the following examples:

- (19) *pak tō llandi jali karənsi baraməd*
 Pakistan from taken fake currency recovered

'Fake currency imported from Pakistan recovered'

- (20) *əntəm geɾ diā vldən səba èoŋa əjj*
 last phase of state assembly election today

'The last phase of state assembly election today'

- (21) *Zlla jaləndər de vlkas ləi hər səmbəv yətən*
 district jalandhar of development for every possible effort

'Every possible efforts to develop the Jalandhar district'

- (22) *azad midia lokətəntər di jInd-jan*
 free media democracy of life

'Freedom of press is the life of democracy'

3. Conclusion

It is evident from the data presented in this paper that Punjabi language has experienced two innovations related to passive and nominal constructions at the hands of Punjabi Journalists.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

/ = high tone, \ = low tone, NG = Number, Gender, PP = Post position

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2. *ii kaaru erradi* 'This car is red'
This car red
3. *idi erra kaaru* 'This is a red car'
This red car
4. *iiyana qaaktar* 'He is a doctor'
He doctor
5. *raamuḍu qaaktar* 'Ramu is doctor'
Ram doctor
6. *itanu mancii vaaḍu* 'He is a good person'
He good he

The first nominal can be a pronoun as in e.g (1) & (3) or can be a noun as in e.g(5). In Telugu there is no verb meaning "to be" corresponding to 'be / are' of English, and *hai / hāī* of Hindi (Krishnamurthy & Sarma, 2005). Both nominals denote the same person or thing, both of them can also be preceded by a modifier.

- E.g.7. *idi kotta erraa kaaru* 'This is a new red car'
This new red car
8. *idi pedda illu* 'This is a big house'
This big house
9. *aame andamaina maniṣi* 'She is a beautiful person'
She beautiful person

All the above sentences do not show verb forms and have no time reference. It is always shown that affirmative structures of this kind of sentences have a verb based on their negative counterpart as given below:

- E.g. 10(a). *idi kaaru* 'This is a car'
This car
- (b) *idi kaaru kaadu* 'This is not a car'
This car not
- 11(a) *iwi kaarlu* 'These are cars'
These cars

- (b) *iwi kaarlu kaawu* 'These are not cars'
 These cars not
- 12 (a) *akkaḍa kaaru* 'There is a car'
 There car
 (b) *akkaḍa kaaru leedu* 'Car is not there'
 There car not
- 13 (a) *aame ḷiicar* 'She is a teacher'
 She teacher
 (b) *aame ḷiicar kaadu* 'She is not a teacher'
 She teacher not

In the negative sentences, the subject agreement is shown on negative verb.

3. Sentences with verbs

A sentence with a verb mainly constitutes a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). Verbs are either transitive or intransitive. A transitive verb takes an object, whereas an intransitive verb has no object.

E.g.14. *kamala paḷa(nu) paḍḍindi* 'Kamala sang a song'
 Kamala song (acc) sang(IIIp.sg.f.)

15. *raamayya sarmanu pilicæḍu* 'Ramayya called sarma'
 Ramayya Sarma called (IIIp.sg.m)

In these sentences */paḍḍu-/* and */pilucu-/* are transitive verbs. Direct object is marked by accusative marker *-nu*. It is obligatory with animate nouns as in e.g. (15) and optional as in e.g. (14).

4. Aim

The present study focuses on the frequency of occurrence of verbless sentences in the spontaneous speech of adult speakers of Telugu.

5. Methods and subjects

The data were collected from 30 Telugu speaking adults from the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. The adults were in the age range of 21-57 years and the mean age was 34 years. While 25 of them were literate, 5 of them were illiterate. All subjects were native speakers of Telugu and had no history of any neurological problems. Consent was obtained from each participant before the task was given. Participant details were given in table 1.

Participants	Gender M/F	Age	Educational qualification	No. of Lang. spoken
1	F	37	B.Ed	2
2	F	24	B.Ed	2
3	F	34	B.Ed	2
4	F	40	M.A	3
5	M	21	B.Sc	3
6	F	31	B.A	1
7	F	27	B,Com	2
8	M	57	M.Com , M.Ed	3
9	F	31	B.Sc	3
10	F	23	B.A	2
11	F	29	B.Sc	1
12	F	28	D.S.E(MR)	2
13	M	27	B. Sc	3
14	M	24	B.A , D.S.E(H,I)	1
15	F	54	B.Sc D.Ed.(H,I)	3
16	M	25	M.Phil	4
17	F	26	M.Phil	4
18	M	31	B.Sc	3
19	F	34	B.A,LLB, B.Ed	4
20	F	33	B.A ,D.S.E(MR)	3

21	M	28	B.A,LLB	2
22	F	54	Intermediate	4
23	F	52	D.S.E (MR)	1
24	F	47	B.Sc	2
25	F	35	-	1
26	F	26	Intermediate	1
27	F	33	-	1
28	F	38	-	1
29	F	28	-	1
30	F	48	-	1

(Mean age = 34 years)

Table1. Subjects

The task used in this study was developed by the first author as part of her Ph.D research. The task consisted of 20 pictures depicting verbless sentences, presented on a computer. The participants were instructed to say what they see in the pictures in a sentence form. No corrections were done and participants were not given any clues. All responses were tape recorded in a sound treated room.

All samples were transcribed using broad transcription. Each response was scored as 'correct', 'related' and 'incorrect'. By 'correct' response it was meant that the response was a verbless sentence. For example for a picture of car 'correct' response expected was:

16. (a) *idi kaaru* 'This is a car'.
This car

However the following responses were also considered as 'correct' responses as these are also verbless construction.

(b) *erra kaaru* 'Red car'
Red car

- (c) *kaarū* 'Car'
Car
- (d) *reḍḍi kalar kaar* 'Red colour car'
Red colour car

The 'related' responses were those which were grammatically and semantically well formed. For e.g. for the above picture

- (e) *kaarū nilabaḍḍi undi* 'Car is standing'
car standing is
- (f) *car ḍraiv cestunaaru* '(somebody- with respect) is driving
Car drive doing (*ru-* with respect) the car'

The 'incorrect' responses were those which were semantically and grammatically correct.

6. Data Analysis and Results

A general observation was that each picture could elicit a response. The range of utterances varied between 2-8 words.

(i) Analysis of Verbless sentence

The results obtained for 600 sentences showed that 236 (40%) of the total responses were 'correct' responses i.e. verbless constructions, while 364 (60%) were "related" responses. Analysis of these responses indicated that in all these sentences verbs were provided. Further analysis of the 364 sentences indicated that 71% of these verbs were intransitive (Intr) and 29% were transitive (Tr). The responses were listed in table – 2. In this table twenty verbless expected responses have been listed in the first column. The instances of verbless constructions and the instances of occurrence of verbs (Intransitive, (Intr) and Transitive (Tr)) have been listed in the following columns.

	verbless	Intr.	verbs Tr.	Total	
1	<i>idi kaaru</i>	18	11	1	12
2	<i>iwi gaajulu</i>	14	13	3	16
3	<i>idi skuufar</i>	19	9	2	11
4	<i>iwi arafipandlu</i>	13	12	5	17
5	<i>idi baalu</i>	15	10	5	15
6	<i>willu pillalu</i>	5	18	7	25
7	<i>iime daktar</i>	13	13	4	17
8	<i>iwi aavulu</i>	12	10	8	18
9	<i>iime tiicar</i>	6	9	16	24
10	<i>idi kukka</i>	11	17	2	19
11	<i>idi eroopleen</i>	11	13	6	19
12	<i>idi cettu</i>	11	15	4	19
13	<i>iina gaandhi</i>	21	5	4	9
14	<i>idi kurcii</i>	13	17	0	17
15	<i>idi tiivii</i>	12	4	14	18
16	<i>iwi bandlu</i>	7	22	1	23
17	<i>iwi paavuraallu</i>	8	17	5	22
18	<i>iime laayar</i>	11	10	9	19
19	<i>iwi kurciilu</i>	11	19	0	19
20	<i>idi doosa</i>	5	15	10	25
		236	259	106	364
	Percentages (600)	40%	43%	18%	60%
	Percentage (364)		71%	29%	

Table – 2 Analysis of Verbless sentence

(ii) Related responses

The following related responses were observed in some of the productions. For instance when a Picture of Gandhi was shown the correct response could be:

E.g. 17 (a) *iiyana gaandhi* 'He is Gandhi'.

He Gandhi

However a related response obtained was :

(b) *father of the nation*

In another instance for a picture of *doofa* 'pan cake' the correct response was:

E.g. 18 (a) *idi doofa* 'This is a pan cake'.

This pan cake

Here the responses obtained were

(b) *tiffin pleetloo tinaḍaaniki reḍiigaa undi*
Tiffin plate(lo-locative) to eat(ki-dative) ready is

'Tiffin in the plate is ready to eat.'

(c) *doofa pleetloo undi* 'Pan cake is in the plate'.
pan cake plate(lo-locative) is

Similar responses could be seen for the other pictures.

(iii) Verbs produced in response to the pictures

It was noted that out of the 600 sentences, 364 (60%) had verbs in them, while only 236 (40%) were verbless. Out of the 364 constructions, 42% were intransitive and 18% were transitive verbs. For example when a picture of a car was shown, the expected verbless construction were:

E.g.19 (a) *idi kaar* ' This is a car'.

This car

Responses with verbs were:

(b) *kaar veltundi* ' Car is going'.

Car going

(c) *kaar ḍraiw ceestunnaaru* 'he (honorific)/they' is/
are

Car drive doing

driving a car'.

(d) *kaaruloo prati rooju manam varkpleski veltaam*
 Car(loo-locative) every day we workplace(ki-dative) to go

'Everyday we go to the workplace in the car'.

(e) *kaar nilabaḍi undi* 'Car is standing'.
 Car standing is

For e.g. for a picture of teacher

The verbless construction that was obtained was:

E.g.20(a) *iime ṭiicar* 'She is a teacher'.
 She teacher

Responses with verbs were:

(b) *ikkaḍa ṭiicar neerpistunnaaru* 'The teacher is teaching here'.
 Here teacher teaching(ru-with respect)

(c) *ṭiicar boardṁmiida raastundi* 'Teacher is writing on the board'.
 Teacher board on writing

(d) *boordḍ paina ṭiicar hindi subjekṭ cebutundi*
 Board on teacher Hindi subject teaching
 'Teacher is teaching Hindi subject on the board'.

For example for a picture of a dog, the expected verbless construction that was obtained was:

E.g. 21 (a) *idi kukka* 'This is a dog'
 This dog

Responses with verbs were:

(b) *ii kukka tellagaa undi* 'This dog is white'.
 This dog white is

(c) *visraantigaa kuurcunna kukka* 'The relaxing dog'.
Relaxing sitting dog

(d) *kukka mæṭ paina kuurcundi* 'Dog is sitting on the mat'.
Dog mat on sitting

Further analysis of the data showed the occurrence of English words. Most of the participants produced English equivalents to Telugu forms. These are listed in Table-3.

Table -3 gives a detailed picture of Telugu (T) and English (E) equivalents. Participants showed a variation in selecting the T vs E form or vice-versa. This was shown below as T/E. For example, *banti* 'ball' was produced by 5 participants and ball by 25 participants.

S.No.	Telugu word	English word	No. of Instances T/E(out of 30)	Target noun not produced
	T	E		
1	<i>banti</i>	ball	5/ 25	0
2	<i>vimaanam</i>	aero plane	5/ 20	5
3	<i>kurcii</i>	chair	9/ 17	4
4	<i>pillalu</i>	children	25/ 5	0
5	<i>kukka</i>	Dog	27/ 3	0
6	<i>ceṭṭu</i>	Tree	22/ 1	7
7	<i>gaajulu</i>	bangles	24/ 6	0
8	<i>araṭi paṇḍlu</i>	bananas	20/ 10	0

Table - 3 Occurrences of Telugu and English Words

7. Discussion

The above utterances were discussed in the realm of spontaneous sentence production. Sentence production in brief involves, the thought the speaker wishes to express, which is then converted into lexical items

retrieved from the person's mental dictionary called the lexicon. Subsequently, these lemmas are converted into the form in which they will be pronounced, with syllable and sound information of each word, adapted for its context (Butterworth, 1994).

The various observations made on the analysis of 600 spontaneously produced sentences in response to 20 pictures depicting the verbless constructions presented through the computer were very interesting.

The frequent use of English equivalents among the responses could be due to bilingualism, as all of the participants were from the urban population. The words were also the most frequently occurring English words in Telugu; hence code mixing and code switching are very much possible. Table 3 shows some of the words in Telugu are preferred over English. Hence these forms are not replaced by their English equivalents in spontaneous speech. E.g. in Table-3 , S.No.4 *pillalu* 'children' was preferred by 25 of the 30 participants.

Related responses observed for some of the pictures might be due to the experiential knowledge of the subjects that got triggered at that moment.

The observation that a picture could elicit the verb while the expected response was a verbless construction is very interesting. A psycholinguistic perspective may be able to explain this pattern. Here two aspects come into picture - the context (in this study - the spontaneity of sentence construction) and the second aspect is the speaker's experiential knowledge in relation to the pictures shown.

A variety in the spontaneity of the responses could be seen. Each person perceived the picture in their own angle. The fact that a verb was provided even though it was not mandatory, where as a sentence in isolation demands its head i.e. verb. Verbless constructions may be natural and frequent in a discourse rather in isolation.

