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EXPRESSIVES IN TELUGU: ICONICITY AS A LINGUISTIC MODE OF MEANING

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Telugu is the official language of the state of Andhra Pradesh in Southeastern India[1]. It belongs to the Dravidian language family, and has an extremely high incidence of loan words from Indo-Aryan and from English as well as from other Dravidian languages. It is spoken by the majority of the population of the state, with considerable dialectal variation. Three major dialects are - Coastal Telugu (often described as 'true Telugu' by the speakers of the region), Telangana, which is spoken in and around the Hyderabad area, and Southern Telugu which is spoken in the regions surrounding Tirupati. All Telugu dialects in these areas are mutually intelligible. The data used in this paper were obtained from speakers from the Coastal and Telangana regions as well as from various textual sources.

1.2. Telugu is replete with words carrying expressive meaning which are used with regard to a wide range of sensations. These sensations may be auditory, tactile, visual, physiological,

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motional[2] or emotional. A large group of these words belong
to a syntactically distinct word class, which I will call expres
sives, following Diffloth (1976).

Classes of words with expressive meaning have been described
for various regions of the world, with perhaps the largest body
of literature coming from work done on African languages, the
Bantu group in particular. The African literature generally
refers to such words as 'ideophones'. The term is generally
attributed to Doke (1935:118), who defined it as follows : "A
vivid representation of an idea in sound ... a word, often
onomatopoeic, which describes a predicative, qualificative, or
adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state
or intensity." In his work on Tswana grammar, Cole (1955:370)
describes ideophones as "vivid vocal images or representations
of visual; auditory and other sensory or mental experiences".

Ideophones are also extant in, among others, Austro-asiatic
languages (Diffloth, 1976; Henderson, 1965; Watson, 1966), in
Bengali (Dimock, 1957), in Korean (Martin, 1962), and in
various Dravidian languages (Annamalai, 1968; Emeneau, 1969).

Doke's definition of the ideophone, while frequently cited,
has been criticized for its generality. Kunene (1965:19) suggests
that all allomorphs represent ideas in sound, and that therefore
Doke's statement tells us nothing about ideophones in particular.

In the wake of dissatisfaction over earlier attempts at
definition, various scholars have characterized ideophones in
terms of phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties.
Ideophones have been treated as adverbs (Doke, 1955 ; Rabel
Heyman, 1976), and verbs (Fortune, 1962; Henderson, 1965;
Kunene, 1965; Voeltz, 1971), and as a separate and autonomous
word class (Fivaz, 1963; Watson, 1966; Diffloth, 1976). New-
man (1968:108) claims that grammatically there are no ideo-
phones, but only ideophonic nouns, verbs, adverbs and so forth.

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2. I use 'motional' to describe words which express qualities of
   movement of any kind.

Several general characteristics of ideophones have emerged from the various studies done. These include tendencies toward phonological and morphological uniqueness with a large number of reduplicated forms, occurrence in restricted syntactic environments, semantic elusiveness, and a high degree of dialectal and idiolectal variation. The reasons for some of these characteristics will be discussed in later sections of the paper. Another characteristic of expressive words is to be found in the particular relationship between form and meaning which they exemplify. As Diffloth (1972) suggests, their primary mode of meaning is iconic rather than conventional. In Jakobson and Waugh's terms, their meaning lies in their nature, or *physei*, rather than in an arbitrary convention or *thesei*. (1979:177).

It may well be that iconic meaning is far more widespread than has been previously thought. It has already been suggested by Diffloth (1976) that it extends beyond onomatopoeia, and even beyond sound symbolism[3] to other types of iconicity. While iconicity may be found to contribute to the semantic make-up of many types of words in varying degrees, the focus of this paper is on the words which can be shown to belong to a particular word class called expressives. The term is here used in Diffloth's sense, which he explains as follows (1976:263-64, footnote 2):

> ...*onomatopoeic* froms are those displaying acoustic symbolism and having syntactic and morphological properties totally different from those of verbs and nouns. *Ideophones* are words displaying phonological symbolism of any kind (acoustic, articulatory, structural) and having distinct morphosyntactic properties; ideophones include onomatopoeic forms as a subclass. *Expressives* have the same

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3. In the remainder of the paper the word 'symbolism' will be avoided except in direct quotes. Confusion is sometimes caused by the conflict between Peirce's use of the terms to refer to a conventional relationship between Representamen and Interpretant and Saussure's (and other's) use of the term to refer to a non-arbitrary, natural bond between Signifier and Signified.

morphosyntactic properties as ideophones, but their symbolism, if such exists, is not necessarily phonological ; expressives contain ideophones as a subclass.

Diffloth (1979:50) asserts the need for further evidence for the iconicity of expressives and cites some aspects of expressives in Semai which are best explained by appealing to that notion. An effort will be made to do the same for expressives in Telugu, in hopes that ways will be found to deal with iconicty in general lingustic theory.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. RESISTANCE TO HISTORICAL SOUND CHANGE

An interesting characteristic of expressives is that they often fail to undergo certain historical sound changes which affect the rest of the phonology of the language. This resistance to sound change has been noted in widely diverse languages, as Annamalai (1968) points out.

In three Dravidian languages— Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu—Proto-Dravidian *k- becomes c- when followed by high and mid unrounded front vowels. This change is inhibited in Tamil and Malayalam when this vowel is followed bv certain retroflex consonants (Burrow, 1943:122), but occurs consistently in Telugu. There are, however, several exceptions to this rule of palatalization in Telugu, many of which have been explained historically (Krishnamurti, 1961:6-10). In some cases such words prove to be borrowings from a Dravidian language which does not have this rule of palatalization, such as Kannada. After exceptions which can be explained by historical phonological processes or by borrowing are accounted for, a number of words are left over which have k- preceding high unrounded front vowels. Annamalai (1968:16-18) accounts for a large portion of these words in all three palatalizing languages by demonstrating that they are onomatopoeic, and that such words are consistently resistent to sound change. In his reference to onomatopoeic words, he includes words expressive of visual,

motional, and physiological qualities as well as sound-imitative words, and thus, in fact. includes a wide range of expressives.

The explanation for such resistance to sound change is to be found, I believe, in the nature of the expressive as a sign. Because such a word is to a large extent an iconic representation, any change in its form can potentially destroy its relationship to its object—or at least eliminate the iconic aspect of the relationship, thereby decreasing the effectiveness of the sign as a direct representation of its object. This directness of relationship, based on similarity, or "Firstness" in Peircean terms, is perhaps perceived most clearly in onomatopoeic words. In these the similarity lies in the sound of a word which has sound as its object. Thus, both sign and object are perceived through the same medium. The Telugu word *kilakila*, for example, is used of light, tinkling laughter attributed to young women and girls. It would, as *cilacila*, have lost its onomatopoeic, hence its iconic value.

2.2. PHONOLOGICAL UNIQUENESS

2.2.1. The unique phonological features of expressives have been noted by nearly everyone who has studied them. Authors vary in the degree to which they view these characteristics as outside the normal phonological system of the particular language. Werner (1919:197) claims that such "Vocal images frequently contain sounds not otherwise found in language." Voorhoeve (1965:326) suggests that the phonological rules for generating other words of the language will not account for some of the phonological features of words belonging to the class of ideophones. This is quite different from Werner's claim that sounds exist in ideophones which are otherwise totally alien to language.

According to Samarin (1971:135) "It is normal in language for phonemes to be grammatically unbiased except for interjections...But ideophones very often have special phonemes which occur in no other part of speech in the language concerned.

He points out. however, that these phonemes are not unusual from a linguistic point of view, but only from the perspective of the particular language.

Henderson (1976) does not find phonemes in expressives which do not occur elsewhere in Khasi phonology, but she does find a uniqueness of distribution. Initial consonant clusters are quite common in Khasi. but many combinations are restricted to words having what she calls "phonaesthetic function". She also finds ihat-k occurs in final position only in loan words, personal names, interjections and in phonaesthetic words denoting abrupt noises or movements (1965:463-464).

Fortune (1962:37) suggests that the phonology of the ideo-phone cannot be handled within the phonological system of the rest of the language wihout distorting the regularities of the system. The phonology of the ideophone, he says, comprises a separate subsystem. Diffloth (1979:50) supports this notion when he suggests that "...we seem to have two distinct but overlapping phonological systems : a Prosaic phonology and an Expressive phonology...".

2.2.2. Telugu exhibits phonological peculiarities of the distributional type. Initial plosives show a general tendency to be voiceless in Telugu. Voiced initial plosives do occur, but under specific conditions. Krishnamurti (1961:26-27) gives the following environments for initial voiced plosives (some of the examples are my additions) :

1. When the root syllable contains a liquid, nasal, or trill, e.g. *bailu* 'out-of-doors' *jemuḍu* 'cactus', *dari* 'shore', *beṇuku* 'sprain', *banḍi* 'cart'.

2. Occasionally when followed by a voiced plosive or palatal approximate, e. g. *ḍabbu* 'money', *jiḍḍu* 'hostility' *gavva* 'cowrie shell', *gaayamu* 'wound', and alternate forms *kooyu/goopu* 'to cut', *ceeyu/jeeyu* 'to do'.

3. Through metathesis with /r/, e.g. *bratuku/batuku* 'liveli-hood', *grukka/gukka* 'gulp' (this is derived from an expre-ssive-see section 3.3), *gruddu/guddu* 'blow'.

4. When base-final -y, -r, -l, -ḷ is lost before a suffix beginning with a nasal-plosive cluster and by analogy, even when the nasal is not preceded by one of these segments, e. g. **poynk>bonku* 'to lie', **koornk > gooku* 'to scratch'

There are, of course, exceptions in which initial voiced plosives occur and none of the above conditions exists. Some are borrowings, e. g. *dagaa* 'cheating' and *javaabu* 'answer' from Hindi, *bhayam* 'fear' and *gada* 'club' from Sanskrit, and *jaḍji* 'judge', *ḍraamaa* 'drama' and *ḍaakṭaru* 'doctor' from English. A few have unknown etymologies, according to Krishnamurti. Finally, other exceptions having voiced initial plosives are expres-sives which require initial voicing for purposes of iconicity, e. g. *dabadaba*, which is used of the noise of soundly beating someone or something, and *gaḍagaḍa*, which, among other things, is used of swallowing a liquid in repeated gulps.

Voiceless medial plosives occur only under certain conditions in Telugu roots. They are usually the result of assimilation to following voiceless plosives, or of the simplification of gemi-nates (Krishnamurti, 1961:32). The assimilation to a voiceless consonant generally occurs only as *-d- > -t-* e.g. *ciḍuku > cituku* 'to burst', *aduku > atuku* 'to be suitable'. Forms with - *k-* or -*ṭ-* are either dialectal variations, as in *pegalu/pekalu* 'to come out' or, according to Krishnamurti, onomatopoeic, e. g. *cikulu* 'to weep blinking the eyes' (an old literary form) and *peṭulu* 'to crack, pop'. With *-g-*, *-j-*, and *-b-* there is no voiced/voiceless alternation. There are numerous expressives in Telugu, how-ever, with voiceless medial plosives, e. g. *ciṭaciṭa*, which is used of the crackling of a wood fire, *lukaluka*, used of water boiling rapidly, *kicakica*, used of the squeaking of mice, monkeys and birds, and *tuppuna*, of spitting.

Expressives are bound to the over-all phonology of Telugu to the extent that only phonemes which occur in prosaic words can be employed. However, expressives seem to be much less

resiricted by combinatory rules and historical sound changes.
This characteristic arises from the fact that their meaning relies
to a large extent on their form. The phenomenon of an expres-
sive phonology may not be restricted to expressives as a class.
As can be seen from Krishnamurti's onomatopoeic examples,
verbs and nouns whose meanings depend to a high degree on
iconic meaning – and which are perhaps even derived from
expressives—exhibit some of the same phonological character-
istics.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. COMMON FEATURES OF EXPRESSIVE MORPHOLOGY

Expressives often exhibit a distinctive morphology both
formally and semantically. In Shona, for example, the ideo-
phone is distinguished by its morphological simplicity in a
language that is otherwise morphologically complex (Fortune,
1962:17-20). The variations which do occur in Shona are the
addition of syllables for intensificaricn, and voicing of initial
and medial consonants to indicate increased size, weight or
force. Thus, morphological variation modifies semantic con-
tent rather than grammatical meaning as it does in nouns and
verbs. This is in keeping with the notion that, in expressives, the
meaning depends to a large extent on the form.

Expressives have many morphological characteristics in
commcn. Reduplica ion, for example, is extremely widespread.
Sapir (1921:76) says t.ie following of this phenomenon :

> Nothing is more natural than the prevalence of redupli-
> cation, in other words, the repetition of all or part of the
> radical element. The process is generally employed, with
> self-evident symbolism, to indicate such concepts as distri-
> bution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase of
> size, added intensity, continuance.

There are often instances, among reduplicated forms, of
vowel or initial consonant alteration in the reiterated segment.

Examples are noted in Pacoh by Watson (1966:32), in Bengali by Dimock (1957:22), in Sre, Semai and Khasi by Diffloth (1979:54), in Indoaryan and Dravidian by Emeneau (1969:282), and in Bantu by Samarin (1971:137). In all these languages, reduplication with such alteration is exhibited in fewer forms than is exact reduplication.

Another common feature is the occurrence of the expressive with a verbalizing element which undergoes conjugation and means literally 'to say'. However, in this context, as Doke (1955:142) points out, it means something like 'to express, manifest or act'. Samarin (1971:150) notes the significance of the fact that this verbalizing element, or "linking verb" in his words, is identical to that which designates direct and indirect quotation, " ... leading one to the observation...... that an ideophone might be considered a word in quotation marks".

The existence in the language of verbal derivatives from expressives is also common. There is some disagreement among Bantu scholars on the direction of derivation involved here. Emeneau, however, designates verbal derivation from "onomato-poeic stems" as a characteristic feature of the Indian linguistic area.

3.2. TELUGU EXPRESSIVE MORPHOLOGY

Telugu expressives occur in one or both of two forms : redu-plicated ($C_1V_1C_2V_2C_1V_1C_2V_2$) and non-reduplicated ($C_1V_1C_2 C_2u+na$)4. The non-reduplicated form often occurs with the suffix -ani rather than -na. This suffix is a participial form of the verb anu 'to say'.

3.2.1. Non-reduplicated expressives, then, have the usual form $C_1V_1C_2C_2una$, e.g. labbuna, which is used of great grief

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4. That -u- and -na are separate morphemes is supported by forms in classical Telugu such as grakkuna, mellana, and nallana, where some of the forms to which -na attaches end in -a rather than -u. This information was passed on to me by Professor Bhaskararao of Deccan College in Pune.

and lamentation. When -*ani* is affixed, -*m*- occurs between the expressive and the suffix, yielding *labbumani*. Such consonant glides are a common mechanism in Telugu for separating vowel from vowel. The fact that the particular consonant used here is -*m*- is significant, as will be seen later.

anu occurs prosaically in direct and indirect quotation, e.g. *waaḍu rammannaaḍu* 'he said to come'. Here again the -*m*-, in this case lengthened to -*mm*-, provides a transition between *raa* 'come (imperative)' and *annaaḍu* 'said (3rd masc. sing.)'

While -*m*- in the above examples has no semantic content, there is reason to believe that it is more than just a phonological glide, i.e. it has a grammatical function. In other cases, transition between vowels is provided by the phonological unit -*n*-, as in *daaniloonaa* 'in there ?'. In this case, *daaniloo* is 'in there' and -*aa* is the sentence suffix for yes/no questions. Tne -*n*- provides a consonantal transition between the final vowel of the first segment and the initial vowel of the suffix. The insertion of -*m*- occurs only with -*anu*. It is my feeling that -*m*- in these cases has a nominalizing function. Nouns, especially but not exclusively Sanskrit loan words, quite commonly end in -*mu*, or alternately in -*m̐* (a labio-dental nasal). Aside from cases of verbs ending in an inflectional suffix for first person plural, I believe that no other word class in Telugu has word-final -*mu*/*m̐*[5]. Thus *labbu+m—*, in *labbumani*, is functionally a noun. The literal meaning of *labbumani* is 'saying *labbu*' or 'having said *labbu*'. Similarly, in indirect quotation, *rammani* means something like 'saying the word come' or 'having said to come'.

