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PROBLEMS OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO TELUGU MEDIUM STUDENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF AUTONOMY

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And
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Abstract: The autonomy recently given to some degree colleges in Osmania University area is a good opportunity to restructure syllabi and courses. In this context, the teaching of General English acquires importance. On the basis of Nizam College experience, it is argued in this paper that Telugu medium students are faced with certain special problems while learning English. These problems are classified and illustrated briefly under three heads: socio-psychological, linguistic and cultural problems. Finally some suggestions are made for solving these problems.

The concept of autonomy was envisaged to introduce a new vitality into the collegiate education in India. Osmania University gave autonomy to some colleges in its jurisdiction so as to raise the standards at the undergraduate level. Thus Nizam College became an autonomous College in the year 1989. Autonomy gives scope for experimentation and innovation in the teaching of different subjects including languages. General English is a compulsory subject in the First and Second years of the degree courses. We have English and Telugu media at the undergraduate level, but the difference of medium does not count in the case of teaching/learning of General English. Thus the students of both the media study the same textbooks for General English.

The experience at Nizam College has unequivocally revealed that in all the semester examinations of English, the Telugu medium students are lagging behind. This has been the experience in both the non-autonomous and autonomous colleges. But the non-autonomous colleges have little scope for solving this problem either through experimentation or innovation as much as autonomous colleges have.

It is against this background that an attempt is made in this paper to identify the problems faced exclusively by the Telugu medium students studying English at the undergraduate level, and to suggest certain solutions.

The problems faced by the Telugu medium students may be classified into three broad categories as explained and illustrated below:

1. Socio-Psychological problems
2. Linguistic problems
3. Cultural problems

1.Socio-psychological problems:

A majority of Telugu medium students come from a rural background, where they have little exposure to English, and hence when they join a college like Nizam College, they are bewildered by the urban atmosphere in general and by the kind of English they are confronted with, in the English classes in particular. That is, socially they are transported from a rural background to an urban background all of a sudden, and secondly they are exposed to a different kind of English. This implies that at the Intermediate level, most of them study English through the bilingual method of teaching. This situation naturally leads to a psychological confusion which almost hampers the innate ability of the student to learn the necessary English language skills. He is likely to develop an inhibition and diffidence which may prevent him from improving his English.

It may be noted here that an English medium student is exposed to English right from the nursery level when he is at a tender age of 3 or 4 years, whereas a Telugu medium student starts learning the English alphabet from VI class, that is, at an age of 12 or 13 years, at a time when he has already developed a certain degree of inhibition due to the crystallisation of the linguistic habits of his own mother tongue. So by the time the Telugu medium student comes to the undergraduate level he is a monolingual as against the English medium student who is almost a bilingual, if not multilingual, however Autonomy non-native and substandard his English may be.

English does not evoke the same response in a rural Telugu

medium student as it does in an urban English medium student. The urban English medium students pick up a working vocabulary of English easily since it is used in their families and in their social life. But it is not so with the Telugu medium students who come from a rural background.

A majority of the Telugu medium students get by heart some 'cooked up' answers, reproduce them in the examinations, as the examination system allows them to pass the examination without reading the textbook properly. By the time the student enters the degree class, 'mugging up' becomes his habit.

2.Linguistic problems:

As Gupta and Kapoor (1991) point out, the Indian students and teachers face a number of problems. The Telugu learners are faced with additional problems. For instance, English is an Indo-European language while Telugu is a Dravidian language. This implies that typologically and structurally they are different. This difference adds to the problems of the Telugu medium student.

For example, there are marked differences in the sound system, in the syntactic structure and vocabulary between the two languages (Prakasam 1970). Problems arising out of these structural differences may be described as inter-linguistic problems. For instance, the English vowels in words like:-

<i>Say</i> [sei]	<i>Sigh</i> [sai]
<i>Poor</i> [pʊ(r)]	<i>Pur</i> [pu:r]
<i>Pot</i> [pʊt]	<i>Port</i> [pɔ:t]

are likely to create problems for the Telugu medium students. Likewise the sentence structure in English is: SUBJECT- VERB - OBJECT - whereas in Telugu it is SUBJECT - OBJECT - VERB. Further more, there are no grammatical items in Telugu comparable to the articles and relative pronouns in English. In Telugu, there is only a solitary question tag form as against a rich variety of question tags in English.

e.g. You are going to the bank, aren't you?

You have posted the letter, haven't you?

The universal question tag used by most of the Telugu medium students is - isn't it? owing to the influence of the Telugu word, kada/kadu.

In vocabulary also, there are problems, as there are no exact equivalents in Telugu for some words like *EXPRESS* and *FEEL*. Whenever they come across synonyms the Telugu medium students often fail to distinguish between their usage.

e.g. 1. accept : agree : consent

2. refuse : reject : decline

English is very rich in idioms. Neglect of teaching of idiomatic English causes confusion in the student when he depends on the literal meaning of an idiomatic expression. For a Telugu medium student: 'to rain cats and dogs' could mean a rain of cats and dogs. It may not be out of place to mention that the teaching of idioms is not taken seriously in the Telugu medium English classes. Secondly, from the language point of view, there are some inherent problems in the structure of English, like spelling inconsistency, irregular forms of nouns, verbs, adjectives and foreign plurals. Such problems may be described as intralinguistic problems

e.g. nouns - 1. child - children - 2. tooth - teeth

verbs - 1. cast - cast - 2. hurt - hurt

adjectives - confusion between elder and older

Cultural Problems

Language is an inseparable part of culture. Hence learning a foreign language implies acquiring familiarity with its culture (Lado 1957). The cultural environment of India is basically different from that of the West. Therefore, English lessons in prose and poetry which have deep socio-cultural implications will create additional problems to the Telugu medium students. For instance essays like 'On Shaking Hands' and 'Town Week' in 1st year prose selections may not produce the intended response

in a Telugu medium student as the rural student is not familiar either with the custom of shaking hands or with the week-end holiday outing which are typical of western culture. A very important cultural problem is learning the appropriate significance and use of kinship terms in English.

e.g. cousin - aunt - uncle - fiance - fiancée

Suggestions:

In view of the above-mentioned facts, it is necessary to equip the student as well as the teacher with the necessary guidance to solve these problems in the form of Teachers' manual and Students' manual. At present a common core syllabus is prescribed for non-autonomous colleges and hence they may

1. It is always to be borne in mind that generally the teaching of English is skills-oriented whereas that of the other subjects is information-oriented. Hence, syllabus makers and material producers will have to lay emphasis on the basic skills, namely, Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing and teach language as communication (Widdowson, 1978)..

2. The institutional authorities may be pursued to make the large unwieldy classes into smaller groups, so that the teacher may be able to pay individual attention to the Telugu medium students and concentrate on the basic skills necessary for effective communication in English.

3. Whenever reducing the size of the classes is not possible, it is essential to introduce the tutorial system.

4. Depending on the budgetary allocation, it is desirable to supplement the teachers' efforts by the use of audio-visual aids to create the necessary linguistic experience for the students to enable them to overcome their psychological inhibition and diffidence and to acquaint them with natural and realistic models of communication in English.

5. Last but not the least, the English teachers working in autonomous colleges should be given necessary incentives and fellowships to undergo intensive training in this regard.

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THE R-CONTOUR: AN EXCLUSIVE CONTOUR IN TAMIL INTONATION

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Abstract :In a discourse many types of sentences occur and each expresses a different kind of meaning. The type and meaning of a sentence can very well be patternized and formalized and the formalized patterns are usually referred to as *intonation patterns or intonation contours*. But in addition to these basic patterns, there are some more contours which are quite distinct from the basic intonation contours. They possess a kind of unique discourse function. One such contour has been identified in the discourse domain of the Tamil language. It has a specific discourse function to perform. This contour indicates the nature of relationship between the speaker and the listener and sometimes the emotional attitude of the speaker towards persons/events. This particular type of contour may be referred to as **R(elation) Contour**. This paper elaborates on the nature of R-contour in Tamil language. Its nature and function in the discourse structure of the Tamil language, with appropriate illustrations, are discussed and its relevance in the Tamil intonation system is also emphasized.

1. Ambiguity

Ambiguity of meaning is very common in written language. In spoken language it is restricted to a great extent, as utterances are comprehended with reference to a given context. Even if the context is inadequate intonation helps to clarify the meaning.

A written sentence might pose a problem when more than one meaning could be derived out of it. For example, the English sentence 'The chicken is ready to eat' may mean that i) t h e chicken is ready to eat (something)' or ii) 'the chicken is ready to be eaten (by someone)'. Similar is the case with the sentence 'They

He argues that the word 'Eunice' in the sentence (c) refers to a person name 'Eunice' whereas in the sentence (d) it is addressed to some one name 'Eunice'. He points out that the contour on the final word of the sentence (d) has a special discourse function and claims that it denotes speaker-listener relationships.

The ambiguity of the kind discussed above does occur in Tamil also. The following Tamil sentence (1) illustrates the case where ambiguity occurs only in the written language.

(1) *itu e:n tangacci ra:Ni.*
 this my younger-sister Rani
 This is my younger sister Rani.

In this sentence the word ***ra:Ni*** may have two different senses, i.e., the sentence is addressed to the person name ***ra:Ni*** or refers to a person name ***ra:Ni***. when the same sentence is put in a discourse the ambiguity disappears as the pitch contour over the word ***ra:Ni*** is distinctive in each case and hence the correct sense is obtained. For instance, when the sentence (2) is spoken, the interpretation is that ***ra:Ni*** is my sister.

(2) *itu e:n tangacci, ra:Ni*
 :**n** tan ga ra: **n**. ↓
 itu **e** cci i

This is my *sister* Rani

On the other hand when the sentence (3) is spoken the interpretation is that the sentence is being addressed to some one name ***ra:ni***.

(3) *itu e:n tangacci, ra:Ni*
 This is my sister Rani (votive)

 e:**n** tan ga # r a **n**i ↓
 itu cci

Note the difference in the nature of the contour on the word ***ra:ni*** in the above sentences (2) and (3)

2. The R-contour

The argument being postulated in this paper is that the pitch contour of the final word of (3) has a special discourse function. The contour of this word exclusively indicates the speaker-listener relationship and does not contribute to the content of the sentence. Therefore, the contour of this word is considered as an exclusive contour. This contour neither identifies with the contour of the previous part of the sentence nor with any other intonation contours established for different types of grammatical categories in this language. This contour may be referred to as **R**(elation) contour, as this contour whenever it occurs, denotes the nature of relationship between the speaker and the listener.

3. The basic contour

Tamil language possesses a set of intonation contours which are broadly as follows: i) falling, ii) rising, iii) rise-fall, iv) fall-rise and v) level intonation contours. They are pertinent to certain grammatical sentences such as declarative, interrogative, imperative etc. These intonation contours have been established on the basis of the variations in the fundamental frequency (fo) of the sentences. These intonation contours are characterized by specific type of tones, called nuclear tone.

1. For a complete account of intonation patterns of the Tamil language see Ravisankar (1994). For clarity of discussion the basic contours are called 'intonation contours' while the R-contour simply as 'contour' in this paper

4. Observation on R - contour

When one examines the intonation on the word **ra:ni** in the sentence (3), it must be apparent that the contour on the vocative is different from that of any of the basic intonation contours, including the rising contour. The rise in the R-contour is an exclusive one in the sense that whatever be the degree of rise, say 'low rise', 'mid rise' or 'high rise' the meaning and function of this contour remain the same (3a, 3b and 3c). But in the case of rising intonation contour variation in the nature R- contour forces one to refer the pitch on the final word simply as 'contour'. See

the pitch patterns of sentences 31, b and c given below.

- 3(a) itu e:ⁿ tan ga_{cci} # ra:^{Ni} ↑ [low rise]
- 3(b) itu e:ⁿ tan ga_{cci} # ra:^{Ni} ↑ [mid rise]
- 3(c) itu e:ⁿ tan ga_{cci} # ra:^{Ni} ↑ [high rise]

In sentence (2) pause may or may not occur before the word **ra:ni**. If this sentence is uttered informally (4) introducing the person name 'Rani' then, there may not be pause before the word. If the sentence is uttered in a formal gesture (4a) then, there will be a pause before the word **ra:ni**.

(4) (itu ra:ni # e:n tangacci)

'This is Rani, my sister' tangacci '

(4.a) (itu / ra:ni # e:n tangacci)

But in the case of the sentence (3), pause occurs before the word **ra:ni**, irrespective of the placement of this word in a sentence(5).

(5) itu # ra:ni # e:n tangacci

This is, Rani (vocative),my sister.

Besides, the R-contour is the one which can occur on vocatives in sentence-final (3) as well as sentence-medial positions (5). It has been observed that the R-contour even if it occurs at sentence medial positions not contribute to the content of the sentence. That is, on no occasion does it behave as the continuation of the basic sentence. The sentences (2) and (3) are good examples to illustrate the cases in which the word **ra:ni** has meaningful relation with the basic part of the sentence concerned and it has not.

If the word **ra:ni** is said with a falling contour as in (2) and it is assumed that the person being introduced is my sister name

ra:ni' the sentence is true. However, if the person is my sister, but name **ra:ta:**, then the sentence is false. On the other hand, if the word **ra:ni** which has a rising contour i.e., R-contour in the sentence (3) is replaced with some other name it does not affect the truthfulness of the sentence. For example, if the person addressed to is **ra:ta:** in the sentence (3) and the person introduced is my sister, the sentence is true. If, even by mistake the name of the person addressed to is something else the sentence remaining true.

5. Aspects of R-contour

The R-contour does not have any nucleus in it. It has a phrase final rise which is entirely different from the rising intonation contour of the basic category. The R-contour does not add to the content of the basic sentence and never behaves as its continuity. Phrase boundaries clearly set off this contour from the rest of the sentence. It has also been noted that even if the pause is absent, there is a lengthening of syllables before it or at least some rhythmic differences are perceived by the listener. When the words which have the R-contour occur at sentence-initial position, they will be unambiguous as in the following sentence.

(6) ra:Ni # itu e:n tan gacci

(6) r^{a:}Ni # itu e:ⁿ tan_{ga}cci_i ↓

6. Additional function of R-contour

The influence of R-contour is not limited to vocatives alone. Like vocatives expletives and epithets too get this contour over them. Consider the sentence (7) and (7a).

(7) ra:mu paNam tarama :TT a:n, tiruttupaya

'Ramu (a personal name) will not lend money, the scoundrel

(7) ra:mu paNam ta_{ra} ma:t t a:n, # tiruTTu^{pa}ya^{ya} ↑

(7.a) ra :mu, tiruTTupaya, panam tarama:TTa:n,

(7.a) ^{ra:}mu # ^{tiru}TTu^{pa^{ya}} / paNam ta_{ra} ma:T_{Ta:n} ↓

In the above sentences the expletive *tiruttupaya* possesses the R-contour. It has no nucleus and does not contribute to the factual information of the sentence. pause precedes this contour irrespective of the occurrence of the expletive word at the sentence final or sentence-medial position. The one significant difference between the R-contour of the sentence (7) and that of the sentence (3) is that the latter indicates the speaker-listener relation straightway whereas the former shows the attitude of the speaker.

The sentence (8) is another example to show a function of the R-contour which marks a domain separate from the sentence and which is concerned with the speaker/listener relationships.

