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Editors

V. SWARAJYA LAKSHMI A. USHA RANI K. RAMESH KUMAR



DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS (CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN LINGUISTICS) OSMANIA UNIVERSITY HYDERABAD - 500 007

INDIA

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

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EDITORS' NOTE

The Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics has organized a Seminar on "Multilingualism in India: The Communicative Strategies" during January, 2003. Evaluation Committee was constituted to select the papers for publication. However, the editors did not receive all papers which were selected. Only the key note paper presented by Prof. E. Annamalai and five other papers were received by the editors. Since the number of papers were few in number, the matter was placed before the Departmental Committee which has decided to bring out OpiL 2004 with these papers after seeking permission from the authors.

Editors

INDIA AS A COMMUNICATIVE AREA: ITS LINGUISTIC INGREDIENTS

E. Annamalai Bangalore

Introduction

From the time of the story of Babel, multiplicity of languages has been said to hinder communication, and, consequently, social cohesion. Communication here refers to verbal communication, though language is not the only tool of communication. Every one is aware of communication that takes place between the mother and her baby and between the owner and her pet dog, though neither the baby nor the dog can be said to speak any language. Cases like these show that communication can take place even when participants in the communicative act do not share a language. Communication without language relies heavily on body language. Body language cannot stand on its own by its very nature; it is severely restricted to immediate environment, minimal information and emotional expression; it is constrained by the absence of structural hierarchy. Hindered communication mentioned with reference to multilingualism is not about such minimal communication. It is about the structurally elaborate, contextually autonomous verbal communication.

If each of the communicators speaks more than one language, multiplicity of languages can legitimately be said to enhance, rather than hinder, the possibility of communication. An individual speaking many languages is less likely, a priori, to be of hindrance to communication than an individual speaking only one language. Hindrance of the sort under discussion is, in other words, would seem to be the problem of monolingualism unless every one speaks the same language, which will be an unusual situation when there is no power structure. The monolinguals in the real world attribute the cause of their communication problem not to monolingualism but to

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multilingualism. This derives from the well attested fact that the monolinguals tend to be speakers of the dominant language. Their attribution of communication problem comes from their position of power. Their position makes its characterization appear true that speaking many languages is a burden that drags down the speakers from the path of progress. This view is implicitly accepted even by linguists who promote multilingualism when they build theories and programmes to ease the burden and reduce the up-grade of the road. When the political nature of the view that many languages are a liability is understood and any theory based on it is rejected, it will be possible to see that communication is more a problem of the dominant group than of minority groups. But the monolingual dominant group, which has the power to define the problem of communication, makes multilingualism of the dominated groups to be the cause of the problem.

It must be noted that there is communication problem within a monolingual community also. The communication problem in using the same language ranges from lack of understanding to misunderstanding. There is abundance of such problems described in the sociolinguistic literature as existing between speakers of the standard language and its dialects, between the users of professional registers, like lawyers, doctors, financial managers and bureaucrats and ordinary speakers, and between people with different cultural fixations like men and women, the literate and illiterate. It is likely that with the last pairs of groups also the difference in communication arises not from their cultural difference but from the power difference between them. In monolingual communication situations also, the dominant define the problem and shift the onus of closing the communication gap by dialect shift to the dominated (Singh et al 1995).

Language planners accept the asymmetry in communication and seek to solve the communication problem through promotion of literacy, standard dialect and language of wider communication. Their promotion requires institutional efforts and schools are their primary institutional agents. The three-language formula in Indian education policy aims at students learning the official languages of the state and the Union, whether the students speak them in their homes or not. When this formula is looked at as a policy of communication development, its aim is to enhance communication between people through learning the languages of the dominant people. For neighboring communities to communicate with each other, according to this policy, they should choose not their neighbour's language but choose the language of the distant and dominant.

The endorsement of asymmetric communication and of the role of non-local language in neighbourhood communication is a critical feature of Language Planning theory and practice. The institutional means of enforcing such a system of communication results in drawing sharper language boundaries and disseminating inviolable language norms. Those who do not violate language boundaries and norms are socially rewarded, and this puts a premium on the choice of the endorsed language (or variety of a language) for communication. This choice is tilted in favour of the elite, who are in control of the boundary and the norm through the institutions, particularly the schools, the media and the government, they control. These institutions dispense reward for compliance. What is seen as the failure of communication in a multilingual (and multidialectal) setting arises not from any lack of ability to communicate on the part of those who routinely do the communicating but from their not being able to (or willing to) follow the norms forced on them. Ordinary people have problems in communication when they are discouraged from deviating from the boundary and the norm, and are even penalized for violation. Communication problem then is an artifact of Language Planning. It is different from the problem of communicating, which people might have due to various reasons like lack in socialization, social taboo, lack of cultural knowledge of the other's social conventions in conversational routines (including assumptions and implications) etc, which are social unlike the mental and linguistic disabilities of individuals. Language Planning does not address the INDIA AS A COMMUNICATIVE AREA : ITS LINGUISTIC INGREDIENTS