While the literal meaning of *anu* is 'to say', when it occurs with an expressive it means something more like 'to express, manifest'. When something is expressed or manifested, that 'something' is a substantive. One can express despair (a noun), but not to despair. One can express caring (a gerundive), but not to care or cared. The point is simply that what is expressed

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5. The alternation between bilabial and labio-dental nasals has to do with whether occurrence is intervocalic or word-final. The alternation is not distinctive in Telugu.

or mainfested is someTHING (object, idea, feeling, sensation) and must be denoted by a nominal form. Since, when a form of *anu* is affixed to an expressive, it means that something is expressed or manifested, the expressive denoting that something must be a nominal form. The *-m* suffix performs this nominalizing function.

One hitch in the above analysis is that in Old Telugu the imperative form of the verb ends in *-mu*. Since the expressive construction is analogous to that of the verb in indirect quotation the expressive $(C_1 V_1 C_2 C_2 + m)$ could be interpreted as a verb form. However, it is probably rare that the indirect quotation refers to an actual imperative. When someone says 'He said to come', what he actually said might be 'ask him to come here', 'tell him I would like to see him', 'have him stop by tomorrow', and so forth.These are indeed imperative utterances but not of the verb 'to come'. The imperative is to the immediate addressee, in the form of 'tell', 'ask', etc., and not to the ultimate recipient of the message. While both *ramm-* and *labbum-* may be formally based on a verbal pattern, they do not necessarily function as such. Since *-mu* no longer occurs in Modern Telugu as an imperative suffix, I tend to discount the importance of the old imperative form for synchronic analysis. Treating the expressive as an imperative is indeed quite untenable. When the expressive *civvumani* is used with regard to the wind, the wind is hardly issuing a command for someone or something to *civvu*. Rather, the word *civvumani* expresses a quality maninfested by the wind. In non-reduplicated forms, then, there is an expressive which is first nominalized by the addition of *-m-*, and then verbalized by the addition of *anu*.

This pattern of verbalizing a nominal is not uncommon in Telugu. Concepts which, in other languages, are denoted by a single verb often have no one-word equivalents in Telugu. The English verb 'to work' can be expressed only by combining *pani* 'work' with *ceeyu* 'to do, make' yielding *panijeeyu* 'to work'.

This pattern is extremely productive and is used for all sorts of loan words, such as *svimjeeyu* 'to swim' and *ḍaansceeyu* 'to

dance'. In all these cases there is what seems to be a noun-verb collocation. The substantive nature of *svim* and *ḍaans* here is demonstrated in their Telugu regional English equivalents 'to do swimming' and 'to do dancing'. The -ing suffix is recognized as English and is thus not carried along in the Telugu borrowing.

Partially analogous patterns are found in Sotho and Xhosa. In both these languages, borrowed English verb stems are conjugated by means of collocation with the indigenous verb meaning 'to do, perform, make, create'. The collocational pattern follows that of ideophone plus "linking verb" i.e. a verbalizing element meaning 'to say' (Kunene, 1965:34-35).

In Telugu, even where there is a verb, such as *wanḍu* 'to cook (something)', the construction *wanṭajeeyu* 'to do cooking, to cook food in general' is used in contexts which, in English would be intransitive, i. e. 'I am cooking' as opposed to 'I am cooking vegetables'. There is no way of cooking intransitively in Telugu. Thus, the pattern of verbalizing substantives is well-established in the language.

This pattern suggests quite clearly that expressives are a word class apart. If they were already verbs, they would not require the addition of the verbalizing element *anu*. However, following the normal pattern of the language. for an expressive to be verbalized it must first be a nominal. If it were already a noun, it would not require the suffixation of *-m-*.

3.2.2. Reduplication is a common feature in Telugu, for both prosaic words and expressives. In prosaic words it often has an intensifying function. It occurs with many adjectives and a few specialized nominals. An adjectival example is *cinnacinna* 'very small, teeny-tiny' from *cinna* 'small', and a nominal is *koncem-koncem* 'a very small amount, a little-bitty bit' from *koncem*, 'a small amount'. This reduplication is morphological, and simply stresses the basic meaning of the single morpheme, along the lines of 'he's a big big man' or 'a great big man' and 'it's a long long road to heaven'. The possibility of iconicity for this type of reduplication exists, of course. Saying more

words expresses more of the quality. However, these words lie outside the domain of this paper and will not be discussed here.

Reduplication in expressives, I suggest, is of a different kind, indicating continuousness or repetition. While some reduplicated expressives have non-reduplicated counter-parts, a large number do not. In such cases, no non-reduplicated morpheme can be isolated. This sort of reduplication may be viewed as phonological rather than morphological (Watson also makes this distinction for Pacoh). The repetition of phonological units is an iconic representation of the repetition or continuation of the sensation expressed.

Reduplicated expressives also occur with *anu*, first adding the nominalizing *-m-*. However, they occur somewhat more frequently with the verb *aaḍu* 'to move, play'. With expressives this verb is a verbalizing element meaning, again, 'to manifest' or 'to act, behave'. The closest English equivalent that comes to mind is the verb 'to go' in such expressions as 'the big guns went boom-boom' and 'my heart went thump'. When they occur with *aaḍu*, expressives are nominalized by the addition of the plural suffix *-lu*, giving further emphasis to their expression of repetition. The vowel of the suffix is deleted by a regular sandhi rule when followed by *aaḍu*. Thus, the usual reduplicated form occurring with a verbalizing element is, for example, *jilajilalaaḍu* 'to manifest a tingling sensation, to tingle' - as when the feeling begins to return to a foot that has fallen asleep. Both *aaḍu* and *anu* undergo full conjugation in this context, and no other verb need appear in the sentence.

Reduplicated forms are not always nominalized. In fact, they probably occur most frequently without the *-m-* or *-l-* in a sentence with a separate verb. It is therefore evident that expressives are not basically nouns. They must be nominalized by the addition of a suffix, which then permits the addition of a verbalizing element. The occurrence of non-nominalized expressives with separate verbs will be discussed in section 4.2.

3.3. EXPRESSIVE DERIVATIVES

There are a number of verbs and nouns in Telugu which appear to be derived from expressives. Two verbs, *cikulu* and *peṭulu* were mentioned in section 2.2.2. There follows a list of some other verbs and nouns in Telugu which are derived from expressives:

VERBS

ciṭulu - 'to crackle, shatter' as when glass breaks, from *ciṭaciṭa*

giligilipeṭṭu - 'to tickle' from *giligili*

gonugu - 'to mumble, mutter' from *gonagona*

kalavaḷincu - 'to be perplexed', related to Tulu *kaḷakaḷa* (Emeneau, 1969 : 296)

kiduku - 'to fret in a confused manner' as when a child first awakens, related to Kannada *giji*, a word denoting confusion (Krishnamurti, 1961 : 10) ; Telugu *gajabiji* (noun) is probably also related to this word.

taḍabaḍu - 'to stagger, feel confused'

NOUNS

buḍukka - 'a sound produced by anything suddenly sinking in water' (Emeneau, 1969 : 249) from *buḍabuḍa*

ciṭuka - 'a snap, squeak, or small noise like that produced by sucking a mango or crushing a louse between the finger-nails' from *ciṭaciṭa*

guraka - 'snoring' from *guruguru* or *gurruna*

guṭuku - 'a swallowing noise, a gulp' from *guṭaguṭa*

karuku - 'the noise of sawing' from *karakara*

taḷuku - 'shininess, glitter' from *taḷataḷa*

This is only a sampling of a large number of words derived from expressives. As can be seen from the above examples, the pattern of derivation is highly variable for verbs but seems somewhat more regular for nouns.

There are several nouns which seem to have expressive meaning in Telugu, but for which I found no related expressive form. Some are etymologically related to expressives in other Dravidian languages (Emeneau, 1969 : 288-298).

4. SYNTAX

4.1. COMMON FEATURES OF EXPRESSIVE SYNTAX

A common phenomenon of the syntax of expressives is that these words can occur in a variety of syntactic environments in a sentence and yet are quite limited in other ways. Two patterns seem to occur quite regularly in various languages. The pattern of occurrence with a verbalizing element was mentioned in section 3.1. In addition, non-verbalized expressives, i.e. without the suffixation of *aaḍu* or *anu*, often occur in a sentence with a separate verb.

The verbs with which expressives can occur usually comprise a limited group. In some languages they occur with a cognate verb, i.e. a verb which is morphologically related to the expressive (Samarin, 1971 : 149). In other cases, as in Pacoh (Watson, 1966: 44), they occur with a limited group of morphologically unrelated verbs, with which they are semantically compatible.

Expressives are also usually limited as to the syntactic structures in which they can occur. Newman notes that "ideophonic descriptive-adverbs" in Tera and Hausa can generally occur only in affirmative declarative sentences. He posits this type of restriction as a common syntactic feature of African ideophones. Samarin (1971 : 149) notes that negative forms are also rare with the verbalizing element of expressives. He explains this as a cultural rather than a linguistic trait.

I suggest that lack of negation is a characteristic of expressives in general, which has to do with the nature of iconicity. If a sign has meaning by virtue of similarity with its object, its negative would entail dissimilarity. Dissimilarity is the antithesis of iconic relationship - there is an inherent contradiction in the notion of a negative icon.

Another characteristic of expressives is their resistance to quantification, as Diffloth (1976 : 225) points out for Semai. This again, I believe, has to do with the iconicity of the sign. Whether a picture is good or bad, large or small, it is an icon of the person depicted as long as it is recognized as that person. Two things are either related by similarity or not. The similarity cannot be quantified, or, at any rate, such quantification is irrelevant to a sign's validity as an icon. In the same way, a word is either iconic or not. The meaning of a sign can DEPEND upon the iconic relationship to varying degrees, but the existence of iconicity is not a matter of degree. Thus, a sign whose meaning is ESSENTIALLY iconic cannot easily be quantified.

As was pointed out in 1.2., expressives have been consigned to various word classes. Classification of expressives as one part of speech or another has often rested solely on what role they play in the sentence, rather than on formal characteristics. Kunene (1965: 20-33) for example, stresses the "predicativeness" of ideophones in order to differentiate them from adverbs, which are "descriptive.". On this basis he attempts to establish for the ideophone an identity with the verb. While the ideophone may well be "primarily Predicative in its notional significance", so are English words such as 'green' and 'happy'. We do not, on that basis, classify them as verbs.

4.2. SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TELUGU EXPRESSIVES

As was mentioned in section 3.2.3, expressives in Telugu can occur with separate verbs as well as with verbalizing elements. Reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms have rather different morphosyntactic patterns in such cases. Some non-roduplicated

forms occur without the suffixation of *anu* when followed by a separate verb, as is illustrated by the following example :

    aameki   tala   girruna   tirigipooyindi
    her-to   head   girruna   spun/turned
    'She became dizzy suddenly'

The above, in fact, is unacceptable with the suffixation of *anu*:
    *aameki tala girrumani tirigipooyindi

Other non-reduplicated forms, however, do occur with *anu* and a separate verb, as is indicated by the following example:

    waaḍu   civvumani   leeci   wellipooyaaḍu
    he   civvu-saying   having risen   left
    'He got up suddenly (whoosh) and left'

Which forms take *anu* in this environment and which do not is determined in large part, I believe, by the semantics involved. The -*i*- participial ending is used in Telugu to string together in a sentence a number of verbs denoting actions that occur simultaneously or serially. Order of occurrence is unspecified when this from is used, but all the verbs denote separate actions or events. The example with *civvumani* could be understood to contain two such verbs, i.e. *ani* and *leeci*, followed by the finite verb *wellipooyaaḍu*, which closes the series. Thus, the subject performed three actions. He "said," i.e. manifested the sensation of, *civvu*, he got up and he left. The getting up and the manifesting occured simultaneously, but are viewed as separate manifestations. In the second example the sensation of *girruna* does not exist separately from the feeling of the head spinning. They are one and the same sensation. In this case, *tirigindi* does not mean 'it spun', but rather 'it had the feeling of spinning', which is the feeling described by *girruna*. Thus, only one event is described.

    In contrast to non-reduplicated forms, reduplicated forms do not normally permit the suffixation of *anu* or *aaḍu* when there is a separate verb in the clause. Examples are as follows:

waadu korakora cuuseedu
he   korakora looked

'He glared angrily/looked daggers'

aa bandi takataka nadustundi
That vehicle takataka walks

'That cart goes along quickly (clippity-clop)'

Expressives which occur in sentences like these with separate verbs might easily be mistaken for adverbs. They occur in the same position in the sentence, and they seem to describe the predicate in some way. There are, however, reasons to believe that they are not adverbs.

Adverbs in Telugu are generally formed from nouns, such as *andam* 'beauty' or *daaktaru* 'doctor', and from adjectives such as *cali* 'cold', by the addition of a suffix, *-gaa*. Some examples are as foollows:

ii illu kottagaa undi
this house new-like is

'This house appears to be/is like new'

maa naannagaaru daaktarugaa pani ceestaaru
our father (honorific) doctor-as work does

'My father is/works as a doctor'

nemmadigaa maatlaadandi
slowly speak (honorific)

'Please speak slowly'

As was mentioned in section 1.2., expressives have been treated as various parts of speech. For reasons already indicated, I do not believe them to be nouns or verbs, although they can be made to function as such. It is more difficult to distinguish them from adverbs conceptually if not morphologically. If expressives could take the *gaa* suffix, we would have sound evidence that they are indeed a separate word class. This suffix,

like -*ly* in English, attaches to words of other classes and transforms them into adverbs. Thus, if an expressive required the suffix in order to become an adverb, it would have to be something other than an adverb originally. However, there are only rare instances of an expressive occurring with this suffix, and in such cases the expressive power of the word is less clear (see *kaṭakaṭa* in section 5.2.)

It has been suggested to me by one or two linguist acquaintances that expressives might be *THE* class of adverbs in languages which, like Telugu, have no other separate adverb class. These languages have, aside from expressives, only derived adverbial forms, such as those with the -*gaa* suffix in Telugu. However, if we look at English and other languages of Europe, it will be seen that in these languages also adverbs are nearly all derived forms. In English and German, for example, adverbs are formed by adding -*ly* aud -*lich*, respectively, to both nouns and adjectives. French adds the suffix -*ment* in much the same way. In each of these languages there is a very truncated class of words which seem to be basically adverbs, *i.e.* they are not derived from words belonging to another word class. English has, for example, 'quite', 'very', 'too', 'almost' and perhaps a few others.

If such words are the only 'true' adverbs, it is a limited class indeed. My point is this: It is not unusual for a language to have primarily derived forms in the class of words which are considered adverbs. This being the case, the fact that a language has no other non-derivative adverbs is not in itself justification for classifying expressives as adverbs. It is possible that adverbs are by nature derivative except for a very small group of quantifiers and intensifiers such as those mentioned above.

Telugu, too, has at least two words which might be classified as non-derivative adverbs, although they are perhaps more easily treated as nouns. These are what I referred to in 3.2.3. as 'noun-adverbs', *i.e. caalu* 'sufficient amount, enough' from which is derived *caalaa* 'sufficient, very, too, many, much', and *koncem* 'a small amount, slightly'. These noun-adverbs function

adjectivally to modify nouns and adverbially to modify adjectives and other adverbs. They also occur by themselves as nouns. Examples are as follows:

koncem nemmadigaa matlaadandi
a little slowly speak (honorific)

'Please speak a little more slowly'

ii kaafii caalaa weedigaa undi
this coffee very/too hot is

'This coffee is very/too hot'

idi caalu	koncem undi
this sufficient amount	a small amount is
'This is enough'	'There is a litte bit'

While in English the second and third sentences above contain predicate adjectives rather than an adverb and a noun respectively, the situation in Telugu is somewhat different. There are adjectives which precede the noun, e.g. *kotta illu* 'new house', nouns and nominalized adjectives which occur in equational sentences, e.g. *illu kottadi* 'the house is (a) new (one)' and adverbs which occur with verbs, including *undu* 'to be, stay'. There is no formal distinction between the Telugu equivalents of 'to be (like) new' and 'to talk slowly'.