At the discourse level the verbless construction are possible having an underlying verb which is not overtly expressed where as in isolation or in the context of spontaneous production the speaker tends to provide the verb. Speakers are at ease to provide a verb very spontaneously in spite of the existence of verbless sentences in the language. Very interestingly, it was always the verb *lunêul* 'to be' produced.

Hence, it can be concluded that in isolation the presence of verb in a sentence is to complete the expression. This gives the psychological reality for the existence of the verb in underlying representation in verbless constructions in Telugu.

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PROSODIC FEATURES IN THE WOMEN'S SPEECH OF FISHERMAN COMMUNITY – AN OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT: The use of prosodic features or suprasegmental features is as important as that of segmentals in the course of speech act. The various prosodic features *viz.*, pitch, loudness, duration with other parameters are indispensable for the proper exchange of views, ideas, feelings etc. The present paper deals with the various prosodic or suprasegmental features employed by the women speakers of fisherman community of Berhampur and Gopalpur areas which have a mixed group of both Oriya and Telugu speakers. The employment and use of these prosodic features in the speech of these two groups of participants are analyzed and efforts are also being made to verify and compare them with the sentences that occur in standard Oriya.

1. Introduction

Speech is composite of segmental and prosodic or suprasegmental features. Human communication would not have been possible only by the use of mere meaningful speech sounds or segmental phonemes. A sentence made up of these segments denotes only one meaning at one time. The additional semantic nuances which express different emotions and attitudes are brought out by the prosodic features. Human communication is carried out by the sequential occurrence of segments and the prosodic or supra-segmental features which are superimposed over the segmental sounds. The various prosodic features such as pitch, loudness, duration, stress, tempo, rhythm and terminal contour are part and parcel of the sentences of Oriya which is an intonation language and operate over them.

2. Participants

The women speakers of about eleven from the Oriya and Telugu fisherman community residing in Berhampur and Gopalpur areas have participated in the process of elicitation of data. Out of these, a maximum number of participants say, seven were mainly from Telugu mother-tongue background but, reside in Orissa as linguistic minorities and have the spoken ability of the regional language- Oriya. For the business transaction and other similar necessities, they speak Oriya language with the inhabitants. The standard utterances of Oriya were collected from the elite Oriya female speakers and also from the authors.

3. Procedure

The data were collected and recorded from the female folk belonging to fisherman community at the time of general/ordinary conversation that took place between those women and the author, and during their business transaction. The various sentence types *viz.*, affirmative/imperative and question sentences and the basic prosodic features *viz.*, pitch, loudness, duration along with stress and terminal contour which commonly occur in the normal conversation were taken for the analysis. As it is not possible to accommodate and discuss all these sentence types with all emotions and attitudes, only the normal affirmative sentences with the emotion anger and attitude request which possibly occur in isolation and within a discourse or in ordinary conversation were collected from the participants. The simple sentences similar in structure were collected for the analysis to set up the norm for the speech melody. The standard Oriya sentences were taken as the norm for the analysis.

The analysis of the data collected from the participants was mainly done by the impressionistic method due to the lack of required instrumental facilities within the reach of the authors and due to the time constraint on the part of the authors.

4. Discussion

The pattern of the prosodic features in the speech of Telugu fisherwomen is mainly discussed due to their markedness characteristic with regard to the standard Oriya. The Oriya fisherwomen speech is less marked and is more close to Ganjam accent.

Pitch is the most important prosodic feature, basic to both tone and intonation language and is responsible for bringing out change in meanings. This is studied on the basis of three aspects like pitch level, pitch movement, and pitch range.

The pitch level is mainly taken into account for setting up of the speech melody of the utterances. The pitch levels are numbered as 1 (low), 2 (low-mid), 3 (mid), 4 (high-mid) and 5 (high). The sign [+] above the pitch level number is used to indicate the degree of variation within a particular pitch level *i.e.*, it indicates the highest point within a particular level which is at the margin of the lowest point of the next immediate higher level. A pitch level number without any [+] sign denotes the lowest point within that level.

The pitch movement in which a gliding of pitch is associated with the stress in the speech of the Telugu fisherwomen whereas it is not that significant in the same Oriya speech in isolation unless the sentences are uttered with some specific feelings like exclamation or are uttered to bring a prominence into the speech or are spoken to convey the intended meaning of the speaker. The marker [ˈ] is used above the syllable to represent the nuclear syllable in combination with the stress and the prominence part of the speech.

The pitch range *i.e.*, the width of pitch in standard Oriya speech of women is commonly narrow and medium depending on the expression of different emotions or attitudes.

Loudness which occurs as a totality in the sentences is used as a predominant feature in the speech of both Telugu and Oriya fisherwomen.

But, the degree of loudness is more in case of Telugu fisher women than the Oriya fisher women and they hardly speak in a soft voice except expressing emotions like pity and sorrow which is still louder in comparison to the expression of Oriya fisher women. Stress, in standard Oriya operates to show the prominent part of a sentence. It is used as a factor of mother-tongue/regional accent influence in both Telugu and Oriya fisher women's speech and thus, is usually unmarked in all these sentences.

The feature duration is taken into account as the total duration of the utterance where the lengthening of the segments and the tempo in which the sentence is uttered are the decisive factors. The length is shown by the sign [:] placed beside the segmental phonemes. The tempo in the sentence of Oriya and Telugu fisherwomen is comparatively slower than the standard Oriya.

Terminal contour implies the final pitch pattern occurs at the end of the utterances. These are fall 1. [↘], 2. level [→] and 3. rise [↗] which are further labeled as gradual-falling or slow-falling, steep-falling [↓], steep- rising [↑]

The degree difference exists in relation to the standard Oriya speech and in the speech of different groups of participants. The occurrence of these prosodic features which varies with time, intention, mood of the speaker in a given context is shown in the following examples and those which are unmarked are not indicated:

Standard Oriya		normal affirmative	anger	request
1. <i>muṇ (tate) rejā debi </i> I to you change will give 'I will give you change.'		1'-1-1''-1	2''-2-2-2	1-1-1'-1
2. <i>(tu) mate paisā de </i> (You) to me paisa give		1-1-1''-1	2''-2-2-2	1-1-1'-1

'(You) give me paisa.'

3. *se kāhi'ṅki jiba?* 1-2'-1-2 2⁺-4'-2'-3⁺ 1-1'⁺~2-1-1⁺
 she/he why/what for will go
 'Why/what for will she/he go?'
4. *(tu) ka'na kahuchu?* 1-2'-1-1⁺ 2⁺-4'-2-3⁺ 1-1'-1-1⁺
 (You) what saying
 'What are you saying?'
5. *(tu) (e) sabu mācha nabu?* 1-1'~2-1-2 2-4'-2'-4 1-1'-1-2
 (you) all fish will take
 Will you take all the fishes?

Telugu Fisherwomen

normal affirmative anger request

1. *ā:me (tate) ci:--ce':llr ā dabu: |* 3'-3'-3⁺-3 4⁺~5-4-2⁺ 3-3-3⁺-3
 we to you change will give
 'We will give you change'.
2. *(tu) ā:maku paissā de: |* 3⁺-3-3⁺-3 2⁺-3-3⁺-2⁺ 2'-2-2⁺-2
 (you) to us paisa give
 '(You) give us money'.
3. *se ki'sspāiṅ jiba: ?* 3-3⁺-3-3' 3⁺-5-3-4' 3~3-2'-2-2⁺
 she/he why/what for will go
 'Why/what for she/he will go?'
4. *(tu) ki'ssa~ki'ss kaucu/bolucu ~ belucu?* 3-3'-3-3' 3-4'⁺~5-3-4⁺ 1⁺~2-2'-2-2'
 (you) what saying
 'What are you saying?'
5. *(tu) (e:) sa:bu(jāk) mācha nabu?* 3-3'~2-2⁺-3⁺ 3'-3-4⁺-3-5 3-2'-2'-2-3
 (you) all fish will take
 Will you take all the fishes?

The plural form *āme* ('we' inclusive) is frequently used by the Oriya speakers of Ganjam to denote the first person singular form. The Telugu fisherwomen too use the same form for the first person singular where it is little lengthened. Though, lengthening of syllables at the word final position is a universal phenomenon, hence, unmarked in most of the cases, it is marked in the speech of Telugu fisherwomen. These prosodic features employed in the above Oriya sentences, to a great extent are influenced by their Telugu language.

Oriya Fisherwomen	normal affirmative	anger	request
1. <i>āme/mu:ŋ (tate) ci'llr ā dabu/debi</i> we / I to you change will give 'We/I will give (you) change'.	2 ⁺ ~3-3-3-2 ⁺	3 ⁺ -4-3 ⁺ -2	2 ⁺ -2 ⁺ -3-2
2. <i>(tu) āmaku/ mate pa:isā de</i> (you) to us/me paisa give '(You)give us paisa'.	2 ⁺ ~3-3-2 ⁺	3 ⁺ -4 -4-2	2 ⁺ -2 ⁺ -3-2
3. <i>se ki'(sa)pāiŋ jiba?</i> she/he why/what for will go 'Why/what for she/he will go?'	2 ⁺ -3 ⁺ -2 ⁺ -3 ⁺	3 ⁺ -4 ⁺ -3 ⁺ -4 ⁺	2 ⁺ -3 ⁺ -1 ⁺ -2 ⁺
4. <i>(tu) kiana~kisa kaucu/bolucu ~ belucu ?</i> (you) what saying 'What are you saying?'	2 ⁺ -3-1 ⁺ -3 ⁺	3 ⁺ -4-3-4 ⁺	2 ⁺ -2-2-3
5. <i>(tu) (e:) sa:bu(jāk) mācha nabu ?</i> (you) all fish will take Will you take all the fishes ?	3-3 ⁺ ~2-2 ⁺ -3 ⁺	3 ⁺ - 3-4 ⁺ -3-5	3 -2 ⁺ -2 ⁺ -2-3

These fisherwomen's speech is close to Ganjam Oriya accent both in terms of segmental articulation and prosodic features.

Apart from the above degree variation in the prosodic features, the use of some words by the Telugu women do result with a difference

in the prosodic pattern of the utterances because of the distinctive phonological characteristic of the individual segments in general, and particularly in Telugu language.

5. Observations

1. The phonological and the lexical features play a major role in the degree variation of the specific prosodic features, so as to cause a difference in the pattern of the prosodic features of the utterances. The degree variation of pitch level in a word or across words of an utterance is mainly responsible for bringing out a melodic characteristic to the utterances and for differentiating any ordinary utterance without any feelings or attitudes from a request sentence. The degree of all the prosodic features *viz.*, pitch, loudness, duration etc. is comparatively more in the speech of Telugu fisherwomen than the speech of Oriya fisherwomen which is generally much more than standard Oriya.
2. The fisherwomen of both the categories often use non-honorific second person singular for the customers irrespective of the power relation. This might be mainly done due to the ease of construction of sentences with the proper subject-predicate agreement. This sort of use of non-honorific terms reduces the number of segments and, accordingly the pattern of employment of the suprasegmental features either individually or in combination in an utterance gets influenced/changed.
3. The degree of employing pitch level is little higher in Oriya fisher women's speech than the standard Oriya who use mostly low, and mid-low pitch for affirmative/imperative sentences and sentences with request, mid, mid-high for question sentences with the emotion anger. It is still higher in Telugu fisherwomen's speech in comparison to the speech of Oriya fisherwomen whose pitch level fluctuates from mid, mid-high and high-low. The Telugu fisherwomen speak in

a mid, mid-high, high-mid, high-low and high level. The low-high pitch is rarely used for request by them.

4. Though, the pitch levels for both the normal affirmative sentences and the sentences uttered with the attitude request for a particular group of speakers are more or less same, they differ in terms of pitch fluctuation within the same pitch level. That is to say, the sentences uttered with the attitude request are more melodic and the time taken to utter them is little more than the normal affirmative sentences.
5. The pitch movements in standard Oriya sentences are low fall for ordinary declarative and request sentences, low-rise and rise-fall for ordinary interrogative (yes-no, WH- type), mid-rise for the sentences uttered with anger; mid- fall, mid-rise, rise-fall and high-rise in the speech of Oriya fisherwomen; and mid-high-fall, mid-high-rise; fall-rise, rise-fall, high-rise in Telugu fisherwomen's speech.
6. The pitch range is consistent in a discourse of both the groups of Telugu and Oriya fisherwomen speakers *i.e.*, the discourse is usually carried out in a particular pitch-range throughout, unless, there is change of topic or some part of the discourse is intended to be highlighted. In case of Telugu fisherwomen, the pitch range is wider than the Oriya fisherwomen speakers *i.e.*, the discourse is usually carried out in a particular wide pitch-range throughout. They employ medium or wide pitch range.
7. In case of the speech of Telugu fisherwomen, the degree of occurrence of all the above mentioned suprasegmentals is more prominent and marked than the standard Oriya speech. The sentences are normally spoken loudly by them than the Oriya fisherwomen, and the Oriya fisherwomen's speech is louder than the standard Oriya. The speakers of both the fisherman community use normal voice for ordinary declarative sentences and the sentences uttered with the attitude request, and loud voice for the emotion anger. The

soft voice is used by the standard Oriya speakers for request, normal for ordinary declarative sentences without any emotion and attitude and loud for anger. The suprasegmental stress has a predominant occurrence in some cases of the speech of Telugu fisherwomen to highlight the particular information *i.e.*, it is used either to emphasize the information or to bring out the contrastive aspects of an information for which some syllables or words are uttered emphatically along with the gliding of pitch. This is often expressed by doubling the particular segment.