problem of communicating as it does the problem of communication. Its solutions become problematic because they are more a means of social control and less of social interaction. We should look elsewhere for real solution if facilitating communication is what is really intended. If social cohesion, not homogenization, is the real goal of communication, it should be obvious that communication could not be promoted by eliminating or minimizing diversity by privileging one language (or a variety of a language) over others. Language Management approach (Neustupny 1985, Jernudd 1993), deviating from the Language Planning approach to communication, addresses the problem of communicating, but it does not discard language boundary and language norm while leaving their adherence to communicating individuals and their perception of successful communication. It treats the problem of communicating as a phenomenon of interacting individuals, not as a social phenomenon. The problem of having choice with the boundary and norm is that their adherence is commonly dictated by the social power of the speakers and is not exclusively motivated by individualized communicative success.

Basic Ingredients of Real Life Communication in India

The actual use of languages by people for communicating in India gives insights into how they manage communication involving more than one language; particularly how they cross language boundaries. There are three basic ingredients of real life communication that allow a multiplicity of languages to be facilitators of communication.

(i) Fluidity of Language Boundaries

The first is to have the language boundaries fluid, which makes boundary crossing effortless. Language at borders, where the social or administrative territory of one language (from the point of view of others, prominently linguists as well as from the point of view of selfidentity of its speakers) ends and another begins, have this property prototypically. This property manifests itself in socially differentiated languages like Hindi and Urdu, in varieties (called mother tongues in the Census), like Khariboli and Bhojpuri, of an amalgamated language (Hindi) and in historically closely related languages like Hindi and Punjabi (Khubchandani 1979), Tamil and Malayalam. For users, language names are a social code; they do not necessarily signify a grammatical code. The grammatical code for them is a variable with no inalienable name. The name of the grammatical code varies according to the social context and social purpose. Absence of a unitary name and of a sharp code differentiation of language is not detrimental to the communicative act in the actual use of language. The first is demonstrated in the use of socially separated and labeled languages, like Hindi and Urdu, by two speakers and their claim of communicative success without conceding that they speak the same code. The second is demonstrated in code-mixing, where languages are mixed back and forth in the same speech act with no mix-up in communication. Communicating in their different dialects without switching to the standard dialect is common when there is no social pressure to switching, or when there is a social need not to. In traditional India, as Pandit (1969) pointed out, caste groups, for example Brahmins and dalits, in their interaction in domestic and agriculture work environment, communicate using their distinctive dialect in order to maintain their social distance and identity.

Code-mixing extends the notion of fluidity between any two languages, whether they are historically or geographically connected or not. Mixing codes is an effective strategy in communication in multilingual settings (Kachru 1978). The code-mixing studied by Kachru and other linguists in India is in the context of intra-group (educated urban middle class) communication and it is not really inter-group communication. Further, English is constant in this code-mixing. It is thus based on class and colonial in origin, as pointed out by Singh (p.c.), suggesting that there is an implicit hierarchy of languages used in mixing (as between English and the language or immigrants in codemixing in the U.S.). There is evidence, argues Singh (p.c.), that there is no code-mixing (while there is code-switching) between perceptually equal languages like English and French in Quebec in Canada. There are not many studies of code-mixing between such equal languages in

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India and the existing studies, like the alternation between Hindi and Punjabi (Sachdeva 1981 proposes one variable grammar of the bilingual speakers), need to be reexamined whether the phenomenon illustrates code-mixing or code-switching. The transparency of the boundary in the grammatical perception of the speakers mentioned earlier, however, challenges the differentiation between code-mixing and code-switching, which assumes the reality of grammatical boundary. Code-mixing itself becomes an artifact of linguists with regard to languages whose speakers do not perceive grammatical demarcation between them. Nevertheless, code-mixing between languages, irrespective of their perception by their speakers, is counter to the norm of language skill development focused upon by the language planner (and the teacher) in developing communication skills.

Codes are mixed by balanced bilinguals as well as incipient ones. Mixing by both kinds of bilinguals is not fully analogous (Annamalai 2001), but it has a lot in common from a grammatical point of view in terms of constraints. Their communicative needs for choosing code mixing are different, but the common feature in both is that code mixing enhances the potential of communications. For balanced bilinguals, code mixing helps to add social meaning; for incipient bilinguals, it helps to fill a need. Both social and cognitive meanings are essential goals of communication. Code-mixing is a successful linguistic act to effect the intended communication, and not a sign of failure in communication, as the language planner seems to characterize.