Expressives, unlike adverbs, cannot be quantified by *koncem* and *caalaa*. In addition, their occurrence in negative sentences or in yes/no questions is highly restricted by comparison with that of adverbs. Examples are as follows :

aameki ingliisu baagaa raadu
her-to English well/good come (negative habitual)

'She doesn't/can't speak English well'

*aame ingliisu gadagada maatlaadadu
she English gadagada speak (negative habitual)

'She doesn't speak English fluently'

bandi nemmadigaa weltoondaa
cart slowly   going (question)
'Is the cart going slowly ?'

*bandi badabada weltoondaa
cart badabada going (question)
'Is the cart going along bumpily/bumpcty-bump ?'

Noun-adverbs can also occur in certain negative contexts :

iveela caalaa weedigaa leedu, koncem weedigaa undi
today very   hot   is not a little   hot   is
'Today is not very hot, it's only a little hot'

Some expressives can occur in some of the above constructions. However, my informants found most such examples to range from extremely unlikely to totally impossible.

Noun-adverbs always have the nominal suffixes *-lu* and *-m*, with *-lu→ -laa* when the word functions adverbially. Expressives have such suffixes only when they function as substantives in the sentence. The noun-adverbs, I believe, are structurally nouns and functionally either nominal or adverbial. *caalu*, it is true, may arise historically from an Old Telugu verb form. However, it no longer takes any of the verb morphology, and functions synchronically as a noun-like word.

Expressives have many roles to play as substantives. They can occur in sentences such as the following :

ii gubagubaleemiti
this gubaguba what
'What is/are these gubagubas ?, i. e. what is
all this noise ? (or : what is this smell ?')

They can occur grammatically but with less stylistic acceptability in the following construction :

ii gubagubalenduku
this gubaguba why
'Why all this noise/smell/confusion ?'

With all their substantive roles, however, expressives can only function as nouns through the addition of a nominal suffix. Expressives appear to form a word class all their own. This word class does not lend itself to syntactic characterization (see Diffloth, 1976 : 256). Syntactic arguments can assist in determining what expressives are not, but fail to reveal what they are. As Diffloth says, expressives often seem to function totally apart from the rest of the sentence.

This discussion of expressive syntax has up to now ignored some differences between syntactic properties of reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms. One difference is that when non-reduplicated forms occur with *anu*,the suffix seems usually to occur in participial form and to be followed by another verb phrase. I came across no cases of a non-reduplicated expressive followed by *anu* in finite form, i. e. inflected for person and number. This is not to say that such forms do not exist, but they must be fairly infrequent. Many reduplicated forms, on the other hand, can occur with an inflected form of *aaḍu* as the only verb in the sentence. When a sentence contains a verbalized expressive, i.e. with *anu* or *aaḍu*, the expressive is involved in an event or action somehow separate from that of any other verb which may appear in the sentence. When the expressive occurs alone and is followed by a separate verb,the sensation expressed is somehow an inherent part of the event or action being described. A non-verbalized expressive, either reduplicated or non-reduplicated, can occur in a variety of positions in the sentence without altering the meaning conveyed.

5. SEMANTICS

5.1. SOME ASPECTS OF EXPRESSIVE MEANING

Expressives are characteristically resistant to precise definition. One cannot easily say of an expressive that it "means such-and-such." The best one can do is to describe a situation in which it is appropriate, or give an example of something that "sounds like" or "feels like" that word. A common phrase used by my Telugu informants in attempting to define an expressive

was "it is when you do such-and-such" or "it is when such-and-such happens." By this they meant that such is a situation in which the word might apply.

Samarin (1967) discusses the difficulties in determining meanings of African ideophones, pointing out that contrastive meaning cannot be ascertained from most definitions. He suggests the use of paraphrasing procedure and "the multiplication of synonyms" as two means of getting at the meanings of ideophones. He concludes, however, that while these techniques might improve results, we are far from being able to adequately deal with ideophonic meaning.

The problem with Samarin's approach, is that he is looking for meaning at the lexical level. In expressives the meaning is carried by the "sound shape" of the word (Jakobson and Waugh, 1979), which does not necessarily operate at the lexical level. In Dimock's words (1957:24) :

> These symbolic forms seem to represent a kind of unstudied poetry of the spoken language. They have, in common with conscious poetry, a "somehow" of aptness of suggestion. They are not terms of clarity, specifiicity, or directness ; their aim is implication, subtlety of suggestion. They give the hearer the rare pleasure of using his imagination. And, like conscious poetry, they are, for all practical purposes, untranslatable.

This characteristic of suggestiveness rather than explicitness does not preclude the possibility of getting at expressive meaning. It does mean that we will not find the type of precise assignment of meaning to lexical form that we do in conventional, prosaic meaning.

The first step to be taken in our quest for expressive meaning is to detach ourselves from the lexeme. Householder (1946:83) attempts to do this through the establishment of the "phonaes-theme" (from Firth's notion of "phonaesthetic function."). He defines this unit as follows:

a phoneme or cluster of phonemes shared by a group of words which also have in common some element of meaning or function though the words may be etymologically unrelated.

Markel and Hamp (1961:55) have a similar goal in mind in the establishment of the unit "psycho-morph." This is defined as "a non-morphemic sequence of one or more phonemes for which a cultural meaning can, in at least some of its occurrences, be established".

Such approaches take us from the level of the lexeme, through that of the morpheme, to that of the submorphemic unit comprised of groups of phonemes. Watson (1966:46) takes us a step further and coins the term "psycho-phone" to denote a unit of meaning at the phonological level. These are all steps in the right direction, but they are not bold enough to get to the heart of expressive meaning. Based on iconic relationship rather than on convention, expressive meaning exists at the most minute level of language structure- at the level of the phonological feature. This idea is suggested by Diffloth (1972:444) when he compares expressives to "microscopic sentences" in which phono'ogical features are the meaningful components. Treatment at the level of phonological features allows the establishment of regula ities of meaning which were not possible at any other level of analysis.

Rabel-Heyman (1976 : 257), for example, finds several interesting correlations between Khasi consonants and elements of meaning. There are, however, many cases in which no regular morpheme can be established. She finds, for example, that words with init al *j*- usually denote unpleasantness except when followed by *-l-*, *-n-*, or *-r-*. Thus, she hesitates to posit a meaningful unit. There may well be no morpheme *j*-. However, it could be that voiced affricate has an unpleasant association, while liquid or nasal has a more pleasant association which cancels out the affect of the initial affricate. The lack of a regular morphemic unit does not preclude regularities at a more basic level of analysis.

The level at which expressive meaning is manifested also accounts for the extensive dialectal and idiolectal variability that has been found among expressives. Of this phenomenon, Henderson (1965 : 466) has the following to say :

> 'affective' or 'expressive' language, whilst conforming to certain very general rules within a given language, is especially susceptible to variation from locality to locality, and generation to generation, and innovation within even smaller groups.

Samarin (1971:147) questions whether new ideophones are actually created, as many authors have suggested (e.g. Fortune, 1962 : 39), but acknowledges the considerable variation in their shapes even within a single speech community. Such variability is possible because the iconic meaning of an expressive does not depend upon the exact phonemic structure of the word. Rather, it is carried at the level of phonological features. These features may be combined in various ways without necessarily altering the iconicity value of the word.

5.2. THE TELUGU DATA

In this section I will present the data from Telugu and suggest some meaning correspondances for various phonological features. These correspondances will first be stated in a general way, with more precise characterizations developing in discussions of particular words.

General types of expressive meaning are as follows :

1. The first association is structural. The reduplicated form is generally used with regard to a sensation which is continuous or repetitive. The non-reduplicated form is used of a single, unsegmented occurrence of a sensation.

2. Plosives are generally associated with abruptness, discreteness, sudden onset or clear segmentation. Affricates involve less sharply delimited segments of sound, motion, etc. than do stops.

3. Fricatives are associated with a more continous quality, and involve some kind of friction.

4. Flaps or trills are generally associated with less discrete segmentation than are plosives. There is often an element of roughness or unpleasantness involved.

5. Nasals are associated with resonance and a damped, indistinct quality.

6. Liquids are associated with swaying, flowing, or undulation. In word-initial position, they often carry an association of unevenness or unsteadiness, and/or a wider range of sway. In medial position they carry an association of smoother, smaller flow or undulation.

7. Voicedness is associated with bigger, louder, duller and more resonant sensations, while voicelessness is used of smaller, quieter, or sharper sensations.

8. Bilabials are associated with duller, less sharp sensations than are dentals and retroflexes, with velars falling somewhere in between. With nasality, a bilabial has less resonance (is more damped) than does the dental or retroflex.

9. High, unrounded vowels are associated with smallness, lightness and higher pitch.

10. Low back vowels are associated with somewhat bigger, louder, brighter sensations.

11. Rounded vowels are associated with a confused sort of sensation ; a disturbance, roiling, or unsteadiness.

12. The final association here, like the first, is structural. Reduplicated forms which have vowel or consonant alteration tend to be associated with some sort of irregularity.

The data are as follows :

NONREDUPLICATED[6]

dabbuna(R) – used of a pounding with the fist, also in a command : 'do it quickly'.

tuppuna — used of sudden movement and of spitting ; informants varied as to which meaning was primary.

labbuna(R) — used of wailing and lamentation (see *labalaba* for origins of expressive content).

girruna(R) — used of becoming dizzy suddenly, light-headedness; also of a top spinning or a dancer pirouetting.

burruna — used of a bird suddenly taking flight, i.e. the confused flap of wings.

kirruna(R) — used of a squeaking noise, as when someone sits down in an old chair.

jirruna — used of an animal rushing past, or of katydids humming ; this form was not known to some informants.

jarruna — used when someone slips and falls down.

civvuna — used when someone gets up suddenly ; wind blowing in a gust (whooshing sound) ; water spurting from a bottle (not acceptable to all informants) ; a shrill noise.

rivvuna — used of a rushing wind (my impression is that while *civvuna* refers more to sound, *rivvuna* is more tactile).

jivvuna — used of a sudden cold, shivering feeling, as when dipping the hand in very cold water.

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6. (R) next to a form indicates that there is a corresponding reduplicated form listed. Others may also have corresponding forms, but they do not appear in this list.

jilluna(R) — used of a shivering, tingling sensation going through the body, as when one hears fingernails scratching on a blackboard. It can also be used of sexual arousal.

REDUPLICATED

gaḍagaḍa — used primarily with gulping water rapidly, i.e. guzzling; a secondary usage for most informants is with rapid speech, with the extended meaning of being fluent in a language. For some speakers it can also be used of a fearful attitude, i.e. trembling with fear. Occurrence with a verbalizing element gives the meaning of 'to shiver'. An informant from the Telangana region did not know this word, saying the form for swallowing should be the following word :

guṭaguṭa — used of drinking rapidly.

gaḍgaḍa — used of trying to speak while crying; irregularity in the form suggests the jerkiness and halting manner of such speech. This form was unknown to many speakers.

guḍaguḍa — used of sobbing; the 'disturbance' element involved in the occurrence of *-u-* could be the uneven breathing and gasping that accompanies sobbing, or the upset state of the emotions.

gubaguba — primary use for most speakers is for quickness, either motional, such as with walking, or in speech ; it can also be used alone as a command meaning "hustle !", "do it quickly !" It is not used with a verbalizing element but only with such verbs as *naḍucu* 'to walk' and *maaṭlaaḍu* 'to talk'.

dabadaba — used of quick footsteps; walking fast.

ḍabaḍaba — used of the pounding of rain, thunder rumbling, the sound of running feet pounding the ground.

ḍamaḍama — the sound of drumming.

daḍadaḍa — used of the heart pounding.

taṭataṭa — used of the heart beating rapidly, or of tapping sounds, e.g. rain beating down.

taṭapaṭa — used of a feeling of doubt "one feels doubt in one's heart", being unsure of what one should do ; halting, hesitating behaviour, and thus, of procrastination ; used when the heart skips a beat in fear, i.e. a feeling of being afraid. Comparative data indicate that this form may have a lexical source, and there is a verb in Telugu *taṭapaṭaavincu* 'to cause to be afriad'. However, I think the expressive value of the word is undeniable.

The alternation between dental and retroflex in the above three words is expressive of the rhythmic pattern of heartbeats. The vowels following the retroflex are slightly different in length than those following the dental. The consonant alteration in the last of these three is suggestive of the irregularity and jerkiness of fearful heartbeats.

takaṭaka — used of quickness, especially motional, which results in rapid noises, as the clopping of horse's hooves on a cement road when they trot quickly. The iconicity involved in this word, as well as in *gabagaba* and *dabbuna* above, has to do, I suggest, as much with place of articulation as with manner. In all three cases the vowel is approximately /a/, requiring no tenseness, rounding or stretching of the lips. The consonants are such that the tongue barely moves at all except for brief flips to the palate or velum. That is, they are very easy words to pronounce, and are spoken quite rapidly.

kaṭakaṭa — used of a feeling of shame or despair caused by luck as when there is no money or rice in the house. The iconicity here is unclear ; there is a feeling of bleakness. It comes, perhaps from the internal quakig that is associated with despair, or from tongue-clicking sounds. This form is included mainly as an example of a transitional form which seems to be moving from a clearly expressive one to one which is becoming overlaid with

more conventional associations.   This process is exhibited
in the fact that this form takes the -*gaa* suffix of adverbs,
and occurs with *uṇḍu* 'to be'.