(8) raku, nallapayyan, vi:Na: ppo:yiTTa:n

(Raghu, the good boy, has fallen on evil days:)

(8) ra_{ku} # nal^{la} pay^{yan} / vi: ^{na: po:y} T_{Ta:n} ↓

This sentence gives a message that someone is name *raku* (personal name) and that he has fallen on evil days. The word *nallapayyan* (good boy) expresses the speaker's attitude towards the person named *raku*. Expressions such as the one shown above deal only with the speaker-listener relationships and how far the speaker is sensitive to his feelings, but do not substantially add anything to the basic information.

One may make an innocuous phrase into an epithet by using the R-contour as the sentence (8) exemplifies it.

(9) namatu mutalvar, ma:perum aringar, na:Lai varukira:r.

'Our chief minister, the great intellectual, is arriving tomorrow'.

(9) na^{ma} tu^{mutal} var # ma: ^{perum} arin^{gar} / na: ^{Lai va} ruki_{ra:r} ↓

A final word regarding the significance of R-contour is that in sentence-initial position these expressions are not ambiguous, as has been discussed above (cf: sentence (6)). This aspect, the difference between sentence-initial and sentence-medial contours, is an important cue in discourse.

7. Summary

This paper proposes that there is a class of expressions in Tamil which can occur with a contour, referable as R-contour. This contour cannot be grouped along with the set of basic intonation contours of the Tamil language since it does not have any nucleus. Expressions which have this contour show a special discourse function, indicating speaker-listener relationships, the speaker's attitude, feelings, opinions and the like. The phrases which have the R-contour are interpretable independent of the rest of the sentence and they do not contribute to the factual information of the sentence. But they possess 'intonational meaning' at discourse level and therefore, the R-contour is relevant in the intonation system of the Tamil language.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATIENT-ORIENTED CONSTRUCTIONS IN LATE WESTERN NIA LANGUAGES

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Abstract: The attrition of ergativity in two Western NIA languages - Punjabi and Rajasthani - in 15-20 centuries is systematically analysed here. It is shown that changes in the ergative sentence constructions were taking place simultaneously with the typologically significant changes in the whole of the perfective domain, spreading on passive, gerundive and stative constructions. Rajasthani, having proceeded further in the process of attrition or morphological ergativity than its neighbouring languages has also developed the accusative type of verbal control in stative constructions from transitive stems. At the same time it has acquired the predominantly ergative type of verbal concord in ergative sentence constructions while in Punjabi the latter one is predominantly of accusative type. In general, it might be stated that though Punjabi and Rajasthani, as well as other Western NIA languages, in the course of their evolution have been developing or losing some morphological or syntactic ergativity features, their Agent-orientation at the deep syntactic level has been preserved intact.

The term 'P-oriented construction' first introduced by Comrie (1978) was later used by Hock (1986) for passive, gerundive and *=fa* participle constructions in Sanskrit. These three constructions shared certain common features: the underlying Object (O) or Patient (P) in the nominative case controlled the verbal agreement while the underlying Subject (S) or Agent (A) was demoted to instrumental. Hock shows that the term 'P-oriented construction' is accurate for Early Vedic texts where all the three above mentioned constructions demonstrate P-orientation. With the development of Agent-demoting passives and also of passives and gerundives from intransitives by the time of Vedic prose the term has become not quite adequate (ibid: 1986). The same is true for NIA period as well, but for the sake of convenience the term is

used here after Hock, as the purpose of this paper is to explore the development of the above mentioned constructions in late Western NIA languages.

Klaiman has shown that according to the codified traditional definition of ergativity that presupposes marking identically the transitive Patients and the intransitive Subjects (by nominatives) and the transitive Agents differently from the transitive Subjects (Dixon, 1979) - the *=ta* participle constructions have been ergative since Proto-Indian-European items, i.e. active (Subject-oriented) when formed by intransitive verbs and passive (Patient-oriented) when formed by transitives (Klaiman, 1978).¹ Hock came to the conclusion that, according to Dixon's definition of ergativity, not only the *=ta* participle constructions but also those with gerundives were ergative in Early Vedic. But with the development of Agent-demoting gerundives and of gerundives from intransitives (with the most productive gerundives' type in *=tavya*) by the times of Vedic prose, the gerundives had stopped behaving ergatively (if only we are still following Dixon's definition of ergativity).

But ergativity might also be defined after Comrie as 'passive' morphology and/or syntax without the existence of the 'basic' active counterpart of the opposition. Hock shows that, in accordance with this latter definition, the gerundive remains ergative even at the stage of Vedic prose also: the *=tavya* gerundives, being obligatory 'passives' even when formed from the intransitives, might be looked at as even 'more ergative' than the *=ta* participles that are obligatory 'passives' only when formed from transitives. The 'passive' character of the gerundives in Vedic prose can also be confirmed by the fact that they - preferably - used the genitive and the instrumental as the cases for Agent while in Early Vedic the dative was also permitted for this function (ibid, 1986).

The fact that out of various participial constructions which might occasionally be used in main verb function in Early Vedic, the later language has preserved only the *=ta* participle and the gerundive is explained by Hock as a case of the convergent behaviour between these non-finite formations and the finite passives. The typical passive pattern of using the instrumental as Agent marker has been generalised to both - the *=ta* partici-

ples and gerundives.

The diglossic situation that existed between Sanskrit and Early MIA may serve as another explanation of the fact that the =*ta* participle construction became the main finite perfective form in the MIA and NIA languages. While Classical Sanskrit was losing its Aorist and tending to use interchangeably its Perfect and Imperfect, the MIA languages were losing Perfect and merging Aorist and Imperfect into one single category shared by both the systems and formally more simple than =*ta:vant* forms, the =*ta* participle construction has gradually replaced the finite Past Tense forms in the diglossic supersystem. That gave the initial impetus for the future ergative development in MIA and NIA languages (ibid: 1986).

Earlier (Khokhlova, 1992) I have tried to show that the late Western NIA languages (of the 14 - 16 centuries) are displaying striking typological similarities; the main features and implications of ergativity are manifested in their purest form at this very stage. Further evolution was characterised by the attrition of ergativity.

While discussing the origin of ergativity in Indo-Aryan, the investigations usually take into account the interaction between various P-oriented constructions. But describing the ergative behaviour of NIA languages the linguists predominantly concentrate upon the reflexes of the =*ta* participle construction in these languages (Klaiman, 1987). It seems that the analysis of the syntactic behaviour of passives and gerundives in NIA history might provide some additional information concerning the general tendencies in the typological evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages in their late NIA phase. Thus I shall try below to analyse the behaviour of the P-oriented constructions and their interaction in the process of ergativity attrition during the late NIA period.

The Western group of NIA languages provides continuous data on its ergativity developments up to the present moment while the Eastern Indo-Aryan (with the exception of Assamese) has lost most of its ergative features already at the beginning or in the middle of the NIA period of evolution. That is the reason why the historical development of the two typically Western NIA languages - that is of Rajasthani (Raj.) and of Punjabi (Punj.) in their early as well as modern forms - will be analysed

further on.

The main source for the history of Raj. comprised the collection of prose texts in Raj. from the 14 - 20 centuries (R.G.) **and for the evolution of Punj.** - the *Adi Granth* and the collection of prose texts in Punj. from the 17 - 20 centuries (P.P.V.). The modern forms of the analysed languages are presented by the examples extracted from plays, novels, stories and essays in Raj. and Punj. correspondingly; also the examples provided by the informants in both the languages are taken into account. While working with the older forms of the languages a certain obvious difficulty arises: the old written texts might be based on written traditions of different old dialects; the modern literary Raj. also represents various dialects, mainly Marwari and Mewari; still an attempt has been made to analyse only those syntactic features that are common for all these different dialects. We shall start with the morphological and syntactic peculiarities in the development of the historical =*ta* participle constructions (that deserve some special attention) and later we will shift to the analysis of the changes in form and meaning of the other P-oriented constructions in Raj. and Punj. during the late NIA phase of their evolution.

As has already been shown in Khokhlova (1992), the case marking and the verbal agreement in the constructions with the reflexes of the historical =*ta* participle in the period of Early Raj. and Early Punj. were maximally ergative. This means that the Patient of the transitive verb was grouped together with the only argument of the intransitive verb against the Agent of the transitive verb; there was no special Patient marking case in the system; the Agent and the instrumental Object were marked identically while the unmarked Patient was always controlling the verbal agreement.

The attrition of A/S opposition and the development of the special P-marking has given 'a heavy blow' to the consistent ergativity. The complete restructuring of the case marking system has occurred as a consequence of the two different processes: on one hand, due to certain phonetic changes, some nominal paradigms have failed to keep the differentiation between A and S. On the other hand, simultaneously with this process the languages have started the general tendency towards marking

specially those P that were higher in animacy and definiteness. This latter process was developing in different ways and with different speeds in different NIA languages but by the time of 17 - 18 centuries instead of a single ergative case marking system (that one grouping S and P together against A) there have appeared two main systems of case marking: the tripartite one (differentiating between A, S and P) and the accusative one (grouping together A and S against P). The tripartite system was typical for masc.sg.nouns (ending in =o in Raj. and in =a: in Punj.), for example: Raj. *ra:na* (S) - *ra:nai* (A) - *ra:Na: + nu:* (P); Punj. *madra:na* (S) - *marda:ne + nu:* (A) - *marda:ne + nu:* (P). It was also typical for masc.pl.nouns in both the languages: Raj. *kuma:r, ghoRa* (S) - *kuma:ra:, ghoRa* (A) - *kuma:ra: + nai/nu:, ghoRa: + nai/nu:* (P); Punj. *sikh* (S) - *sikha:* (A) *sikha: + nu:* (P). The accusative system was typical for those masc.sg. nouns that were not members of the first class (that is, those not ending in =oin Raj. and =a: in Punj. and also for fem.sg. and pl. nouns. For example, masc.sg. Raj. *kuma:r* (S) - *kuma:r* (A) - *kuma:r + nai/nu:* (P); fem.sg. *vesya:* (S) - *vesya:* (A) - *vesya: + nai/nu:* (P); fem.pl. *vesya:* (S=A) - *vesya: + nai/nu:* (P); Punj. *pa:tisa:h* (S=A) - *pa:tisa:h + nu:* (P) etc

These two main paradigms were representing a leading tendency in the development of the case marking system. Some nouns denoting animals or human beings treated as inanimate, remained unmarked when occupying the P-position; see, for example, Raj.

(1) <i>surajma:l</i>	<i>sa:ma:</i>	<i>a:dmi:</i>	<i>bhana:na:</i>	<i>rai meliya:</i>
surajmal	sama	people-masc.sg-pl	Bhana	to send-masc.pl
 <i>ghoRa:</i>	 <i>ha:tHi:</i>	 <i>ghanoi:</i>	 <i>dravya</i>	 <i>diyo</i>
horses	elephants	very much	wealth	give-pft . part
masc.pl	maśc.sg=pl		masc.sg	masc.sg

"Surajmal Sama sent people to Bhana... gave horses, elephants...a lot of wealth". (R.G.53)

Here all the three NPs might be marked similarly: *a:dmi:* mas.sg.

S = A = P (neutral case marking); or S and P might be opposed to A: a:dmi:, ha:thi:, ghoRa: (pl. of ghoRo) - masc.pl. S = P, but a:dmi:ā, ha:thi:ā, ghoRā - A.

Out of the two main case marking systems that existed in Old Punj. and Old Raj. (Old Marwari) the accusative one is widespread in languages of the world and the tripartite one is rather rare. The reason for the latter's rareness is that it is too much explicit in not only differentiating between A and P but in also distinguishing each one of these from S. According to Comrie, such a tripartite system is present in a subset of the NPs in some of those languages where the nominative-accusative and the ergative-absolutive types coexist into one and the same language (Comrie, 1981). Both, the Old Punj. and the Old Raj., were the languages demonstrating the coexistence of both the mentioned systems into one language, but it was only Punj. that has later developed the tripartite system in noun paradigms. When the postposition ne started being used for marking A the accusative system of case marking in Punjabi was replaced by the tripartite one (as well as in its bigger neighbour Hindi).

As for Rajasthani, its noun case marking system was developing in an opposite direction, and even up to recent times it has been preserving the coexisting tripartite and accusative systems as they have been settled in the 17 - 18 centuries. But nowadays there exists a very evident tendency to use the S-forms in A-function in noun paradigms originally belonging to the tripartite system:

(2) *au bu:Rhau co'ri: rai ek ek baras ra: ti:n ti:n*
 this old man girl of one one year of three three
 masc.sg.nom.

haza:r rupiya: beTi: ra: ba:p nai diya: hai
 thousand rupees daughter of father to give-pft. be-pres
 sg=pl Part ma sc pl 3rd pers
 sg=pl

This old man has given to the daughter's father, three thousand rupees for each year of the girl's age (Punamcand, 128)

The grammars in such cases recommend using the A-form: thus, *ghoRai* (not *ghoRo/ghoRau*) (gha:s kha:yo) The horse ate the grass /Swami, 1960/, but in texts S-forms are very frequent (see above : *bu:dhau* - S-form, but not *bu:'dhai* that should be the correct A-form).

As usually happens, the verbal agreement demonstrates greater sensibility to the establishment and attrition of any opposition, ergativity including, in comparison to the inflectional noun paradigms. Thus, while the nominal forms, especially the plurals of both, masc. and fem., nouns, are still resisting to attrition of A/S opposition (see example 3), the adjectives and the postpositions are readily rejecting this opposition: (example 4).

- (3) *n..N* *ba:t* *nāi* *sansarrai* *anek*
this thing acc post world of many
fem.sg.
- vidva:na:* *ma:ni:* *hai*
scholars-masc.pl obl accept-pft.part. be pres.erd
sg=pl fem.sg=pl
- "Many scholars of the world have accepted this thing"
(Sh. Kaviya R.N.S.) (19)

later the development of the case marking systems in these languages has taken different turns: the Modern Standard Punjabi has established the tripartite system while Modern Rajasthani, where the tripartite and the accusative systems coexist, is evidently tending towards the dominance of the accusative one (see details below). It should be mentioned here that by the case marking I mean not only the inflections but the postpositional marking as well, and due to this I cannot agree with Klaiman's suggestion to consider the Marwari case marking system as a neutral one: most of the nouns in this language (denoting animate, mostly human beings) when used in S/A- function are left without postpositions while in P-function they are obligatorily marked by postpositions, and thus the typical for the accusative-type languages main contrast S/A - P is constantly maintained.

As for the pronoun paradigms, in the early phases of their development the typically ergative pattern was prevailing. For example, in Old Raj. (15-16 century):

(5) <i>haũ</i> (S)	<i>vaLau</i>	<i>nahĩ:</i>
I	return-pres.	not

"I do not return" (R.G. 7)

(6) <i>tiNi</i> (A)	<i>hāũ</i> (P)	<i>tumh kanhai mokaliu</i>
him	I-masc sg	you to send-pft.part masc.sg.

(7) <i>mai</i> (A)	<i>pura:-purvi</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yogi: nũ:</i>	<i>veS</i>
I/by me	before	this	yogi of	dress-neut.