(ii) Convergence of Grammars of Languages

The second ingredient in multilingual communication is the convergence of grammars of languages (Pandit 1972, Arora 1986). Languages, distanced and differentiated historically, acquire common grammatical features in an area as a result of intensive and continuous communication between speakers of different languages in the area. Communication and convergence mutually enhance each other.

Communication favours convergence and convergence facilitates communication. When the power relationship is asymmetrical between the communicating communities, convergence commonly is closing, by the minority language, of the grammatical distance from the dominant language. Since communication is a precondition for convergence (in fact, for any linguistic change), an area of languages with converged grammars must be a zone where communication has been taking place intensively and extensively (Pandit 1972, Gumperz and Wilson 1971). When India is called a linguistic area (Emeneau 1980, D'Souza 1987), it implies that it is a communication zone or is made of concentric circles of communication zones. While there are many studies of nongenetically shared grammatical features between Indian languages (Masica 1976, Abbi 1991a, 1991b), there are no historical sociolinguistic studies to establish the nature of the pattern of communication between various linguistic communities that would explain the precondition for the grammatical convergence.

The thesis that India is a linguistic area supports by implication the claim that it is a communicative area in the sense of having shared ways of communicating. It is so because a communication zone will in course of time have shared communicative features, as the grammars of the language used in communication will have shared structural features. The extent of convergence is a good measure of what can perhaps be called the depth of a communicative area.

(iii) Functional Distribution of the Languages

The third ingredient in multilingual communication is functional relativism. Unlike in language planning where the totality of a language is transmitted through teaching for real use irrespective of the prevalent communicative context and need of the use, the language competence acquired naturally by actual use is relative to the function of the language. Multilingualism operates with functions distributed to languages. The language of love, for example, may be different from the language of law in a multilingual society. One does not need the same language competence for these two uses. It follows that a multilingual is not required to have the same language competence in all the languages she uses. She has differentiated language competencies appropriate and adequate to serve the functions attributed to the languages. This is not semi-lingualism (critiqued by Skutnabb-Kangas 1984), but is functionally related multilingualism. Multilingual communities with distributed functions to languages differ in the extent the choice of a language for a function is free from the dialects of the powerful and a balance is ensured to prevent from shifting into monolingualism.

Lingua Franca in a Multilingual Country

Oral communication in multilingual India has all the above three ingredients, more so the communication in non-institutionalized contexts. The languages, people use have transparent boundaries, converged grammars and situated functions. These three features characterize the mode of communication between neighbouring linguistic communities, whether they are rural or urban, whether they are literate or illiterate. These communities constitute communicative zones. The ends in the spectrum of communication at the national level are connected through a series of such neighbouring communicative zones. When communication takes place jumping over zones as with mobile people, migrant labourers, pilgrims and travelers on business, a language that does not belong to either of the communicators may be used. This third language called the language of wider communication or contact language is actually a language of narrow communication or of transient contact restricted to the instant communicative need. Such a language is far removed from its normative form. The choice of a particular third language for communication is context dependent and the context is the social class of one or both of the communicators and the subject matter of the conversations. It is Indianized English for the college educated people and for the elitist subjects. It is the localized Hindi for those with no higher education when both are speakers of languages with no historical or geographical connection. When there is such a connection, but one or both speakers do not speak the

language of the other, it is the creolized version of the local dominant language like Nagamese in Nagaland and Sadari in Bihar, or the hybridized version of the local dominant language like bazaar Kannada between Tamil and Urdu speakers living in Karnataka. The two languages are not mixed, but one of them is hybridized because the speakers are not bilinguals or becoming bilinguals.

The argumentation above shows that it is not inevitable that a multilingual country must have one language as lingua franca to ensure communication between people across its breadth and length. Such a super language, when promoted, is for communication between the elite speaking various languages in the country, and it is to fulfill the need to control the public with unidirectional downward communication. It helps the elite to have that super language to be normative in its code properties so that its acquisition demands investment in years of schooling, which they mould to serve their interest. It is common in language planning to have an education policy, specifically with regard to medium of instruction, which promotes the learning of the super language at the cost of the languages of home and the community. Such a policy destroys the foundation of small zone communication by destroying the local languages used for it non-normatively. The super language, approvingly called the language of wider communication, actually has a narrow door and performs the gate keeping function for the benefit of the privileged. It does not open doors for free flow of communication without toll gates.

India did not transform into a linguistic area through any planned effort or a planning agency; it became one through a natural process of non-normative communication between interacting communities, as described above, extending to the entire country in an interlocked system of communication. This naturally evolved centrifugal system of communication may not serve the centripetal form of the modern government, but it has served to hold the country together over the ages. The government is a political entity sustained by a body of laws which it enforces uniformly throughout the country and the laws in one

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or a few languages are convenient to enforce for the government enabling it to govern the country from the top. The nation is a psychological entity sustained by people imagining a sense of belonging based on beliefs about sharing (Anderson 1983). Communication happening without language norms and boundaries does not hinder people's belief about their commonness amidst diversity of languages.