The above is the primary usage cited by   most
informants.   However, one informant follows Emeneau
(p. 288) in saying that it is used of a rattling noise and
occurs with *aaḍu*.

boṭaboṭa — used of the sound of tears falling (drip-drop)
or of a pot leaking or blood dripping. This   is   used
with a separate verb rather than with a verbalizer. The
noun *boṭṭu* ' drop ' is no doubt related to this expressive.

baḍabaḍa — used of bumping noises, as when a bullock cart
goes along a rough dirt road.

buḍabuḍa — used of water bubbling and boiling with a roiling
motion and bubbling sound.

labalaba — used of   distress, lamentation, ostentatious grief.
This form comes from the alleged practice of mourning
women of beating the palm of   the hand against the
mouth while wailing.

loḍaloḍa / loṭaloṭa — alternate forms used of some   sort of
unsteadiness. For some speakers it can be used   only
with speech, e. g. of a drunkard or delirious person, or
merely with talking nonsense. With other speakers it
can also be used of an unsteady way of walking,   as
with a drunkard or an old man. For one informant it
had an additional usage having to do   with   wobbly
structures, in which case the expressive   occurs   with
the - *gaa* suffix of adverbs. This is one of the few
instances where such suffixation is possible.   The
meaning provides a clue as to the reason for   this.
In the sentence *illu loḍaloḍagaa uṇṭundi* ' the   house is
wobbly or poorly constructed', the literal meaning is
something like ' the house is *loḍaloḍa* like'. The house
is not actually manifesting *loḍaloḍa*, but is unsoundly
built and so is as if, or potentially, *loḍaloḍa*. For most
informants, however, this usage was unacceptable.

lukaluka — used of water boiling ; one informant could get a usage with someone feeling very angry (as when one's temper boils over ?) One informant did not know this form, but suggested that it might be used of wriggling worms. Once again, the guess proves to be quite close in terms of iconicity, since both boiling water and wriggling worms exhibit a fluidity and roiling quality in their motion. The -*k*- in this word is suggestive of the segmentation and light plopping sound of bubbles roiling to the surface of the water.

pakapaka — used of hearty chuckling; " having a jolly good time, " as one informant put it.

kilakila — used of light, tinkling laughter of women and girls; often associated with flirtatiousness.

kalakala — used of brightness, festivity, gaiety; bright laughter, festive decorations, a pretty girl's face, a natural, sparkling quality in someone; vivaciousness.

galagala — for some speakers, used with hearty laughter, or the jangling of bangles; for others it occurs with regard to loud shouting or a river flowing. In all cases, the associations involved are more vigorous than with *kalakala*.

palapala — used of gaudiness and cheapness. There is a cheap quality of cloth, a shiny synthetic, to which this word applies.

giligili — giggling, as when tickled.

gulagula / gulagula — alternate forms used of itching, quivering, crawling sensations, e. g. of the skin. It is primarily tactile, but can also be motional for some speakers, as of larvae squiggling around in uncooked rice grains.

jilajila — used of a titilation of the skin or of a tingling, as when feeling begins to return to a benumbed limb.

gijagija — used of writhing, as when a small animal is dying.

giragira — used of spinning, as when boys whirl a type of firecracker aroud and around in their hands, or a person whirls around and around. There is a more segmented or repetitive quality to the whirling than with *girruna.*

karakara — used of grinding or chewing small, hard things like nuts; also to describe such things, i. e. ' crunchy ', or even hot (spicy) things; also of the stomach growling.

kirakira — used of squeaking noises, as with a door or chair.

korakora — used of the gnashing or grinding of teeth, but this is a secondary meaning for most speakers; primarily used of someone who is glaring angrily, " giving dirty looks", or looking at someone with suspicion.

ciracira — used of someone who is feeling cranky; a grouch; for one informant it is associated with the prickling of the skin when one feels angry of afraid.

curacura — used of a roaring fire or a burning sensation on the skin.

parapara -- used of tearing cloth or paper.

kicakica — used of the squeaking of monkeys or mice, and the chirping of birds; can also be applied to people either derogatorily (monkeys) or complimentarily (birds).

citacita / patapata / citapata -- all forms used with the crackling of a wood fire and the popping of mustard seeds in hot oil. *Patapata* can also te used with regard to the shattering of glass. *citacita* is also used of the prickling of the skin from heat.

citacik — used of water trickling.

calacala — used of a stream flowing or leaves falling.

salasala — used of water simmering softly.

sarasara — used of a snake slithering over sand, or of a girl walking briskly in a saree. It can have romantic connotations in the latter sense, as when a woman sweeps into a room to chide her lover, or swishes coyly from his embrace.

malamala — used of a feeling of weakness or swooning, primarily from the fierce heat of the sun, but also from hunger. Here, the combination of the bilabial nasal and the lateral expresses the dull thrumming sensation of heat and light-headedness, and the wave-like swooning sensations of weakness.

gusagusa — used of whispering and secretiveness; the *-u-* expresses the confused, indistinct hushing noises of expelled air, while *g-* expresses the dull, slightly vocalized onsets of whispered speech ; *-s-*, of course, expresses the friction of air in whispering.

tahataha — used of nervousness, restless waiting, anxiety. The iconicity involved here may have to do with the small, abrupt, fidgeting motions *(-t-)* and the sighs and uneven breathing *(-h-)* that accompany anxious waiting and restlessness.

kinakina — used of the tinkling of bells.

kaṇakaṇa — used of the glowing of coals in a fire ; also used of eyes blazing in anger, or of the body burning up with fever. One informant rejected these usages and associated the form with the ringing of bells. When coals are involved, the *k-* suggests the crackling of burning, while *-ṇ-* suggests the pulsating glow of the hot coals.

gaṇagaṇa — used of the clanging of bells.

goṇagoṇa — used of mumbling, murmering, or other indistinct, muffled sounds.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Words with primarily expressive meaning probably exist in all languages. English has such words as 'pooh-pooh', 'jibber-jabber', and other such reduplicated forms. As in Telugu, these words can occur as separate constructions as in 'she just keeps talking, jibber-jabber, without stopping to think'. They can be verbalized, as in 'he pooh-poohed the idea', and they can function as substantives, as in 'what's all that jibber-jabber'. However, in English and other European languages there does not seem to be a distinct, grammatically characterizable class of expressives. For this reason, such words have always been treated as being outside the domain of theoretical linguistics. In languages such as Telugu, however, they are too regular and too numerous to ignore. It is possible that by working with expressives in languages such as Telugu, ways will be found to deal with expressive structures and meanings in general linguistic theory.

Various scholars have attempted to address this phenomenon in English. The works of Markel and Hamp and Householder were mentioned in seceion 5.1. Firth (1957:194) addresses the issue of phonaesthetic function but not structural characteristics of words having such a function. Firth separates phonaesthetic value from onomatopoeia. In his treatment, there need be no iconicity involved in phonaesthetic function. Rather, within a particular speech community, certain sound sequences will be systematically associated with certain "personal and social attitudes". He gives, as one example, English words with the initial cluster *sl-*, which "seem to have been associated with perjorative contexts". He suggests that nonsense words such as "slithy" will carry these associations for members of the speech community involved. And, indeed, Markel and Hamp do find a high degree of correlation between certain sound sequences and particular sensory and attitudinal associations.

I suggest that Firth is correct in his conclusion that iconicity is not logically NECESSARY for phonaesthetic function. There can be, rather, LEVELS of non-arbitrary relationship between

sound and meaning.   Expressives function at the highest level of non-arbitrary relationship, or directness. The relationship between signifier and signified is unmediated ; it is a "Firstness" (Peirce, 1931 : 157).

In non-expressive cases of phonaesthetic value, the relationship between signifier and signified is motivated (non-arbitrary) by virtue of words already present in the language. Thus, if there are words like 'glow', 'glimmer', 'gleam', 'glisten', and 'glossy', one is unlikely to coin terms such as 'glissy' and 'gleen' to denote dullness or roughness.   The phonaesthetic function of *gl*- could be determined by its presence in so many words having to do with light, shininess and smoothness in English.   I do not believe that such actually IS the case for *gl*-. Its similarity to Telugu *galagala* is too striking.   I simply mean to suggest that such a level of non-iconic phonaesthetic function is conceivable.   Such a contextual motivation involves first a conventional relationship between a certain group of words and their meanings.   The next step in the development is the formation of a mental icon or interpretant for this sign.   There is at the same time some relationship or similarity (iconicity) between this word and the "new" word.   A paradigm is then formed,   so that words containing that characteristic are metonymically related, as members, to that group.   Through this membership,   they derive their association with the particular meaning involved.

This sort of relationship is motivated, and involves points at which iconic relationships are involved (as they are at some point in every mode of communication – see Peirce, 1931:158). However, the relationship is mediated by both metonymy and convention – it is not ESSENTIALLY iconic.

With expressive meaning, the motivated nature of the sign is more than associational.   An expressive is, in part, a sound – image of its object.   In such cases we might expect some of the

image-creating features to be cross-cultural, or at least to overlap language boundaries. This does not mean that an expressive in one language will carry the same overall meaning for a speaker of another. Variations in cultural experience could significantly alter perception in this regard. However, we might expect obvious correspondances such as plosives occurring in words expressing abruptness and nasals occurring in words expressing resonance.

Firth found virtually total agreement when he asked speakers of widely diverse languages to associate a round, clumpy shape and a sharp, angular shape with the words *kikeriki* and *oombooloo* (1957:193). There is obviously something about *kikeriki* which is sharper and less clumpy than *oombooloo*. This quality lies in the sound features of the word.

In looking at expressives in two unrelated languages, Shona (Fortune, 1962) and Telugu, we find several striking correspondances. Examples are as follows :

TELUGU	SHONA	SHONA GLOSS
kilakila	kékéké	'girlish laughter'
galagala	gégégé	'deep laughter'
gijagija	gwígwí	'twitching'
civvuna	tsvé	'throwing down'
sarasara	séréséré	'snake slithering'

Comparison with the Telugu meanings in section 5.2. is remarkable.

While the above examples are few and inconclusive, they do suggest that there are aspects of expressive meaning that may have universal purport. Different languages (and cultures) may choose different aspects of a sensation to characterize in an expressive, and thus come up with widely divergent words for use in similar situations. However, at the level of phonological features, we may often find a high level of correspondance.

Such possibilities ought not to be ignored. Whorf (1956:268) suggests that language generally has the power to remain independant of "lower-psyche facts." It can override them by the force of conventional meaning. However, if the sound happens to fit the psychic quality of the word, this quality comes to the fore and can be exploited. While Whorf describes a more-or-less passive process, expressives actively seek out and utilize these lower-psyche facts. That which is utilized, and which needs to be further investigated, is the association in human thought of certain phonological features with certain aspects of wider human perceptual experience. As Jakobson and Waugh (1979:231) say, with reference to "the direct interplay of speech sound with meaning":

> That spell of ' sheer sound of words ' which bursts out in the expressive, sorcerous, and mythopoeic tasks of language, and to the utmost extent in poetry, supplements and counterbalances the specific linguistic device of ' double articulation ' and supercedes this disunity by endowing the distinctive features themselves with the power of IMMEDIATE signification.

This " power of immediate signification " may be found in every realm of language if only it is sought out and apprehended. As Diffloth (1972 : 443) suggests, we might look at syntactic restraints, for example, for signs of expressive properties. The possibilities for linguistic inquiry are limitless, and the investigation of expressive word classes in specific languages is only a beginning.

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CATAPHORIC COHESION AND OTHER DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF INDIAN ADVERTISING ENGLISH

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The register of Indian English found in advertising employs certain peculiar features for effective communication. These deviations from standard English are common through all linguistic levels-lexical, grammatical and semantic. One such deviant trait is cataphoric cohesion which is analysed in this paper under 1. Lexical collocation 2. Supcrordination 3. Qualitational cohesion 4. Personal reference 5. Relativational reference 6. Clausal ellipsis 7. Nominal ellipsis and 8. Demonstrative reference.

Creativity is achieved in Indian advertising language in diverse ways.[1] And many of these lead the copywriter away from the ways in which the English language is employed in other registers. Advertising offers almost unlimited scope to take liberties with the language in order to catch the immediate attention of the reader and to transform him into a potential buyer.

The Indian adman's favourite linguistic devices are graphological, grammatical, lexical and semantic deviations, but he is not unaware of the powerful role that rhetoric can play in

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effective communication.[2]   Graphological violations are a
distinctive feature of this register—both in the product name, and
to a lesser extent, in the text of the advertisement.   Extensive
employment can be made of spelling change.

Calico's *cali-ber* shirts[3] is a good example of a product name
which adapts a part of the manufacturer's name to suit a
desirable quality in men's garments.   The headline of the same
advertisement has

Cali-ber introduces a cali-doscopic revolution in men's
wear.

Where the spelling change in the adjective has added a new
dimension to the advertisement.

Disjunctive grammar is frequently employed in Indian
advertisements with   sentences containing only   nominal
groups, or less frequently, verbal groups without finite verbs.
This device, generally used in headlines highlights the essence of a
message while eliminating items of low information value, as in

Twelve ravishing themes–all from Cutex.   ᐧ
Catchy slogans, more often than not, have disjunctive grammar:

Utterly, butterly delicious.

Lexical violation is another rich source for the creative
copywriter, with the possibilities of functional conversion or the
adaptation of a word to a new grammatical function, as in

Gay up your parties with Gold Spot.

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2. In this paper I shall deal only briefly with the
    morphological and syntactic aspects of creative copywriting,
    as I have treated these in detail in my book of (1977).

3. All advertisements used as illustrations in this paper are
    from leading Indian newspapers and magazines.

Neologisms in Indian advertising English are not only entirely
new words but also new combinations in compounding and
premodification. This results in novelty as well as economy,as in

Mix-in-a-minute Farex.

Pick-of - the season peas.

An advertisement can gain attention also by the very illogicality
of the message, as in

Pour yourself a happy day.

Other semantic violations resorted to by the Indian copywriter
are role borrowing and register mixing. A few years ago Obron
fabrics ran a series of advertisements in which the register of
legal proceedings was made use of to convey the whole message.
The visual layout in such advertisements usually complements
the text.

A noteworthy peculiarity of Indian advertising is that the
maximum structural complexity lies in the nominal groups
which comprise the headlines. While noun group
premodification is gaining ground in all registers, its increasingly
frequent employment in advertising is testimony of its potential
for succinct and effective expression. These heavily loaded
premodifying and postmodifying groups often contain embedded
structures.

In contrast to other technical registers, advertising seldom
makes use of passive constructions, the reason obviously being
that the impersonality achieved by passivization is detrimental to
the persuasive nature of effective advertising.

Minor clauses with zero predicators, as well as non-finite
clauses have, in this register, an independent status, as in

No cuts. No quick stubbles. No razor shadow.
Most minor clauses combine the element A (adverbial group)
and another element with a neutral status which Leech calls Z
(1966 : 15).

The frequent occurrence of non-linking clauses which are paratactically linked is a peculiar feature of advertising, scarcely found in most types of discursive English, for example

Wear Flex They Last Longer.

Eat it today-you'll love it forever.

At the suprasentential level Indian advertising language has as many distinctive features as it has at the sentential and lower levels. Since most of these can be classified under the specific label of cataphoric cohesion, I shall concentrate on this phenomenon here.

In other registers the cohesive relation between a presupposing item and its presupposed tie is generally anaphoric, i. e. the resources for text construction that are exploited by these registers are almost always anaphoric in nature. The interpretation of some elements in the discourse is generally dependent on another element that has preceded it, whether the cohesive agency is grammatical or lexical. While Indian advertising English also exploits all the potential for cohesion which is available in the systematic resources of anaphoric reference, collocation, ellipsis, substitution etc., it also has very frequent recourse to a device rarely employed in other registers - cataphoric cohesion. Far from resulting in loss of clarity which is the nightmare of the copywriter, cataphoric cohesion achieves a suspension of interpretation which arouses curiosity.

Propositional development from the headline to the subhead or the bodycopy or the signature line in the corpus of the advertisement is often ensured by a forward looking cohesive agency. The headline, the first element of an advertisement, thus becomes the presupposing item and its tie which occurs further on is the presupposed item. The more frequent occurrences of cataphoric cohesion in Indian advertising English can be classified as under[4]

1. Cataphoric lexical collocation 2. Cataphoric superordination
3. Cataphoric qualitational cohesion 4. Cataphoric personal

4.   These classifictory terms with the exception of (3) and (5) are used by Halliday and Hasan (1976).

reference 5. Cataphoric relativational reference 6. Clausal ellipsis 7. Cataphoric nominal ellipsis 8. Cataphoric demonstrative reference.

1. CATAPHORIC LEXICAL COLLOCATION

When two words occur in a text which are not referentially identical, but which have a meaning relation, the cohesive tie thus created is lexical collocation. Lexical reiteration may be repetitional, synonymous or superordinational. In any case the two items have some common area of occupation within the language. However, the lexical items which co-occur in the advertising copy may not, in any other situation, be found in similar environments. All the same, this discourse is well-organized and for purposes of this corpus the members of such a set may be said to stand in some kind of semantic relation to each other. What Halliday and Hasan (1976:286) say with reference to other pairs with closer synonymity is applicable to the seemingly disparate pairs in the advertising message: "The cohesive effect of such pairs depends not so much on any systematic semantic relationship as on their tendency to share the same lexical environment, to occur in collocation with one another".