8. Stress is less marked even in the place of gliding of pitch in the speech of Oriya fisherwomen in comparison to the speech of Telugu fisherwomen.
9. Due to the influence of their own Telugu accent, the speech is louder and some segments within a sentence in the speech act are lengthened as a phonological feature in Telugu fisherwomen's speech.
10. The total duration of both individual and discourse utterances of Oriya fisherwomen is more. As such, the tempo of the utterances is also slow in their speech than the speech of Telugu fisherwomen. The utterances with the emotion anger are uttered fast, and the utterances uttered with the attitude request and the ordinary declarative sentences are uttered in normal speed by the Telugu and Oriya fisherwomen. The standard Oriya sentences with the attitude request are sometimes spoken in slow speed. Similarly, sentence rhythm or discourse rhythm is maintained in the speech of both the groups of speakers in combination with the tempo of the speech irrespective of the length of the individual segments or syllables.
11. The overall intonation pattern of the utterances are gradual rise-gradual low fall, level-gradual rise-gradual fall, gradual rise-gradual fall-rise, gradual rise-fall- rise, and gradual rise- gradual fall- gradual high rise.

12. Three types of terminal contours are found. They are fall, level and rise in standard Oriya; level-falling, rise, steep-falling (ordinary declarative uttered in anger) and steep- rise (interrogative uttered in anger) in the speech of Telugu and Oriya women fisherman community.
13. In a number of instances, the words in an utterance are either close ended ones by some or are doubled by some participants of Telugu fisherwomen. However, the articulation of certain segments such as the affricate /c/ (is an affricated stop in standard Oriya), doubling of consonants, lengthening of syllables are in free variation with their counterparts. They occur unintentionally and unpredictably during the conversation and are context-free elements.
14. The customers irrespective of their language also use a bit high intonation though, not at par with the intonation of fisherwomen's speech.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, we could say that the prosodic features in the Oriya speech of the women of the fisherman community especially who hail from Andhra and speak Telugu in their speech community, get influenced by their regional and socio-cultural aspects. The same is also found where the Ganjam accent does have influence over the speech of Oriya fisherwomen.

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COHESION IN ‘AN IRISH AIRMAN FORESEES HIS DEATH’: AN ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT: A text may be studied at two levels – discourse analysis as a process and text analysis as a product. The purely literary study deals with the abstract qualities of a text at its discourse level and the linguistic study of a literary text pertains to the concrete features of a text at its text level. While the former is based on the intuitive and subjective approaches to deconstruct a text to defer its meanings with new insights perennially, the latter in terms of linguistic features provides the concrete and objective approaches to prove systematically why a literary text means what it does. Halliday and Hasan’s *Cohesion in English* (1976) is a seminal work that offers a comprehensive and standard framework to study the literary qualities of a linguistic text. Hence the present paper modestly aims at analyzing cohesion in W.B. Yeats’ famous lyric ‘An Irish Airman Foresees His Death’. This analysis shows that the poem has a well knit textual structure with the employment of different types of cohesive ties namely reference, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion to provide link and continuity between the utterances to form a full-fledged text. It also brings out the fact that some sub types of the above cohesive devices and a particular type of cohesion called substitution are conspicuous by their absence, leaving a scope for the use of more types of cohesive devices in the poem. But given the length of the poem, it is appropriate to opine that the poet has exploited many types of cohesive devices effectively and it is justified to conclude that the present analysis of cohesion proves textually why the poem means what it does in proper perspective objectively.

1. Introduction

W.B. Yeats is an Irish national. He is a famous modern English poet. His lyric *An Irish Airman Foresees His Death* has universal appeal and contemporary relevance. Its speaker, an Irish Airman, disillusioned

with his struggle for a separate Irish Nation, expresses his disappointment and dejection in this poem. The present paper tries to explore how the cohesive devices used in the poem project its literary qualities linguistically, using the framework of Halliday and Hasan (1978).

2. Cohesion in English

Language does not occur in stray words or sentences but in utterances forming text and discourse. The sentence is the result of the application of linguistic rules in dissociation from its context of use. It has signification, i.e., meaning as an instance of usage, exemplifying the rules of syntax and semantics. The utterance is a unit of use, whose meaning is established by its syntagmatic combination with the other utterances in context. It has communicative value because it occurs in context. Every language provides means for making links with itself and the situational context in which it is used. Its utterances cohere together with the linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena establishing relationships between propositions and illocutionary acts respectively. The propositional development is indicated with the formal, explicit, overt cohesive devices (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) while the illocutionary development is achieved through the non-formal, implicit, covert coherence devices such as inference, presupposition, and story schemata (Widdowson, 1979 and 1984 and Arunachalam, 1992).

Halliday and Hasan's *Cohesion in English* (1976) is a seminal work on cohesion. The concept of cohesion is semantic, as it refers to relations of meaning that exists within a text through lexicogrammatical system. It stands for the linguistic means through which 'texture' is achieved. Thus it is one of the elements that form the texture of a text by way of expressing the continuity between one part of the text and another. To understand the meaning of the text, this continuity provided by cohesion becomes essential and crucial.

Cohesion is not a structural unit, as it is independent of structures. The concept of cohesion becomes necessary in explaining the internal

cohesiveness of the text that exists between sentences. It deals specifically with non-structural text forming relations and does not have in principle anything to do with sentence boundaries. So if a presupposing and a presupposed item are structurally related or not, does not alter the meaning of the cohesive relation. Hence it is a more general notion.

Cohesion is a general text forming relation. It is not strictly speaking a relation above the sentence. It is a relation to which the sentence or any other form of grammatical structure is simply irrelevant. It refers to the range of possibilities functioning as a set of semantic relations that exists for linking something with what has gone before.

Cohesion is a set of meaning relations general to all classes of the text. In fact it is this set of meaning relations that distinguishes 'text' from 'non-text' and interrelates the substantive meanings of the text with each other. It is not concerned with what a text means but with how a text is constructed as a semantic edifice.

Halliday and Hasan (*Ibid*) provides a strong theoretical foundation and standard framework to cohesion in English. They divide the cohesive devices into grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. The grammatical cohesion consists of four types: 1. Reference, 2. Substitution, 3. Ellipsis and 4. Conjunction. Each type has its own sub-types. All of them are explained thoroughly. This paper uses their framework to analyse a poetic text to highlight why the text means what it does and to prove that the abstract, subjective literary qualities of a poem may be objectively and systematically explained with a concrete linguistic phenomenon.

3. Cohesive analysis of the poem

The poem 'An Irish Airman Foresees His Death' has 9 utterances and 60 instances of cohesive devices as given in Appendix 1 and 2. An analysis of its cohesion is given below:

Total	Grammatical Cohesion		Ellipsis	Conjunction	Lexical Cohesion	
	Reference				Reiteration	Collocation
	Personal	Demonstrative				
60	14	7	4	5	10	20
		21				30
	23%	12%	7%	8%	17%	33%
	35%					
	50%					50%

The figures textually establish the fact that the poem has both grammatical and lexical cohesions equally to the extent of 50% each. Generally a text may have a grammatico-lexical cohesive structure, when there is a dominance of lexical cohesion over grammatical cohesion and lexico-grammatical cohesive structure when there is a dominance of grammatical cohesion over lexical cohesion. But the poem has grammatical as well as lexical cohesive structure equally. It implies that both grammatical and lexical cohesion play the equal and significant roles in linking the utterances together overtly into a unified text. It means that the semantic relations between the utterances are realised clearly at both the semantico-lexical level and the grammatical level of the text. However a careful observation shows that in the cohesive structure of the poem the semantico-lexical level has an edge over the grammatical level, as the predominant use of reference to the extent of 35% overall means that these reference ties, though grammatical, cohere the presupposed items with the presupposing counterparts based on the semantic relations between them and the lexical ties functioning as lexical cohesion cohere between themselves so that the texture between the utterances has been created on the basis of their semantic relatedness.

4. Grammatical cohesion in the poem

As stated earlier, there are four categories of grammatical cohesion in English. The poem has three types of grammatical cohesion namely reference, conjunction and ellipsis used to the tune of 35%, 8%

and 7% respectively. It does not have any instance of a category called substitution.

5. Reference

Reference is a grammatical cohesion. The cohesive relation between some items is reference when the interpretation of the items depends on their reference to something else, instead of being interpreted semantically on their own. Its main characteristic is the specific nature of the information signalled for retrieval and this information is the referential meaning. It is a semantic relation. So the semantic properties of the reference items should match that of the item it refers to. There are three types of reference namely 1. personal reference, 2. demonstrative reference and 3. comparative reference.

6. Personal reference

Personal reference constitutes to 23% of the cohesive ties employed in the poem. It has speech roles (speaker(s) I/We and addressee(s) you/you) and other roles (other than speaker(s) and addressee(s) he, she, it, they, etc.) The poem has two narrators namely the first person narrator and the omniscient third person narrator. A detailed analysis of personal reference brings out the fact that the speech role namely the first person singular subject personal reference 'I' used seven times proves textually that the main narrator of the poem is the first person narrator, who is the main character christened An Irish Airman as well. It also proves textually that the speaker's personal experience of his disillusionment with the separatist movement is the main subject matter of the poem. Besides he recounts in his own words that the struggle for the political freedom of having a separate state for his people is meaningless unless they attain economic freedom as well and hence he treats his separatist nationalist movement as a waste of time and effort. Further the use of the speech role namely the first person singular possessive personal reference 'my' three times stresses his sincere concern about the welfare of his own people and his own preparedness

to face his death. It also implies that the speaker is ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of his people, as a committed citizen. The use of the speech role namely the first person singular object personal reference 'me' once further emphasizes that he is willing to undergo any suffering voluntarily for the development of his country, as he feels that the service to his country offers him a sense of satisfaction and delight. The use of the other role named the third person plural object personal reference 'them' referring to his countrymen two times implies that his people are the receivers of the outcomes of the ongoing separatist movement and its expected results are not so favourable to them as their life style will not undergo changes, as attaining of a separate state will alone not offer them economic, social and political freedoms. The omniscient third person narrator is the minor narrator of the poem, as he utters only one utterance namely the title of the poem. The use of the other role named the third person singular possessive personal reference 'his' only once in the title proves his limited role to introduce the theme of his poem, i.e., the 'meaningless' death of his main character 'An Irish Airman'. The absence of the speech role meant for the addressee(s) namely 'you' implies that the speaker introspects himself the usefulness of his ideology and does a loud thinking to console himself the irrelevance of his struggle for a separate state.

7. Demonstrative reference

The poem has the cohesive ties of demonstrative reference to the extent of 12% overall. The definite article 'the', a demonstrative reference, is an unmarked or non-selective referential deictic. The noun it modifies has a specific referent, and the information for identifying this referent is available somewhere exophorically in the situation (ex. *Mind the step*), homophorically (referring to the whole class ex. *The stars twinkle.*), cataphorically (the forward reference ex. *The student who studies well stands first.*) and anaphorically (the backward reference ex. *I have a book. The book is old.*) It does not have this information in itself. It just signals definiteness and does not say about the location of information which has to be derived from the environment situationally

and/or textually. Only the anaphoric use of 'the' is strictly cohesive as the presence of 'the' provides a link between the utterance in which it is used and the utterance that has the relevant referential information. A very few instances of 'The' may have all the fourfold reference: In the utterances '*Look at the sun. **The** midday sun is very bright.*' 'The' in 'The midday' has homophoric, exophoric, cataphoric and anaphoric shades of referential meanings. The poem has four instances of the demonstrative reference 'the'. In 'the clouds' in utterance No. 2 'the' modifies the noun 'clouds' that cohere lexically with 'Airman' by way of collocation, has an anaphoric reference and hence cohesive. In the second instance in 'the cloud' in utterance No.8 'the' is an anaphoric cohesive tie as it is the modifier of the noun 'clouds' that has a lexical cohesive relation in terms of reiteration by way of repetition. In the third instance in 'The years to come' in Utterance 9 'the' appears to be cataphoric having a forward reference to 'years (that are yet to come)' at first sight, but it has an anaphoric meaning, as it has backward reference to 'all' in the preceding part of the utterance and hence cohesive. In the fourth instance in 'the years behind' in the same utterance, 'the' modifies the noun 'years' that coheres with its preceding occurrence by way of lexical reiteration type of cohesive device as it is an instance of repetition of the same noun used earlier. Hence the use of 'the' as a demonstrative cohesive device leads to double ties generally.