Keeping India as one entity in the minds of the people, but not necessarily under one political control, with many languages and many cultures has been historically possible precisely because of communication between the people. It is communicative area, not by sharing one language, but by sharing the practice of use of language without norms and boundaries. There is another dimension also. Communication is not just transmission of words to serve material purposes, but also transmission of ideas about life, and of beliefs and behaviours that stem from them. The Hindu religion, which is the fountain head of the ideas, beliefs, behaviours including other religions, is not normative and homogenizing. Its great tradition of religious practices does not 'standardize' the multitude of little traditions, though some of them adopt aspects of the great tradition to improve their ritual status (in a process called sanskritization by sociologists (Srinivas 1989). No adoption, however, reduces the diversity of traditions. It is true of linguistic traditions also, where one language influences another in its grammar and lexicon, but does not replace it. The shared values and myths among the people guide the way of living, of which communicating is a critical part. They are expressed in various languages, as they manifest in many traditions of the same religion. The convergence of languages into one code with many expression systems is extended beyond grammar to pragmatics- to relate the linguistic signs to their users. Speakers of two languages relate their signs to them in the same way because of pragmatic convergence. This makes communication easy between speakers of different languages and makes the communicative act move from one language to another without a hiatus. Shared pragmatic presuppositions and implicatures reduce miscommunication on the cultural plane. The speaker of one Indian language follows a movie in another unlearnt Indian language without subtitles because of the sharing of these essentials of communication, among other things. The shared pragmatic features, besides the converged grammatical features, make India a communicative area.

Shared Styles of Communication in India

The discussion so far is about the tool of communication and its shape and the nature of its material. There are some styles of the use of the tool, that are shared across India. The communicative styles of Indian language speakers, often in contrast with speakers of European languages, have been reported in the sociolinguistic literature. They include absence of verbal expressions of illocutions like performance of gratitude (Apte 1974) or acknowledgment of help, and of regret or apology, discourse of circumlocution to express politeness by being indirect and by providing room for face saving (Gumperz 1982, Brown and Levinson 1987), metaphorical reference to mythology to make a point etc. The shared styles of communication among speakers of different languages in India make it a communicative area.

There are some social conventions in the use of language that are culturally conditioned. These conventions regulating the communicative practice in India are shared across communities. They include rules of turn taking, prescribing silence in communication for the women and the powerless, citing others and past literature in support of a point in argument etc. Such conventions, positive and negative, are followed across cultures and languages in India.

India is a communicative area where the modes of code, styles of verbal performance and conventions of language use are shared more or less by communities speaking many languages and practicing many cultures. This sharing of ways of communicating makes multilingual communication possible without losing languages. The Indian communicative area shows that many languages do not have to be a barrier to communication when norm adherence and social control are not the primary purpose of communication*.

*This paper is benefited from the critical comments of Rajendra Singh on its earlier version and from his suggestions about relevant publications.

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LITERACY AND MULTILINGUALISM

Sandip Bandyopadhyay Kolkata

Abstract

The author of this paper has taken up an educational programme in South Bengal where the students were conversant with Bangla and Sadri. While discussing the problems faced by the Dalits and tribals in the literacy programmes which concentrate on the standard language he also has offered solutions to this problem.

Introduction

In India multilingualism as a socio-cultural phenomenon, involves many complex issues. This paper aims to concentrate on West Bengal and dwell on literacy in the context of multilingualism.

It is too well known that India is not only a multilingual country; but also each of its so-called 'standard' language has several variants, usually termed dialects. In West Bengal, the dialects of the western part are considerably different from the languages actually spoken by people in north and south Bengal. Even the metropolitan Kolkata is known to have at least two cockneys characteristic of the northern and southern parts of the city.

The language situation in West Bengal became more complex in the post partition days when lakhs of Hindus in the then East Pakistan (Bangladesh) were forced to flee their homes and the majority of them took refuge in West Bengal. In course of time, they spread across the districts and in some areas they now predominate over the original settlers. These East Bengal refugees, as they are popularly called, speak Standard Bangla in public spheres; but they have retained their distinct Bengali i.e., East Bengali language at home and within the community. There was a time, when 'Bengal' languages were an object of ridicule in West Bengal, particularly in Kolkata. But partition and the

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refugee influx has now completely changed the scenario. The East Bengali people have gradually learnt the Kolkata-centric Bangla and they use it as a communicative mode in the formal social domain even as they continue to speak their original languages at home. The East-West division of Bangla is however not much of a problem in the present context of socio-cultural communication in West Bengal.