In this register a pair of this kind may have no referential identity at all but will still form a cohesive tie, the environment being provided by the advertising message itself with, perhaps, supporting visuals. In other words what provides 'texture' to the advertising copy may be collocational lexical cohesion brought about by the close proximity of two lexical items whose meaning relation may be remote, but which share the same lexical environment. And what is remarkable about this cohesive in advertising is that its direction is forward : headlines cohere with other elements of the copy so that the interpretation of the former is possible only with reference to the co-occurring lexical item which occurs later. In the following example :

Hot new arrivals   (HL)
Fashions off the beaten track (SL)

the noun head of the healdline (HL) coheres with the
signature-line (SL) and depends on it for its interpetation - what
the 'arrivals' are can be comprehended only if we look forward
and associate it with the signature line. In spite of the absence
of any immediately discernible semantic relation, their proximity
in the discourse contributes to the texture and therefore they can
be said to be the two parts of the cohesive agency. The same
kind of cataphoric cohesion can be observed in the following
examples :

The fifty-year-old secret	(HL)
Afghan Snow	(SL)
The eye-catchers	(HL)
Hindon Suitings	(SL)
Melting mouthfuls	(HL)
Mangharam Butter Cookies	(Sub-head)

In these examples there is no lexical collocation in the accepted
sense and even Halliday and Hasan's (1976 : 285) generous
extension of the definition of lexical cohesion to include items
which have just "some recognizable lexicosemantic relation" will
not explain the nature of this relation and yet the coherence is
undebatable.

2. CATAPHORIC SUPERORDINATION

Superordinate cohesion is the co-occurrence in a text of two
lexical items, a superordinate or general class noun and a
specific indicator noun which belongs to the class of the
general noun.

Anaphoric superordination, another form of lexical cohesion,
may be defined as "any item whose meaning includes that of an
earlier one ; in technical terms any item that dominates the
earlier one in the lexical taxonomy" (Halliday and Hasan,
1976 : 280). An example of such superordination could be

The man is petting a stray dog.
Such dogs are dangerous,

In cataphoric superordination the general class noun occurs
before the specific indicator; the superordinate being general, can
be interpreted only with reference to the related item which
occurs later in the text. The relationship between the noun-head
of many headlines in Indian advertising and the brand name in
some later element of the copy, belongs to this last category,
e. g. :

   The refrigerator for all seasons   (HL)
   Gulmarg Refrigerator   (Sub–head)

The headline here has a generic indicator explained by the
subhead which contains the name of the specific brand of
refrigerator referred to but not mentioned in the headline. In the
following examples also the cohesive tie is one of cataphoric
superordination.

Introducing a baby care idea	(HL)
Dettol	(SL)
Now a baby milk food that is easier to digest	(HL)
Angel Baby Milk Food	(SL)
Introducing a new writing medium so unique it's hard to describe	(HL)
Luxor - Camlin	(SL)

In all these examples the headline nounhead has a genus-species
nexus with the product name in the signature line.

3. CATAPHORIC QUALITATIONAL COHESION

   Another peculiar feature of this register is a kind of
cataphoric cohesion which may be called qualitational. Here
the headline merely expresses a quality which points forward
to the product mentioned elsewhere in the advertising copy.
The message of the headline in such cases can be interpreted
only with reference to a later item. Examples of this type of
cataphora are so numerous that it would seem to be a linguistic
device which has found great favour with the copywriter :

| Thoroughly dependable | (HL) |
| Leonard | (Subhead) |

| Sensational | (HL) |
| Lakme Lipsticks and Nail Enamel | (SL) |

| Pulsatingly wild | (HL) |
| Monarch Aftershave Lotion | (Subhead) |

Many of these headlines consist of a modifier preceded by an intensifier as in 'Absolutely Smashing' which together create an advance impression about the product in the reader's mind even before he knows what the product is. In other words, the presupposed item which occurs later interprets the first element, an adjectival group, thus establishing a cohesive relation very rarely found in other types of discourse.

4. CATAPHORIC PERSONAL REFERENCE

Personal reference used cataphorically is a clever device in the hands of the adman. In some cases the manufacturer's name is merely expressed by a personal pronoun in the headline. Here the referential meaning which is to be retrieved from the subhead, bodycopy or most often, from the signature line, is the identity of the thing referred to. Examples are :

| Like the nicest things in life, it never loses its freshness | (HL) |
| Ponds Dreamflower Talc | (SH) |

| You'll never want to take them off | (HL) |
| Great fabrics from Shreenivas | (SL) |

Second person reference in this register is almost always exophoric, because the 'you' of the headlines signals reference to the context of situation and not textual reference : the 'you' points to the reader, the potential consumer.

5. CATAPHORIC RELATIVATIONAL REFERENCE

Apart from personal reference the most frequent reference in advertising language is what may be labelled cataphoric relativational reference which again is a feature found extremely rarely in any other register in English. This type of reference is characterized by the occurrence in the headline of a relative clause identified by a later element. Examples are :

What's quiet and cool gets more sparkle and colour	(HL)
Binny Prints	(SL)
Where tradition turns contemporary	(HL)
Davangere	(SL)
What to wear when there's a nip in the air	(HL)
Binola	(SL)

The clauses which comprise the headline in each of these examples is a reltive c.ause with structural dependence on the nouu group which forms the signature line, and semantic dependence on the same for interpretation.

6. CLAUSAL ELLIPSIS

Copywriting taps all possible linguistic resources in its effort to achieve maximum creativity and at the same time, maximum economy. It would have been surprising therefore if it had overlooked the device of ellipsis. Halliday and Hasan (1976 : 143) define ellipsis as "substitution by zero". "We are referring specifically to sentences, clauses etc., whose structure is such as to presuppose some preceding item, which then serves as the missing information. An elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere". The clausal ellipsis brought about by a non-polar question is cohesive because the response answers only the specific question and repudiates everything else in the question. The form of the question itself decides the specific element which will be carried over into the response and it also indicates the precise nature of the absent item or items.

It will now be clear that a device with such rich possibilities for arousing curiosity is an invaluable instrument for the copy-writer. Non-polar questions are by their very nature cataphoric and in advertising they retain this directional quality.

What are cool girls wearing nowadays ?   (HL)
Pond's Dreamflower Talc   (Body copy)

Who in India runs a modern centre for Basic
Research with qualified scientists from
among the world's best ?   (HL)
Hoechst   (Subhead)

The product / manufacturer's names in these examples are instances of clausal ellipsis.

7. NOMINAL ELLIPSIS

In cataphoric nominal ellipsis the noun head which is absent in the headline is given later. Sometimes part of the verbal group is also missing but in such cases, this, usually an auxiliary is not carried over into that element of the message which provides the missing nominal group. In the following example the headline.

Lasts 10% longer at no extra cost
is followed by

J K Batteries.

Here only the nominal group is carried over into the presupposed item, whereas in the following examples the noun-head as well as a part of the predicate are absent in the headline but only the nominal group appears in the subhead or signature line :

Seen on the Paris Scene   (HL)
Orkay's Tex-O Polyester Suiting   (Subhead)

Certified for success   (HL)
Simplex   (SL)

8. CATAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVE REFERENCE

Demonstrative references are generally used exophorically to point to something within the context of the situation but in advertising English the reference is often cataphoric, with a tie with an element in the textual context.

Here's bubbling health and extra energy for your family	(HL)
Waterbury's Vitamin Tonic	(SL)
Here's the pain reliever that's extra-strong, extra-swift and extra-safe	(HL)
Piusprin	(Subhead)

Proximity is here interpreted in terms of place while the object whose proximity is referred to is within the copy, occurring later. The locative 'here' therefore points forward, thus creating texture with cataphoric cohesion.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976 : 75) "The demonstratives 'this', 'these' and 'here' provide almost the only source of cataphoric cohesion : they are the only items in English which regularly refer forward *textually* to something to which they are not linked by a structural relationship". While Indian advertising English makes some use of 'here', 'this' and 'these' they are hardly ever used by the Indian copywriter in this manner. However, as this paper shows, he employs numerous other kinds of cataphoric reference which enable him to withhold essential information for sometime and release it at a crucial moment in this communication. We have seen that as far as textual coherence by means of cataphora is concerned, the tie is usually between the headline and the signature line. When it is remembered that between these two elements an advertising message normally has two others, a sub-head and a body copy, the significance of this suspension of vital information will be better understood.

This paper has brought out several linguistic features of Indian advertising language which may be called deviations from standard English. At the morphological, syntactic as well as suprasentential levels the English language used shows striking peculiarities. While commenting on deviant structures in poetry, Thorne (1970) suggests that each poem should have its own grammar which would generate the constructions of that particular poem, and would thus state its interpretation. While I would not go so far as to say that each advertising message should have its own grammar, the extensive prevalence of deviations at all linguistic levels in advertising seems to warrant seperate principles of grammatical and discourse analysis for this register.

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RELATIVIZATION IN CHILDREN'S SPEECH

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This paper describes the development of relativization with the data of four Telugu children in the age group of 1 ; 6—3 ; 6. The overall syntactic development of each child is given for a better understanding of their syntactic abilities. There are mainly two types of relativization in Telugu, i,e. pharsal or participial and clausal or correlative. Children of this study acquired participial relativization earlier than correlative type but none could master the process of relativization. Some of the observations of this study are compared with similar works on other languages.

INTRODUCTION

It is commonly observed that young children acquire relativization considerably later than coordination and a few types of subordination. Children go through different stages to master relativization. This paper is an attempt to trace the development of relativization in Telugu children. Telugu is a Dravidian language spoken mainly in Andhra Pradesh, India.

Four children, three girls and one boy were chosen for longitudinal-cum-cross-sectional study in the age group of 1 ; 6-3 ; 0, one each at the ages of 1;6, 2;0, 2 ; 6 and 3;0 years. All children were exposed to the standard dialect of Telugu and belonged to the same socio-economic group. The data were collected for a period of six months with a month's duration between each session. A Sony casette tape recorder with a built-in microphone was used for the recording. Free conversation between the child and the researcher provided data on relativization.

RELATIVE CLAUSE IN TELUGU ADULT SPEECH

Several scholars like Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1981) Ramarao and Reddy (1974) have discussed about relativization in Telugu. Krishnamurti and Gwynn (1981) noted two types of relativization - participial and clausal. "A simple sentence can be changed into a relative clause by replacing its finite verb by a relative participle or verbal adjective in the corresponding tense-mode and shifting the noun that it qualifies as head of the construction. The whole clause with noun head then becomes a nominal clause and can be embedded in the place of a noun phrase (NP) in the matrix sentence, as its subject, direct object of the finite verb, predicate complement or as an adverbial of time or place. The noun head of the relativized clause is deleted before a similar noun head in the matrix sentence, e. g.

(1) (a) kamala paata paadindi
          'Kamala sang a song'.

     (b) raamu paata winnaadu
          'Ramu heard a song'.

     (c) raamu kamala paadina paata winnaadu
          'Ramu heard the song that Kamala sang'.

The relativized clause *kamala paadina paata* 'the song that Kamala sang' derived from (a) is embedded before the direct object *paata* of (b) as its modifier : the identical noun head *paata* of the subordinate clause is then deleted, producing (c)" (Krishnamurti and Gwynn, 1981).

The other type of relative clause is referred to as correlative clause. These are commonly found in English and Hindi but are not normal in Telugu and other Dravidian languages. There are no correlative pronouns in Telugu similar to Hindi *jo---wo* 'who/which/he/she/it' *jab---tab* 'when---then' etc. But due to Sanskrit influence such sentences are imported into Telugu and are used in rhetorical speeches and in formal prose. This is accomplished by using a question word in the subordinate clause + the complementiser (*aa*), followed by the main clause beginning with the corresponding demonstrative pronoun, e. g.,

(2)   eedi kaawaaloo adi paṭṭukoni poo
      'Take away whatever you want'

Ramarao and Reddy (1974) introduced the term **phrasal** relatives to refer to participial relatives. They observed that the participial relatives have phrase like qualities in that they are compact and tightly knit.

Usharani (1980) in a recent study on relativization **classified** relativization into three types. They are

(i)   Clausal : This is referred to as correlative clauses by others e. g.,
      (3)   (a)   ee abbaayi naa pustakam cimpaaḍoo **aa**
                  which boy my book tore that
                  abbaayi parigetti pooyaaḍu
                  boy   ran   away

(ii) Peri-Clausal : This type is closer to the first type. It is more open than the first type. This type presupposes a speaker and an addressee. e. g.,
      (b)   naa   pustakam cimpaaḍee aa   abbaayi
            my   book   tore   that boy
            parigetti pooyaaḍu
            ran   away

(iii) Phrasal : This is referred to as participial relativization in the early literature. This type does not have any explicit relative morpheme. As mentioned earlier the verb takes on its attributive form and the modified noun becomes head of the construction. e. g.,
      (c)   naa pustakam cimpina abbaayi parigetti pooyaaḍu
            my book   tore that boy   ran   away
            'The boy who tore my book ran away'.

FREQUENCY OF DIFFERENT RELATIVIZATIONS IN ADULT SPEECH

Though there is no authentic statistical work on the frequency count of different types of relativization in Telugu, it could be said that among the different types, participial/phrasal type is more frequently used by adults than the correlative type. When there is uncertainty or indefiniteness in the situation, adult speakers sometimes resort to correlative/clausal type of

relativization for clarity or emphasis. For instance, if there is a variety of objects to choose from, the speaker might say to the hearer

    (4) niiku   eedi   kaawaaloo   adi   tiisukoo
           you to which want, dub.   that   take. refl. dub.
           'Take   whichever you want'.

In other situations participial relativization is preferred. In Telugu all native speakers prefer to use

    (5) (a) ninna occina abbaayi maa tammuḍu
               yesterday came boy our (excl.) younger brother
               'The boy who came yesterday is our brother'.

than using

       (b) ninna   ee   abbaayi occaaḍoo aa abbaayi
            yesterday which boy come. p. dub. that boy
            maa   tammuḍu
            our (excl.) younger brother
            'Whichever boy came yesterday he is our younger brother',

Thus children of this study were exposed to mostly participial type of relativization. Parents and other relatives of these children preferred to use the type referred to as periclausal type than clausal/correlative relativization, even in case of uncertainty, such as

       (c) ninna   occaaḍee   aa   abbaayi
            yesterday com. p. that that boy
            'The boy who came yesterday'.

rather than

       (d) ninna   ee abbaayi occaaḍoo aa   abbaayi
            yesterday which boy come. p. dub. that boy
            'Whichever boy came yesterday'.

DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIVIZATION IN CHILDREN

Before presenting the data on the development of relativization, the overall syntactic development of each child is given in Table 1 for a clear picture of each child's stage in the developmental process. Name, age group and sex of each child is specified for better understanding.

TABLE 1: SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDREN

Name	Swati	Kalyani	Pavan	Madhavi
Age	1;6–2;0	2;0–2;6	2;6–3;0	3;0–3;6
Sex	Girl	Girl	Boy	Girl

Swati

1. Halophrastic sentences were present at 1;6.
2. Telegraphic sentences of the following type were actively used from 1;6–1;8
   $$S \begin{Bmatrix} adj+N \\ N +N \end{Bmatrix}$$
   (i) adj + Noun (sub.)
   (ii) Noun + Noun
   (sub.)   (obj)
3. Two word simple sentences of the following type were used from 1;8–1;11
   $$S \begin{Bmatrix} Sub. + Verb \\ Obj. + Verb \end{Bmatrix}$$
4. Two/three word declarative, equative, imperative

Kalyani

1. No halophrastic sentences were present.
2. All simple sentence types in both affirmative and negative with different tenses were present from 2;0 onwards.
3. 2/3 word sentences were frequently used but more than three word sentences were also present in the data from 2;0–2;6.
4. Several sentences with head noun deletion were present from 2;0–2;6.