<i>Pahiriũ</i>	<i>nahĩ:</i>
put on-pft part neut	not

'I did not put on this dress on the yogi before' (R.G.36).

In above given examples similar forms of S and P hau are opposed to the A form Mai. The same is true for the 3-rd person pl. pronoun 'they' where S/P form *ti* is opposed to A form *tehe*.

dekhyo kuN(A)

see-pft.part who

"But who saw this heart, this soul?" (M.sharma, 34)

Compare (21), with *kuN* "who?", and (22), where in the same A -function *kiN* is used:

(22) *koTva:L rai chokrai rau khu:n kiN(A) kiyo*
 kotval (village of boy of blood who do-pft part
 officer)

"who killed the son of the village officer?"

(Sh.Kivya,R.E.40)

See also the examples with the relative pronoun *jiko/jikau* "who":

(23) *jiko (A) do oLi: ka:bya ro ni: likHi:*
 he who two baskets poetry of not write-pft part,
 fem .

ho bo ka:bya par vica:r karNai ro hakda:r
 fem be-aux he poetry on thought making of having
 the right

kiyā~ : baNai
 how become-pres

How can one who has not written two bags of verses, have the right to judge about poetry? /K.K.Kalla, 75 /

(24) *ai' Rau kapu:t nai ni:c iN sansa:r mē kuN*
 such bad son and low this world in who

huvaila: jikau(s) mā~ : janambhom ri: riccha:
 be-fut who mother land of birth of defence

rai kha: tar dhan nī: devai
 for the sake of wealth not give-pres

'Will there be such a bad son, (such a) low man in this world who will not give (his) wealth for the defence of his otherland?'(A.Bhandari, 58)Thus, there exist in Modern Rajasthani

the A-forms *jika:jikai* 'who' that are gradually being replaced by the S-forms *jiko/iikau* 'who'.

The above analysed examples clearly show that Modern Rajasthani is gradually evolving towards the accusative-type case marking system in both nouns and pronouns, while Modern Punjabi is preserving its tripartite system for all nominal classes with the exception of those personal pronouns that have the accusative-type case marking system.

The other typologically important branch of the language grammar is its verbal concord system. In this respect, we are taking into account - following Comrie in this (Comrie, 1979) only those verbal agreement rules that demand applying to the syntactic level of the language.

At the early stage of NIA the verbal concord was controlled by S/A in the non-perfective (non-ergative) domain and by P in perfective (ergative) domain. Inside the constructions with the perfective participle there existed only one unmarked NP, i.e. Patient, as Agent was regularly marked by instrumental case. See below the examples in Old Rajasthani from the 14 century:

- (25) *kai-ek cor sāg vigHa:t-ka:rak (P)*
 some thieves state destroyers(masc.sg=pl.nom.)
- herakai (A)* *amH a:gai ihā:*
 by informant-masc.sg.inst. us before here
- kahia:* *oHai*
 say-pft part masc.pl. be-pres. 3rd pers.sg=pl

'Some thieves... by informant to us are reported...'= 'The informant reported to us about some thieves, destroyers of the state (hiding) here' (R.G., 10)

- (26) *ma:tā* *gī* (A) *vidya:* (P)
by chandal-masc.sg.inst knowledge-fem.sg-pl.nom.

kañi:

tell-pft.part.fem.sg=pl.

"By chandal knowledge (is) told" = "Chandal told the knowledge" (R.G., 15)

In case there is no unmarked NP in ergative domain, the verb takes the so called neutral form (of masc.-neut.sg.):

(27) *tiNaĩ* (A) *ma:ñiu*

He/by him-instt. agree-pft.part.neut.

"By him agreed" = "He agreed". (R.G., 15)

Thus, it is clear that in ergative domain one and only one unmarked NP, if it exists at all, always controls the verbal concord, i.e. it is predictable morphologically. In the non-perfective domain there might be two unmarked NPs, and the verb-controller in this case could be either S or A, but never P. Thus, in the non-ergative domain the verbal control is of the accusative type. For example:

(28) *haũ* (A)... *vya:j-vacan* (P)

I-1st pers.sg. deceitful words-masc.sg=pl

bhaNisu

(tell-fut.1st pers.sg.

"I shall tell him deceitful words" (R.G.,9)

(29) *ra:ja:(S)* *a:gau ca:liu*

raja masc.sg=pl forward move-pft.part.masc.sg

"Raja went forward" (R.G., 10)

In case the verb control is predictable in the ergative domain and if it patterns accusatively in the non-ergative domain, we have to conclude that in this system as a whole the verb control is of the accusative type.

Later the verb control in the ergative domain has stopped being morphologically predictable. With the forming of the tripartite, (accusative and neutral) system there appeared possibilities

(30) <i>su:rajma:l</i> (A)	<i>araj</i> (P)	<i>ki:vi:</i>
surajmal-mascsgnom	request - femsg	make-pft.part.
		fem.sg=pl

(31) *sajan* (a) *bHaure* *maria:* *de* *sabh* (P)
noble man-masc. basements dead of all-masc.pl.
sg.nom

"The noble man (sajan) showed to Guru Nank all the burial grounds (basements with dead bodies)" (P.P.V., 32)

(32) *raNai. ratansi (A) vikrama:dit, udaising nū: (P)*
 Rana Ratansingh Vikramaditya Udaysingh
 -masc.sg.obl acc.

<i>teka:ya:</i>	<i>chai</i>
call-ptf.part.masc.pl. (agrees with two	be-pres.sg.pl.
NP's-Vikramadit and Udaisingh)	

Rana Ratansing called Vikramaditya and Udaysingh
(R.G. 50)

- (33) *marda:ne* (A) *guru:* *na:nak* *nū:* *yā:d*
Mardana-masc.sg.obl. guru Nanak acc. memory

ki:tosu

make-pft.part.masc.sg + su-pron.affix 3rd pres.sg.

"Mardana remembered Guru Nanak" (P.P.V. 33)

- (34) *raNai* (A) *ka:L* (P) *kiyo*
Ranasanga- death-masc.sg.nom. make-pft.part.masc.sg.
masc.sg.obl

" Rana Sanga died, lit. "(By) Rana sanga death was made".
(R.G., 49)

- (35) *teti:s* *karoR* *devatia:* (A) *dukh* *ar*
thirty three karors gods-masc.pl.obl. grief and

bHukH (P) *kabu:l* *ki:to:*
starvation-fem.sg. accepted make-pft.part.fem.sg.

hai

be-pres.3rd pers.sg.

"Thirty three karors of gods suffered grief and starvation"
(P.P.V. 37)

- (36) *ba:be* (A) *bahut* *khus:* (P) *ki:ti:*
Baba-masc.sg.obl. great joy-fem.sg. make-pft.part.
nom fem.sg.

"Baba expressed great joy" (P.P.V. 47)

- (37) *pūa:r* (A) *surajma:l nū:* (P) *di:tho*
panvar Surajmal masc.sg see.pft.part.masc.sg
acc.post action.

"Panwar saw Surajmal" (R.G., 55)

(38) *vaDa:* *a:dmi:* (A) *darba:r* *ra:* *haki:m-hazu:ri:* (A) *sya:Na:*
big people court of doctors servants wise,learned

samajha:na~ *nu:* *des* *mai*
understanding, wise masc.pl acc.post country in

bheji:ya:
send-pft.part-masc.pl.

"Big people, doctors of the court and servants sent learned
wise people to the country" (R.G., 78)

(39) *tai* *nu:* (P) *guru:* *na:nak* *ji:* (A)
you acc.post action guru nanak honour

bula:ya: *hai*
call-pft.part.masc.sg. be-pres.3rd pers.sg.

(40) *sanu:* (P) ... *a:N* *marva:io*
us-pl.obl. having come kill-pft.part.masc.sg.

"(He) having come, ordered to kill us" (P.P.V., 62)

The above given examples show that in spite of the differences existing between the two languages (while in Raj. the verb agrees with marked P - see (32), -in Punj. it does not - see (40)), the verbal concord rules in both, raj and Punj. demand applying to the syntactic level of language structure and thus are of ergative type.

Modern Rajasthani, having started developing the accusative case, marking has at the same time preserved the ergative type of verbal agreement, See for example, (3) where marked P controls the verbal concord. As for Punjabi, this language, having rejected the accusative-type case marking system in favour of the tripartite one, has restored the morphologically predictable verbal concord in ergative domain: the agreement in this domain

can be only with the unmarked P (if any), but, in case there is no unmarked P, the verb takes its neutral form of masc.sg (Gill, 1963).

It would be tempting to suppose that the evolution of the historical ergativity in ergative domain presupposes the complementary distribution between the case marking and the verbal concord systems had there not been contradictory examples from the same Western NIA. For example, Gujarati is the language that has a consistent tripartite case marking system but simultaneously the ergative type of verbal agreement system (Cardona, 1965); (Comrie, 1979).

The only possible conclusion could be that the typological evolution is not a straight-forward process, and the attrition of *morphological* ergativity might be (but not necessarily must be) compensated at the level of *syntax*.

For better understanding of the mechanisms of typological evolution, it seems promising not to be restricted to the formal aspects of ergative sentence structure but to look at its changing meaning and changing place in the whole system of P-oriented constructions.

There existed two P-oriented constructions in ergative (perfective) domain of Early NIA: the gerundivial one and one with the reflexes of =*ta* participle. In Old Rajasthani the gerundives of both transitives as well as intransitives, might have instrumental as the case of Agent:

41) <i>taĩ</i> (A)	<i>ek</i>	<i>yaks</i>	<i>ni:</i>	<i>pu:ja:</i>
by you-instr.	one	yaksha	of	praying-fem.sg.

karivi:	paN	je	pa:khti:	bi	vriks
should be made.	but	what	nearby	two	trees
-fem.sg.pl					

<i>chai</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>taLha:ri</i>	<i>ta (s)</i>	<i>na</i>
be-pres.sg.pl.	them	under	by you-ins.	not

ja:ivu:
should be gone -neut.sg.pl.

"You should pray to yaksha but do not come under the two nearby trees" (R.G., 37)

As is evident, the gerundive of transitive verb had agreement (in gender) with the Direct Object NP, and the gerundive of the intransitive verb had the neutral form of neutr.sg = pl.

The same passive - type syntax characterized the construction with perfective participles of transitive verbs. Or, to be more accurate, we might say that in the perfective domain of Old Rajasthani there existed no voice opposition: the construction with the perfective participle of transitive verb was neither passive, nor active coming as the result of it. Compare in this respect the two sentences belonging to the 15th century Rajasthani:

(42) *iNi* *ka:ra Ni* *teh* *ma:ra:wiwa:*
because of this reason them killing (by someone's order)

ka:raNi *amhe* *mokaLiya:*
for we-masc.pl.nom Send-pft.part-masc.pl.

"Because of this reason for killing him we (are) sent" (R.G., 9) and the other sentence of the same text, two pages further than the former one:

(43) *jiNi* *ka:raNi* *sri:pur-nagar* - *na:yaki* *sri:ga:dhi*
by what reason Shripur city ruler-masc.sg. Shrigadhi
instr

na:maki (A) *tinã:* *coraha* *ma:riwa:* *nimittu*
by name-masc those thieves killing for
.sg.ins

amhe *mokaLiya:* *chā̃:*
we-masc.pl.nom send-pft.part-masc.pl. be-pres.1st
pers.pl.

"(Because of) which reason Shripur city ruler, Shrigadhi by name, those thieves for killing we have been sent" or "... the ruler... has sent us to kill....etc." (R.G., 11)

It is evident that early Rajasthani prose represent the lan-

guage system which matches perfectly both the classical definitions of ergativity: the one by Dixon (based on S/P - A opposition) and the other one by Comrie (based on the assertion concerning the "passive" syntax of ergative languages). It might be thus stated that the Indo-Aryan system became ergative during the MIA period in the perfective domain not only because the case marking and the verbal agreement in the constructions with the reflexes of = ta participles were showing the ergative type of behaviour (as this behaviour, according to Klaiman, was there since Proto-Indo-European times), but mainly because the MIA languages were developing the passive syntax without the basic active counterpart.

The attrition of the morphological ergativity inside the constructions with the reflexes of = ta participles was taking place in Rajasthani as well as in Punjabi simultaneously with the forming of a new gerundive (one with Agent marked by the accusative), with the penetration of passives into the perfective domain and also - with the appearance of a new - stative - construction inside the perfective domain, a construction that patterns accusatively in Rajasthani but ergativity in Punjabi.

The gerundives of the new type have also started functioning differently in Raj. and Punj. The reflexes of Ancient Indian gerundives in =tavya have been preserved only in the dialects of Eastern Rajasthani (in forms like *karbo* it must be done). In Western Rajasthani dialects and in Punjabi the new gerundive has got to be formed by adding the suffix =N= (in Raj.) and =n/N= (in Punj., the first variant being possible only after certain consonants) with the number-gender inflections following. The constructions with these new gerundives in Rajasthani of the 18th century were implying the marking of the Agent NPs by dative (and not by instrumental as was the case previously. See, for example, (41) :

- (44) *au dhanuS mo-nū: ca:rhNo si:ta: parNa:vi:*
 this bow me-to draw Sita marry

"I must draw this bow to marry Sita" (R.G., 97)

Starting from this period and further on, the gerundive in both the languages might sometimes be replaced by the perfective participle -see for example, in Punjabi:

- (45) *mu:raKH* *nū:* ..*bha:ve* *thoRa:* *bha:ve* *bahuta:*
 fool to let it be little let it be much

parhiya: *ca:hi:e*
 study-pft.part. necessary

"A fool must study more or less" (P.P.V., 77)

In Modern Standard Punjabi the perfective participle occupying the place of the gerundive in typically gerundival constructions (of necessity and obligation, for example) is not possible, but in Modern Rajasthani forms of the type *kiyo ca:hijai* "it is necessary to do/to be done" are still possible. (Swami, 1960).

The constructions of necessity/obligation implying the use of gerundives have similar patterns in Modern Rajasthani and Punjabi: they are three in number and formed correspondingly with a) the verb 'to be' (*hoNa:* in Raj., *huvaNo* in Punj.); b) the adverb 'necessary' (*ca:hi:da:* in Punj., *ca:hi:jaiin* Raj.); c) the verb "to fall" (*paiNa:* in Punj., *paRNo* in Raj.). Traditionally the constructions of the a) -type are described as expressing weak necessity, those of b) -type -as 'neutral', and those of c) -type - as expressing 'strong necessity/obligation'. For our analysis it is important that all these three gerundive constructions in Rajasthani mark the Agent NP by datives:

- (46) *mhanai...* *kha:ri: ni:ti:* *badaLNi:* *paRi:*
 to me(dat) my policy change(became) obligatory

"I had to change my policy" (G.Bhandari, 13)

- (47) *paRhiya:* - *likhiya: nai* *likhNo* *ar* *bolNo*
 educated - dat write and read

ra:jastha:ni: *mai~...* *ca:hijai*
 rajasthani in necessary

"Educated people should write and speak in Rajasthani"
 (Sh.Kariya, 19)

- (48) *mi:ra: naĩ kisai darba:r ro dangaL ji:tNo ho*
 Mira - dat certain court of fight win war (neces
 sary)

"Mira had to win a fight in a certain court" (K.K.Kalia, 75)

In Punjabi the situation with these necessity constructions with gerundives differs from Rajasthani: in the constructions with *ca:hi:da:* and *paiNa:* the gerundival agent is also marked by dative, as it happens in Rajasthani; but in the constructions with *hoNa:* the Agent NP is being marked in the same way as the Agent NP of the ergative construction, that is - by the postposition *ne* used with all the nominals except the pronouns of the I-st and II-nd persons. The latter ones in this case take a direct or an oblique (without any postposition) case form and in ergative construction, there is a clear tendency to prefer the direct case form. It is worth mentioning, that the direct and the oblique case forms of the personal pronouns were used interchangeably in the Punjabi texts of even the 18th century.