Multilingual Situation in the Tribal Areas

But multilingualism continues to show up in distinct forms in the remote rural areas inhabited by tribals, dalits and other neglected communities. As for example, the home language of the Bauris, a scheduled caste in Bankura, has little resemblance to what we know as Bangla. Similarly, the Rajbangshi language of north Bengal is far removed from the so-called Standard Bangla. Whether Rajbangshi is a dialect or a distinct language, in its own right, is a matter of controversy. In recent times, this issue has become central to the Kamtapuri political movement in north Bengal. In this paper one significant revelation of a survey carried out by the DPEP in 1996 in West Bengal is discussed. The survey found the first generation learners in Kochbehar, a north Bengal district, lagging behind in vocabulary (p.36). The author's point is that the seeming poverty of vocabulary might be the result of the children's inability to cope with the school-language which is too alien from their mother-tongue. Similar problem was found several times while working in literacy in the rural areas. Following are the two examples.

In a Santal village in Malda, bordering Bihar, when the author has interacted with a group of children for an hour he has not received any response from them. To his utter surprise, he later learnt that the children could not make out what he had been saying because they do not understand the Bangla that he spoke. The santals in that area express themselves in a language which is a strange mixture in the neighbouring rural areas of Bihar. The village elders explained to him that the children rarely go outside their village and have therefore little exposure to urban Bangla; some of them have never seen a train even.

The author had a similar experience in the Jangipur area of Murshidabad which is also close to Bihar. There, the students of a nonformal education programme, funded by the Central government, have been provided with the standard Bangla primer published by the government of West Bengal. But the fact is that those children, mostly Muslim bidi workers, speak neither Bangla nor Hindi. They converse with each other in a sort of Bihari dialect, popularly known as *Khotta bhasa. Khotta* is a derogatory term which the Bengali *babus* use to denote the Hindi-speaking people of Bihar and U.P.

The instances given are nothing new. Literacy activists will surely confirm that this situation prevails throughout the country in one form or another. In the name of uniform education, children in many areas, are forced to learn a language that they are not familiar with. In West Bengal, in addition to the official literacy primer, children at the elementary level are given to read Rabindranath Tagore's Sahaj Path, a book written in a distinctly stylized prose which is characteristic of Rabindranath only. Imposing this reader on the rural children particularly tribal and dalit children is to subject them to a sort of torture and are being forced to learn an almost alien language.

Language in Educational Programmes of Tribal Areas

In Bengal, for instance, anthropologist K.P.Chattopadhyay published a book entitled 'Our Education' in July 1947 i.e. immediately before independence. In that monograph, Prof.Chattopadhyay offered an outline of the education system that the new government might develop after the transfer of power. Prof.Chattopadhyay categorically maintained that in rural areas, literacy primers should be drawn up on the basis of the 'local vocabulary' (p.132). In regard to the education of the tribals, he observed that 'the (local) tribal language should be the

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medium of instruction' and the so called standard language 'should be the second language in higher forms.' (pp. 142-143).

This view was later upheld by the eminent linguist D.P.Pattanayak and some other educationists. In the current literacy discourse, it is in fact a universally accepted principle that children should be helped to acquire literacy skills through the languages that they actually speak. Children belonging to the tribal, dalit and other neglected communities in India however remain deprived of this opportunity in most regions.

It is important to note that the West Bengal government once published a literacy primer in the Santali language. But they were rarely used because of either sheer reluctance or of paucity of teachers who know that language. To find the right teachers is undeniably a practical problem. To produce different primers for different linguistic communities also involves financial and some other practical questions. India has about 105 languages and over one thousand speech varieties or dialects. To provide each group with an opportunity to learn through its own language is almost impossible. Moreover conducting a programme in a distinct local language may further marginalize a community from the larger society. On the other hand, to impose an arbitrarily decided language on all is unfair and uncongenial in the pedagogic sense.

One solution may be the introduction of a supplementary reader written in a specific community language added to the standard primer. The govt. of India had once thought about such a move and K.P. Chattopadhyay compiled 'Some Materials for Social Education of Tribals' in 1963. published by the Calcutta University, the book contained songs and tales of some major tribal groups in eastern India. It was intended to be used as a collection of model lessons for adult learners. We do not know whether the book was ever used for the purpose it was meant for. But it was undoubtedly a significant move to address multilingualism in the context of adult education. Another solution is to develop a specially designed primer suitable for a multilingual region. A primer of this kind may leave space for each community to fill in with the words and sentences of their own speech varieties. We made a modest attempt in this direction and a brief reference to our experience of working with a group of Oraon women at Garia on the Southern fringe of Kolkata is given below.