Pavan

1. All simple 3/4 word sentence types in affirmative and negative with different tenses were present from 2;6-3;0.
2. Development of co-ordination was specially interesting in this child. Identical NP/VP deletion seldom operated in his speech. He could express adversative relationship right from 2;6. He sometimes used coordinating word

Madhavi

1. All simple affirmative and negative sentence types with different tenses were present by 3;0. Passive sentences are rarely used in adult speech, therefore not found in any of the children's speech including Madhavi.
2. Development of co-ordination was similar to that of Kalyani and Pavan. Like Pavan Madhavi also used coordinating word *kuuḍa* 'also' for both

Swati	Kalyani	Pavan	Madhavi
and interrogative sentences were used from 1;9-1;11. 5. Two word negative sentences of the following type were present: N+Neg (1;6-1;8) Neg. = (i) Prohibitive (ii) Existential N+Neg. Verb (1;9-1;11) Word order was flexible. No compound or complex sentences were present.	5. Noun coordination was attempted earlier than verb coordination. 6. Use of explicit coordinate words started from 2;2. 7. Attempt to express adversative relationship was attempted at 2;4 in negative sentences. 8. Though coordination was attempted at 2;0 she was still in the process of acquiring it at 2;6. 9. Among subordination types perfective emerged first followed by durative and conditional in both affirmative and negative	*kuuḍa* 'also' in place of *kaani* 'but' due to his inability to understand that *kuuḍa* should be used only when there is compatibility between the verbs in question. He attempted clausal coordination also by juxtaposing the two sentences in question without using the coordinating word. 3. Subordination was used from 2;6 onwards. Perfective and conditional coordination were used more extensively than that of durative in both affirmative and negative sentences.	conjunction and disjunctionfrom 3;3-3;6. 3. Except concessive, Madhavi also had all the other types of subordination. 4. Several nonsensical but syntactically correct constructions were characteristic of her speech from 3;3 onwards. 5. Among the four children, Madhavi used longest sentences with several nonfinite verbs. 6. Unlike other children Madhavi succeeded in relativization. She could use participial relativization correctly. 7. She could use direct reporting but failed in

Swati	Kalyani	Pavan	Madhavi
	sentences. Still several times, the child failed to subordinate and used two simple sentences. Sometimes she wrongly used one type of subordination for the other, such as the use of perfective in place of conditional from 2;0-2;6.	4. Verbal noun subordination not found in Kalyani's speech emerged at 2;10 in Pavan's speech. Concessive sub-ordination was not found at all till 3;0.	indirect reporting though she tried hard.
	10. Relativization was attempted right from 2;0 onwards.	5. Pavan never got confused between perfective and conditional and never used one for the other as Kalyani did.	8. Interpretative sentences were rightly used by her for translating from Telugu to English and vice versa.
	11. Direct reporting was attempted by the child from 2;3 though not successfully. But the child had never attempted indirect reporting.	6. Pavan also attempted relativization but could not master it.	
		7. He could use direct reporting. He used syntactically correct but semantically incorrect interpretative sentences.	

It could be inferred from Table 1 that none of the children could master either coordination or subordination though all children, except the youngest Swati, attempted them from the commencement to the end of the data collection period.

Though none of the children, except the eldest child Madhavi, could succeed in relativization, all the four children knew the concept of relativization from a very young age. They could not subordinate one of the two sentences and relativize the phrase/clasuse. But they tried to express the relativized meaning through different methods. The whole process of relativization in children could be divided into different stages. To illustrate, the different stages are given below along with the data from each child's speech.

STAGE I: As a first step towards relativization Swati from 1;9-1;11 and Kalyani from 2;0-2;2 used elaborate description using several simple two-word sentences. The context in which the child uttered these sentences is given for better picture.

CONTEXT: When the child and the researcher were talking Swati's mother came home from school and gave her a chocolate. Swati refused to take it saying that she wants the ones brought by her father. She tried to express it in several two-word simple sentences as follows:

    (6) (a) oddu   oddu
              don't (want)   don't (want)

        (b) naanna   taakeet
              father   chocolate

        (c) aa taakeet   aa taakeet
              that chocolate that chocolate

When the mother pretended not to understand what the child meant then the child said

        (d) adi iy   adi iy
              that give that give

All these sentences put together meant 'I don't want this, give me the one brought by daddy'. The approximate adult form for the child's usage would be either of (e) or (f):

> (e) naanna teccina   caakleet iyyi
>   father brought   that chocolate give
>   'Give that chocolate which daddy has brought'
>
> (f) naanna teccaade aacaakleet iyyi
>   Daddy brought that chocolate give
>   'Give that chocolate that daddy has brought.'

Kalyani at 2;0 had used a similar device of elaborate description of the object which she wanted to relativize as in the following situation.

CONTEXT : Kalyani wanted the researcher to show a particular picture of a monkey holding a balance in its hands from the story book showed to her several times while narrating a story. When the picture of a different monkey was shown to her on a flash card, the child wanted the researcher to show that monkey shown to her earlier from the story book. To convey this message she used the following simple sentences.

> (7) (a) idi   oddu
>   this   don't
>   '(I) don't want this'.
>
> (b) oka bukloo undii
>   one book in to be
>   'There is one in the book'.
>
> (c) *nuw cuupiylaa reepu
>   you (sg.) show. caus. tomorrow
>   *'Didn't you show me tomorrow'?
>
> (d) aa kooti cuupiyyi
>   that monkey show
>   'Show (me) that monkey'.

The approximate adult form (AF) for these sentences would be

(e)   nuw idiwaraku   cuupincina   kooti   bomma
      you (sg.) before showed that   monkey   picture
      cuupincu
      show
      '(You) show me the picture of that moneky
      which you showed (to me) earlier'.

Though Swati and Kalyani used several simple sentences to convey relativized meaning there are certain differences between their use of simple sentences. Kalyani had not omitted verbs in sentences like Swati. Kalyani also added length along with rising intonation to verb *undi* 'to be' in (7.b) which suggests that the child is trying to relate the object used in both the sentences. The use of *reepu* 'tomorrow' in place of time adverbial of past, indicates laek of time concept and also absence of agreement between the different words used in a sentence. But it is interesting to note that both Swati and Kalyani used three or even four simple sentences one after the other to indicate relativization, whereas adults use a maximum of two sentences as an alternative to participial relative sentence type. The youngest child Swati could not go beyond this Stage I till the date collection was completed.

STAGE II : Kalyani at 2;3 entered into the Stage II in the development of relativization. In this stage the child used two simple sentences of which the verb of the first sentence was inflected with tag question clitics like *kadaa | leedaa* 'is it not' and attentive clitics like *cuuḍu* 'look/note'. The second sentence is related to the first sentence as its object. The clitic attached to the verb of the first sentence serves the exact purpose of a relativizer. In using this type, unlike in Stage I, the child presupposes the addressee's awareness of the object referred to by the child. Similar device was used by Pavan and Madhavi. This is illustrated below with the help of Kalyani, Pavan and Madhvi's data.

CONTEXT : Kalyani refused to put on a frock given by her mother and wanted to wear another one. When her mother asked which one the child wanted to wear, Kalyani tried to say the one

brought by daddy. She expressed this with the help of the following sentences :

>
> (8) (a) naanna dillininci cokkaa teeleedaa
> father Delhi from frock bring has't he
> teccaadu kadaa / teccaalu cuulu
> brought isn's it brought look
> 'Daddy brought a frock from Delhi, did n't he'?
>
> (b) aa cokkaa weesukunta
> that frock wear. refl. I
> 'I will wear that frock'.

The approximate adult form for this is

> (c) naanna dhillininci teccina cokkaa
> father Delhi from brought that frock
> weesukuntaanu
> wear refl. I
> 'I will wear that frock which daddy has brought from Delhi'.

CONTEXT : Pavan was describing the different toys and books he got as presents for his birthday. While talking about a book given by his uncle, the child said there is also a tiger in it. He said this as follows :

> (9) (a) maama pustakam teccaalu cuulu
> uncle book brought look
> 'Look, uncle brought a book'.
>
> (b) aa pustakamloo puli kuula undi
> that book in tiger also to be
> 'There is a tiger also in it.'

The equivalent adult form is as follows :

> (c) maama teccina pustakamloo puli kuudaa
> uncle brought that book in tiger also
> undi
> to be
> 'There is (picture of a) tiger also in the book brought by uucle.'

Madhavi also had several sentences of this type. The use of different clitics along with the verb by the child to link the two sentences and relate the object, clearly shows an intermedfary stage in the development of relativization, though Usharani (1980) classifies similar sentences with emphatic clitic *ee* illustrated in (3 b) as peri-clausal type.

Children in this Stage II of development attempted ralativization of time adverbial besides direct object relativization. This is illustrated from Kalyani, Pavan and Madhavi's speech.

CONTEXT : Kalyani was referring to some incident that happened when the researcher visited her last, but when the researcher pretended as though she forgot the visit, the child said the following sentences, to remind her.

> (10) (a) neenu eedcaanappudu
>   'I cried then'.
>
> (b) appudu oceaaw
>   then   came (you)
>   'Then you came'.

The equivalent adult form would be as follows

> (c) neenu eedcinappudu (nuwwu) occaaw
>   I   cried then you (sg) came
>   'You came when I cried'.

CONTEXT : While showing his childhood photographs to the researcher Pavan pointed to the one in which he wore a mark on his forehead and said,

> (11) (a) neenu cinnaypooyaa
>   I small became
>   'I became small'.
>
> (b) idigo appudu bottu pettu kunna
>   look here then mark put refl. 1sg.
>   'Look, then I wore the mark on my forehead'.

The approximate adult form would be as follows :

> (c) neenu cinnappudu bottu pettukunnaanu
> I small then mark put. refl. 1sg
> 'When I was small I wore a mark on my
> forehead'.

Similarly the eldest child Madhavi also like Kalyani and Pavan could not succeed in adverbial relativization. She also used two simple sentences of which the second had a time adverbial referring to the first sentence to convey relativized meaning.

CONTEXT : The researcher casually asked the child when she got the holes made in the ears to wear ear rings. The child said.

> (12) (a) ammamma pettindi appudu
> grand mother placed then
> 'Grand mother then placed'.
>
> (b) misanwaadu raaleedaa appudu pettindi
> tailor to come. neg clitic then placed
> 'Hasn't the tailor come then (she) placed'.

The approximate adult form would be

> (c) misan waadu occinappudu ammamma
> tailor came then grand mother
> kuttineindi
> stitch. caus. 3 sg. n-m.
> 'Grand mother got (them) stitched when the
> tailor came'.

Madhavi used *misanwaadu* 'tailor' wrongly in place of *kamsaaliwaadu* 'goldsmith'. This was because she associated the word *kuttu* 'to stitch' with a tailor. Getting holes made in the ears is called *cewulu kuttatam* which literally means 'stitching the ears'. But it is idiomatically used as 'piercing the ears to wear ear rings'. This is traditionally done by a goldsmith though doctors are slowly taking over the job in

urban areas. Since she associated the word *kuṭṭu* with a tailor she said *missanwaadu* 'tailor' though it was a goldsmith that did the job.

Madhavi's use of *peṭṭindi* '(she) placed' in place of a causative verb *kuṭṭincindi* '(she) got it done' shows the lack of discrimination between transitive and causative verbs. All the other three children also failed to distinguish between transitive and causative verbs.

At this stage the sentences rendered by children were almost same as the sentences represented in the deep structure for an adult relative clause. The only difference between the deep structure of an adult sentence and children's sentences is the addition of a clitic to the first sentence to relate both the sentences.

STAGE III : Among the four children who attempted relativization only the eldest child Madhavi at 3;3 could succeed in participial/ phrasal relativization and thus entered into stage III of the relativization process. Though she also failed to relativize several sentences and used two simple sentences as illustrated in Stage II, she had almost equal number of instances where she could successfully relativize and use participial relativization.

Some examples from her data where $CF = AF$, are as follows :

> (13)   naanna teccina kotta bomma irigipooyindi
>   father brought that new doll broke away
>   'The new doll that daddy brought broke away'.
> (14)   naa daggara ṭiicariccina pustakam undi
>   I near teacher that given book to be
>   'I have got that book given (to me) by the teacher'.

Thus Madhavi is the only child who could enter into Stage III of relativization process. She too could not relativize the time adverbial and continued to use two simple sentences.

Subject relativization, though posssble, is very infrequent in adult speech. This could be the plausible reason for its absence

in Kalyani and Pavan's speech. Only Madhavi attempted it at 3;5.

CONTEXT : Madhavi came home running and shouted with great excitement that an uncle had come to the school to pick her up, saying,

(15) (a) ammaa, maama maa kuulki occaadu
           mother uncle our (excl.) school to came
           'Mummy, uncle came to our school'.

When her mother asked which uncle, she said as follows :

(b) aa rooju duk duk mootar saykil miida
     that day type of noise motor cycle on
     raala aa maama
     come clitic that uncle
     'Hasn't he come on motor cycle that day? , that uncle'.

The approximate adult form would be

(e) aa rooju mootar saykil miida occina
     that day motor cycle on came that
     maama maa skuulki occaadu
     uncle our school to came
     'The uncle who came on motor cycle that day had come to our school'.

One of the plausible reasons for the absence of the attempt to relativize the subject in the other children could be due to the curious tendency to delete the head noun. This was found in Kalyani's speech in several sentences right from 2;0-2;6. This was noted to some extent in Swati and Pavan's speech also but neither of them had as many sentences with head noun deletion as Kalyani had in her speech. Some such sentences are illustrated below from Kalyani's data.

CONTEXT : Kalyani was quite thrilled to note that she and the researcher had the same book She started to compare the contents of one book with the other. In that context she told

the researcher that she has grapes in her book and asked the
researcher to show in her book.   For this she said as follows :

(16)   (a)   *naalo daacca undi niiloo cuupiyyi
             me in grapes to be your in show
             *'There are grapes in me, show (me) in you'.

The approximate adult form would be as follows :

       (b)   naa bukloo greeps unnaay nii bukloo
             my book in grapes to be (pl.) your book in
             cuupincu
             show (cause)
             'There are grapes in my book, show me in
             your book'.

CONTEXT :   Kalyani got a doll as a present from her father's
Russian friend.   He was referred to as Russia uncle in her
house while talking to the child.   When the researcher asked the
child about the doll she said

(17)   (a)   *rassya iccaadu
             Russia give. p. 3sg. m.
             'Russia has given'.

The approximate adult form to represent what the child meant
would be as follows :

       (b)   rassya ankul iccaadu / rassia ninci
             Russia uncle gave Russia from
             occina ankul iccaadu
             came that uncle gave
             'Russia uncle has given / the uncle who came
             from Russia has given'.

The reason for the head noun deletion in children in general
and especially in Kalyani could be due to role identification.

     Thus based on the data it could be said that children first
attempted direct object relativization followed by time adverbial
relativization.   Subject relativization though possible, is very

infrequent in both adult and child language. No child of this study attempted clausal / correlative relativization till the end of the data collection period.

A review of the literature on children's use of relative clause constructions revealed that Slobin (1971), Gaer (1969) and Brown (1971) pointed out that branching (that is, object relativization) is easier than center embedded (subject relativization) ones. Lahey (1974) and Sheldon (1974) did not support this claim. The data of the present study also point out that children acquired object relativization earlier than subject relativization. This also differs with the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie (1977) given below :

The order of accessibility is subject < direct object < indirect object < object of preposition < possessive noun phrase < object of comparative particle. This hierarchy represents a revival of the traditional grammatical notions of subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique, genetive and object of comparison. Usharani (1980) noted that in Telugu subject, direct and indirect objects can be freely relativized. Among object of preposition some are not relativizable. Among the possessive noun phrases (genetives), very few could be relativized. Object of comparison cannot be relativized at all. The order given by Keenan and Comrie does not reflect in children's acquisition. As noted earlier, children acquired object relativization earlier than subject relativization. This could be due to the fact that object relativization is more frequently used than subject and other types in adult Telugu speech. Laxmi Bai also in an unpublished paper on Tamil-Telugu bilingual child's acquistition has noted that object relativization precedes subject relativization.

Besides tracing the different stages of relativization in children, this paper supports the language acquisitional universal that what is more frequent in adult speech is acquired earlier by the child (acquisition of participial / phrasal type earlier than correlative / clausal). Based on the assumption of several researchers that universal rules appear earlier in child speech

than language specific rules, the data of this study differ with
the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy of Keenan and Comrie
1977). Children of this study acquired object relativization
before attempting subject relativization.