The poem has three instances of the demonstrative reference 'this', the selective nominal demonstrative. The demonstrative reference 'this' has the import of proximity and singular number and functions as the modifier or head of the nominal group. The selective nominal demonstrative 'this' is used with the nouns in all instances namely 'tumult', 'life' and 'death'. So its meaning is always identical with that of the presupposed item in each case. The nouns 'tumult' and 'life' cohere in terms of lexical collocation with 'death' and 'breath' respectively, while another noun 'death' has the lexical cohesive tie as a repetition with its earlier occurrence. So 'this' also has the same semantic implications of the respective presupposed items. The speaker has deliberately chosen 'this' expressing proximity or nearness to imply that he refers to his own

experiences that he himself has been advocating with conviction and commitment. This also suggests that the stage of his struggle for a separate country is in a state of confusion, noise, excitement, often caused by a large crowd, as the noun phrase 'this tumult' means and he is (and of course his followers are) now in a state of confusion or change with regard to the course of his separatist movement and its impending, inevitable outcome, as he has said just now. The demonstrative reference 'this' is associated with the speaker. It is explicitly linked to his personal feelings. So the speaker uses it to talk about his personal issue of his own life and death and his personal opinion of his disillusionment with his struggle and vacuum in his life, as it does not matter whether he lives or dies for his country and the results of his fight will not bring out the desired basic changes in the living conditions of his people. Probably his separatist nationalist movement does not pave way for all round fundamental changes in the country and even if it brings political freedom, his people will not be happy unless they attain their social and economic freedoms. Further the proximity of 'this' implies nearness in terms of present and future time. In this sense the use of 'this' may mean that the speaker has chosen it to highlight or foreground his present state of mind and stress upon his immediate action of compromising with his present role as an Irish Airman, even if he is personally aware of the fruitless impacts of his struggle in the past and the future. Therefore by employing 'this' to modify the nouns that refer to the state of his activities namely 'tumult, life and death', the speaker (the narrator) has emphatically conveyed a sense of immediacy, and also of solidarity with his hearer (the narratee), of shared interest and attention textually.

8. Ellipsis

Ellipsis refers to something left unsaid, but understood nevertheless. It occurs where there is some presupposition, in the structure, of what is to be supplied. Specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere is left by an elliptical item. Nothing is, in fact, inserted into the slot in ellipsis. If the structure of an item does not express all the features that have gone into its make up, then the item is elliptical. A

sense of incompleteness is always associated with it. Ellipsis is a relation within the text and is, in general, anaphoric. There are three types of ellipsis: 1. nominal ellipsis meaning ellipsis within the nominal group, 2. verbal ellipsis meaning ellipsis within the verbal group and 3. clausal ellipsis meaning ellipsis within the clause with modal ellipsis and propositional ellipsis. The poem has four instances of ellipsis accounting for 7% overall of the cohesive devices used in it. All of them are of nominal ellipsis, as ellipsis occurs in the nominal groups as in 'Those that I fight' in Utterance 3, 'Those that I guard' in Utterance 4 and two instances of 'all' in Utterance 9. The specific deictic the demonstrative pronoun 'those' functioning as a modifier in the unelliptical nominal group is elevated to the position of the Head of the elliptical nominal groups in 'Those that I fight' and 'Those that I guard'. The elliptical Head elements of these nominal groups are supposed to be 'enemies' in 'Those (enemies) that I fight' and 'Those (countrymen) that I guard' and their internal structures are Modifier + Head + Qualifier. When a modifier becomes a head element of a nominal group, nominal ellipsis occurs. Here the specific deictic – the demonstrative pronoun 'those' is itself a reference item and hence is anaphoric anyway, but here the nominal groups are to be filled out with the noun Head namely enemies and countrymen and so the demonstrative pronoun 'those' functioning as Head are the examples of nominal ellipsis. The speaker has deliberately omitted the words 'enemies' and 'countrymen' because for him now both of them are equal and his struggle for a separate country is meaningless. Indeed he may not have liked in his present disillusioned mindset to classify people in terms of fiends and friends and call them directly so. Hence he must have avoided these nouns functioning as Head elements and opted for nominal ellipsis. Further the use of the specific deictic the demonstrative pronoun 'those' as the Head element also emphasizes textually the fact that the Irish Airman is a public man and his life centres around people whether friends or foes. The use of 'those' also implies non-proximity. It refers to those that are away from the speaker and that tend to be associated with a past-time referent. It implies that the speaker keeps himself aloof from the separatist movement and his people and his association with them is an incident of the past now. So the nominal

ellipsis with 'those' as the Head of the nominal group textually emphasizes his isolation and emotional distance.

Nominal ellipsis occurs in the nominal group 'all' used twice in Utterance 9. The use of a modifier- an indefinite determiner, the non specific deictic - 'all' as the Head element of the nominal group results in nominal ellipsis. The unelliptical nominal group in the given contexts of the poem might be 'all problems', 'all options' or 'all matters'. The deliberate elevation of the modifier 'all' to the Head position here may be to emphasize the fact that the speaker, though emotional in his approach to get a separate nation for his people, is rational now in his analysis of the issue of separatism in all aspects and he arrives at a conclusion based on reason and objectivity rather than on emotion and subjectivity. At this stage of his struggle, he realises the fact that he continues to work as an Airman not because of the reason that a separate nation will solve all the problems of his people but because of the realisation that his self satisfaction is the sole aim or reason that causes his activity or behaviour as he observes directly in his own words 'a lonely impulse of delight.'

9. Conjunction

Conjunctive elements convey specific meanings which make them cohesive. The semantic relation expressed by conjunction is a different type, i.e., it is no longer a search instruction, but a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before. It is non structural and based on logical notion. It is restricted to just a pair of utterances and provides a link between them so that the two utterances do not form a single whole. The utterances linked by it cannot be rearranged, as the relation is between them and one utterance follows the other, one at a time as a text unfolds. It does not have co-relative form (such as both...and, neither...nor) and is not retrospective (such as Ram and Kumar and Leela). Its typical context is that there is a total, or almost a total shift in the participants from one utterance and the next, and yet the utterances are very definitely part of

a text. Finally it has two types of meaning i) experiential or external representing the linguistic interpretation of experience and ii) interpersonal or internal, representing participation in speech situation. There are four categories of conjunctions which are also called conjunctive, conjunctive adjunct or discourse adjunct: 1. additive, 2. adversative, 3. causative, and 4. temporal.

The poem has five out of sixty instances of conjunction to the tune of 8% overall of the cohesive devices used in it. The simple additive conjunction 'or' occurring in Utterance No. 7 expresses the alternative meaning between the utterances linked. The writer does not expect any desired change in his country even if it is declared a separate nation. So he says that the outcome of his struggle will not make his people poor or rich and their life style is not to be changed fundamentally just by achieving a political emancipation. In other words his people are in loss –loss situation. So he chooses the simple additive conjunction 'or' to convey his external or experiential meaning that provides a linguistic interpretation of his experience. Likewise the simple additive conjunction 'nor' with negative meaning occurs four times in Utterance 8. It provides the conjunctive cohesive ties between the factors which were not responsible for his risky struggle in the sky. The speaker uses 'nor' deliberately to enumerate the factors one after another namely law, duty, public men and cheering crowds that generally enthuse or encourage the person to champion the causes of his country. But in his case, these are not at all the reasons for his being an Irish Airman and only a feeling of self satisfaction as well as happiness that has driven him to his present dangerous life in the sky. It also expresses his external or experiential meaning that interprets his experience linguistically.

10. Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion is the cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary. It has two types namely Reiteration and Collocation. 1. Reiteration is a form of lexical cohesion which involves the repetition of the lexical items in terms of a) Repetition (repetition of the same word),

b) Synonym or near synonym, c) Super-ordinate (a name for a more general class) and d) General word. 2. Collocation is another form of lexical cohesion where cohesive link is established through the association of lexical items that regularly co-occur. The cohesive effect of some pairs like 'bee—honey', 'school—teacher', etc, depends not so much on the systematic semantic relationship. The pairs share the same lexical environment and occur in collocation with one another. If two lexical items having similar patterns of collocation occur in adjacent utterances, they will generate cohesive force. But care should be taken for the judicious interpretation of collocation, as problems may arise at times because of scope for subjectivity in treating a pair of words as an instance of collocation.

The analysis of the cohesive devices in the poem shows that 30 out of 60 cohesive devices are lexical cohesion. It means that 50% of the cohesive force of the poem is based on the semantic relationships expressed by the choice of vocabulary that provides a unified edifice of the text. The internal structure of the lexical cohesion in the poem shows that collocation dominates to two third of the lexical cohesive devices used. The choice of words like know and foresee, breath and life, death and life, breath and death, poor and loss, love and hate, clouds and airman, delight and happy and so on collocate and provide a cohesive environment effectively. A cluster of words like duty, law, public men, crowd, fight and guard cohere naturally by virtue of collocation in the text, offering a kind of strong cohesive unity to the text. Some words acquire the import of collocation in a given environment. For instance the word 'tumult' collocates with the word 'death' in the poem representing the present state of mind and affair of the narrator. Likewise the word 'end' collocates with the word 'guard/fight' in the specific context of the poem.

The remaining one third of lexical cohesive devices of the poem pertains to lexical reiteration. Out of 10 instances of lexical reiteration, nine cohesive ties provide a strong cohesive atmosphere by way of the repetition of the same words and the remaining one instance namely

'delight/happy' in terms of synonym. Hence the diction of the poem provides a significant and equal role in making the lyric into a cohesive text.

11. Distance

The distance between the cohesive ties is useful to analyse textually the quality of the texture of a text. It is examined in terms of immediate, mediated, mediated as well as remote and remote ties. An immediate tie is the one that occurs in the preceding utterance/context immediately with the least distance from the item it coheres as in the case of the word 'know' in utterance 2 cohering with the word 'foresees' in utterance 1 of the poem. A mediated tie comes in each of the preceding utterances. For instance the reference item 'I/My' comes in each utterance up to the sixth utterance nine times and its ninth occurrence gets mediated in all earlier utterances. A mediated as well as remote tie refers to a particular cohesive tie that is mediated in the preceding utterances and is disconnected by its absence in one or more preceding utterances. For instance the occurrence of 'me' in the eighth utterance of the poem is mediated ten times and is absent in one utterance namely in the seventh utterance. Hence its distance is mediated (m10) and remote (r1). A remote tie is the one that has the distance of one or more utterances between its present and earlier occurrence. For example the word 'fight' in the third utterance coheres with the word 'An Airman' in the first utterance and hence is remote by the intervening one utterance. With regard to the texture of the poem, the immediate ties provide the cohesive force instantly between the utterances. The mediated ties offer the continuity of cohesive environment between and among the utterances. The remote ties establish gaps in links between the cohesive ties. The remote and mediated ties create gaps as well as continuity between the cohesive items. The texture of a text is the tightest with the immediate ties and the loosest with the remote counterparts in a scale. The other two types come in between, as the immediate ties have tighter and mediated as well as remote ties have looser textures.

The analysis of the distance of the cohesive ties shows that the poem has 28 immediate, 19 mediated, 2 mediated as well as remote and 11 remote ties to the extent of 47%, 32%, 3% and 18% respectively. It implies textually that it has the tightest texture as the immediate and mediated ties account for 79%, and the majority ties provide instant and continual cohesive environments in the poem. Besides even some remote ties to the extent of 3% contribute to the maintenance of the continuity of the cohesive force, as they are mediated. Only a less number of ties to the extent of 18% have discontinuity in their links, as they are remote.

The way of distribution of cohesive ties brings out their density textually. A critical analysis of the poem shows that for equal distribution of density throughout the poem, each utterance is expected to have 6.6 ties, as 9 utterances have 60 ties. The observation establishes the fact that as 4 out of 9 utterances have more than the break even number of ties, the poem has a very good density of its cohesive structure. Further one utterance with 5 ties near to the break even number of ties also adds to this observation. The density is very high in the initial and latter parts of the poem. The second utterance with 7 ties provides an exposition of the problem. The density is very acute in the last three utterances from the seventh to the ninth, as they have two third of the ties (i.e. 39/60). The reason may be that the speaker has analysed his problem thoroughly, arrived at his conclusion clearly and hence has becomes vocal, forceful and clear in his words and deeds. In the middle of the poem the density of the cohesive ties becomes less. Here the speaker talks loudly about the pitiable living conditions of his people. Probably he becomes emotional and vexed with his helplessness to serve them better with his separatist ideology. So the less density of cohesive devices in this context may reflect his disturbed, emotion mood and search for words and actions!

12. Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has modestly established the fact that the literary features of a poetic text are explained systematically and objectively linguistically with the help of a chosen framework. The analysis

of the cohesive devices shows that the poem has a well knit textual structure. The short lyric uses different types of cohesive ties to provide link and continuity between the utterances to form a full-fledged text. However a particular type of cohesion called substitution consisting of the sub-types nominal substitution, verbal substitution and clausal substitution is conspicuous by its absence fully. The other sub-types namely comparative reference, verbal and clausal ellipsis, adversative, causative and temporal conjunctions and the sub categories of lexical reiteration namely super-ordinate and general word are also not in vogue. It means that there is still scope for the use of more types of cohesive devices in the poem. Nevertheless given the length of the poem, the poet has exploited many types of cohesive devices effectively. So it is justified to conclude that the present analysis of cohesion has thrown much light on understanding of the poem in proper perspective objectively.

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APPENDIX; 1 An analysis of utterances in the poem***[AN IRISH AIRMAN FORESEES HIS DEATH] W.B. YEATS***

2[I know that I shall meet my fate
Somewhere among the clouds above,]
3[Those that I fight I do not hate,]
4[Those that I guard I do not love;]
5[My country is Kiltartan Cross,]
6[My countrymen Kiltartan's poor,]
7[No likely end could bring them loss
Or leave them happier than before.]
8[Nor law, nor duty bade me fight,
Nor public men, nor cheering crowds,
A lonely impulse of delight
Drove to this tumult in the clouds;]
9[I balanced all, brought all to mind,
The years to come seemed waste of breath,
A waste of breath the years behind
In balance with this life, this death.]