For example:(49)

- (49) *tusā: bhi: sabadu ba:Ni:*
 you-obl also word(of God) voice of God and sacred
 hymns of Sikh Gurus
di: pri:t karni:
 of love do (necessary)

"You should also love the Word and the sacred hymns"
 (P.P.V., 73)

- (50) *tusī: sabh kise de na: bha:u bhagati karna:*
 you-dir every one with love devotion do

"Have you should love and devotion towards everyone"
 (P.P.V., 75)

In Rajasthani in gerundive constructions, similarly to the above described ergative constructions, the Patient NP, be it marked or unmarked, is always controlling the verbal concord.

- (51) *jo dhvaniyā: ra:jastha:ni: mē ka:m nī: a:vai*
 what sounds Rajasthani in work/use not come

paN tatsam sabdā: mē huvai, vā:nai tau
 but tatsama words in are them-acc then

ra:jastha:ni: dhvaniyā: mē i:j likh ca:hi:jai;
 rajasthani sounds in this way write necessary

"The sounds that do not exist in Rajasthani but that are used in "tatsama" words should be replaced by Rajasthani sounds in the following way" (G.Bhandari, 20)

Modern Rajasthani and Punjabi have also developed the active - passive opposition in the constructions with the demotional gerundives. For example, Rajasthani:

- (52) *uN mu:L bha:sa: - ucca:raN ri: pakaR karNi*
 that basic language of pronunciation of grasping make

a:cchai anuva:d rau guN giN:jaNo ca:hi:jai
 good translation of good quality be considered necessary

"Grasping of the basic pronunciation of the language should be considered as the feature of good translation-work"(K.K.Kalla,81)

While analysing the changes in the syntactic behaviour of the gerundive constructions we should take into account all the other syntactic changes as well.

In the Early Vedic period the Agent NP in gerundive constructions was marked by dative, but by the time of Vedic prose the dative in this function was replaced by genitive and by instrumental. When the gerundives were used as the equivalents of finite verbs - and this one was their new and productive use, - this marking of Agent NPs by instrumental was predominating.

According to Hock (1986), the passives' pattern to use instrumental as Agent marker has become generalized, and thus,

the =*ta* participles and the gerundives have started to mark their Agent NPs predominantly by instrumental as well. The Early NIA still preserve this situation characterized by the reign of passive syntax devoid of its active counterpart. The Agent NPs of both the P-oriented constructions - the one of participial origin and the other the gerundival one - were marked by instrumental case. Compare in this respect examples (41) and (43).

Later in Western NIA both the constructions have lost the ability to mark their Agent NPs by instrumental; the gerundive constructions have restored the state that was typical for Early Vedic, and the participle constructions have developed various ways of Agent NPs marking but usually they were not using the instrumental case for this.

It should be stated that the above mentioned generalisation on all the P-oriented constructions of typically passive pattern was thus not existing any more in Western NIA.

Now we should analyse as to what was the fate in Western NIA of the third P-oriented construction side by side with the other two, had been functioning in Ancient Indian and had a corresponding existence in NIA, -that is, of passive proper.

In Early Western NIA the construction, traditionally described by grammarians as passive, was actually functioning only in the imperfective (non-genitive) domain. Passive was formed through the help of suffixes =*i*:=, =*i*:*j*:=, =*i*:*y*= etc. (the vowel might be shortened) added to the verb base before the personal inflections of Present and Future tenses or before the imperfective participle basis. The use of this construction did not imply any surface manifestation of Agent NP, and the construction had either neutral or modal meanings. The neutral reading was typical for occurrences where the Agent was not important at all, and due to this the corresponding NP was not present in the sentence structure; see example (53) of 17th century Rajasthani and the other one - (54) - presenting Old Punjabi of Adi Granth:..ls1

(53) *vista:r*
detailed description

a:ge
later

likhi:jasi:
will be written-fut.
pass.3rd pers.sg

<i>piN</i>	<i>sakhēp</i>	<i>thoRo</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>likHiyai</i>
but	brief one	a little	bit	being written -pres pass.3rd .pers sg
<i>cHai</i>	be-pres.3rd pers sg.pl.			

"A detailed description will be written later but now the brief one is being written": (R.G., 41)

Passive sentences might also convey meaning of habituality, and the missing Agent NP in such cases was understood as generic:

(54) <i>virle</i>	<i>koi :</i>	<i>pa : i : ani</i>
rare	somebody (are)	obtained-pres.pass.3rd pers.pl.

<i>jīha:</i>	<i>pia:re</i>	<i>neh</i>
(in) whom	(to) God	love (is)

"There are rare people who (truly) love God" (Farid, 99)

This sentence might also have modal reading: "there can be found rare people...".

Another frequent meaning of the passive construction is that of necessity or - with the negation - or prohibition. See the following examples from Farid:

(55) <i>je</i>	<i>ja : na :</i>	<i>mai :</i>	<i>ja : i : ai</i>
if	known	having died	it should be gone-pres pass 3rd pers.sg

<i>gHumi</i>	<i>na:</i>	<i>a:i:ai</i>
back	not	returned pres pass 3rd pers.sg

"Having died, not possible to come"

<i>jhu:Thi:</i>	<i>duni:a:</i>	<i>lagi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>a:p</i>
false	world	having attached	(to) not	self

vanāi::ao

should not be given up destroyed-pres pass 3rd pers sg

“(To) the false world having attached (your own) self
should not be given up (destroyed)”

<i>boli:ai</i>	<i>sacu</i>	<i>dharamu</i>	<i>jhu:Thu</i>
should be said-pres	truth	dharma	false
pass 3rd pers sg			

<i>na:</i>	<i>boli:ai</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>guru</i>	<i>dasai</i>
not	should be said-pres	what	guru	tells
	pass 3rd pers sg			

<i>va:T</i>	<i>muri:da:</i>	<i>joli:ai</i>
that way	o pupil	should be gone

“Truth should be said, false dharma should not be said/
what guru tells (that) way, o pupil, should be gone”

“If it is known that people go after death and cannot come back, do not give up (destroy) yourself, having attached to that imaginary world. Tell truth (according to) dharma, do not tell lie. O pupil! Go by the way told by guru”. (Farid, 131).

These meanings of necessity and prohibition gave start for the modern polite imperative uses of such passives.

In the 17-18 centuries, when the case marking system changed, simultaneously with this process the new passive of analytic type with the verb *ja:=* to go started evolving. Contrary to the old synthetic passives with suffixes of *=i:=* etc. type, the new passives also had the non-demotional variety and might be used in the ergative domain. At the very beginning the use of these non-demotional new passives was restricted mainly by negative sentences, and they usually implied the meanings of ability - non-ability; the Agent NP with them was marked by the instrumental postposition.

For example, in Raj.:

- (56) *iN - sũi* *1oh* *kiyo* *na* *gayo*
by him weapon done not aux.pass.

"He could not strike" (R.G.,56)

- (57) *asa:De pa:sō jHu:T chaDia: nahi: ja:dā:*
 us from(by) lie left not aux.pass

"Lies cannot be left by us" (P.P.V., 71)

During the period of 18-19 centuries the demotional passive with suffix *=i:=* was being intensely used in texts based on Western Punjabi dialects, while in the Eastern Punjabi dialects of this time the demotional passives with *ja:=* were preferred. In Western Punjabi the imperfect participles formed from passive stems with suffix *=i:=* were ousting the personal passive forms, and the frequency of such uses was increasing. Thus in place of personal passives, like in the sentence

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (58) <i>Du:gar</i> | <i>kahi:e</i> | <i>parbat</i> | <i>paha:r</i> |
| dugar | (is) called-pass
pres.3rd pers sg | hill | moun
tain |

“(By the word) dugar mountain, the high hill, is called”
(P.P.V., 35)

The more ordinary were constructions with passive imperfective participles in place of personal passive forms, like in the sentence

- (59) *soraTHi* *ra : gu* *ga : i : ta :*
 sorath *rag* *sung-sing.pass.impf.part masc.sg.*

hai teri: dharti: ma:hi
is your land in (P.P.V., 56)

The intransitive verb forms with this =i:= suffix of synthetic passives were also not infrequent in such uses:

- (60) *a:se* *ādese* *vio* *kiūkar* *rahi : da:* *hai ..* *arise*
 lust jealousy in how lived is lust

ādese *vic* *i ũ* *rahi:da:*
 jealousy in this way lived-past impf.part.masc.sg.

hai *ʃi u* *ʃal* *upari*
 is as wa ter on

“How one can live in the land of lust and jealousy?... -In the land of lust and jealousy one can live like the work duck lives on the water (staying unwet)” (P.P.V., 48)

In Modern Standard Punjabi passives with =i:= usually imply the modal connotations of necessity, ability or prohibition (the latter one - mostly in negative sentences), and their use is limited to the corresponding constructions.

For example:

- (61) *choTe* *hundā:* *kadi:* *holi:* *nahi:* *si:* *boli:da:*
 small being ever slowly not war spoken

“We never could speak slowly when being young” (Smirnov, 1976)

- (62) *ewē* *ja:i:da:*
 this way is gone

“This is how one should go” (Smirnov, 1976)

- (63) *ewē* *nāhi:* *ja:i:da:*
 this way not is gone

“This is how one should not go” (Smirnov, 1976)

These passive with $=i:=$ are always demotional and are never used in the perfective domain.

The new passive with $ja:=$ can be used with and without the expressed Agent NP, and it has neutral as well as modal readings. Its uses, contextual meanings and functions are very much similar to those of Hindi-Urdu passives with $ja:=$ well described by many linguists (Kachru, 1966; Kachru, 1980, Davison, 1982; Balachandran, 1971; Pandharipande, 1979).

For our analysis here the important point is that passives with $ja:=$ are used without limits in all the tenses and aspects, including the perfective domain. In written formal prosaic styles the non-demotional passives with $ja:=$ are possible in affirmative sentences that closely correspond to their active counterparts, the main differences between them being connected with Topic and Focu

64) <i>sthā:nak</i>	<i>kameti:si</i>	<i>vallō</i>	<i>hor</i>	<i>vī:</i>	<i>vadHere</i>
local	committees	by	more	even	many
<i>galti:ā:</i>	<i>kī:ti:a:</i>		<i>ja:rahi:ā:</i>	<i>han</i>	
mistakes	made		being	are	

"Many more mistakes are being made by local committees" (Smirnov, 1976)

The Agent NPs in $ja:-$ passives' constructions are marked by different, ablative- like, postpositions with original meanings from, by hand of, from the side etc. (*t, pa:ss, vall, kol*), and this variability of markers is an additional proof that the construction has not been completely grammaticalized yet.

Contrary to the situation in Punjabi where passive stems with suffix $=i:=$ cannot serve as a basis for producing perfective participles, in Modern Rajasthani the passive suffix $=i:j=$ is possible in the perfective participles:

(65) <i>satat</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>na:Tak</i>	<i>likHi:jiya:</i>	<i>vaih</i>
vikram samvat	1980	upto	which	plays	were written	they

<i>lagbHag</i>	<i>sa:ra:i:</i>	<i>sa:ma:jik</i>	<i>ha:</i>
approximately	all-emph	social	were

"Plays (that are) written before 1980 years of Vikram Samvat,were predominantly social" (G.Bhandari, 8)

N.D.Swami in his Rajasthani Grammar illustrates the use of non-demotional passives with suffix =i:j=, but it is remarkable that all the examples given by him do not belong to the perfective domain:

(66) <i>ghoRai</i>	<i>ṣū:</i>	<i>gha:s</i>	<i>kha:yi:kai</i>
horse	by	grass	is being eaten

"Grass is being eaten by horse"

(67) <i>mha:rai</i>	<i>su:</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ka:m</i>	<i>koni:</i>	<i>kari:jai</i>
me	by	that	work	not	being done

"That work is not done by me"

(68) <i>mha:rai</i>	<i>ṣū:</i>	<i>ava:</i>	<i>koni:</i>	<i>ja:yi:yai</i>
me	by	this time	not	being done

"I cannot go this time" (Swami, 1960)

In texts sentences of (67) and of (68) types - i.e. with negations and modal renderings - are also possible. But I have never come across anything like (66), and all my Rajasthani informants were immediately changing passive sentences of (66) type into their - ordinary -active equivalents.

The new passives with *ja:=* in Rajasthani can be used with all tense and aspect forms; the Agent NP is usually avoided even in written formal prose styles or, when - rarely - it is expressed, it is marked by only partially grammaticalized postpositions, like *rai ha:th su:* from hand of etc. (this latter one is quite comparable with the Punj.postposition *de hattho* by hands (of) used in the

same function). For example:

- (69) *tha:kar* *rai* *ha:th* *sū:* *bha:rji:* *nai* *j uha:rji:* *donū:*
 Thakur of hand by Bhurji and juhar ji- both
- Dakait* *ma:rya:* *ja:vai*
 bandits killed aux.pres

"By the hand of thakur both the bandits - Bhurji and Juharji killed" (S.Parik, 17)

To conclude this brief account of passives' evolution in both the languages, it should be stressed once again that in Early Raj. and Early Punj. there existed only demotional synthetic passives (with suffixes of *=i:j=*, *=i:=* type), produced from both transitive and intransitive verbal stems, used in non-perfective domain and having 'neutral' as well as modal readings. In Modern Standard Punjabi such passives might also be used without Agent NPs, in the non-perfective domain and with modal readings only. In Modern Rajasthani these passives have penetrated into the perfective domain as well, and sometimes - though still rarely - they might be used with explicit Agent NPs, always implying modal connotations (especially in negative sentences). The new passives with *ja:=* in both the languages might be used with all aspects and tenses; the Agent NPs with them are rarely expressed, and if so, are marked by half-grammaticalized postpositions.

In both the languages as the product of their evolution there appeared the other P-oriented construction - the stative one denoting the state achieved as the result of the performed action.

Thus Modern Raj. and Punj. have three constructions based on perfective participles in their structure: ergative, passive and stative. The stative construction is based on the perfective participial complex consisting of two components; one is the perfective participle proper, the other - the perfective participle of the auxiliary verb to be (the latter component in masc.sg. has the form *hoia:* in Punj. and *thako* etc in Raj.). Raj. also has the stative participle formed synthetically - by adding suffix *=R=* (with the gender-number inflections following) to the ordinary perfective participles' base. For example, from the verb base *kar=* 'to do'

the stative participles in Punj. (masc.sg.nom.) are: Punj. *ki:ta: hoia:*; Raj. *kariyo/ kiyo/ ki:dho. thako/huyo* (there are many irregular varieties) or - synthetic form - *kiyo = R = o*. These stative participles can be formed from transitive and intransitive verbal stems with some lexical restrictions. One lexico-grammatical restriction is important: the verbal stem must obligatorily denote the action that tends to reach its limit. For example, *ja:= 'to go'* is '+ limitable', but *ca/= 'to move'* is '-limitable'. That is why in Raj. (but the same is in Punj.) the stative participle *gayoRo* 'gone' is possible, but the stative *calyoRo* 'move' is not. The situation might be compared with the lexical restrictions on passives as the latter can be formed from volitional verb stems only.