The Oraons we work with, hail from the Sunderbans in South Bengal. They were brought to this area from the Chotanagpur region in Bihar in the mid 19th century to reclaim the low-lying land to make it fit for cultivation. Since then the tribal Oraons along with the Mundas have been living in the Sunderbans and some of them later moved to certain fringe areas around Kolkata and 24-Parganas. In the course of the last 100 years or more, they have internalized the South Bengali language varieties and have learnt the Kolkata vocabulary as well. Amongst themselves they however communicate in a sort of tribal language called Sadri. They have thus developed a two-language communicative mode on their own.

In our education programme, an absolutely non-funded project started by a local club, we began with Bangla and later tried to include some Sadri words and sentences in the reading material we prepared for them. Interestingly, our students' initial reaction was one of resistance. 'It is our language', they argued referring to Sadri, 'why should it be mixed up with Bangla?' But after a long interaction we were able to put across our idea and they accepted it heartily. Now the result is that we, the teachers, have become learners too. While learning to read and write Bangla from us, our students teach us Sadri and this is how we try to learn each other's language. We introduce them to a Bangla word and they provide us with the corresponding Sadri term. This process is in some sense, keeping with the communicative strategies that the tribals in India have taken to over the ages. Most of the tribal groups in our country are bilingual. They have retained their own languages and have also adopted the language of the region they inhabit. They must have achieved it by absorbing the vocabulary of

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their own languages and have also adopted the language of the region they inhabit. They must have achieved it by using the vocabulary of their non-tribal neighbours during their interaction with them. The tribals have in fact set a model which we can emulate in the practice of literacy and primary education.

Ours is a very modest and informal attempt. For us the process has become easier because, born in a Bengali milieu, our students understand Bangla perfectly well. They in fact use Bangla considerably in their everyday interaction with others. But on the basis of our experience, we feel that this method helps lessen a marginal community's alienation from the so called standard language. Moreover, it leads to a process of mutual learning in a multilingual environment where the teachers and the students learn together and from each other as well.

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COMMUNICATIVE DIMENSIONS OF CODE MIXING IN KASHMIR VALLEY

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Abstract

Kashmiri is the mother tongue of majority of Kashmiris. Urdu being the official language of Jammu and Kashmir State, it holds a prominent place in the valley. English with its international status plays a dominant role in the linguistic scene of Kashmir valley. Since majority of Kashmiris are either bilinguals or multilinguals. Apart from their mother tongue, they also use other languages for their communicative needs. In this paper an altempt has been made to study about the code mixing by the speakers in Kashmiri Valley.

Introduction

Kashmir valley forms a linguistically prestigious and significant area which has been the focus of linguists from early time. Keeping in view the modest total of Kashmiri speaking people (28,15,531 according to 1981 census), one wonders to see the attention lavished on it by linguists. To quote O.N.Koul, "Indeed it could be said that Kashmiri has received more attention per capita than any other South Asian language with the possible exception of the speech of those other dwellers in cool and peaceful mountain places, the Todas."

Linguistic Scenario of Kashmir Valley

Linguistically, Kashmir valley is a multilingual area where more than one language is in vogue, Kashmir valley furnishes an excellent example of multilingualism where languages belonging to different language families like Indo-Aryan, Dardic, Sino-Tibetan, etc, are found.

Kashmiri is the mother tongue of majority of Kashmiris. Given this status, it holds its sway over all parts of the valley. It serves as the COMMUNICATIVE DIMENSIONS OF CODE MIXING IN KASHMIR VALLEY 22

main source of communication for electronic media including Radio Kashmir, Srinagar and Srinagar branch of Doordarshan. A good number of people are using it for literary purposes also.

Urdu, being the official language of Jammu and Kashmir state, holds a prominent place in the linguistic diaspora of the region. Right from the beginning of the twentieth century, it enjoys a prestigious position in linguistic scenario of Kashmir Valley. Since it serves as the language and medium of education up to the high school level, almost all the educated Kashmiris have it as their second language. It forms the dominant language of print media and a large number of newspapers and periodicals are brought out in this language. Besides being the medium of education, it is taught as a separate subject from L.K.G. up to P.G. levels.

English, with its international status, does not lag behind and has widely influenced the linguistic scene of Kashmir Valley. Many English dailies are published from Srinagar, the winter capital of Jammu & Kashmir state. Owing to its prestigious position at the global level, English is fast assuming the role of a dominant language in the valley.

Code Mixing in Kashmir Valley

Given this linguistic background, majority of Kashmiri people are bi- and multilingual, i.e., besides their mother tongue, they also use other languages for their communicative needs. Being largely bi- and multilingual, code mixing forms a vital component of verbal behaviour of Kashmiri speech community and a cursory glance reveals a heavy mixing of Urdu and English words in both spoken and written forms.