APPENDIX 2: An Analysis of Cohesive Devices in 'An Irish Airman Foresees His Death'

Sl.	Utterance	No. of ties	Cohesive item	Cohesive Type	Distance	Presupposed item
1	1	1	His	Pr	O	An Irish Airman
2	2	7	I	Pr	M1	An Irish Airman
3			Know	Lc	O	Foresees
4			I	Pr	M2	An Irish Airman
5			My	Pr	M3	An Irish Airman
6			Fate	Lc	O	Death
7			The	Dr	O	An Irish Airman
8			Clouds	Lc	O	An Irish Airman
9	3	4	Those	Ne	r1	An Irish Airman
10			I	Pr	M4	An Irish Airman

11			Fight	Lc	r1	An Irish Airman
12			I	Pr	M5	An Irish Airman
13	4	5	Those	Ne	M1	An Irish Airman
14			I	Pr	M6	An Irish Airman
15			Guard	Lc	O	Fight
16			I	Pr	M7	An Irish Airman
17			Love	Lc	O	Hate
18	5	2	My	Pr	M8	An Irish Airman
19			Country	Lc	O	Guard
20	6	3	My	Pr	M9	An Irish Airman
21			Countrymen	Lr	O	Country
22			Kiltartan's	Lr	O	Kiltartan
23	7	7	End	Lc	r3	Guard
24			Them	Pr	O	Kiltartan's poor
25			Loss	Lc	O	Poor
26			Or	Con	O	previous utterance
27			Leave	Lc	O	Bring
28			Them	Pr	M1	Kiltartan's poor
29			Happier	Lc	O	Loss
30	8	16	Nor	Con	O	previous utterance
31			Law	Lc	M2	Country
32			Nor	Con	M1	previous utterance
33			Duty	Lc	M3	Country
34			Me	Pr	r1-m10	An Irish Airman
35			Fight	Lr	r4	Fight
36			Nor	Con	M2	previous utterance
37			public man	Lc	M4	Country
38			Nor	Con	M3	previous utterance
39			Crowds	Lc	M5	Country
40			Lonely	Lc	O	Crowds
41			Delight	Ls	O	Happiness
42			This	Dr	r7	Death
43			Tumult	Lc	r7	Death
44			The	Dr	r6	Clouds
45			Clouds	Lr	r6	Clouds
46	9	15	I	Pr	r2-m11	An Irish Airman
47			All	Ne	M9	all previous utterances
48			All	Ne	O	all previous utterances
49			The	Dr	O	All
50			Breath	Lc	r8	Death
51			Waste	Lr	O	Waste

52	Breath	Lr	O	Breath
53	The	Dr	O	Years
54	Years	Lr	O	Years
55	Behind	Lc	O	to come
56	Balance	Lr	O	Balance
57	This	Dr	O	Breath
58	Life	Lc	O	Breath
59	This	Dr	r8	Death
60	Death	Lr	r8	Death

CHARACTER REFERENCE IN A NARRATIVE: AN OBSERVATION

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ABSTRACT: This brief study is an attempt to analyze nominal and pronominal references for characters in a sequential picture described by 50 Telugu-English speaking adults.

1. Introduction

This study is an outcome of a section of a Research Project entitled “Collecting and Analyzing spoken and written narratives in Telugu and Hindi using picture based stimuli” undertaken in the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University. This project was initiated for designing language assessment tools in Indian languages for use in clinical contexts. However this present study deals only with the character reference in the narratives by the participants.

2. Method

This present study deals only with the varied nominal and pronominal references for the three characters by the participants. A sequential picture with eight frames depicting a story of woman’s purse being stolen was shown to each participant who was required to narrate the story. The sequential picture is given in the appendix at the end of the paper. The picture consists of three characters woman, man and the thief. The spoken narratives were tape recorded and transcribed by the field workers. Personal information of the participants regarding medium of instruction, languages known, language use, language for writing, reading newspaper, watching films and T.V. shows was procured. All the participants were students from Intermediate to Postgraduation. Their age ranges from 18 – 25 years.

3. Analysis

The table below shows the occurrences of pronominal and nominal forms referred to the characters man, woman and thief in the sequential picture for the first time by all the 50 participants.

Woman	Man	Thief
<i>aanji</i> - 2 - N	<i>vyakti</i> - 6 - N	<i>donga</i> -42 - N
<i>ammaayi</i> - 13 - N	<i>yuvakuḍu</i> - 8 - N	<i>oka maniṣi</i> - 2 - N
<i>strii</i> - 1 - N	<i>kurravaaḍu</i> - 1 - N	<i>vyakti</i> - 1 - N
<i>mahiḷa</i> - 5-N	<i>abbaayi</i> - 13 - N	<i>yuvakuḍu</i> - 1 - N
<i>oka teluginaammaayi</i> - 1-N	<i>maniṣi</i> - 1 - N	<i>okaayana</i> - 1 - P
<i>yuvati</i> - 2 - N	<i>baaluḍu</i> - 2 - N	<i>atanu</i> - 3 - P
<i>aḍa maniṣi</i> - 2-N	<i>manasunna vyakti</i> - 1- N	
<i>aḍa strii</i> - 1- N	<i>baabu</i> - 1 - N	
<i>oka amma,oka aanji</i> - 1- N	<i>atanu</i> - 16 - P	
<i>aame</i> - 10 - P	<i>aayana</i> - 1 - P	
<i>aaviḍa</i> - 12 - P		

Table - 1

Abbreviations: N = Nominal; P = Pronominal

It could be clearly observed from the above table that variant forms for woman are 8 nominals and 2 pronominals. The occurrences of nominals *ammaayi* ‘girl’ and *mahiḷa* ‘woman’ are 13 and 5 respectively, whereas other forms are less in number. The occurrences of pronominal references *aaviḍa* ‘she’ and *aame* ‘she’ are 12 and 10 respectively.

The variant forms for man are 8 nominals and 2 pronominals. The occurrence of nominals for *abbaayi* ‘boy’ and *yuvakuḍu* ‘man’ are 13 and 8 respectively. The other nominal forms are less in number. The

pronoun *atanu* 'he' is referred to the man by 16 participants and *uayana* 'he' by only one participant..

It could be noted that no nominal or pronominal reference was made to the thief, the third character in the picture by 42 participants. They referred to the thief as *donga*. Only 8 participants referred to the thief with nominal and pronominal reference.

Below is the table which provides the approximate percentages of the combination of terms referred to the woman and man characters in the narratives.

Pronominal & Nominal Combinations	Woman character	Man character
P + P + P + P	46%	28%
N + P + P + P	24%	8%
N + N + N + N	12%	40%
N + N + N + P	8%	10%

Table - 2

The above table shows that pronominal as the first reference followed by pronominal throughout the narrative is predominant for the woman character which is 46%, whereas nominal as the first reference followed by the nominal is predominant for the man character which is 40%. The percentage of nominal followed by the pronominal is predominant to woman character and nominal followed by nominal to man character.

4. Discussion

Certain observations in the present study could be substantiated with the work done on narratives. For instance work by Tomlin, R.S. (1987) shows that data involving characters undistinguished by gender, full nouns are used to provide sufficient information to listener to avoid

actual ambiguity. It is interesting to note in the present study that most of the participants referred to the character 'thief' as *donga* and did not refer with any nominal or pronominal reference. The reason may be because the participants were trying to keep the characters man and thief which are both [+male] and [+adult] distinct and were avoiding ambiguity.

There is another study of Barbara Foy (1987) reveals that data from several unrelated languages shows pronouns were used when the distance to the last mention of the referent is small, while full NP's are shown to be used when the distance is somewhat great. Whereas in this study, the participants used more nominal references compared to pronominal references to the characters in spite of a short narration.

All the participants introduced the character with *oka* 'one' and followed with *aa* 'that', for example *oka ammaayi* 'one girl' followed by *aa ammaayi* 'that girl'.

Some of the nominal forms *mahiḷa*, *strii*, *yuvati* for 'woman' and *yuvakuḍu*, *vyakti* for 'man' referred by participants are quite uncommon in spoken discourse. This might indicate that the participants were quite conscious in narrating the picture.

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APPENDIX

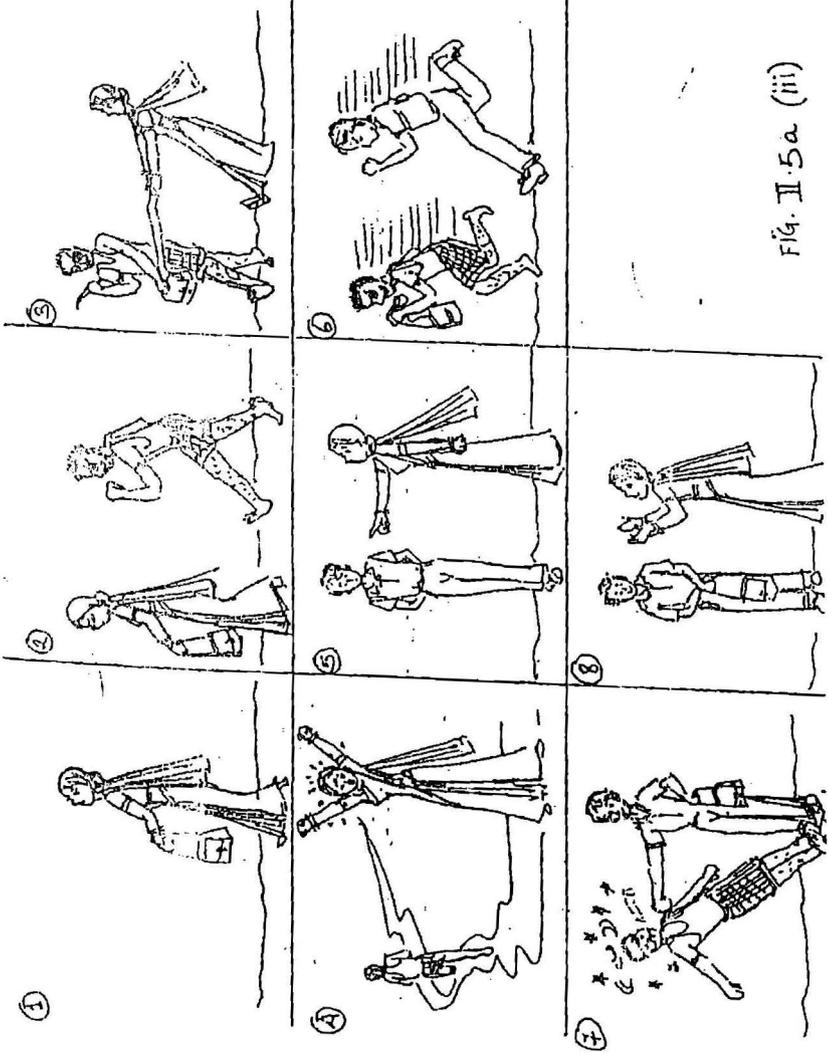


Fig. II.5a (iii)

RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN TELUGU¹

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ABSTRACT: This paper in the first place deals with the general framework needed for the description of a relative construction crosslinguistically. In the second place, within this general framework, it examines the structural and functional (semantic) peculiarities of relative constructions in Telugu.

A **relative construction** is a complex noun phrase construction in which a **relative modifier** modifies a **head noun**. The typical feature of a relative modifier is that it consists of at least one obligatory verb which can be nonfinite or finite. On the other hand, a head noun can be a noun, or pronoun or noun phrase. Any head noun modification in this case will obviously be subjected to the condition that no meaning incompatibility should arise between the head noun and the relative modifier. For the purpose of illustration, consider the following example from English:

(1) vegetables grown in our own garden

In (1) the noun *vegetables* is modified by a relative modifier *grown in our own garden* which includes a verb (in this case a nonfinite verb *grown*). This is a complex noun phrase construction, in other words, called a relative construction as mentioned above. Another important point which needs to be noted here is that in a relative construction, apart from a relative modifier and a head noun, we also some times find a linguistic element which apparently is there to establish the overt structural link between relative modifier and its corresponding head noun. Let us call this linguistic element as a **relative marker**. Now consider the following German example:

- (2) der Hut, den er kaufte
 the hat that he bought
 'the hat he bought'

This is a typical relative construction in German. Here *der Hut* is a head noun, *den er kaufte* a relative modifier, and *den* a relative marker (in this case a relative pronoun). It should be noted here that in German it is obligatory to have an overt relative marker whose function is to establish the structural link between the head noun and the relative modifier. In English, unlike in German, the relative marker can be optionally omitted when the head noun is the object of the verb in the relative modifier. The following examples of relative constructions are illustrative of the same:

- (3) the fresh fruits which/ \emptyset we ate yesterday
 (4) the young lad whom/ \emptyset I met yesterday

It should be noted here that the relative markers *which* in (3) and *whom* in (4) can be omitted (\emptyset) optionally, because, as mentioned above, the corresponding head nouns *the fresh fruits* and *the young lad* are respectively the objects of their corresponding verbs *ate* and *met*.