It should be reminded that in old NIA texts the construction with the perfective participle was neither active, nor passive, and it might denote both the result of a certain action and the state that follows as the result of this performed action. Construction presented in (42) might be considered as Agent-demotional version of construction like in (43).

Thus Modern Punjabi and Rajasthani have developed two separate oppositions: 'active - passive', on the one hand, and 'inchoative - stative' on the other; the latter opposition might be manifested in Present Perfect and Past Perfect tenses only, as in Simple Past etc., the stative construction is not possible. For example, for stative the work has been done there exist: a) marked statives - Raj. *ka:m karyoRo hai/ka:m karyo thako hai ka:m karyo huvo hai*; Punj. *kam ki:ta: hoia: hai*; b) unmarked statives (that can be looked at as varieties of the previous, marked forms) - Raj. *ka:m karyo hai*; Punj. *kam ki:ta: hai*; c) passives - Raj. *ka:m kari:- jiyo hai / ka:m kariyo gayo hai*; Punj. (only!) *kam ki:ta: gia: hai*.

In Rajasthani the synthetic passive-stative form, combining in it the suffixes of passive and marked stative and implying both - the passive proper and stative - meanings is also possible:

(70) <i>jad</i>	<i>sasā:r</i>	<i>ri:</i>	<i>na:riyā:</i>	<i>mfē</i>	<i>dura:ca:</i>
when	world	of	women	among	bad behaviour
<i>cha:jiyoRau</i>	<i>hai</i>				
spread	is				

“When bad way of behaviour has/is spread among women...” (Shaktidan Kavya, 47)

The tripartite opposition active - passive - stative exists in non-demotional constructions, the active and the non-demotional passive constructions have been characterised above. The non-demotional statives function ergatively in Punjabi but show accusative type of behaviour in Raiasthani. For example, Puni.

- (71) si:ta: ne (A) sa:Rhi: (P) pa:i: hai
sita-erg sari-fem.sg put on-fem sg aux fem sg

hai
aux pres.3rd pers sq.

"Sita (having put on sari) is in sari"
compare this with Present Perfect

- (72) *si:ta:ne(A)* *sa:Rhi:(P)* *pa:i:* *hai*
 sita-erg sari put on-fem sg aux pres.3rd per. sg

"Sita has put on sari"

- (73) *ra:mu: ri: luga:vaRi: (A) khu:Na: mẽ ekā kañi:*
 ramu of wife-fem.sg. corner in one side

baiThi: *hai* *ghu:* *ghTau (P)* *ka:RhyauRi:*
sitting is sari end-masc.sg covered-fem.sg=pl.

“Ramu's wife is setting on one side of the corner, (her face) covered by the sari-end” (A.Josi, 89)

Ambalal Josi, the author of the quoted play, was born in Jodhpur, the centre of Marwari. The other sentence of the same type was taken by me from the native speaker of Mewari - in this Rajasthani dialect, as well as in Marwari, the stative construction also behaves accusatively:

- [illegible]

"I swore an oath"

(Mathur, 105)

The control by Agent NPs inside the constructions with transitive stative participles, the attrition of A - S opposition in the majority of nominal (nouns' and pronouns') paradigms and the possibility for shift in verbal concord control (in favour of Agent NPs) in some Rajasthani dialects might be looked at as evidence of the fact that, in spite of the predominant ergative-type syntax in the sphere of verbal agreement (see above), Rajasthani in general has advanced a lot on its way of creating a wholly accusative type of system.

In an ideally accusative system A and S usually have the same subject properties; besides, in such a system the same subject properties are conferred by A to P pass. under passive transformation. In this respect it would be important to analyse the subject properties of different NPs in Rajasthani and Punjabi.

It has been already shown by linguists / Kachru, 1976; Klaiman, 1979/ that in Modern Hindi, Kashmiri and Punjabi not all the subject properties of Agent NPs in active construction are transferred to the Patient NPs of their passive equivalents since a true passive transformation has not still evolved in these languages, they cannot be viewed as representing the ideally accusative type. It is worth mentioning in this respect that in passive sentences with absolutes it is passive A-NP (and not passive P-NP) that controls the absolutes - this is true for not only Hindi, Kashmiri and Punjabi but also for Gujarati and Rajasthani. See the examples (78), (79), (80) received from the informants:

(78) *vakh vakh lōka: nū: bara:bar haku dekar*
 different people to equal rights having given

is zami:n de puttār: nū: ate pardesia: nū:
 this land of sons to aur foreigners to

sama:n adHika:r di:te gaye san
 equal rights given aux were

"Having given equal rights to different people, sons of this land as well as foreigners were given equal rights"

- (79) *i: bha:sa: ni:ti: npNa:i:ne pa:Li: hai*
 this language policy having been accepted followed is

"This language policy, having been accepted".

- (80) *gā:Du: joTi:ne taiya:r kâti devo: ma: a:vyu:*
 cart having been harnessed prepared war pass.

"The cart, having been harnessed got prepared" etc.

This universal for NIA feature of controlling the absolutivisation by A pass. instead of P pass. might be explained after Hock historically as the general shift from subject-oriented syntax (in Early Vedic) to agent-oriented one (starting from the period of Vedic prose).

The cause for this shift, Hock is trying to find on intrastructural grounds when suggesting that the process was triggered by constructions with gerundives as the most advanced in the development of a new, demotional variety, made from intransitives, i.e. a variety lacking any surface subjects (Hock, 1986).

In connection with the conjunctive participle control it is also worth mentioning that in non-demotional passive structures of all the herein analysed Western NIA languages A pass. is and previously also has been) usually occupying the most left position in the sentence (with the natural exclusion of the cases of inversion).

To conclude, it must be stressed again that Early Western NIA is a kind of a culmination of the development of ergativity in Indo-Aryan: not only the constructions with the reflexes of the transitive =ta / =na participles of Ancient Aryan do show ergative type of syntactic behaviour, but the whole of perfective domain is clearly organized on ergativity principles. Among the most important ergativity features, there might be mentioned: the passive character of syntax in general; the instrumental Agent marking in gerundives' and transitive perfective participle constructions; the non-existence of active- passive opposition in perfective domain; absence of true passives (with expressed Agents and without any additional semantic connotations) in the system,

and some others (see above).

The late Western NIA is marked by the attrition of ergativity features, and changes in perfective participle constructions were simultaneous with the typologically important changes in the whole of ergative domain. There appeared demotional and later non-demotional passives in ergative domain, though this process of evolving true passive transformation has not been completed yet. The instrumental Agent marking in gerundive and perfective participle constructions has almost ceased existing. The system of Rajasthani has evolved even further: though its verbal concord rules in perfective participle constructions are predominantly of ergative type, the agreement inside the newly acquired stative constructions is with the Agent, and besides some other ones, this is an important feature of quickly taking force accusative typological pattern. The existence of split verbal control in some Rajasthani dialects and Agent-control over absolutivisation are other clear signs of the same process. It might be supposed that the agreement pattern in ergative construction was formed earlier (probably not later than by 17th century) while the other, accusative-type, processes in Rajasthani of A - S opposition in the majority of nominal paradigms. In general, the late Western NIA languages though sometimes developing or losing morphological or syntactic ergativity features, have preserved in deep syntax their Agent-orientation.

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- Sharimali Narayandatt / bi:Ni:

Both the essay and the play of the same author - Shaktidan Kaviya - were used, so after the name of the author in text the abbreviated name of the book: R.N.S. (ra:jastha:ni: nibandhangrah) p.6 and R.E. (ra:jastha:ni: ek:ki:) p.8; in other cases only the author's name is mentioned.

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TAMIL INFLUENCE ON TELUGU A SOCIO- LINGUISTIC CASE STUDY OF SOUTH AFRICAN TELUGU

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Abstract: This article focuses on two aspects of the influence of Tamil language on South African Telugu (SATE) i.e. a) the extensive lexical borrowings used by the present-day SATE speakers and b) how the recipient language made phonological adjustments in its system to absorb the Tamil loan items to suit its native pattern. The phonological adjustments are discussed in two parts viz. i) assimilations and ii) vowel harmony.

Introduction

Tamil and Telugu are two of the several Indian languages existing in S.A. for over one hundred and thirty years, having been brought over in the period 1860-1911. Although successive South African governments were keen to repatriate the Indian community in the twentieth century, most Indians preferred to stay on in South Africa.

The Telugu dialects which were mainly brought into South Africa were the Eastern, Central and Southern dialects (Prabhakaran 1992 : 22). However, due to various socio-economic and religio-cultural reasons the Tamil language, being a dominant 'in-group' language to Telugu in South Africa, exerted a great influence on Telugu. Many Telugu speakers learnt how to read, speak and write Tamil. Over the past years many inter-marriages took place between these two communities (ibid 1992 : 138-142) and due to increase in Tamil population, Tamil language dominated over the Telugu language. Many Telugu speakers became bilingual in Telugu-Tamil.

Due to this interaction between these two Dravidian languages, over the past one hundred and thirty-three years in South Africa, many Tamil lexical items were borrowed into SATE and enriched its vocabulary. This paper is concerned with the influence of Tamil upon Telugu in South Africa, following Mesthrie's (1984 : 62):

Telugu has the largest number of speakers among the Dravidian languages of India, but has played second fiddle to Tamil in South Africa, where there has been close contact between speakers of these two languages, so much so that the Telugus considered themselves to be a sub-group of the Tamils....The influence of local Tamil on Telugu is an area one would like to know more about, since most elderly speakers of Telugu also speak or understand Tamil, but not vice versa.

Tamil exerted a great deal of religio-cultural influence on Telugu speakers. Many Andhras affiliated with Tamil organizations. In this way the Telugu community was almost absorbed into a Tamil grouping. Many Telugu speakers adopted Tamil customs and cultural habits.

It is only in the late 1920s that a resurgence of Andhra culture occurred due to the fear that they were losing their language and culture. They realised the close relation between language and culture and it resulted in an improvement in the status of the Telugu language. By this time the language was considerably influenced by contact with Tamil. This is reflected in words like the following:

aDama:nam mortgage, *aDuppu* hearth, *aDiyan* a slave, and *kaNaka pillai* a clerk.

Data for this study comes from interviews with older speakers of Telugu today in and around Durban area. Material was gathered from casual and informal speech of the present-day SATE speakers. Some of these speakers were bilingual in Tamil and Telugu, others in Telugu and English, while some could speak all three languages along with the pidgin Fanagalo.

The words listed in this study are Tamil borrowings freely used in SATE rather than manifestations of code-switching. These borrowings may be viewed as instances of cultural diffusion and acculturation and they are characteristics of all speakers of SATE,

irrespective of their knowledge of Tamil. They are used in a variety of speech situations. Furthermore, as they have been integrated into the phonology of SATE, most speakers are not aware of their Tamil origins and some of them are not even prepared to learn and use the Telugu equivalents.

An attempt is later made to characterize some loans in terms of semantic processes like pejoratives etc. The second half of the article deals with the phonological adjustments made in the SATE language due to Tamil influence.

1. Lexical Borrowings

a) Hindu religious items

The following Tamil items are widely used in SATE and they are listed as they are pronounced by the speakers. The SATE meaning for loan words (which are different from Indian Telugu (ITe) in some items) are given in the brackets.

<i>KaDvuLu</i>	God	<i>Muruga</i>	Lord Muruga
<i>Sivan</i>	Lord Siva	<i>PiLLyaru</i>	Lord Vinayaka
<i>NaD ra:ja</i>	Lord Siva	<i>Amman</i>	Goddess Parvathi
<i>Perma:L</i>	Lord Vishnu		

These items are freely used irrespective of individual speakers' knowledge of Tamil. Here it is pertinent to note that due to Tamil influence the main Tamil deity *Muruga* is added to the number of Telugu pantheon along with some village deities such as *Mariamman*, *Drawpadi Amman* and *Munieswaran*. However, the original Telugu terms such as *Subramanyam* (Lord Muruga), *Ganganamma* (Telugu village deity) and others are demise in SATE. At present in South Africa the religio-cultural practices of the Tamils and the Telugus are almost same except for a few activities such as 'Ugadi (Dravidian New Year) celebration and eisteddfodau of both linguistic groups.

b) Household items

The following words are borrowed in connection with

household items.

<i>taTTu</i>	plate	<i>sa:vi</i>	key
<i>paTTu</i>	lock	<i>jannalu</i>	window
<i>tapalu</i>	bolt	<i>talka:ni</i>	pillow
<i>aDpu</i>	stove	<i>nerpu</i>	any fire
<i>na:ka:li</i>	chair	<i>mu:Di</i>	lid
<i>kuNDa</i>	cooking pot		

The SATe speakers although aware of the Telugu terms for items such as window (*kiTiki*), chair (*kurchi*), plate (*paLLem*), stove (*poyyi*) do not use them in their casual speech. However, some interviewees used the Telugu terms for the above items when they were conscious of the presence of the researcher, and used Tamil terms when they were relaxed after the interview. The reason given by them for this usage is that they were more familiar with the Tamil terms than the Telugu ones and they feel it is more easier to use Tamil terms.

c) Fruits, vegetables and food items

The following items connected with food, vegetables and fruits were very freely used in their daily conversation with slight phonological adjustments and deletions.

<i>kawci</i>	meat
<i>arsi ma:vu</i>	rice flour
<i>murunga</i>	drum-sticks
<i>pongalu</i>	the savory made with rice
<i>manja</i>	turmeric powder
<i>karvpulle</i>	curry leaves

Some of these above items have equivalent SATe terms which are used by many Telugus. However, the above terms are in more common usage than their Telugu counterparts.

d) Kinship

Tamil borrowings are also used for certain kinship terms such as:

sambandi (son's/daughter's father/mother-in-law) & (relative)
samsa:ram (wife)
kuDumbam (family)
nadna:(r) (younger sister-in-law)

These examples argue very persuasively for the close contact and relationships between the two communities in South Africa (ibid 1994 : 65). Semantic processes involving Tamil loans

A) Loan blends:

1. A large number of new lexical items have been formed in SATe by combining a Telugu morpheme with a Tamil one. Such compound words are listed below and the native word is bold:

soraka ko:ra	calabash curry
ka:fi /ka:pi du:l	coffee powder
ka:dal PELLI	love marriage
murunga kora	drumsticks curry
koya paNDu	guava fruit
reTTa pillalu	twins
sambandi ku:thuru	relative's daughter
ki:re ko:ra	spinach curry
sabbu du:l	soap powder
mul cokka	full sleeved shirt
taka:li paNDu	tomato fruit
sontho:llu	relatives

There are many more loan blends found in present-day SATe. In this context it is pertinent to note that while combining the two words from Tamil and Telugu languages, new compound words are formed. However, these expressions were used by a few Telugu-speakers, who must of their lives lived amongst the

Tamils and intermarried them. They are given below:

i). **ga:li kappa**. In this loan blend the word **ga:li** means 'wind' and the term **kappa**, borrowed from the source word **kappal**, means 'ship' is used to denote 'an aeroplane'. Sometimes one compound item involves reduplication of a Tamil word with a word of identical meaning in Telugu:

ii. **ni:Ti kappa**. In this loan blend **ni:Ti** means 'water's' and the loan blend once again indicates a ship (same as **kappal**).