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COLOPHON

NON-DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN MANDA SYNTAX :
A STUDY IN LINGUISTIC CONVERGENCE

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A synchronic comparison of Manda grammar with other Dravidian languages like Parji, Gondi, Kolami, Telugu or Tamil indicates the existence of certain non-Dravidian construction types in this language. One is forced to guess that Manda might have acquired such non-native patterns through its contact with Munda and Indo-Aryan languages. This paper attempts to identify and describe some of the non-indigenous characteristics of Manda and to hint at their plausible source from contact situation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Manda is a member of the South Central Dravidian spoken by about 6,000 people forming a section of the Kondh tribe inhabiting the highlands of Thuamul Rampur in Kalahandi district, Orissa.[1] Apart from Manda, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Indi/Awe (which is recently identified, cf. Reddy : 1981) are the other members of the Kondh subgroup. These five languages can be termed as Kondh languages in view of their cultural homogenity and linguistic distinctiveness (cf. Reddy, 1981). They are spoken

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in the districts of Phulbani, Koraput, Kalahandi and Ganjam
of Orissa. The major regional language of the area is
Oriya and the Kondhs form a minor linguistic group. Most of
the adults are bilinguals, speaking their mother tongue and
Desia, the local Oriya dialect.

The districts of Ganjam and Koraput are also the home of
such Munda languages as Savara, Parengi, Remo, Didei and
Gutob-Gadaba. In other words, the Kondh languages are in
geographical proximity with the South Munda group of
languages as well. Thus there is a typical Indian linguistic area
situation where languages belonging to three different families are
in active contact with each other. In such a situation a member
belonging to any particular family is a potential candidate to be
influenced by the other two groups of languages. Manda, along
with other Kondh languages, is one such candidate which has
acquired alien linguistic features through structural borrowing
from the contiguous Munda and Indo-Aryan languages. The
non-native element is spread throughout the Manda structure –
lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. This paper is
confined to the investigation of the last two areas and focuses
on the syntactic part of the influence.

A synchronic comparison of the verbal syntax of these
Kondh languages with that of other Dravidian languages like
Telugu, Tamil or Gondi reveals certain processes which
atonce strike one as aberrant (i. e. deviant) with regard
to common Dravidian structural patterns. This paper attempts
to identify some of these non–Dravidian grammatical features
prevalent in Manda and to describe their syntax and semantics.
Finally it also points out the possible non-Dravidian orgin for
each trait within the language contact situation in Central India.

Manda was indentified as a separate language by Burrow
and Bhattacharya in 1964 and the lexical items
recorded by them appear in the *Dravidian Etymological
Dictionavy : Supplement*.

My own fieldwork and analyses show that Manḍa is basically a Dravidian language in its lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. For example, if we take some of the syntactic features that are typical of any Dravidian language such as verb final with SOV unmarked word order, subject agreement, occurrence of modifier (including relative) before the head noun, postpositional phrases, auxiliary following the main verb, non-finite preceding a finite verbal construction that are the same in Manḍa as in other Dravidian languages. At the morphological level a finite verb in Manḍa is segmentable into the root + tense-mode suffix + pronominal element, in that order, as in other Dravidian languages.

In the following paragraphs I wish to identify the non - Dravidian element in Manḍa by comparing it (synchronically) with other Dravidian structures, to describe the special or peculiar features, indicating the origin or source of diffusion in the neighbouring non-Dravidian languages.

2. SPEECH-ACT PARTICIPANT INCORPORATION

It is a characteristic feature of transitive verbs in Manḍa to incorporate a particle immediately after the root whenever the direct or indirect object of a given construction happens to be first and/or second person singular or plural. There is no such derivational marker of incorporation if the object (direct or indirect) is a third person. Compare the (a) and (b) in (1) and (2) :

(1) (a) evan / naṅka / maṅka / niṅka / miṅka
      he   me   us   you(sg) you (pl)
      pih - *ta* - t - un
      leave past he
      'He left me / us / you.'

(b) evan evanka / edelka / evahiṅka /
      he   him   her   them (women)
      eetka / eevka   pih - t - un
      it   them (neuter) leave past he
      'He left him / her / it /them.'

(2)   (a)   evan nanka / manka / ninka / minka
              he   me   us   you(sg) you (pl)
              ru   kata   ves-*sa*-t-un
              one story tell past he

              'He told me / us / you a story.'

        (b)   evan   evanka / evarka / edelka / evahinka
                     him   them (men) her them (women
              eetka / eevka   ru   kata ves-t-un
              it   them (neuter) one story tell past he

              'He told him / her / it / them a story.'

The verb conjugation shows that the finite verb in the (a)
instances has an extra element-*ta* /-*sa* which is absent in the (b)
instances. What is the semantic factor correlating with the
presence or absence of this formal element ? The main difference
between the (a) and (b) instances pertains to the semantic
nature of the object (direct or indirect) involved. In (1) (a) the
direct object refers to the speaker and / or hearear(s) and so
does the indirect object in (2) (a), whereas the object in (1) (b)
has reference to an entity other than the speaker-hearer(s).
In other words, the speech–act participants of speaker and
hearer(s) are given a special status in the grammar of Manda
by marking them in the verb whenever they appear in the
grammatical function of object. The non–participant object
pronouns are unmarked on the verb. This also suggests that
Manda grammar treats the speaker and hearer as a single
unit in matters of reference in the object position, and the
distinction of pronouns into personal and non-personal is a
semantically oriented phenomenon in the language.

The incorporation of speech–act participant in Manda is
not confined to the direct and indirect object alone. It is found
with such other grammatical functions as Place, Goal, Benefactive
and Experiencer. Whenever a personal pronoun appears in any
of these semantic roles, the verb automatically indicates it by a
derivational suffix.

2. 1 PLACE

    (3)   (a)   hiimna   naa   kuuna-ña   kuh-*ta*-y
                child   my   lap   on   sit past it
                'The child sat on my lap.'

          (b)   hiimna   edel   kuuna-ña   kuh-i
                child   her   lap on sit past it
                'The child sat on her lap.'

    (4)   (a)   evan   nii   gaagar-ta   dum-*da*-n-un
                he   your   back   on   climb future he
                'He will climb on your back.'

          (b)   evan   aya   gaagar-ta   dum-n-un
                He   mother back on climb future he
                'He will climb on the mother's back.'

Here in (3) (a), the speech-act participants' body-part is the simple location or place of the action identified by the verb and hence marked by the particles - *ta* /-*da*.

2. 2 GOAL

If the destination of a moving entity is a speech-act participant, the Manda verb marks this again by adding the particle to the verb root.

    (5)   (a)   naa   kan-ta   tulve   ree-*da*-y
                my   eye in   dust   fall past
                'Dust fell in my eyes.'

          (b)   evan   kan-ta   tulve   ree-yi
                his   eye in   dust fall past
                'Dust fell in his eyes.'

    (6)   (a)   veleñ   naa   kaal-ta   ad-*da*-n-iñ
                thorns my   foot in   break future they
                (lit : Thorns will break in my foot)
                'Thorns will pierce my foot.'

          (b)   veleñ evan kaal-ta   ad-n-iñ
                thorns his   foot in   break future they
                'Thorns will pierce his foot.'

2.3 BENEFACTIVE

In case an action is carried out for the benefit or pleasure of the speech-act participant, this notion of receipient is also grammaticalized on the verb through this particle.

(7)   (a)   evan   il   je-*ta*-t-un
            he   house   open   past   he
            'He opened the door for me / us / you .'

      (b)   evan   il   je-t-un
            he   house   open past he
            'He opened the door.'

2.4 EXPERIENCER or PATIENT

Whenever a speech-act participant undergoes a physical or emotional strain or experience, the Manda verb encapsulates the notion in its verb morphology.

(8)   (a)   ineliṅ   naṅka   kapṛa   nuu-*da*-y
            yesterday   me-to   head   pain   past   it
            (lit : Yesterday head ached to me)
            'I had a head-ache yesterday.'

      (b)   ineliṅ   evanka   kapṛa   nuu-yi
            yesterday   him   to   head   pain past it
            'He had a head-ache yesterday'.

(9)   (a)   niṅka   aṅlaṅ   je-*ta*-n-iṅ-ba
            you to yawnings occur future they are
            (Lit : Yawnings are happening to you)
            'You are yawning.'

      (b)   evanka   aṅlaṅ   je-ṇ-iṅ-ba
            him to yawnings occur future they are
            'He is yawning.'

The incorporation of speech-act participant reference on to the verb is a common, but a peculiar feature of the Kondh languages. In his analysis of Kui, Winfield (1928 : 101-111)

christened this trait as 'first and second person transition particle.' Fitzgerald (1913 : 40-91) labelled it as 'direct' construction in Kuvi ; while Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970 : 76-82) prefer to call it a 'special base' focussing on the verb conjugation. Emeneau's suggestion of 'personal object base' seems to be a more revealing label (1975 : 20).

The (a) instances in (1) through (9) which exhibit the reference of participants incorporated in the verb, have no parallels in Dravidian outside the Kondh languages. Telugu, for example, does not show any difference in the verb conjugation whether the object refers to personal or non-personal pronouns :

(10) raamudu manal-ni / waalla-nu
Rama we acc. they-acc
cuus-inaa-du
see past he
'Rama saw us/them'.

In other words, object incorporation can not be postulated as a common characteristic of the Dravidian family.

Cross-reference of pronominal direct and indirect objects in the verb with respect to their person, number and animacy is a characteristic feature of the Munda languages (cf. Bhattacharya, 1975). These languages contain pronominal affixes (distinct from pronoun) which serve the exclusive function of marking object incorporation. On the basis of pronominal incorporation, the Munda languages can be classified into three major types :

(i)   Those with object incorporation prevailing in all the three persons, e. g. Santali (Bodding, 1929), Mundari and other North Munda languages.
(ii) Those with no object incorporation at all, e. g. Remo (Bondo), Didei (Gataq), Gutob-Gadaba and Kharia.
(iii) Those with the object incorporation restricted to first and second persons only, e g. Savara, Parengi (Gorum) and Juang (cf. Bhattacharya, 1975).

It is the last situation that finds a parallel in Manda (and other Kondh languages), namely, restricting the object incorporation

to the index of speech-act partners at the exclusion of the non-participant pronouns.[2]

Savara and Parengi have separate suffixes of incorporation for first and second person, (singular and plural) whereas the particles of participant incorporation in Manda are phonologically determined morphological variants. However, structural similarity to the underlying semantic domain of the constructions is the point in focus. Observe the resemblances of meaning and structural patterns between the (a) instances of (1)-(9) and the following Savara and Parengi sentences in (11) through (16).

(11)   anin gij-*iñ*-t-een
        he   see me did
        'He saw me.'   Savara (Ramamurti, 1939:43)

(12)   ming e-nom t'anka-bo?y ne-ta?y-*om*
        I   to you rupee one I   gave you
        'I gave you a rupee.'
                           Parengi (Aze, 1973:249)

(13)   bubong-di e-ning oting-t-*i?ng*
        baby   to me lean future me
        'The baby will lean against me.'
                           Parengi (Aze, 1973: 254)

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2. Manda and other Kondh languages are in geographical contiguity with South Munda languages like Savara and Parengi in Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa. But I have not come across any Manda speaker who has any knowledge of any of the Munda languages. However, there might have a period when the Kondh speakers were active bilinguals (being proficient in a Kondh and a Munda language) and the bidirectional borrowing has taken place extensively. On the one hand the Kondh languages have parallelism in interlocutors incorporation with that of Savara and Parengi, on the other Remo, Didei and Gutob-Gadaba are like the Dravidian and Iodo-Aryan languages in having no object incorporation at all.

(14)   booten   poo-kun-puṅ-*am*-teen ?
          who   stab knife belly you did
          'Who has stabbed you in the belly with a knife?'

<div align="right">Savara (Ramamurti, 1931:25)</div>

(15)   e-ning   tay-ing
          to me give me
          'You give it for me.'

<div align="right">Parengi   (Aze, 1973: 276)</div>

(16)   udubum   e-ning   dat'am   ada?-r-*ing*-ay
          yesterday to me   much   thirst past me
          'Yesterday I was very thirsty.'

<div align="right">Parengi (Aze, 1973 : 263).</div>

From the foregoing description, it can be seen that among the languages of different families in Central India, only the Munda languages have the trait of pronominal object incorporation. This feature is further constrained in Savara and Parengi wherein it applies only to the speech-act participant incorporation. Manda and other Kondh languages have probably adopted this feature through structural borrowing in their long association with the Koraput Munda group.

3. DISTAL ACTION

The location of speech–act participants forms the central point in the derivation of spatial adverbs like 'here' and 'there'. In Manda the physical space is distinguished into a three-term system :

iiba	'here'
uuba	'there (visible)'
eeba	'there (non-visible).'

In other words, there is a basic two-fold division of proximate and distal and the latter in turn shows a dichotomous distinction on the criterion of visibility (i. e. whether an entity is visible or not to the speech-act partners).

In Manda there is an interesting semantic notion of relating any action or process (identified by the verb) with the location of the speech-act participants. If any action or process occurs in the proximity of the interlocutors it is left unmarked on the verb. Whenever an action is carried out at a place away from the location of the speaker-hearer, this distal action is grammaticalized in the verb by a particle *-ka/-ga*. For this purpose the entire physical world is conceived of as proximate *iiba* 'here' versus distal *uuba* and *eeba* 'there'.

(17) (a) sanatan juypeṭiya eeba / uuba iḍ-*ga*-n-un
                       match box there put there fu. he
           'Sanatan will put the matches there.'

      (b) sanatan juypeṭiya iiba iṭ-n-un
                       match box here put fu. he
           'Sanatan will put the matches here.'

(18) (a) buuṛa taamji-ka ṭaakaṅ hii-*ka*-t-un
           old man his son to rupees give there past he
           'The old man gave money to his son there.'

      (b) buuṛa taamji-ka ṭaakaṅ hii-t-un
           'The old man gave money to his son (here).'

(19) (a) naaguṛ-ta   buuḍayki-*ka*-t-ir
           river in   immerse there past they
           'They immersed (it) in the river (there).'

      (b) iiba buuḍayki-t-ir
           here immerse past they
           'They immersed (it) here.'

The (a) instances in (17) to (19) with the *-ka/-ga* particle can also be taken as consisting the meaning of 'moving away from the speaker-hearer's location' before the main action identified by the verb is implemented. This was the motivation in labelling the indicators of this feature (in other Kondh languages) as motion particle (cf. Winfield, 1928 : 111; Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1970 : 85).

Dravidian languages outside the Kondh group do not encapsulate the distal action in the verb. The semantic feature of action occurring in a place other than speech–act participants' location' is grammaticalized only in Kondh languages. There exists parallel structures of 'distal action' in Savara and Parengi, two of the Munda languages in contact with Kondh languages. While analysing Parengi, Aze (1973 : 274) has identified this process as remoteness by saying "The action occurs in a different place than where the speaker is". Compare the following Parengi examples with (17) to (19) of Manda :

    (20) (a) no?n o?an la?-t-*ay*
                he   dance hit future
                'He will do a dance (over there).'

        (b) no?n o?an la?-tu
                he   dance hit future
                'He will dance (somewhere).'

Manda and other Kondh languages have been influenced by the neighbouring Munda languages to indicate remote action by a cross—reference on the verb.

4. PLURAL ACTION

Another interesting semantic feature of 'repeated or intensified action' is reflected in the Manda verb conjugation by the particle -*pa*/-*ba*. A Manda speaker is very particular in distinguishing whether a process or an action involves a single or many individuals and whether an act is performed only once or many times. Observe the semantic nuances in the following sentences :

    (21) (a) taa vaani-ka ven-*ba*-n-un
                his wife to ask many times fut. he
                'He will ask his wife (repeatedly).'

        (b) taa vaani-ka ven-n-un
                his wife to ask fu. he
                'He will ask his wife.'

If one questions a person more than once the Manda verb has
to distinguish it in the morphology.

> (22) ru   peeṇḍa   kaaṇḍiṅ-ka   pap-*ka*-t-eri
>   one   bundle   bamboos acc.   split many past they
>   'They split a bundle of bamboos.'