One more important point that needs a mention here is that relative markers of overt nature, under syntactic obligation, may appear in variant forms. For instance, in German the relative marker *der* (or its stylistic variant *welcher*) is used in variant forms according to gender, number, and case. Consider the following German relative constructions:

- (5) der Mann, den ich sah
 the man whom I saw
 'the man whom I saw'
- (6) das Mädchen, das ich sah
 the girl whom I saw
 'the girl whom I saw'

In (5) the relative marker *den* is masculine singular because it reflects the head noun *der Mann* which is masculine singular, but accusative because it reflects the case determined by the verb *sah*. Similarly, in (6) the relative marker *das* is neuter singular because it reflects the head noun *das Mädchen* which is neuter singular, but accusative because it reflects the case determined by the verb *sah*. However, in German, apart from the variant relative markers *der* and *welcher*, there is also the invariant relative marker *was* which is used when the head noun is *alles* 'everything', *etwas* 'something', or *nichts* 'nothing'. Following is the illustrative example:

(7) alles, was er macht
 everything that he does
 'everything he does'

Though the general function of relative modifiers is like that of any other noun modifiers (such as adjectives), yet when it comes to their functional detail, the relative modifiers, unlike other noun modifiers, modify nouns in question in an extensive and complex way which can be noticed by comparing the examples given in (1) and (8):

(8) fresh fruits

Having given, on the one hand, a basic terminology needed for the description of the relative construction in general and on the other the purpose for which a relative modifier is used, which I feel is a must for any one who would like to go through the following presentation, let us now examine the structural and functional (semantic) peculiarities of relative constructions in Telugu. For the sake of comparative exemplification, we shall also look into the relevant data from other languages wherever necessary.

But for the generalizations that we mentioned above, it cannot be anticipated that relative constructions and relative modifiers across languages necessarily share all the structural and functional properties.

For instance, one major structural distinction that can be seen is in the position of the relative modifier relative to the head noun. To put it more precisely, in Chinese the head noun can be modified in an extensive and complex way by placing the relative modifier before it but the same is not possible in Russian, as it can be seen from the following examples:

(9) *bàba gāng mǎi de mǎ*² Chinese (Sun 2006, p.188)
 father just buy NOM horse
 ‘the horse that father just bought’

(10) *fruktí, kotoríye ya s”yel vchjera*
 fruits which I ate yesterday
 ‘the fruits I ate yesterday’

In Chinese relative construction, as given in (9) above, the relative modifier *bàba gāng mǎi de* precedes the head noun *mǎ* and in Russian relative construction, as given in (10), the relative modifier *kotoríye ya s”yel vchjera*, unlike in Chinese, follows the head noun *fruktí*. For the convenience sake, hereafter, the examples of relative constructions will be shown in [brackets] and within the brackets the head noun will be shown in **bold type** and the relative marker in *italics*.

In Telugu, there are constructions which rightly can fall under the category of relative construction, because they also have all those typical features which are a must for any construction to be called as a relative construction crosslinguistically. As an illustration, let us see the following example from Telugu:

(11) [*nēnu ninna konna kotta kāru*] **cālā peddadi**.
 I yesterday buy (p)-RM new car very big
 ‘The new car which I bought yesterday is very big.’

Here the bracketed constituent, i.e. *nēnu ninna konna kotta kāru*, is a relative construction, the constituent in bold type, i.e. *kotta kāru*, is a head noun, and the remaining constituent in brackets, i.e. *nēnu ninna*

konna, is a relative modifier, in which the element given in italics, i.e. –*na*, is a relative marker. Further, we should note that the obligatory constituent of a relative modifier is its verb, which in this case is represented by *kon-*. In Telugu, like in Chinese, the relative modifier precedes its corresponding head noun. It can be emphasized without any doubt that relative modifiers in Telugu have a basic function which is similar to the basic function of their counterparts in other languages, i.e. they also have the potential for extensively modifying a head noun within a given relative construction.

It is not unusual to find more than one distinct type of relative construction, both structurally and functionally, even within a single language. Telugu is no exception to this. There are four types of relative constructions that can be distinguished in Telugu. Now let us look into the structural and functional peculiarities of each of these constructions:

In type one relative construction, the relative modifier contains a nonfinite verb to which a variant relative marker (i.e. *-(n)a*, *-ē*, or *-ni*) is suffixed. In this case, the variant *-(n)a*³ is suffixed to the past and progressive forms of the nonfinite verb, and the other variants *-ē*, and *-ni* are respectively suffixed to the nonpast and negative forms of the nonfinite verb. Following are illustrative examples:

(12) [m ēmu muMdu unna illu] cālā cinnadi.
 we before live (p)-RM house very small
 ‘The house in which we lived before was very small.’

(13) [idi cēsina vāDu] nērastuDu.
 this do (p)-RM he criminal
 ‘He who did this is a criminal.’

(14) [nēnu prastutaM caduvutunna navala] cālā bāguMdi.
 I at present read (pro)-RM novel very good
 ‘The novel that I am reading at present is very good.’

- (15) [avamāniM**cabaDina prajalu**] kōrTuku veLtāru.
insult (p.pass)-RM people court (dat) go (fut)
'The people who were insulted will go to the court.'
- (16) idi [mēmu kūr**conna sthalaM**].
this we sit (p)-RM place
'This is the place where we sat.'
- (17) adi [mēmu mā modaTi kāru konuk**konna saMvatsaraM**].
that we our first car buy (p) year
'That was the year when we bought our first car.'
- (18) [atanu kaTTukon**na reMDō pillā**] cālā amāyaku**rālu**.
he marry (p)-RM second girl very innocent
'The second girl he married is very innocent.'
- (19) mēmu [pillalu gala **bīda jaMTalni**] kalisāmu.
we children have (p)-RM poor couples (acc) met
'We met poor couples who had children.'
- (20) idi [nuvvu ceyyagala **pani**].
this you can do (p)-RM work
'This is the work which you can do.'
- (21) sād**hāraNaMgā** [morigē **kukkalu**] karavavu.
usually bark (np)-RM dogs (nom) bite (neg)
'Usually dogs that bark do not bite.'
- (22) idi [mēmu prastutaM uMDē **illu**].
this we currently live (np)-RM house
'This is the house in which we currently live.'
- (23) ravi [tanu cēy**ani nērāniki**] shikSiMpabaDDāDu.
Ravi he (prof) do (p.neg)-RM crime (dat) punish (p. pass)
'Ravi was punished for the crime which he did not do.'

- (24) idi [nēnu ce^yyalēni **pani**].
 this I can do (neg) work :
 ‘This is the work which I cannot do.’

In a given relative modifier, if there are two or more nonfinite verbs which are in direct modifier relation to their corresponding head noun, all of them, excepting the one which is closer to the head noun, can be used without any relative marker. As an illustration, compare the examples (25) and (26) given below:

- (25) idi [āDi pāDē **bomma**].
 this dance (p) sing (non-p)-RM doll
 ‘This is the doll that dances and sings.’

- (26) idi [āDē pāDē **bomma**].
 this dance (p) sing (non-p)-RM doll
 ‘This is the doll that dances and sings.’

Notice, in a relative construction the nonfinite verb which is not in direct modifier relation to the head noun cannot have a relative marker suffixed to it. The following example (27) illustrates the same:

- (27) idi [nēnu Dab^bbu kūDabeTTukoni ko^fukkonna **illu**].
 this I money save (p) buy (p)-RM house
 ‘This is the house which I bought having saved money.’

Remember, violation of the same will result in unacceptable relative constructions in Telugu, such as the one given in example (28) below:

- (28) *idi [nēnu Dab^bbu kūDabeTTukonna kon^ukkonna **illu**].
 this I money save (p)-RM buy (p)-RM house

Type one relative constructions are used very widely both in oral and written language.

In type two relative construction, the relative modifier contains a finite verb to which an invariant relative marker (i.e. *-ō*) is suffixed.⁴ The head noun in this case is always in third person and represented by either a distal demonstrative pronoun (i.e. *adi, atanu, āme, vāDu, vāLLu, avi*, etc.) or a noun preceded by a distal demonstrative determiner (i.e. *ā*). Another important feature of this construction is that the head noun in question not only occurs in its usual slot but also at the same time occurs inside the relative modifier. Remember, both these head nouns, though occurring in two different slots of the relative construction, ultimately corefer the same entity. The head noun inside the relative modifier is always represented by either an interrogative pronoun (i.e. *ēdi, evaru, evaDu*, etc.) or a noun preceded by an interrogative modifier (i.e. *ē*). The following examples are illustrative of the same point:

- (29) [mēmu muMdu ē iMTLō unnāmō **adi**]
 we before which house (loc) lived (f.pl.)-RM that
 cālā cinnadi.
 very small

‘The house in which we lived before was very small.’

(Lit. Which house we lived before, that was very small.)

- (30) [atanu ē bassulō prayāNistunnāDō **ā bassu**]
 he which bus (loc) was travelling (th.m.s)-RM that bus
 lōyalō paDipōyiMdi.
 valley (loc) fell (th.n.s)

‘The bus in which he was travelling fell into a valley.’

- (31) [evaDu pāpaM cēstāDō **vāDu**] anubhavistāDu.
 who sin commits (th.m.s)-RM he will suffer (th.m.s)
 ‘Whoever commits sin will suffer.’

This type of relative construction is a stylistic variant and very much in use, especially in written language. It is particularly used in a situation where the entity referred to by the head noun requires more emphasis and focus. Moreover, this relative construction allows us to handle all those cases of relative modification, which otherwise cannot be handled by type one relative construction.

In type three relative construction, the relative modifier contains a nonfinite verb to which a nonvariant relative marker (i.e. *-nā*) is suffixed. The head noun in this case, like in type two construction, occurs in two slots, i.e. one outside and one inside the relative modifier. They both corefer the same indefinite third person entity. However, the head noun which is outside the relative modifier will usually be dropped. The coreferent head noun which occurs inside the relative modifier will be represented by either an interrogative pronoun (i.e. *evaru*, *evaDu*, etc.) or a noun preceded by an interrogative modifier (i.e. *ē*). Consider the example given in (32) as an illustration:

- (32) [ī nēraM evaru cēsinā] kaThinaMgā shikSiMpabaDāli.
 this crime who do (p)-RM severely punish (p.pass.oblig)
 ‘Whoever committed this crime must be punished severely.’

This type of relative construction is very handy in a situation where somebody wants to make a general statement by referring to an indefinite third person entity.

In type four relative construction, the relative modifier contains a finite verb to which an invariant relative marker (i.e. *-ē*) is suffixed. The head noun always refers to a third person entity represented by a distal demonstrative pronoun (i.e. *adi*, *atanu*, *āme*, *vāDu*, *vāLLu*, *avi*, etc.). Some times the finite verb in question is used without the relative marker *-ē*, however a verbal form *cūDū* will be used after the verb. This *cūDū* though is not like a suffix *-ē* yet can function like a relative marker. These relative markers cannot only be used as syntactic linkers,

but can also be used as devices to draw the attention of addressee(s) in an oral discourse situation. Here are two examples of such constructions:

- (33) [ninna vaccāDē vāDu]
 yesterday came (th. m.s.)-RM (conf.) he
 mā tammuDu.
 our younger brother
 ‘He who came yesterday is our younger brother.’

- (34) [ninna vaccāDu cūDū vāDu] mā abbāyi.
 yesterday came (th.m.s.) look he our son
 ‘He who came yesterday is our son.’

ABBREVIATIONS

acc = accusative; dat = dative; f = first person; fut = future; loc = locative; m = masculine; neg = negative; nom = nominative; np = nonpast; oblig = obligative; p = past; pass = passive; pl = plural; prof = proform; prog = progressive; RM = relative marker; s = singular; th = third person;

NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 33rd All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, held at Thiruvananthapuram during June 16-18, 2005. For further information on Telugu relative constructions from the perspective of relativization and the constraints related to it, see Usha Rani 1980; 1990-'91.
2. In this Chinese example, *de* is a relative marker glossed as NOM which stands for ‘nominalizer’.
3. The relative marker *-a* (a variant of *-na*) is suffixed to any past nonfinite verb which ends in *gal* (a variant of *galigi*).
4. In this type of relative construction, when there is no overt finite verb, the relative modifier is suffixed to the word immediately preceding the head noun.

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CAUSATIVE FORMATION IN HINDI AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR COMPLEX PREDICATE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT: This study shows that the occurrence of the two morphological causatives, namely *-aa* and *-vaa* in Hindi is determined by the nature of activity encoded in the verb. Based on this, it is argued that certain Noun and Light verb combinations cannot be interpreted as complex predicates in the *-vaa* causatives. The study also discusses the outcome of a small experiment undertaken to check whether gapping of the nominal in a N + V combination can help determine whether it is complex or not.

Hindi has two types of morphologically derived causative verbs which are formed by adding the suffix *-aa* and *-vaa* to the verb root with or without consequent morphophonemic change. The two suffixes can be added to intransitive verbs such as *sonaa* 'to sleep', *girnaa* 'to fall', and transitive verbs such as *khaanaa* 'to eat', *piinaa* 'to drink', *paDhnaa* 'to read', to learn', etc. This morphological derivation of the causative verbs has its syntactic consequences in that the introduction of a causer agent in the clause changes the valency of the verb in question.

The following are a few examples containing the verb *sonaa* 'to sleep' (1-3) and *piinaa* 'to drink' (4-6).

1. *baccaa zamiin - par so rahaa ~hai*
child floor on sleep prog. pres. sg;
'The child is sleeping on the floor'.
2. *aap bacce - ko zamiin - par sulaate haiM*
you child acc. land on sleep caus. pres. Hon.
'You make the child sleep on the floor'.
3. *aap bacce - ko miiraa - se kamre - meM*

you child acc Mira by room in
sulvaaie
 sleep caus. imp. Hon.

'You have the child put to sleep by Mira in the room'.

4. *laDkaa duudh pii rahaa hai*
 boy milk drink prog. pres. Sg.

'The boy is drinking milk'.

5. *maiM laDke -ko duudh pilaa rahii*
 I boy acc milk drink caus. prog.
huM
 Pres. I sg.