2. 'Doublets'.

Sometimes, both borrowed and native elements in loan blends expressing identical meaning are conjoined to indicate specific meaning differing from the original or general meaning conveyed by the two words separately. In the following examples the Telugu items are in bold letters.

i. **nadu madya**. In this compound word **nadu** means 'middle' and **madhya** means 'in the centre'. In ITe it also means 'between'. In SATe this word is used to indicate 'right in the centre'.

ii. **sini pancada:ra**. In this word both **sini** and **pancada:ra** mean 'sugar'. However, some of the SATe speakers use this term to indicate only 'white sugar'.

B) Loan translation

This refers to the conscious or subconscious translation of a Tamil word into Telugu, although the form is clearly made of Telugu morphemes, the structure is translated from Tamil:

eg : **cey** ra:si.

The Tamil phrase **kai ra:si**, which means the 'lucky hand' (usually of a doctor), is borrowed into SATe and the first word **kai** has been unconsciously translated into Telugu word **cey** and used with the same original meaning in source language.

C) Widening of meaning

Lexical items, which in the source language refer to specific things or having a limited sense or meaning, are borrowed

into the native language, expanded to a broader sense or widened in meaning.

i. ***bra:min***. In Indian Tamil (IT) and ITe the term '*bra:hmin*' denotes a 'higher caste person' or a 'higher caste'. However, in South African Tamil (SAT) the term *bra:min* refers to 'a priest', or 'a person born in higher caste' (although the person is not born in the brahmin caste) and 'a vegetarian'. This term, with already widened meaning, is borrowed into SATe, and always used with the same widened meaning by almost all the SATe speakers.

ii. ***veLka:rsi***. The source term for *veLka:rsi* is *veLLakarthis* in IT and means 'a white lady'. This is borrowed into SATe through SAT as *veLka:rsi* where it is used to refer to 'a white lady' or 'a white woman'. However, in SATe the term is used to denote 'a white lady/woman' or any 'dignified woman' or 'a proud Indian woman who acts superior to other women'. This term is also used to refer to any woman who follows western norms and values, thus widening the original meaning of the term from SAT. The original Indian Telugu (ITe) term ***tella dorasani*** (*tella* = white, *dorasani* = a dignified lady) is obsolete in SATe, however, contributing indirectly to widen the meaning of SAT loan word.

iii. ***purTa:si***. The term *purTa:si* in IT means the 'name of a Tamil month' (September-October). This term is used in SAT either as *purTa:si* or *pertasi* to refer to the 'Tamil month', and the 'Tamil month of fasting'. While *pertasi* is used by uneducated SAT and SATe speakers to indicate a 'Tamil month', 'a fasting prayer', 'a month of fasting' and 'a Tamil festival' thus widening the meaning of the SAT term.

D) Restriction of meaning

While borrowing, the semantic range of words may become contracted in the borrowed language.

i. ***selvu***. The source word in IT is *selavu* which means 'expense occurred while buying a thing', 'expedition of an army' and 'going'. In ITe the same term means 'taking leave'. In SAT the term is used to mean 'spending'. However, it is noted that the word loan *selvu* meaning 'cheap' or 'within our reach to buy'. It seems that the SATe speakers, while using the loan, mean that 'they did not spend much money while buying an item'. The term

is not used in the real meaning of the 'expense' itself. Thus the borrowed term is restricted only to a specific meaning in SATe.

ii. **poN**. The term *poN* is used in colloquial IT to denote 'a woman', 'a girl', 'a bride', and 'a daughter'. While used in SAT context the various meanings of the term were lost except 'a girl' thus restricting the usage of the term. The SATe speakers borrowed this SAT term with restricted meaning and use it in the same context.

iii. **a:se**. The term *a:sai* in the source language IT has various meanings viz. 'desire', 'liking', 'inclination' and 'attachment'. This term is used with a restricted meaning in SAT of only 'desire' and 'liking'. The meaning of this term is further restricted when it was borrowed and used in SATe meaning only 'liking'.

iv. **samsa:ram**. The term *samsa:ram* means 'wife', and 'family' in IT as well as SAT. However, this word is borrowed into SATe and used with a restricted meaning denoting only the 'wife'.

v. **paLakam**. Some SAT and SATe bilinguals use this borrowed word *paLakam* (which means 'habit' in IT) to denote only 'bad habits'. They use English to denote 'good habits'.

vi. **bu:mi**. The word is borrowed from IT (in the ITe it is *Bhu:mi*) which means 'the earth' and 'the world'. Although the same meaning is retained in SAT, it has a pejorative meaning in SATe context because it is used to refer only 'land' (a piece of land which you can acquire to build a house or any land).

E) Amelioration

'Amelioration' involves the reinterpretation of words from the source language, attributing more 'positive' connotations than in the source language. Such positive meanings may be noted in the following items.

i. **Ka:waDi**. This term in IT and ITe means 'a bangy/pole with burdens at the ends and carried at the shoulder'. This term is used in SAT and SATe with an elevated meaning to indicate the Tamil ritual performed where the Hindu devotees carry a yoke.

ii. **Kawcu**. The source term for this borrowed word is from IT *Kawuccu* which means 'any thing which smells bad' or 'bad

smell'. This word is borrowed from IT as *kawce* into SAT and used in the context (by some one who does not eat meat) for the aroma which comes out of the cooking meat or fish. This term is borrowed into SATe as *kawchu* and the SATe speakers attributed a more positive meaning for this term because they use this term to refer to 'meat and fish' itself rather than to its aroma which comes while cooking.

F) Pejoration

The reverse process of amelioration is pejoration. The following loan words show this process.

i. **Korangi**. This word is borrowed from *Korangi Pe:Tai* where many spinning mills are present. During the period of indenture some Andhras were recruited from those mills in *Korangi pe:Tai*. During that of indenture the Tamil-speaking people referred to those Andhras as *korngis* and later the term is extended derogatively to refer most of the Andhras as a mocking term. It is pertinent to state that the present-day SATe speakers do not like this term and get offended when they were derogatively called *korngis*.

G) Semantic shift

i. **Ro:Sam**. The IT word *ro:Sam* means 'anger', 'wrath', and 'irritation'. In SAT it means 'anger' (used with restricted meaning) and was borrowed in SATe and used as an adjective which means 'proud' and as a noun which means 'pride'. Here in this example the original meaning of the source term has undergone 'semantic shift'.

ii. **Marya:di**. The term *marya:di* is borrowed from the source language SAT word *marya:dai* meaning 'respect' with slight phonological variations. However, it lost its original meaning in SATe to denote 'greatness' of a family or a person.

H) Idioms

The following are some idiomatic expressions in which Telugu and Tamil borrowed elements are joined together, in a

new construction which became one of the exclusive features of SATE. In the below lists the SATE words are bold.

i. *su:D awta:Du* - lit. 'to become hot'. In SATE it is used in the sense of 'to become furious'.

e.g. *a:Du niNDa sud awta:Du*

lit. he very hot become

SATE. he will be very furious.

ii. *me:l po:ya:Du* - lit. 'he went up'. In SATE it is used as a euphemism (*me:l po:yitta* - IT) 'he died'.

iii. *ku:t a:Du* - lit. 'to (one type of folk) dance'.

In SATE however it conveys two meanings 'to dance' and to jump around (when one is drunk).

e.g. *bi:r koTTi kut a:du*

lit. beer drink dance do

SATE. drink beer and jump around.

Some of the expressions in SATE seem to have been constructed on the pattern of Tamil verb roots. The verb root *tinu* 'to eat' is used in ITe to indicate to eat any solid food (e.g. food, fruits, lunch etc). The verb *ta:ga* 'to drink' is used to consume or drink any liquid (e.g. water, cool drink, coffee, alcohol etc). The Tamil verb *sa:ppiDu* which means both 'drink' and 'eat' is borrowed into SATE speakers who cannot speak SAT at all use the verb *tinu* to indicate 'drink this'.

The following Tamil verb is adopted in a different way in SATE. In Tamil the verb *tu:kku* which means 'to lift something which is heavy (e.g. a child)'.

e.g. *koLandiaya tu:kku*

lift the baby/child.

Similarly the Tamil verb *eDu* which means 'to take' is used 'to take fruits, books.. etc which are not heavy'.

e.g. *inda paLam eDu*

lit. this fruit take

take this fruit

These two Tamil verbs are borrowed into SATE and used somewhat confusingly or uncertainly mixing with some Telugu

verbs and in the process they changed the original meaning of the Telugu verbs. In Telugu the imperative verb *ettuko* means 'to carry a baby/child' and the verb *tisuko* means 'take this thing/object'. However, in SATe the verb *ettuko* is generally used for both 'lifting' and 'taking' due to Tamil influence (after the SAT verb *eduttukko*). The verb root *tisuko* is never used by the second and third generation Telugus born in South Africa and they are not even aware of this verb.

It is noteworthy that some of the Tamil nouns are borrowed with some phonological adjustments and used as verbs in SATe. e.g.,

1. *poriyal* which means 'curry', is borrowed and the Telugu suffix *incu* (from the ITe verb *incuta* which means 'to increase') to make an usual verb *porlincu* which means 'to cook a curry'.

2. *pu:Ta:Du*. In this example the source noun borrowed was *pu:TTu* which means 'lock' and this term is also used as an imperative verb which also means 'lock'. In SATe this term is borrowed and blended with Telugu verbal terminations such as *a:Du* (he did), *indi* (she did) and *a:ru* (they did) and used as a compound verb.

e.g <i>a:Du pu:Ta:Du</i>	(he locked)
<i>a:me pu:Tindi</i>	(she locked)
<i>a:llu pu:Ta:ru</i>	(they locked)

2. Phonological Adjustments

Phonological adjustments made in Telugu due to Tamil influence.

2.1. Adoption of Tamil Consonants

/k/ -----> [g]

The Telugu language has two separate stops viz. /k/, which is a velar voiceless unaspirated stop, and /g/, a velar voiced unaspirated stop. They occur in the initial and medial positions. Medially they occur in intervocalic position and in geminates.

e.g	/k/		
	ka:ki/	[ka:ki]	crow
	/ekku/	[yekku]	climb
	/g/		
	/gadi/	[gadi]	room
	/i:ga/	[i:ga]	house fly
	/mugguru/	[muggru]	three persons

In Tamil the velar plosive /k/ has three allophones viz. [k], [x] and [g]. The voiced velar plosive [g] occurs medially when the phoneme /k/ follows the nasals /n,n,n/ (Thilagawati 1971 : 10). However, there are only two allophones in the Southern dialect viz. [h] and [x] (Mesthrie 1992 : 8).

e.g	/kuranku/	[kurangu]	monkey
	/na:nku/	[na:ngu]	four

The allophonic value [g] occurs in Tamil loans in SATe as observed in the following items.

e.g	Tamil	SATe	meaning
	/kunkumam/	[kunguma]	monkey

More surprisingly, the rule itself has been borrowed, so that many SATe words now have medial /k/ pronounced as [g] in native words even it does not follow the native pattern.

e.g	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/sankaruDu/	[sangaruDu]	Lord Siva
	/vetikite:/	[yedgite:]	if you search
	/paDukundi/	[paDgindi]	she/it slept
	/pillaka:yalu/	[pillaga:yalu]	children
	/lo:kana:dhuDu/	[loganad]	a (male) person's name
	/tilakawati/	[tilagavati]	a (female) person's name

A reverse process of this pattern is also noticed in certain loan items where the initial /k/ is substituted for /g/ (Prabhakaran

1994 : 65).

e.g.	Tamil	SATe	meaning
	[guxan]	[kugan]	one 'person's name
	[gala:Ta]	[kalaTa]	noise
	[go:pa:l]	[ko:pa:l]	one (male) person's name
	other loans		
	glass (Eng)	[khila:su]	glass
	[gadra:] (Bhoj)	[khadra]	one type of beans

It is a measure of just how influential Tamil has been over SATe that native words with initial /g/ now have [k] in SATe. This is noticed in certain native items given below. Some of these items are loaned by South African Tamil-Telugu bilingual speakers.

e.g.	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/go:ngu:ra/	[ko:ngu:ra]	savoury leaves
	/gaDiya:ram/	[kaDiyaram]	clock
	/guNDa/	[kuNDa]	through
	/go:puramu/	[ko:pram]	temple dome

2. /T/ ----> [D]

Standard Telugu has two separate phonemes viz. /T/ and /D/, the former is a retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop and the latter is a retroflex voiced unaspirated stop.

e.g.	1.	/T/	
		/Tankamu/	a coin
		/TamaTaka/	quickly (adv)
	2.	/D/	
		/Dabbu/	money
		Da:nbikamu/	pride

The Tamil retroflex plosive /T/ has two allophones viz. [T], a voiceless retroflex plosive, and [D], a voiced retroflex plosive

(Thilagawati 1971 : 17). According to Mesthrie (1992 : 23) there is one more allophone [r] which occurs intervocalically and the allophone [D] occurs after [N], the homorganic nasal of /T/.

e.g. /naNDu/ [naNDu] crab

Although there are two separate phonemes /T/ and /D/ in ITe and are used separately both in the spoken and written contexts, the SATE speakers tend to substitute /T/ with /D/ in the native items due to Tamil influence and some times treat them as one phoneme.

e.g	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/kuTumbamu/	[kuDumbamu]	family
	/angaDi/	[angaTi]	shop (genitive case)

3.Cluster /ng/

The SATe accepts the Tamil consonant cluster /ng/ and adopts it into its native speech pattern as the cluster /ng/ already exists in the Telugu language.

e.g	Native items	ITe SATe	meaning
	/angaDi/	[angaTi]	shop
	/anungu/	[anungu]	pet

The cluster /ng/ is also used as it is borrowed from Tamil loan items. Tamil loans

Tamil	SATe	meaning
/telungu/ or		
/telengu/	[telungu]	Telugu
/nalungu/	[nalungu]	initiation of the bride/groom
/caDangu/	[caDangu]	function

However, some SATe speakers unnecessarily use this cluster /ng/ in a few of the native items which follow the same pattern.

e.g	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/kalugu/	[kalungu]	to have

/velugu/	[velungu]	light
/karugu/	[karungu]	to melt
/arugu/	[arungu]	to digest

4 /c/ ----> /s/ and their allophones

The Tamil palatal affricate /c/ has three allophones viz. [c], a voiceless palatal affricate, [s], a voiceless alveolar fricative and [j], a voiced palatal affricate (Thilagawati 1971 : 19-20). The voiceless alveolar fricative [s] occurs initially and medially in intervocalic position.

e.g.	Initially:		
	/cattay/	[sattay]	'dress'
	Medially:		
	/pacu/	[pasu]	'cow'

In Telugu the phoneme /c/ is a palatal voiceless affricate.

e.g.	/cu:Du/	[tsuDu]	'look/see'
	/cira/	[cira]	'saree'

In Telugu /s/ is an alveolar voiceless fricative which has two more sibilants, palatal /s/ and retroflex /S/. is different from the phoneme /c/. However, many SATE speakers have borrowed the Tamil allophones [c] and [s] and use it as they occur in Tamil. Thus, due to the above influence, many SATE speakers treat the two Telugu phonemes /c/ and /s/ as one and the same and freely substitute them as they like even in native items.

e.g.	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/guDise/	[guDce]	hut
	/molucu/	[molsu]	to sprout
	/ruci/	[rusi]	taste

The allophones of /c/

As stated earlier (see 3.10) the Telugu phoneme /c/ has two allophones [ts] and [c]; the former occurs before back vowels and the latter before front vowels.

e.g.	[tsu:Du]	see/look
	[ci:ra]	saree

Tamil phonology does not have these allophones. So, the Tamil speakers are not aware of these two allophones. Many of the SATE speakers are aware of these allophones and learn how to write them in Telugu (Here it is pertinent to note that the South African Telugu speakers until recently are not aware of the fact that the Modern Telugu does not have different scripts for these allophones. They still use the old script which has two different scripts for these allophones). However, almost all of the SATE speakers do not use these allophones but use the phonemes /c/ and /j/ in their speech context which results in the loss of two allophones in SATE. This loss could be attributed to the Tamil influence on their spoken Telugu.