Here the action of splitting is repeated, as the target involved
is not a single bamboo but a bundle. Even if a single bamboo
is split many times the verb will still mark the multiplicity
of the act, as is the case with the verb 'swallow' in (23)

> (23) evan   eeyu   guh-*pa*-t-un
>   he   water   swallow many times past he
>   'He swallowed the water many times.'

A habitual or frequentative action is also denoted by the same
verbal particle

> (24) aane   dinapati   tuugeṅ   tin-*ba*-t-u
>   I   daily   wild figs eat repeat past I
>   'I used to eat the figs daily.'

The semantic domain covered by the -*pa/-ba* particles, is taken
care of by adverbials in other Dravidian languages, whereas
in Savara a range of this distinction is expressed by an
auxiliary verb *laṅ*

> (25) aniṅ   kan-kan-*laṅ*-t-e-n
>   'He abuses all people (i. e. it is his habit or
>   nature to abuse)'
>   (Ramamurti, 1931 : 28).

This apparent non-Dravidian feature of grammaticalizing the
plural action through verb conjugation is a diffusion from
Munda to the Kondh languages.

So far we have looked at three of the non-Dravidian
syntactic patterns in Manda whose origin can be traced to
the adjacent Munda languages. There are some more

features in Manda syntax which might have developed under the influence of neighbouring Munda languages. For example the vigesimal numeral system in Manda is a good representative of this, as neither the general Dravidian nor the Indo-Aryan has such a system. Only Manda has acquired it from the Munda group. However, I do not propose to go into the details of this feature here and would like to turn our attention to a few of the syntactic characteristics that Manda has borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages.

5. QUOTATIVE -ki/-gi

Manda has certain syntactic structures which resemble the Indo-Aryan patterns. One such trait is the borrowing and use of the quotative marker -ki/-gi 'that' :

> (26) naatanar isir gi "iin maajan aati"
> Villagers said that you rich man became
> 'The villagers told (him) "you are a rich man."

> (27) edaak taaba isun gi "ning kapaal laavu"
> at that his father said that to you brain not exist
> 'For that his father said "you have no brain."

These sentences resemble the Indo-Aryan type as found in such Hindi phrases as *usne kahaa ki* 'He said that'. In Dravidian such reportative or quotative constructions are formed with the aid of a verb of speaking *anu* 'to say' after the report, as in the following Telugu example.

> (28) raamayya reepu vastaadu *ani*
> Ramayya tomorrow come will having said
> siita saroojatoo ceppindi
> Sita Saroja with said she
> 'Sita told Saroja that Ramayya will come tomorrow'.

6. CONJUNCTOR aar / aare

In Dravidian languages the conjunction of two nouns or noun phrases is achieved by suffixing a conjunctor to each of the NPs as – *um* in Tamil.

> (29)   raamanum   mohanum   vandaanga
> Rama and Mohan and   came
> 'Raman and Mohan arrived'.

On the other hand, the Indo-Aryan languages use the conjunctor *aur* 'and' to conjoin the two NPs, as in the following Hindi example.

> (30)   raam   aur   mohan   calegaye
> Ram   and   Mohan   left
> 'Ram   and   Mohan have left.'

Manda has borrowed the conjunctor *aar* from Oriya and uses it in consonance with the Indo – Aryan pattern for nominal conjunction as in (31) and (32).

> (31)   burka aar eenpatinbanan ranta hasiñ
> tiger and beggar   forest in went
> 'The tiger and the beggar went to the forest'.

> (32)   kuuliñ aar teeleñ tayi
> paddy and maize brought she
> 'She brought paddy and maize.'

The coordination of two clauses, in Telugu and other Dravidian languages, is expressed by rendering the first action verb into a conjunctive (participial) construction followed by the finite (main) verb.

> (33)   aame vadlu danci annam vandindi
> she paddy having pounded rice cooked she
> 'She pounded the paddy and cooked the food.'

Manda has adopted the Indo-Aryan syntactic mechanism of coordinating the finite forms of both the constructions by the use of the coordinator *aare* 'and', as in the following examples :

(34)   uhi   aar   vanji
        pounded and cooked she
        'She pounded (the grain) and cooked (food).'

(35)   evan naatanarka aartun ɛ are vesun
        He villagers to called and said
        'He called the villagers and told (them).'

(36)   nanka pihtatun aar hasun
        me leave me past he and go past he
        'He left me and went away.'

Thus it is very likely that Manda has borrowed the mechanism of conjoining the phrases and coordinating the clauses from the Indo-Aryan.

7· TAG QUESTION gi

It is a well-known fact that in Dravidian the tag question is expressed by the clitic -aa added at the end of a word, phrase or a sentence. Manda also has a similar structural pattern, but for some unknown reason it has borrowed the Indo-Aryan tag-question marker *ki* and uses it in place of the Dravidian form.

        (37)   naa dukra jiiban aa-n-un gi?
                my husband life become fu. be question
                'Will my husband become alive?'

        (38)   aan eentihi iine tananta vaadi gi?
                I dance if you below come you question
                'Will you come down if I dance?'

This looks like a simple replacement of a Dravidian grammatical functor by that of an Indo-Aryan equivalent, as the structure still remains typically Dravidian.

8. CONCLUDING NOTE

In the foregoing description I have presented some of the morpho-syntactic features of Manḍa that appear to be non-Dravidian in their structure and function. They include (1) Speech-act participant incorporation (2) Distal action (3) Plural action (4) Quotative *ki/gi* (5) Conjunctor *aar/aare* and (6) Tag question *gi*. I have tried to show the structural similarities between Manḍa and Munda languages for the first three features, and between Manḍa and Indo-Aryan for the latter three.

Borrowing between languages is a common linguistic trait that can be found in any two languages in contact. But one can set up a hierarchy for the realm of influence of one group over the other group of languages. Out of the linguistic structure of lexicon, phonology and grammar; the influence of a non-native language spreads from lexicon through phonology to grammar. In other words, lexicon is much more susceptible for borrowing than phonology, and phonology than grammar. When the influence is noticed at the grammatical level, as is the case with Manḍa, one can presume that the other two levels are also influenced. This can be represented as in (39)

(39) Lexicon < phonology < grammar.

The influence of Indo-Aryan on Dravidian structures has been dealt upon by such eminent scholars as Robert Caldwell M. B. Emereau. T. Burrow, M. S. Andronov and others. In the last three sections of this paper I have only brought out some new facts in the area of syntax. Apart from these three, the accusative and dative syncretism in Manḍa can also be attributed to the Indo-Aryan influence.

Regaiding my contention that the Manḍa features of speech-act partners incorporation, distal action and plural action have their origin in Munda languages, I could offer only the synchronic facts from the two groups of languages. No historical records are available either for Kondh or for Munda languages,

The only available course is to compare Manda structures with other Dravidian and show where the former are deviant and then point out the source of influence. The Dravidian and Munda speakers have been living in close proximity in Central India for millions of years. Inevitably they have influenced each others culture, language and philosophy of life. In this regard Bhattacharya (1975a:202) remarks "... and commonness of habitat from early times, is likely to have produced a state of biculturism among them. Some degree of bilingualim was an inevitable result of this biculturism, which in its turn must have produced an area of linguistic agreements between these two ethnic sections in this area."

Thus it can be seen that in matters of object incorporation the direction of convergence is from the Munda to the Kondh languages. My attempt here has been to hit at some new problems in the Dravido-Munda linguistic area. Ultimately, the facts presented here will form a subarea within Emeneau's theory of India as a linguistic area (1980a).

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NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT

Award of research degrees

M. PHIL:

Rama Rao, K. Phonology and morphology of Koya language (Supervisor: Dr. C. Ramarao). Vishweshwer Rao, P. L. Language press in India with special reference to Telugu newspapers: readership profile, language structure and comprehension (Supervisor; Dr. Bh. Krishnamurti). Usha Rani, A. Relativization in Telugu.(Supervisor: Dr. C. Ramarao).

International Conference

The Department hosted the Second International Conference on South Asian Languages and Linguistics from the 9th to 11th January, 1980. Nearly 300 delegates attended the Conference from India and abroad. Countries represented in the Conference include Bangladesh, India, Japan, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, United Kingdom, U. S. A., U. S. S. R. and others. Around 75 papers on various aspects of South Asian languages were presented and discussed during the three days. The Department has brought out a souvenir containing abstracts of papers on the occasion. The proceedings of the Conference are being published under the editorship of Dr. Bh. Krishnamurti.

Visiting Scholars and Lectures

(1) Professor Charles A. Ferguson of Stanford University, Calif., and Professor Shirley Brice Heath of University of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania were invited as Visiting Professors in the Department of Linguistics at Osmania University for a month, January 1-31, 1980.

Professor Charles Ferguson gave a special course of lectures on the following topics : 1. Research in language Universals and area universals 2. Talking to a child—a search for universals 3. Phonological processes in language acquisition. Professor Ferguson also conducted a three-day seminar on Diglossia from January 16-18, 1980.

Professor Shirley Brice Heath of Univ. of Philadelphia, delivered a special course of lectures on : 1. Language spread and language planning 2. Ethnography of communication and literacy events 3. Child language : acquisition of uses and functions.

(2) Professors David L. Stampe (Fellow, National Endowment for the Humanities, USA) and Patricia Jane Donegan (Research Associate. Ohio State University, USA) delivered three lectures on 'Introduction to Natural Phonology', 'Speech Production' and 'Speech Perception' on 26, 27 and 28 February, 1980 in the Department.

(3) Professor P. S. Subrahmanyam,Professor of Linguistics Annamalai University was a Visiting Professor of Comparative Dravidian in the department for a period of 8 weeks, March 20-May 20, 1980.

(4) Professor Peter Trudgill, Associate Professor in the Department of Linguistic Science, University of Reading, England was appointed a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Linguistics for a period of two months, July-August 1980. Professor Trudgill organised a Seminar-cum-Workshop on 'Methods of Research in Sociolinguistics with special reference to Indian languages' from July 21 to August 15, 1980. Several institutions have deputed scholars for this Seminar-cum-Workshop.

(5) Professor Michael Halliday, Professor of Linguistics, University of Sydney, Australia delivered a lecture on 'Language Acquisition and Organization of Discourse' on 27-10-1980.

(6) Dr. Rocky V. Miranda, University of Minnesota delivered two lectures- Syntactic convergence of Konkani

towards Kannada' on 28-8-1980 and 'Temporal compensation and phonetic change : the case of compensatory lengthening in Hindi' on 29-8-1980

(7) Professor H. S. Biligiri, Professor of Linguistics, University of Bombay gave a special lecture on 'Distortion of words in rhymes ; a taxonomic study' on the 12th September, 1980.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

RAMA RAO, K. *Phonology and morphology of Koya language* (M. Phil dissertation, 1980).

The present study is a linguistic analysis of Koya, a tribal dialect of the South Central Dravidian group. The introduction provides a basic background information about Koya people and their cultural life. The chapter on sounds of Koya sets up the following segmental phonemes for Koya :

Vowels : i, ii, e, ee, a, aa, o, oo, u, uu

consonants : p b t d ṭ ḍ c j k g s m n ṇ r l v y

Contrast and distributions of these phonemes is given along with the combination of consonants and vowels. Certain frequent morphophonemic changes are also detailed with illustrations.

Under noun phrase the grammatical categories of noun, pronoun, attributive and numeral are introduced and their morphological analysis is attempted. Under noun the categories of gender, number, oblique and other case forms and postpositions are discussed Pronouns and pronominal suffixes and their morphophonemic variations are dealt with in some detail.

The chapter on verb phrase gives the verb morphology in as much detail as possible. The verb stem is divided into monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic on the basis of its phonolagical structure. The root is also classified into intransitive, transitive and causative showing the derivation of the latter

92

from the former. The presence of verbal augments is an interesting
feature of Koya. The morphological markers of tense and
personal suffixes on the verb and their variants are given. The
tense is distinguished into past versus non-past. The verbal
aspect of durative, prohibitive, permissive, obligative, potential,
hortative and habitual get their due attention. The negative
verb and its morphology completes the subsection on finite
verb. Under non-finite verb the imperfective, conditional,
concessive relative participle, gerundive and their negative
forms are presented.

The final chapter enumerates the connectives and clitics with
illustrations to show their semantic range. A list of vocabulory
is appended to the dissertation.

VISHWESHWER RAO, P. L. *Language press in India with special
reference to Telugu newspapers: readership profile, language
structure and comprehension* (M. Phil dissertation, 1980).

The main purpose of the study was to examine the present
position of the language press in India with special reference to
Telugu daily newspapers. The study aimed at making an indepth
analysis of the readership dimensions of the language newspapers.
The purpose was also to study the socio-economic profile of the
rural Telugu newspaper readers and their media habits. A
content analysis of leading Telugu dailies was carried out to
analyse the coverage given to different categories ef news and
compare the fiindings with the preferences of the readers. The
aim was also to study the degrees of comprehension of the
language used in the Telugu daily newspapers and identify
the factors that block such comprehension. The structure
of the language used in Telugu newspapers was briefly studied
and also the problems in comprehending the language with
reference to the pitfalls of translation from English to Telugu.
The linguistic features that distinguish the newspaper variety of
Telugu language were also examined.

The major conclusions of the study were that the language
press, unlike its English counterpart caters to the rural,
under-privileged and not well educated people. Women,

neo-literates, those with secondary schooling, incomplete
primary schooling and semi-literates form the bulk of the
language newspaper readers. Therefore, the circulation of the
language newspaper is concentrated in semi-urban and rural
areas. A majority of the respondents, 62.22 per cent were
young, their age ranging between 15-34 years. Those in the
15-24 years age group formed the largest group. Half of the
respondents are newspaper subscribers.

A content analysis of five leading Telugu newspapers
revealed that political news got most coverage followed by social
news and economic news. However, respondents' preference
was for social news, economic news, and political news, in that
order Similarly, while the papers dev ted more space to
national, regional and local news in that order, the order or
preference of the respondents was a complete reversal -- local,
regional and national news.

The language used in Telugu newspapers is different from
the varieties used in other social contexts of communication
as it has been largely influenced be English. Fifteen
lexicosemantic and syntactic features that are characteristic of
the newspaper variety have been identified Over the last 50
years, this variety has developed special linguistic traits without
any planned effort.

The degrees of comprehension of the language used in
Telugu newspapers among the 90 respondents in the three
study villages were studied and related to their socioeconomic
characteristics. It was found that the higher the caste, the
education level, the income, and the frequency of newspaper
reading, the higherwere the levels of language comprehension. But
in the case of age, it was found that comprehension decreased as
the age increased. Occupation-wise, there was no significant
difference in the levels of comprehension among those practising
different occupations.

USHA RANI, A. *Relativization   in   Telugu* (M. Phil.
Dissertation, 1980).

Relativization   is   one   of   the   basic   productive
procssses in languages.   This work is concerned with the study
of the process of relativization in Telugu.   The purpose of
the present work is to study a few unexplored arers of the
relative clauses of Telugu.

Underlying this study is mainly that of transformational
generative grammar as advanced by Chomsky (1965).   The
discussion in the dissertation has also used the insightful works
of Relational grammar.   The material is drawn from the
writer's speech, and wherever it was necessary for confirmation,
the writer has freely consulted with the other native speakers
of Telugu.

The disssertation is   divided into   three Chapters.   In the
first Chapter the previous work on relativization in Telugu is
discussed in brief.

Second   Chapter deals with the four types of relative clauses
in Telugu: clausal, phrasal, peri-clausal, and pseudo clausal,
which are different in their nature and function.   These four
types have varying degrees of relativaizability.   Among these
four types, the clausal and phrasal are the mrjor types.   Phrasal
type relatives seem to have   more stringents than clausal
constraints.

The third   Chapter discusses the costraints on relativization
in relation to noun phrase accessibility hierarchy by Edward
Keenan and Bernard Comrie.   Ramarao's markedners thecry
is examined and compared with Keenan and Comrie's hierrrchy.
Conclusion is a summary of the results of the investigation.   A
short bibliography has also been given.

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