'I am feeding milk to the child'.

6. *aap roz miiraa - se bacce - ko juus*
 you daily Mira by child acc. juice
pilvaaie
 drink caus. imp. Hon.

'You have Mira feed the child juice daily'.

The difference between the two types of causatives, namely –*aa* (first causative) and –*vaa* (second causative) is generally explained in terms of direct and indirect causation respectively (Kellogg 1875, Sharma 1957, Balachandran 1970, Mohanan 1994).

But this characterization does not capture all the structural details involved in the two types of causatives. Consider, for example, sentences (7) and (8) below both involving a transitive verb.

7. *maaM miiraa – ko angrezii paDhaa rahii*
 mother Mira acc English teach prog. III
hai
 f.sg.pres.

‘Mother is teaching Mira English’.

8. *maaM miiraa – se kitaa beM rakhvaa rahii*
 mother Mira by books keep caus. prog. III
hai
 f.sg.pres.

‘Mother is getting the books arranged by Mira’.

Note that in (7) and (8) both the action of the causee namely *miiraa* is caused directly by the causer agent or the ‘prayojak karta’. Note further that the two sentences differ not only in the selection of the causative suffix but also in the case post position or *vibhakti* selected for the actor or *karta* of the main verb, namely *miiraa*. In (7) it is marked with *-ko* but in (8) with *-se*.

A third difference which can be noticed in the behaviour of the verb *paDhnaa* and *rakhnaa* is that while the former can have besides the first causative *paDhaa* ‘to cause to read or learn’, a second causative with *paDhvaa* ‘cause to cause to learn or read’ as shown in (9). The second causative in such a case will have three actors, the doer or *karta* of the main verb marked with the post-position *-ko*, an intermediary or mediator agent marked with *-se* and the causer agent functioning as the syntactic subject of the entire clause.

9. *maiM harii– se miiraa– ko Sanskrit paDhvaauMgaa*
 I Hari by Mira acc Sanskrit learn cause fut. I msg.

‘I will have Hari teach Sanskrit to Mira’.

Some other transitive verbs which behave like *paDhnaa* are *siikhnaa* 'learn', *khaanaa* 'eat', *piinaa* 'drink', *cakhnaa* 'to taste', *caaTnaa* 'to lick', *cuusnaa* 'to suck' etc. These verbs are referred to as ingestive verbs by some. Transitive verbs like *pheMkanaa* 'throw', *toDnaa* 'to break', *siinaa* 'to stitch' etc behave like *rakhnaa* in that they have only *-vaa* causative suffix in the verb and the causee of the clauses containing these verbs is expressed with a *-se* marking.

This difference in the behaviour of the two sets of transitive verbs was noticed in some traditional grammars of Hindi. Contrasting the difference in the behaviour of *khilaanaa* 'to feed', and *dhulaanaa/dhulvaanaa* 'have something washed', Bajpeyi (1957) observes that the marking of the *muul kartaa* or original agent of the former with *-ko* and the latter with *-se* is not arbitrary. He states that those verbs whose *pravrutti* or orientation is for the *karta* will have the *-ko* vibhakti as against the other verbs which take *-se*.

Bajpeyi, however, does not note that it is not only the ingestive transitive verbs but most of the intransitive verbs also behave similar in their causative formation. Intransitive verbs like *sonaa* 'to sleep', *girnaa* 'to fall', *baiThnaa* 'to sit' all behave like the ingestive transitive verbs in that they have a first causative in *-aa* and a second causative in *-vaa*. Further like the ingestive verbs their *muul kartaa* or original agent is always *-ko* marked and the intermediary agent nominal of the second causative *-se* marked.

Some of the current works on Hindi whether based on Paninian model (Sahay 2004), or western syntactic model (Kachru, 2006), have taken note of this fact. Sahay characterizes this difference in the behaviour of Hindi transitive verbs in terms of some semantic features like *bhogaarthak* 'experience related', e.g. *khaanaa*, *piinaa* etc, *gyaanaarthak* 'knowledge related', e.g. *jaanaa* 'to know', *raTnaa* 'to memorize' etc. He also treats *gatyarthak* (movement) verbs like *jaanaa* 'to go', *saraknaa* 'to move', *pahuMcanaa* 'to reach' etc. as belonging to this class.

Kachru (2006) distinguishes the two classes of verbs thus. She calls the intransitive and the ingestive verbs Affective as against the remaining transitives and ditransitives which she calls Effective or non-Affective. Affective verbs, according to her, signal the physical or psychological state of the subject/agent. She points out that if such a verb is transitive the verbal action benefits or acts upon the agent and not on the patient. As distinct from these, the effective or non-affective verbs denote actions or processes by which an entity other than the subject or agent of the main verb is affected.

To state the difference slightly differently, all intransitive verbs and ingestive transitive verbs encode an activity whose points of initiation and termination or culmination are situated in the same entity, that is, the initiator or karta. These verbs are thus 'agent oriented', or to use a native term *kartruparak*. In the other class of verbs, namely in the effective verbs of Kachru, the point of initiation and termination of the activity encoded in the verb reside in two distinct entities. The action moves from the agent or karta and terminates in the karma or patient. These verbs are thus 'patient oriented' or *karma parak*. In the rest of the presentation of this paper, we will refer to the agent oriented verbs as class I and the rest as class II.

In Hindi, the *-aa* or first causative can be employed to causativize only the class I verbs and not the class II verbs. However, class I verbs can participate in the second causative construction also.

It should be mentioned here that although Hindi verbs divide neatly into the above mentioned two classes, some of the transitive verbs are ambivalent in that they behave both like class I verb and class II verb. For example *khelnaa* 'play', *gaanaa* 'to sing', *khariidnaa* 'to buy' can be used both with the causee marked with *-ko* or *-se* as shown in (10a and 10b and 11a and 11b).

- 10a. *naushaad - ne hii lataa - ko pahlii*
 Naushad erg. emp. Lata acc. first
baar film - meM gavaayaa
 time film in sing caus. erg

'It is Naushad who made Lata sing in the films for the first time'.

- 10b. *rahmaan - ne ek hii gaane - ko tiinom -*
 Rahman erg one emph. song acc three
se gavaayaa
 by sing caus. erg.

'Rahman had the same song sung by all the three persons'.

- 11a. *mujhe aaj srijan ko juute*
 I today Srijan acc shoes
khariidvaanaa hai
 buy cause be.pl.

'Today, I have to help Srijan buy the shoes'.

- 11b. *aaj maine bas - meM sab se*
 today I erg bus - in all by
TikaT khariidvaayaa
 ticket buy cause. erg

'To day, I made everyone buy the ticket'.

Note that both *khariidnaa* 'buy' and *gaanaa* 'sing' are not inherently ingestive and when causativized take only *-vaa* and not *-aa*. But, whether the verb is employed with an orientation towards the karta or karma is indicated by a difference in the vibhakti selection. That is, in (10a) and (11a) the karta of the main verb namely *lataa* and *srijan* are

intended as the benefited. Sentences (10b) and (11b) on the other hand, focus on the patient or direct object of the main verb.

A point that needs to be emphasised here is that although the two causative constructions in Hindi are distinguished by the causative suffixes *-aa* and *-vaa* as well as the marking by *-ko* or *-se*, it is the latter feature which is more salient in distinguishing the two types of causatives since very often the *-aa*, *-vaa* distinction gets neutralized.

We have discussed the distinction between the first and second causative in the context of the simple verbs. But in Hindi even complex verbs consisting of a nominal or adjective and a light verb e.g. *kaNTastha karnaa* 'to memorize', *snaan karnaa* 'to bathe', *bhojan karnaa* 'eat', *vedpaath karnaa* 'to veda recital', *nrutya karnaa* 'to dance' etc. show distinct behaviour with regard to causativization. While *kaNTastha karnaa*, *snaan karnaa*, *bhojan karnaa* behave like class I verb, *nrutya karnaa*, *vedpaaTh karnaa*, *Telifon karnaa* 'to telephone' pattern with class II verbs.

12. *aap pahle mehmaanoM - ko bhojan*
 You first guests acc food

karaa diijie

do caus. vector Hon.

'You feed the guests first'.

13. *ham apni ladkiyoM - se naukrii nahiiM*
 we our daughters by service not do

karvaayeMge

caus. f.I.pl.

'We will not make our daughters work'.

However as in the case of the simple verbs, some of the nominal verb combinations like *praNaayaam karnaa* 'to do praaNaayaam', *aaasan karnaa* 'to do exercises' can be used both as a class I verb as well as a class II verb.

If the characterisation of the causatives presented so far is correct, it will have interesting implication relating to the question when a noun and light verb combination should be interpreted as a complex predicate (CP) and when it cannot be.

Take, for instance, the case of *naukrii karnaa* 'to work', *vyaayam karnaa* 'to exercise', *vedpaaTh karnaa* 'to do recital of veda', *iimail karnaa* 'to send e-mail', and *Telifon karnaa* 'to telephone'. All these belong to class II verbs. As mentioned earlier, in this class of verbs, the activity encoded in the verb is cognized as emanating from the *karta* or 'doer' and culminating in an entity or patient other than the *karta*. Since in the clauses formed with these noun+verb combinations there is no mandatory presence of any other nominal which can be assigned the role of patient or direct object, these cannot be analyzed as instances of CP. These will have the same analysis as *kaam karnaa* 'to work', in which *karnaa* is the main verb and *kaam* its direct object. As against this, in a sentence like (14) since a distinct nominal namely *pej* 'page' can be identified as the direct object, the nominal plus verb complex i.e. *nakal karnaa* 'to copy' needs to be analyzed as a CP.

14. *maastar jii ne har chaatra - se das pej*
 Master sir erg each student by ten pages
 nakal karvaaye
 copy do caus. pl.

'The teacher had ten pages copied by each student'

Coming to nominal and verb complexes such as *grahaan karnaa* 'to accept', *abhyaas karnaa* 'to practice', *bhojan karanna* 'to eat', *snaan karnaa* 'to bathe' etc which belong to class I verb, the

following can be observed. Note that *grahaN karnaa* and *abhyaas karnaa* occur in clauses which contain an argument which can be identified as the direct object eg. *shapath grahaN karnaa*, 'to take an oath', *sanyaas grahaN karnaa* 'to adopt sainthood', *bharatnaaTyam kaa abhyaas karnaa* 'to practice bharaTnaTyam'.

The case of *bhojan karnaa* and *snaan karnaa* however, is different. These are like injunctive verbs and belong to class I. Unlike *grahaN karnaa* and *abhyaas karnaa* they do not call for a patient or direct object argument. Should they be analyzed as a CP or a combination of a direct object and the main verb *karnaa* in one or both cases ?

It will be interesting here to see if the syntactic diagnostic of gapping mentioned by Mohanan (1994) can be of any help. Discussing the syntactic properties of CPs, she observes that while it is possible to gap an entire predicate CP constituent in gapping under coordination and, elision under yes no question, no part of a CP alone can be gapped. For instance, she argues that *homework* in *homework karnaa* 'to do home work', is the direct object of *karnaa* and not part of a complex predicate and therefore it can be gapped as shown by the well formedness of sentence (15b) as an answer to (15a).

As different from this, such a gapping is not possible, for her, in *bharosaa karnaa* 'rely on' which she considers as a CP. She points out that (16b) cannot be a well formed answer to (16a).

15a. *raam – ne aaj bahut kaam kiyaa ?*
 Ram erg today much work do-perf
 'Did Ram do a lot of work today?'

15b. *haaM kiyaa*
 Yes do-perf
 'Yes, (he) did'

16a. *raam – ne mohan – par bharosaa kiyaa ?*
 Ram erg Mohan on reliance do-perf
 'Did Ram rely on Mohan ?'.

16b. * *haaM kiyaa*
 Yes do-PERF

To check whether or not *snaan karnaa*, *bhojan karnaa*, *naashtaa karnaa* behave differently from such a combination as *praaNaayaam karnaa*, a small experiment along the following lines was carried out.

A battery of twelve test sentences containing a nominal followed by the verb *karnaa* either in its causative or non-causative form was made up. The nominals chosen were *naashtaa* 'tiffin', *anulom-vilom* 'a type of Pranayama', *bhramarii*, a type of Pranayama', *bharatnaaTyam* 'a dance form', *oDisii nrutya* 'a dance form', *snaan* 'bath', *Telifon* 'telephone', *iimail* 'e-mail', *bhojan* 'food', *naashtaa* 'tiffin', *yogaasan* 'yoga', *vishvaas* 'belief', and *bharosaa* 'reliance'. Six of the sentences were instances of coordinated clauses with the verb namely *kar* gapped in four cases, and the entire predicate expression gapped in the remaining cases.

The rest of the six sentences of the battery were examples of paired sets consisting of a yes-no question or tag question, and a response to such a question with the nominal element gapped. Sentences (17) and (18) explicate the two types respectively.

17. *aap jaldii se in baccoM- ko snaan*
 you quickly these children.acc bath
karvaa diijie aur aap bhojan
 do caus vector and you meal

'You make the children take their bath and you make them have their food'.

18. Ques : *aap-ne* *sab baccoM-ko* *snaan*
 you erg all children acc. bath
 karvaa *diyaa na*
 do cause vector perf. tag.
 ‘You have made all children take their bath. Is it not so ?

Ans : *jii* *haM* *karvaa* *diyaa hai*
 Sir yes do caus. vector be
 ‘Yes I have done so’.