Allophones of /j/

Similarly, the phoneme /j/ has two allophones viz. [j] (IPA [dz]), which occurs before front vowels and [dʒ] before back vowels (Krishnamurti, 1985 : 2).

e.g.	[zalubu]	influenza
	[jila]	scratching feeling

The same fate occurred to these allophones (please compare the above example) in South African Telugu.

5 The Aspirate /h/

As observed before (see the consonantal chart of the Tamil phonemes) it is evident that in the Tamil language the phoneme /h/ is not present, but due to Sanskrit influence it occurs as a marginal form. Although aware of the phoneme /h/ in the loan words, the Tamil speakers have a tendency to avoid the phoneme /h/ in their speech context. The initial and final /h/ of the recipient lan-

guage is dropped and medially it is replaced by /v/ or /y/.

However, in Tamil the voiceless velar plosive /k/ has a voiceless velar fricative allophone [x] and another allophone [h] (Mesthrie 1992 : 8) and this occurs medially. It occurs intervocalically and also if the phoneme /k/ follows the phonemes /y,r,l,L/.

e.g. /va:Lka/ [va:Lxa] a blessing

The Tamil speakers use [x] or a voiced velar plosive [g] for all the Sanskrit loan itmes which have the phoneme /h/ medially and use /a/ in the initial place.

e.g	/nakam/	[naxam]	finger-nail
	/va:Lka/	[va:Lxa]	a blessing
	/halwa:/	[alwa:]	a sweetmeat
	/sne:ha/	[sne:ga]	a girl's name
	/maha/	[maga]	great

According to Mesthrie (1992 : 9) in South African Tamil (SAT) this velar fricative allophone [x] also occurs medially.

e.g. /Muruka/ [Muruxa] Lord Muruga

In Telugu /h/ is a glottal voiceless aspirated fricative and occurs in the initial and medial positions of a word.

e.g	/ho:Talu/	[ho:Talu]	hotel
	/aharamu/	[aharamu]	food

However, many SATe-Tamil bilinguals, who lived most of their life amongst Tamil speakers, pronounce /h/ as [g] in the middle and as /a/ in the initial place due to Tamil influence.

e.g	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/maha:/	[maga:]	great
	/hariharuDu/	[arigara]	Lord Siva
	/hamsava:Ni/	[amcava:Ni]	Goddess Saraswathi
	/halwa:/	[alwa:]	sweetmeat
	/hanumantuDu/	[anmntuDu]	Lord Hanuman

7 Final consonants are dropped

As words in Telugu always end in vowels, a vowel is added to the loan item to suit the native pattern (see 4.1).

e.g.	loan	ITe	meaning
	<i>zami:n</i> (Urdu)	[jami:]	land
	job (Eng)	[za:bu]	job

The same rule is applied to Tamil loans as most of the Tamil items end in consonants. In the following examples the final consonants of the loan items are dropped to adjust the Telugu phonological system. In this process the original meaning of the loan item is sometimes changed, either elevated or degraded (Prabhakaran 1994 : 75).

e.g	IT & ST	SATe	SATe meaning
	/kappal/	[kappa/	ship/aeroplane
	/ko:lam/	[ko:la]	sacred paintings
	/na:n/	[na:]/[na:nu]	l
	/u:rakka:y/	[urga]	pickle

In the following examples a Telugu vowel is inserted to the loan items to suit the native pattern. e.g.

Tamil	SATe	meaning
/aval/	[avalu]	she
/eL /	[eLLu]	sesame
/sol /	[sollu]	tell (verb)
		word (noun)

8 Labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/

ITe has a phoneme /f/, which is used for any loan words from English, Urdu and others. It occurs in the initial and medial positions of a word. Medially it occurs in clusters (Polamarasetty 1984 : 31).

e.g	loan	SATe	meaning
	coffee (Eng)	[ka:fi:]	coffee

sa:f (Urdu)	[sa:fu]	clear
fifty (Eng)	[pipti:]	fifty

Tamil phonology does not allow /f/, and /p/ is substituted for /f/ in the loan words initially and medially.

e.g	English loan	Tamil
	fan	[pan]
	coffee	[ka:pi]

Although the first generation South African born Telugu speakers are aware of the phoneme /f/, many second and third generation SATe speakers, being not aware of this phoneme, do not use it in their Telugu speech. Due to Tamil influence they tend to substitute /p/ for /f/.

e.g.	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/fyinu/	[payinu]	fine
	/a:fi:su/	[a:pi:cu]	office

However, they pronounce /f/ while communicating in English. Thus, due to Tamil domination the phoneme /f/ is not commonly used in SATe and leading to its obsolescence.

3. Vowel adjustments

In this sub-section an attempt is made to document some of the vowel adjustments noticed in SATe due to Tamil influence. The researcher analyzed the available data and the results are documented. However, it is necessary to mention that this area needs further research to arrive at more significant conclusions about vowel adjustments.

As far as vowels are concerned, almost all the Telugu vowels have their counterparts in Tamil (except for /x:/). Moreover, almost all the Telugu vowels, unlike the Tamil vowels, are capable of occurring in the three positions of a word.

According to Subbaiah (1967 : 37) there is no final occurrence for Tamil /e,e:,o/. However, we can observe these vowels

end in certain borrowed words such as /pa:tte:/, /in:ce:/ and /kuve/ (Thilagawati 1971 : 58). Similarly the following native items also have /e/ in the final position.

e.g. /ice/ [ise] music

A. Adding vowels in the final position .

As mentioned earlier, unlike the Tamil consonants, the Telugu consonants do not occur word-finally. Due to this rule many of the lexicals which are borrowed from other languages are used in Telugu with a vowel inserted finally (Prabhakaran 1994 : 68).

e.g.	English loans	ITe/SATe
	Rand	[ra:nDu]
	town	[tawunu]
	Durban	[Darbanu]

The same process is also applied to the Tamil loan items in SATe where usually a short vowel is inserted at the final place (Prabhakaran 1994:68).

e.g.	Tamil	SATe
	/du:L/	[du:Lu]
	/ka:dal/	[ka:dalʊ]
	/pandal/	[pandalu]

B. 'Dropping off' or replacement of the final /e,e:/,o/ in SATe.

In Telugu the vowel /e:/ is used as emphasis in the final position of a word.

e.g.	/adi/	[adi]	that one
	/ade:/	[ade:]	that is the one or that one

Due to Tamil influence, the SATe speakers tend to drop the /e:/ as the emphasis in the final position and substitute /e:/ with /a:/.

e.g.	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/ade:/	[ad da:]	that is the one
	/ataDe:/	[aDu da:]	he is the one
	/le:de:/	[le:d da:]	yes it is not here

C. Deletion of /æ:/

The Telugu vowel system is slightly different from Tamil vowel system due to the presence of vowel phoneme /æ/. In Telugu length is phonemic and /æ:/ occurs only with length (Swarajya Lakshmi 1984 : 59).

e.g	/koTTa:ka/	after beating
	/koTTa:w/	you beat

According to Krishnamurti (1961), this item /koTTa:w/ is used with a high falling pitch. The vowel phoneme /a:/ is not present in the Tamil language.

Many of the SATe speakers are not aware of the vowel phoneme /æ:/ and use /a:/ for æ:/.

e.g	ITe	SATe	meaning
	/koTTæ:ka/	[koTTa:ka]	after beating
	/koTTæ:wa:/	[koTTa:va:]	did you beat
	/koTTæ:da:/	[koTTa:Da:]	did he beat

This deletion of /x:/ in the SATe could be attributed to the Tamil influence.

D. /ai/ ----> /e,a,i/

Usually in Telugu the diphthongs /ai/ and /ou/ have not final occurrence in a word except in a few items.

e.g	/kai/	for
	/ra:ka kai/	for the arrival

However, the Tamil diphthong /ai/ has a final occurrence in many items.

e.g	<i>/danDanai/</i>	'punishment'
	<i>/a:sai/</i>	'desire' 'liking' etc.

The SATe speakers tend to delete /ai/ in Tamil loans and replace it with any vowel which suits the Telugu vowel harmony.

e.g	Tamil	SATe	meaning
	<i>/danDanai/</i>	<i>[danDane]</i>	punishment
	<i>/a:sai/</i>	<i>[a:se]</i>	desire
	<i>/pa:vaDai/</i>	<i>[pa:wDe]</i>	saree 'petticoat
	<i>/marya:dai/</i>	<i>[marya:di]</i>	respect

4 Conclusion

In this article an attempt is made to analyze the influence of one of the existing major Dravidian languages existing in South Africa on Telugu, another major Dravidian language. Tamil as a 'dominant in-group' language exerted great influence on Telugu the minority of the Indian languages in South Africa. While analyzing the Tamil influence on SATe, the author came across extensive Tamil lexical borrowings used in the local Telugu variety and various phonological adjustments made due to those borrowings. It is surprising to note that the researcher came across only a few morphological adjustments made in SATe due to Tamil influence. However, this is a topic for future research. Similarly, it is important to study SATe structure, existing dialect variety, obsolescence and language change due to the influence of the languages such as English, Zulu/Fanagalo, Bhojpuri and Gujarati.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the University of Durban-Westville for granting me research funds which reduced my financial burden and helped me to complete my field work and complete my research on time. I also thank Dr. Rajend Mesthrie, Senior Lecturer, Department of Linguistics, University of Cape Town, South Africa, for his valuable guidance and constructive criticism on the original draft of this article.

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mitted to the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaysia.

ROLE OF TRANSLATION IN LEXICOGRAPHY

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Abstract: This paper attempts to outline the job of semanticists, translators and lexicographers. Semanticist is often content with denotative meaning (and sometimes connotative meaning) and lexicographer aims at listing these types of meanings besides colloquational meaning. It is for the translator to make use of the relevant form for terms of translation equivalence.

1.0 Translation is defined as ' the replacement of textual material in one language (source language) by equivalent textual material in another language (target language). This definition of Catford (1965:20) is acceptable to most of us, and as a matter of fact, it is being practiced in a similar fashion. Catford (ibid), is accredited with a further distinction that he makes between *formal correspondence* and *textual equivalent* in translation. A formal is that TL form which approximately fits in the place of SL form during the process of translation. By textual equivalence, it is observed that a particular linguistic form may be the equivalent usage in TL for an SL form although there are many other similar meanings. The equivalent form in TL and its selection entirely depends on the Collocation usage, text material or even the register variations in SL.

1.1 It is in the compilation of bilingual dictionaries that a lexicographer deals with two languages. In this process the lexical units of one language (SL) are either defined or explained in another language (TL). While discussing at length the theory of lexicography, Zgusta (1971:274) opines that the bilingual dictionary work involves coordinating with lexical units of one language with lexical units of another language, which are equivalent in their lexical meaning. Much earlier to Zgusta, a translation specialist Jacobson (1957:233) narrates that bilingual dictionary compilation is 'the field of interlingual translation or translation proper . . . an interpretation of the verbal signs by means of some other language'.

The specialists cited above, did not recognize the fact that finding out of equivalents is a problem for all classes of words in different languages. For example, a pronoun in English and its equivalent in Hindi is shown below.

E. You (sg)

H. tu, tum, aap

The English linguistic form has three Hindi equivalents, and these have restricted distribution when compared to that of English. The selection of Hindi equivalent depends on the text / situation / collocation. It is clear that there is no isomorphism amongst languages. 'There are no exact correspondences between related words in different languages' (Nida 1958:281). In continuation Nida observes that though dictionary compilers cannot attain an absolute equivalence they can give very another language or culture, nevertheless they can give very useful approximate descriptions. At this juncture one must remember that lexicographer should keep in mind the need to provide translational equivalents and explanatory equivalents of the lexical units of the SL and TL. If both the SL and TL belong to the same language family or if there is a continuum between the culture of SL and TL, then the problem of providing translation equivalents and/or explanatory equivalents will be much reduced. If the SL and TL belong to different language families with profound cultural differences, then the problem of providing equivalents is more. The current theories of translation, viz., semantic translation and communicative translation come in as handy tools for the lexicographer at this point. In the next section of this paper, it is proposed to discuss briefly the theories of meaning and its relationship to form.

2.0 The first theory of meaning mainly refers to concrete objects like Hindi *kursii*, *palang* : actions like *dawrna*, *ro:na*: states like *samajhna*., *pahca:nna*:: abstract notions like *viswa:s:ghamand*: qualities like *la:1*, *pi: la*. The second theory of meaning, which is popularly known as ideational or the mentalistic theory, refers to the meaning of an expression along with the thoughts or ideas associated with it in the minds of a speaker or listener. It is thus clear that in this theory the notion of ideas is conceived as mental pictures or images. The third theory of meaning is known as behavioural or the causal theory. The theory propagates that the meaning is not associated with mental images or ideas but it solely

depends on the hearers response to an utterance. All these three theories are inadequate to account for correct meaning (For a detailed discussion of the theories of meaning see Fodor, J.D. (1977); Southworth and Daswani (1974)

2. 1. The first theory of meaning, as we have seen above, deals with the concrete objects, and such other thing. The forms have a literal or obvious meaning. Hence they are known as denotative or referential forms. The meaning in such cases makes the communication possible. Probably it is only for the denotative meanings that Zqusta (1971:274) suggest, the possibility of lexical equivalents. A bilingual dictionary maker is well aware of the fact that denotative meanings alone will not solve the problem. There are many other lexical forms in the language which have some additional meaning besides the denotative or referential meaning. An additional association or idea suggested by a word or phrase, is known as connotative meaning. The connotative meaning is SL may not find an equivalent form in TL. A comprehensive approach incorporating the three theories, viz: semantic theory, translation theory and a lexicographic theory is yet to take shape.

Catford's (1965) idea of formal correspondence and textual equivalence in translation theory is almost akin to that of explaining denotative meaning and connotative meaning in bilingual dictionary compilation. I provide examples from Telugu English dictionary.