Code mixing can be defined as using more than one language in the same utterance or discourse. To quote Kachru, code mixing "entails transferring linguistic units from one code to another......One may consider code- switching a process which can result in code mixed varieties. A multilingual or multidialectal person is generally able to associate a function and an effect with various types of language or dialect mixes." (Kachru 1983).

In this backdrop the present paper aims to analyse the nature and communicative domains of code mixing in Kashmiri. The data for the present paper has been mainly elicited from direct observations and recording of the verbal conversations and, in some cases, from some literary writings also. Extending the label 'conversational code switching' used by Gumperz, such type of mixing can be termed as conversational code mixing.

Nature of Code-Mixing

To understand the nature of code mixing of a particular area, the status and role of languages spoken in that area need to be ascertained. In Kashmir Valley, besides Kashmiri, Urdu and English hold prominent position. In contrast to the position of these languages, Hindi has not attained such a position although the signs of its influence are getting visible day by day.

Given its international status, English has widely influenced the linguistic situation of Kashmir. Since it serves as the medium of education at higher secondary, undergraduate and postgraduate levels, most of the educated Kashmiris are at ease in using the lexicon of this language. Besides, English has brought in its fold the technical vocabulary related to the latest technological developments in the world. Kashmiri has directly borrowed this sort of lexicon from English. It is no wonder that English forms the first choice of code mixed language in Kashmir and "ranks highest and cuts across language boundaries, religious boundaries and caste barriers. It is a marker of modernization, socio – economic position, and membership in an elite group" (Kachru 1983). It can be easily perceived that the spread of communications and the pressure of mass media will force more and more people in this sort of code mixing.

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Urdu follows as the second most widely used code mixed variety. Besides its official and educational status it has been culturally very close to the Kashmiri language. For most of the Kashmiris, Urdu has the status of second language. As such, it is very widely used in code mixing situations. Its wide use as a code mixed variety can also be attributed to dominant muslim population of the valley. Kachru (1983) labels the phenomenon as Persianization. However, in the present context, one feels that it is more appropriate to call it as Urduization.

Under the influence of national media and the national status of Hindi language, Hindi expressions and lexical items have started gaining entry into Kashmiri conversational repertoire. However, this influence is still limited and it will have to go a long way to gain wide currency in conversational code mixing of Kashmiri speech community.

Communicative domains of Code Mixing

Code mixing can not be treated as a random phenomenon to which speakers resort in a haphazard manner. It may occur due to a number of reasons. Among people who speak more than one language, a particular word may simply be more accessible and ready to grab in one language than in the other. Or it may simply be a group norm. The research carried out on code mixing reveals that there are definite linguistic and extralinguistic factors that trigger mixing and that code mixing serves to "convey semantically significant information in verbal interaction." (Gumperz 1982). During data collection for the present paper, it was felt that, most of the time, the participants involved in conversation were unaware of their involvement in code mixing and it is these factors that determine the communicative domains of code mixing.

Linguistic elitism forms one of these factors which drives participants to code mixing. In such cases, English words are frequently used which serve as a marker of education and helps the person to get identified as the member of a particular social class. The educated and high status people are mostly involved in this sort of code mixing. It needs to be mentioned here that the literate and educated people not only use English and Urdu words in their speech but, in most cases, resort to a complete switch over to English and Urdu languages during their conversations. Recent studies on language maintenance and shift have also shown a downward trend in the use of Kashmiri language in various domains.

However, it is not only linguistic elitism which is behind such mixing but, in most of the cases, the considerations of intelligibility, lucidity and ease of expression are the determining factors for this sort of mixing. In such cases, it was felt that the participants involved in the conversation inadvertently resorted to code mixing. It seems that the resort to mixing is "automatic, not subject to conscious recall" (Gumperz 1982). Consider the following examples:

- me tshar'av qoran-i-sharifuk *full cassette* magar tas os na *full set.* "I searched for a full cassette of the holy Quran but he was not having its full set"
- me aav ni *idea* hiy
 "I couldn't get an idea".
- 3) me chu gift d'un is liye bas'o:m yuhay best
 "I have to give (it as) a gift, therefore, it seemed to me the best."
- 4) vuchtha von' ma korum *deliberately*"You say that I did not do it deliberately."
- 5) tsi ma ratiy *guarantee card* "Don't take the guarantee card."
- 6) sa:nis *culturas* peth p'ov am'uk *deep effect*" Its deep effect fell on our culture."

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- tamis gayi transfer "He was transferred."
- 8) hadtalich call niyakh wapas."The call for hartal was taken back."
- 9) yi chu kenstan *lafzan* peth *mushtamil jumli* "The sentence consists of only some words."
- 10) so a:s *do dhari* talwer yosi doshwiy tarfaw *katan* a:s "That was a two sided sword which used to cut from both sides."