Twelve adult native speakers of Hindi were administered the test. They were asked to read the sentences and indicate in each case whether it was well formed or ill formed by placing a right mark or cross mark against it.

An analysis of the responses showed that all the six sentences presented as answers to yes - no or tag question were returned as well formed by all the respondents. In other words the responses did not indicate any difference in their preference for gapping in the case of class I or class II verbs.

More interestingly all our respondents also considered gapping of *bharosaa* in *bharosaa karnaa* as well formed contrary to Mohanan’s claim that the combination in question is a CP and therefore, gapping is not allowed.

Similar were the results in the rest of the sentences of the battery. That is, the nominal element of a noun plus verb combination, whether, of class I or class II type, was allowed to be gapped by all. If any of the respondents found any sentence problematic the reason turned out to be factors other than the phenomenon of gapping. In the absence of any clear diagnostic other than gapping, it is not clear whether or not to treat *bhojan karnaa*, *snaan karnaa* etc on par with *vyaayaam karnaa* by

treating the verb *karnaa* as the main verb of the clause and the nominal element as the patient or direct object argument.

To conclude, our study of the two types of morphological causative constructions points out the need to distinguish between two classes of verbs which can roughly be called 'karta oriented' and 'karma oriented'. The two classes cut across the intransitive and transitive verbs. We have also pointed out that the causative constructions have a bearing on the question under what structural context a nominal and a light verb combination can be analysed as a CP. In our attempt to find a clue to this question, an experiment in gapping was taken up. The results do not support Mohanan's claim that combinations like *bharosaa karnna*. 'to rely on' can be identified as CP on the basis of gapping.

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NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT

- ◆ The Advisory Committee Meeting of the CAS was held on 17-3-08
- ◆ The third phase of the CAS programme was completed on 31-3-08.
- ◆ We record with regret the sudden demise of Prof.K.Nagma Reddy on May 19, 2008.
- ◆ Prof. Aditi Mukherjee who has served as the Coordinator of the CAS retired on 30th September 2008.
- ◆ Ms. V. Sailaja was appointed as an academic consultant for the period, July 2008 – March 2009.

Since CAS phase III came to an end, UGC, New Delhi constituted an expert committee to review and assess the functioning of the department during the past five years. A comprehensive progress report providing details of the activities undertaken during the period 2003-2008 was prepared and submitted to the expert committee when they visited the department during December 29-30, 2008.

During the year 2008, the department also received XI-plan funds to the tune of Rs. 75000/- towards purchase of equipment, and a second installment of Rs. 75000/- towards books and journals. Both the grants were fully utilized.

Academic Activities of the Faculty Members

Prof. Aditi Mukherjee, Prof. Usha Rani and Prof. Vasanta worked on a departmental research project using CAS funds to collect spoken and written narratives from 100 Hindi and Telugu young adults using a sequence picture depicting a story. Several students of the department, presently doing MA or those who have passed out of MA / research

degrees participated in the data collection phase of this project which was completed in March 2008.

Prof. D. Vasanta

Papers presented

‘Language assessment in clinical contexts’, a paper presented at the workshop, “Analyzing Narratives: Perspectives from Hindi and Telugu” organized by the Dept. of Linguistics, OU during March 28-29, 2008.

‘Some questions about language acquisition’, lecture given at the UGC sponsored refresher course in English organized by the Academic Staff College, O.U. on July 4, 2008.

Participated in a meeting of the Arts Faculty, O.U. organized by Osmania University Centre for International Programmes (OUCIP) on Aug. 27, 2008 to discuss research activities of the centre including starting of a translation bureau.

Expert Committee member in a 3-day workshop organized by Rajiv Vidya Mission, Govt. of A.P. for modifying 2-year D. Ed curriculum to include information about the education of children with special needs held at the SCERT, A.P. during August 29-31, 2008.

‘Educational research involving children with hearing impairment’, lecture delivered to the teacher trainees in special education, organized by the Southern Regional Centre of the AYJ National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped on Nov. 17, 2008.

Publications

Language: Beyond the boundaries of linguistics. *Bhasha: International Journal of Telugu Linguistics* 3:1, 62-69 (2008).

Telugu translation of a booklet on Stroke and Aphasia by Dr. Subhash Bhatnagar published by Ratna Sagar, New Delhi in 2008.

Telugu translation of a children's story "Why Why Girl" by Mahashweta Devi published by Tulika, Chennai in 2008.

Assessment of Phonological Disorders, chapter included in the Indian Speech and Hearing Association (ISHA) monographs 2008.

Speaking of Motion: On the convergence of language typology, lexical semantics and Sociolinguistics. Osmania Papers in Linguistics Vol. 34, 2008 (this volume).

Prof. A.Usha Rani

Coordinated and presented a paper on 'Discourse features in Telugu' in the National Workshop on 'Analyzing Narratives: Perspectives from Hindi and Telugu' organized by the Department of Linguistics, O.U., during March 28-29, 2008.

B. Vijayanarayana

Co-edited (with P.C. Narasimha Reddy, G. Umamaheshwara Rao, and M.V. Ramanaiah) *Bhaasha: International Journal of Telugu Linguistics*, Vol. 3:1, 2008.

K.Ramesh Kumar

Presented a paper on Convergence in Araku Valley: The Case of Adivasi Oriya- A Preliminary Study in the International Seminar on "Endangered and Indigenous Languages" at Centre for Applied Linguistics & Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad. 1st to 3rd March, 2008.

Participated and presented a paper on '*maanḍalika pariḥoodhana – vihangu viikshaṇam*' in the National Seminar on

'*maanḍalika padakoosaala tayarii: paddhatulu, samasyalu*' at PS Telugu University, Hyderabad, held on 28th and 29th March, 2008.

Participated in the Workshop on 'Endangered Languages of Andhra Pradesh & Karnataka' at the Department of Dravidian & Computational Linguistics, Dravidian University, Kuppam, held during September 24-30, 2008 and presented a paper on 'A Profile of the Tribal Languages of the Andhra Pradesh'.

Visiting Faculty

Prof.B.Lakshmi Bai & Dr.Dipthi Mishra Sharma, Faculty members from IIT, gave a series of lectures on Natural Language Processing during February-March 2008.

National Workshop

The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, O.U., organized a two-day National Workshop during March 28-29, 2008 on the theme, *ANALYZING NARRATIVES: PERSPECTIVES FROM HINDI AND TELUGU*. The Workshop was held in Room # 4 of UCASS, OU. Prof.P.L.Vishweshwar Rao, Principal of the College inaugurated the Workshop. On this occasion the Departmental Research Journal, *Osmania Papers in Linguistics Volume 33 (2007)* edited by Prof.D.Vasanta was released. This workshop was an outcome of the Departmental Research Project that involved collecting data from 100 young adults who were asked to generate oral and written narratives in Telugu and Hindi in response to a sequence picture depicting a story. Using the same picture, narratives were also obtained from adults with neurological disorders such as stroke aphasia and semantic dementia

A group of Linguists namely, Prof.Aditi Mukehrjee, Prof.A.Usha Rani, from Osmania University, Prof.B.Lakshmi Bai and Dr.Deepthi Mishra Sharma from International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad, analyzed this data. Their papers dealt with linguistic devices

for cohesion and coherence in Hindi and Telugu narratives. Practicing Neurophysicians - Dr.Apoorva Pauranik, Neurophysician, Indore and Dr.Alladi Suvarna from NIMS and Speech Language Pathologists Dr.Medha Karbhari from Mumbai, Prof.Prathibha Karanth, Smitha Mathias from Mangalore, Dr.Jayashree Shanbal from Mysore, Mr.Vijay Kumar from NIMS, Dr.Sudheer Bhan from NIHH and Ms.Swathi from Sweekar Rehabilitation Centre for Hearing Handicapped, Hyderabad, attended the Workshop to learn how to understand the language break down subsequent to brain damage and assess its impact on communication.

Prof. Pratibha Karanth delivered the Keynote address and Prof.D.Vasanta gave a position paper on language assessment. During the Workshop, the participants examined narratives produced by patients with acquired neurological disorders. Select papers from this workshop are being edited for publication as a special issue of *IJOAL*.

Research Degrees Awarded

Awarded M.Phil. degree to Mr.H.Santhosh for the dissertation 'A Phonological Study of Word Stress in English in the Speech of Telugu Speakers'. Protem Supervisor: Dr.Kanaka Durga.

ABSTRACT

The present study entitled 'A Phonological Study of Word-Stress in English in the Speech of Telugu Speakers' aims to analyze and characterize the word-stress patterns in English as spoken by the native speakers of Telugu. The present study is restricted to the students aged between 17 and 18 years belonging to B.E.I year classes of MVSR Engineering College, Nadergul, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. The data was collected from 20 informants, 10 male and 10 female students of MVSR Engineering. The informants mother tongue is Telugu and they

each and every word, compound noun and noun phrase which received considerable stress is marked with an upright mark (') before and above that particular syllable which received stress. If there are two stressed syllables in a word, the secondary stress was ignored and only the primary stressed syllable or tonic syllable or nucleus is marked. *Roger Kingdon's* Method of marking intonation was used for marking the stress pattern of the words, since it is easy and widely acceptable.

An in depth justification for both the qualitative and quantitative analysis is provided with the observations drawn from the data collected by the researcher. The time consuming and prolonged hours of analysis of the data have been fruitful in that the researcher has brought out some practical insights in the area of word-stress pattern of English as a second language with particular reference to the native speakers of Telugu.

Chapter V summarizes the findings of the study; implications of the research and future prospects of the study in a succinct way. The present study has revealed certain features of word-stress in Telugu English spoken by B.E.I year students of MVSR Engineering College, Nadargul, Hyderabad. Stress on the wrong syllable of a word is a major factor which is most frequently responsible for the unintelligibility of Indian English (Bansal, R.K., 1969, p.150).

This section concludes by offering some suggestions to the educational policy makers and especially to the teachers of English keeping in mind the problems of the learners of spoken English and its pronunciation.

Awarded M.Phil. degree to Mr.Sridhar, Maisa for the dissertation 'A Study of Phonetic Variation in English among undergraduate teachers'. Protem Supervisor: Dr. K. Ramesh Kumar.

ABSTRACT

The M.Phil dissertation contains five chapters. The study is based on the group of undergraduate teachers who are teaching different subjects through English medium. The focus is on Phonetic variation among undergraduate teachers, phonetic variation in segmental and supra segmental (word stress in particular), all subjects mother tongue is Telugu. For this study I took twenty speakers and recorded the data and analyzed their sounds and word accent, found deviations from Received Pronunciation.

An important feature of spoken English is word-accent. If a word has more than one syllable, one of the syllables stands out from the rest. The syllable that is more prominent is said to receive the accent. "The accentual pattern of English words is fixed, in the sense that the main accent always falls on the particular syllable of any given word, but free, in the sense that the main accent is not tied to any particular situation in the chain of syllables consisting a word." (Gimson, 1980). Bansal (1964) pioneered phonetic study of the dialect of Indian English and suggested measures to make Indian English intelligible to internationality. His work on intelligibility of Indian English paved the way for comparative studies on phonetic aspects of Indian English, with those of Received Pronunciation. Prabhakar Babu (1974) has made a detailed phonological study of English spoken by the Telugu speakers in Andhra Pradesh, highlighting the major influences of Telugu on English.

After studying the segmental features and word accentual patterns of these teachers we may come to the following conclusions.

- a) There are many deviations in vowel and consonant sounds.

- b) There is not much difference between a stressed and an unstressed syllable in their speech. There is a vast difference between the R.P word accentual pattern and the accentual pattern followed by these teachers.

- c) Since there is no one to one correspondence between spelling and pronunciation in English, and these teachers are inadequately exposed to English, it is found that they had spelling based pronunciation.
- d) There is general tendency among most of the speakers to accent the first syllable of English words.
- e) Out of the fifty test items given 22 were received stress on the first syllable by majority of the speakers.
- f) Eleven items received stress on the second syllable by a majority of the speakers.
- g) Out of fifty items given the majority pattern of accentuation of fifteen items percentage is conformed with R.P
- h) The accentuation pattern of 44 words deviated by majority of speakers with R.P
- i) The accentuation pattern of 2 words confirmed 100% with R.P by all the speakers.
- j) The number of syllables in a word had no bearing on the accentuation pattern of the speaker.

This study has revealed certain features of word accent in Telugu-English as spoken by the UG- Teachers. "Accent on the wrong syllable of the word is a major factor which is most frequently responsible for the unintelligibility of Indian English." (Bansal.R.K, 1969) Teaching profession is an important profession and certainly, there is a great need for the teachers to make them intelligible to all kinds of people. In fact, teachers looking at the great extent of deviation from R.P there is a dire need to teach pronunciation.

Conclusion

This study will continue to be important in the research and teaching field. Any researcher or teacher should be aware of variation in pronunciation of English. The present study shows that at least a rudimentary knowledge of phonetics and spoken English is very essential to all the college teachers including teachers who teach subjects other than English through English medium. This will make teachers feel conscious about their own spoken English and prevent them from regionalizing it under the influence of the phonology or prosody of their mother tongue. This will also help them teach their students good pronunciation habits by their own example.

Where regular courses in phonetics and spoken English are difficult to offer to all the teachers, at least some material dealing with fundamental aspects of English pronunciation should be made for all teachers available.

Further research is needed in acoustic aspects of analysis of Phonetic Variation in English among undergraduate teachers.

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
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