LEXICAL FORM	FORMAL CORRESPONDANCE DENOTATIVE MEANING	TEXTUAL EQUIVALENCE (CONNOTATIVE MEANING)
1	2	3
1. amma (n)	mother	i) mother ii) woman, lady iii) noun suffix added to proper names as a mark of respect or endearment. <i>pantulamma</i> school mistress
2. taNdri (n)	father	i) father ii) used as term of affection for

1	2	3
		male person either older or younger than the speaker
		iii) as a term of address it may even convey sarcasm. <i>eem taNDrii, ii naSTam sari poodaa ippaTiki?</i> what man, is this loss not enough for the time being?
3. <i>ii du</i> (v.i)	to swim	i) to swim
and (v.t)		ii) to push ones way, struggle (through storm of difficulty)
		iii)to manage successfully inspite of difficulties
		<i>afiisu paniloo iidutunnaaDu</i> he is managing to cope with his work in office
		iv) to maintain or support (a family) with difficulty
		<i>ii samsaaram elaa iidukostunnaanoo miiku telusu.</i>
		You know how I have been maintaining this family against odds!
4. <i>taqala</i> (ba) <i>Du</i>	. to be set on fire, burn	i) to be set on fire, burn on fire, burn
		ii) figurative usage as in <i>naa oLLu tagalabaDutunnadi idi winnaaka</i> having heard this (matter) I am extremely angry
		iii)In colloquial speech this form can substitute for <i>uNDu</i> to be or other verbs when used desperagingly
		<i>nuwwwu ikkaDinunci awatalaki tagalabaDu.</i> go away from here!
		<i>mana caduwulu andukee iTlaa</i>

tagalabaDutunnaayi.

That is why (precisely) that our education is in such a bad state !

5. *padaarthm* (n)`i) thing,
article
substance

i) thing
ii) ingredient
iii) *sci.* matter
iv) meaning of a word
v) *colloq.* liquor

Nida (1958:282) points out that though bilingual dictionary compilers cannot attain an absolute definition of term in another language or culture (or even the same language or culture - for that matter), nevertheless they can give very useful approximate description! From our own experience we can cite the following groups of lexical forms which present great difficulty of equivalence.

3.1.A. ECOLOGY:

Flora and fauna, natural settings and typographical forms constitute this group.

The Telugu word *mancu* has four equivalent forms in English. They are dew, mist, ice, snow. The bilingual dictionary will have to show all the four meanings and it is for the translator to select appropriate form based on textual equivalence.

gulaabii puularekkalapaina mancu cukkalu

dew on the rose petals

poddunne mancu paTTindi

there is mist in the morning.

mancu mukkalatoo kalapaNDi

mix with ice cubes.

srinagarloo ninna mancu baaga kurisindi

Yesterday there was a heavy snow fall in Srinagar.

B. MATERIAL CULTURE: Articles of food, dress, house and household articles are the things covered under this group and these are generally language bound and culture specific.

A kind of cake made with black gram flour is known as *gaare* in Telugu. The other South Indian languages use a term *waDa* as an equivalent to this. But these two delicacies are not similar, atleast as far as their preparation is concerned. In order to explain the meaning lexicographer will have to depend on definition and description. There is no equivalent form in English either. All the Indian delicacies will have to have a tag as 'cake'. Cake in Indian context is a sweet dish. 'doosa' is a pan cake for English speaker, but it is a hot savoury dish for South Indians.

C. SOCIAL CULTURE: Certain forms which depict the social customs and rites are untranslatable.

O.T.ayduwa E. A married woman whose husband is alive.

M.T.aydootanam E. The status of being married woman (with her husband)

There is no equivalent form for this expression in English.

T. enqili finds no equivalent form in English. It means defilement by contact with mouth or saliva.

waaDu engili tinaDu he will not eat the defiled food (the food which is defiled and polluted by touch of others, is not acceptable to him).

There are some lexical entries which need an elaborate social description.

haarati paLLeM tray containing a lighted lamp held by any woman (who happens to be in the consanguinity where intermarriage is not permitted) who invokes blessings of the God on the house holder, and he is expected to place a gift for her in the tray.

haarati paLLeMloo weyyi ruupaayalu weesEEdu he placed a sum of rupees one thousand (as a gift) in *haarati paLLeM*.

D. RELIGION:

Just like religion, the words used to express the concept of religious observations also differ. It is very difficult to translate these forms and it becomes necessary for the lexicographer to narrate the concept in detail.

maDi is a sort of ceremonial purity

maDi kaTTukonu v.i. to wear ceremonially pure clothes.

(The purity is attained by the following process - the clothes are soaked in water. After taking bath, the person wears a pair of wet clothes and puts the remaining clothes for drying. The clothes thus dried up attain the status of maDi.)

Besides these, there are some other lexical entries representing kinship terms, feelings and emotions of individuals, for which it is very difficult to find equivalents. A bilingual dictionary compiler is expected to have an equal and intimate knowledge of both SL and TL cultures, besides having a first hand knowledge of their phonological, syntactic and semantic structures.

4. 0. In this paper an attempt is made to show that although the three specialists, viz., Semanticists, Translators and Lexicographers prefer to look at the language in their own way, actually all of them are aiming at solving the same (and the only one) problem. Translators and Lexicographers approach the theory of meaning in different ways, based on their resources and audience.

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Delhi : (1992).

Note: I am advised by the referees to change the title as 'Problems of translation'. But this title will not explicitly state the relation between semanticists, lexicographers and translators. Hence I choose to retain the same as given.

NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT
1995
FACULTY PUBLICATIONS:

Lakshmi Bai, B. 'Language Universals in linguistic theory and translation. *PGDTS*, Hyderabad University.

Aditi Mukherjee. 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift among Panjabis and Bengalis in Delhi'. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.

Nagamma Reddy, K. 'Pronunciation problems in Teaching Telugu to native speakers of French'. First International Conference of Telugu Teaching, Mauritius, Special issue. Mauritius: International Association of Telugu Teachers and Mauritius Andhra Mahasabha. 18-29.

■ 'Sociophonetic and phonological variation in Telugu Dialects: Problems and prospects for Education Development and Speech Technology. In S.Arokianathan (ed). *Dimensions of Dialectology*. Pondicherry: Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture. 103-121.

Swarajya Lakshmi, V. Telangana Saaamaajika MaanDalika adhyayanam, *Telugu*, Hyderabad : Telugu Akademi.

■ 'Dialect variations - Telugu Language Teaching. Mauritius :First International Conference of Telugu Teachers-Souvenir.

- Vijayanarayana, B.** 'telugulo: vise:Sana vargan: maro: visle:SaNa (in Telugu).1/4:28-45.
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P.Shailaja.** 'Learning to coin N + N compounds in asg=pl Telugu. *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 24:1. 102-115.
- Amplification strategies for the profoundly hearing impaired: Extended low frequency response or split band amplification? *Hearing Aid Journal* 10:2, 45-65.
- Phonological space for vowel production in Telugu deaf children: A spectro-graphic study. *Journal of Acoustical Society of India* 23:1, 36-45.
- Usha Rani, A.
and
P.Shailaja** 'Some of the problems in Telugu Teaching/Learning: A Linguistic perspective' In Souvenir of First International Conference of Telugu Teachers at Mauritius.
- Ramesh Kumar, K.** 'Error Analysis of Second Language Telugu Learners (with reference to written style)'. In Souvenir of First International Conference of Telugu Teachers Mauritius.

FACULTY ACTIVITIES:

Aditi Mukherjee

As a nominated member of the Advisory Committee, planned the Refresher's Course in Applied Linguistics organised by CIEFL, Hyderabad. Delivered two lectures on the topic 'Language Standardization: the Ideological Problem' at the Refresher's course for teachers at CIEFL.

Professor Arun Kumar Sharma

March 24-25 Presented a paper entitled 'Can rule ordering predict the actual form of address/reference? A case of Hindi' at the National Seminar on Sociolinguistics of Address and Reference in Telugu and other Indian Languages, Telugu University, Hyderabad.

October 4-7 Attended Workshop of Chairpersons of BOS in Linguistics for Linguistics Curriculum for Diploma, Graduate and Post-graduate courses in Indian Universities at Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

Professor K.Nagamma Reddy

January Presented a paper entitled 'A phonetic analysis of plosives in Tamil and Telugu' at Eighth International Conference-seminar on Tamil Studies, Thanjavur, Tamilnadu.

March Presented a paper entitled 'Sociophonetics of Address system in Telugu: An exploratory Instrumental Investigation' at the National Seminar on 'Sociolinguistics of Address and Reference in

Telugu and other Indian Languages, Telugu University, Hyderabad.

Sept 27-28 Gave two lectures on phonetics as a resource person at the UGC Refresher course in Linguistics CIEFL Hyderabad.

October Presented a paper entitled 'Distinctive vowel quality, quantity and nasalization in Telugu and Hindi' and chaired a session in the 18th All India Conference of Linguists, Mysore.

Mr.B.Vijayanarayana

February 15-16 Presented a paper on 'dvibha:Sa: nighaNTunir ma:Namlo:edurayye: anuva:da samasyalu,va: Ti sarduba:Tlu: oka parisi:ana' (in Telugu) at National seminar on telugulo: nighaNTu nirma: Nam su:tra:lu:paddhatulu:, Telugu University, Hyderabad.

Dr.D.Vasanta

February 24-25 Presented a paper entitled 'Coarticulation in the temporal domain: some observations based on the speech of Telugu deaf children' at National Seminar on Coarticulation in Indian Languages, Dept of Linguistics Osmania University, Hyderabad.

July 16-20 Presented a paper entitled 'Language, deafness and pedagogy: A psycho-linguistic perspective and Chaired a session on speech perception and production at 18th International Congress on Education of the Deaf held at Tel-Aviv, Israel.

- August 7-9** Attended final Workshop on the UNICEF funded project on Production of language training materials in major Indian languages held at the All India Institute of Speech and Hearing, Mysore. Finalised the Telugu materials.
- October 5-7** Presented a joint paper entitled 'Making sense of compound nouns in Telugu: An experimental study of word-relatedness at 18th All India Conference of Linguists held at Mysore.
- December 21-23** Presented a paper entitled 'Phonological space for vowel production in Telugu deaf children: A spectrographic study' at Silver Jubilee National Symposium on Acoustics held at National Physical Laboratory, N.Delhi.

Mr.K.Ramesh Kumar

- March 24-25** Presented a joint paper entitled 'nighaNTu nirma:Namlo:anuwa:dam pa:tra' in the National Seminar on nighaNTu nirma:Namsu:tra:lu:-paddhatulu: held at Telugu University, Hyderabad.
- March 24-25** Presented a paper entitled 'kinship terms of Ganjam Telugu: Address and Reference' in the National Seminar on Sociolinguistics of Address and Reference in Telugu and other Indian languages, at Telugu University, Hyderabad.

New Research Projects under the 'Research and Field work' programme of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics:

1. Borrowings in Hindi: A Histro-sociolinguistic perspective

Investigator:

Arun Kumar Sharma

2. Phonetics & Phonology
of Semi vowels and
diphthongs in Telugu

Investigator:

K.Nagamma Reddy

3. Descriptive study of
Raj Gondi dialect

Investigator:

K.Ramesh Kumar

NATIONAL SEMINAR

February 24-25 The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics at Osmania University hosted a two-day National Seminar on 'Perspectives on Coarticulation in Indian Languages'. The seminar director, Professor K.Nagamma Reddy welcomed the guests and the participants. Inaugural address was delivered by Dr.B.G.Siddharth, director, Birla Science Museum, Hyderabad. Keynote address was delivered by Prof.V.I.Subramaniam, Honorary Director, Inter National School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum. Prof.H.S.Ananthanarayana, retired Professor of Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, made the presidential remarks. The seminar secretary, Mr.K.Ramesh Kumar, proposed a vote of thanks. twenty eight papers were presented in the two day seminar. At the valedictory session, summing up of the seminar proceedings was presented by Dr. Gargesh of Departments of Linguistics, University of Delhi.

VISITING FELLOWS

Feb 19 to March 5

Professor K.rangan, Department of Linguistics, Tamil University, Thanjavur, delivered a series of lectures on Pure Tamil Movement, Language Maintenance and Loss in Thanjavur District,

Tamilnadu and System of Personal Pronouns in Tamil

March 6 - 10 Professor Vinod S.Dubey, Department of English, TNB College, Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur, delivered a series of lectures on Relevance, Dimensions and Pragmatics of Indian English.

EXTENSION LECTURES

July 17-19 Mr.Martin Davis, Stirling University, U.K., delivered lectures on 'Cohesion and structure in Literary texts'.

November 24, 29 Dr.Liudmila V.Khokhlova, Department of and Indian Philology, Moscow State University has given a series of lectures on noun phrases in Russian and Hindi, Sociolinguistic problems of Russia and Moscow School of Phonology.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

- No.1** Krishnamurti, Bh. and P. Sivananda Sarma, 1968. *A Basic Course in Modern Telugu* (not available)
- No.2** Krishnamurti, Bh., and Aditi Mukherjee, eds. 1984. *Modernization of Indian Languages in News Media*. vii, 165 pp (hardcover) Rs.100/- (paper) Rs.70/-
- No.3** Krishnamurti, Bh. ed. (Masica, Colin P. and A.K. Sinha Associate eds.) 1986, *South Asian Language: Structure, Covergence and Diglossia* Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass. XXV, 369 pp. (hard cover) Rs.200/-
- No.4** Ranganathacharyulu, K.K. 1987. *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Telugu*. xii, 296 pp. (hard cover) Rs.125/-, (Paper) Rs.75/-.
- No.5** Kukharjee, Aditi, ed. 1989, *Language Carition and Language Change* 165 pp. (hard cover) Rs.125/- (paper) Rs.75/-
- No.6** Lakshmi Bai, and B. Ramakrishna Reddy, eds. 1991 *Studies in Dravidian and General Linguistics: a Festschrift for Bh. Krishnamurti*. xviii, pp.530 (hard cover) Rs.350/ (Paper) Rs.250/-
- No.7** Lakshmi Bai, B. and Aditi Mukherjee, eds. 1992. *Tense and Aspect in Indian Languages* Hydeabad: Booklinks Corporation.
- No.8** Venkateswara Sastry, J. ed. 1993. *Art and Science of Translation*. Hyderabad: Booklinks Corporation.
- No.9.** Lakshmi Bai, B. and D. Vasanta, eds. 1994. *Language Development and Language Disorders*, Delhi: Bahri Publications.

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NEW BOOK AT A GLANCE

B. Lakshmi Bai and D. Vasanta, eds. *Language Development and Language Disorders*. Hyderabad: Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University and Delhi, Bahri Publications, 1994.

This volume includes 17 selected papers presented in the interdisciplinary National Seminar on *Language Processes and Language Disorders* organized by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University, in the year 1989. The papers deal with a range of theoretical issues in Applied Linguistics in general and Psycho/Neuro linguistics in particular. The specific topics covered in Section-I include; language input, acquisition, processing including reading comprehension and metalinguistic skill development etc. with reference to children speaking Hindi, Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Oriya. The second section deals with assessment of early communication skills in normal children, development of morpho-syntactic structures in hearing impaired children, language of cerebral palsied children and adult aphasics and issues concerning sign language. This book should be of interest to students, researchers and professionals in the fields of Linguistics, Psychology, Speech-Language Pathology and Special Education.

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