The data for the present paper reveals that most of the lexical switches are related to nouns. They are followed by adjectives and adverbs. The English conjunctions *because, therefore,* and Urdu conjunctions *chunki, is liye aur, lihaza,* etc., are frequently utilized in code mixing. The phenomenon of hybridization is also used effectively due to which Kashmiri-Urdu and Kashmiri-English hybrid items are frequently found. For example:

sugar dod (Diabetes)	"English + Kashmiri"
danda daktar (Dental Doctor)	"Kashmiri + English"
zanana <i>kalej</i> (Women's college)	"Kashmiri + English"
gama <i>calchar</i> (Village Culture)	"Kashmiri + English"
nafsiya ti dod (Psychiatric disease)	"Urdu + Kashmiri"
last gad (Last service)	"English + Kashmiri"

In some cases the mixing of Urdu and English lexicon exceeds to such an extent that, barring the grammatical structure, the sentences can be considered to be belonging to Urdu or English language. Some of the examples are cited below:

> q*oschan pepar* chu izi "Question paper is easy."

lait kar an "Switch on the light."

vais chandlar chu *aut aph siteshan* "Vice Chancellor is out of station."

marks shit kar ti attest "Attest the marks sheet"

It can be observed that many English words have now been assimilated in Kashmiri language and such words are used not only in their root forms but also with their original morphemic transformations. Some of the examples are as under:

Drive, Driver, Office, Officer, Ex-Principal, Retired Headmaster, Exam, Examiner, Invigilator, Deliberately, Generally, Usually, Unfit, Singer, Dancer, etc.

The use of code mixing is also determined by the context. For example, the information technology has brought in its fold many lexical items related to the computers and the software technology. In such cases, the use of words like computer, mouse, software, hard disk, internet, etc., becomes inevitable as Kashmiri language does not possess this technical jargon. To fill up these lexical gaps in its vocabulary Kashmiri language borrows these lexical items in toto. Such register specific mixing can also be witnessed in other domains like education, mass media, judiciary, legislature, sports, etc. In such cases it is mostly English, and sometimes, Urdu lexical items which find place in conversational code mixing.

Kashmiri speakers also use Urdu and English items in phatic communion for commands, request, greetings, contact forms, etc., English and Urdu words are used very frequently. This type of code mixing is generally used to give expression to the feelings and emotions by the speakers. Some of the expressions used in such situations are: Thanks, Thank You Very Much, Bye, OK Sir, Yes Sir, By God, By Father, So Nice of You, Nice Meeting You, *khuda hafiz, allah nigehban, ba khair*. The Arabic expressions like *alhsmdulillah, inshallah*, *mashallah*, etc. are used by muslims in these situations.

One important characteristic observed in code mixing situation of Kashmir valley is the assimilation and integration of units of English and Urdu into Kashmiri. Here, the user of the code mixed variety nativizes English and Urdu linguistic elements by intuitively applying the grammatical processes of Kashmiri to these elements. Consider the following examples:

<u>Number</u>		<u>Gender</u>	
'Car' 'Book' 'Copy' 'Ball' 'IaDki'	kari buki kapyi bali IaDkiyi	'Master' 'Doctor' 'Officer' 'shahzadi' 'usta:d'	mashtarbay daktarbay aphsarbay shahzaad' usta:n
	Abstract Nouns	haakmi	
	'Doctor'	daktari	
'Master'		mashtari	
	'Driver'	drevri	

Conclusion

From the above deliberations, it becomes clear that code mixing as a communicative strategy forms a vital component of the multilingual setup of Kashmir valley. Urdu and English languages provide the major lexical stock for code mixing purposes. As shown in the paper, code mixing in Kashmir scenario has different communicative dimensions which is manifested in a wide range of situations. Although the paper has no claims to exhaustiveness, it is hoped that, in future, it may serve as an instigator for scholars to undertake fruitful research in this direction.

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CODE SWITCHING IN NORMAL HINDI-ENGLISH AND KANNADA-ENGLISH BILINGUALS

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Abstract

Code switching is the natural product of interaction between different languages. The amount and the type of code switching is dependant on the balance between the languages involved. There is a need to study code switching in different Indian languages because the kind of bilingualism prevalent in India is different from that in Western countries. This paper explores the similarities and differences in code switching demonstrated by Hindi-English and Kannada-English bilinguals using Matrix Language Frame (MLF, Myers-Scotton 1993). Results reveal only quantitative differences between different bilinguals.

Introduction

Different researchers keeping different aspects in focus have defined a phenomenon like bilingualism. As diverse is the bilingual population, so are the description. Bilingualism has been widely viewed as equal mastery of two languages or dialects. Bloomfield (1933) defined it as native like control of two languages whereas Macnamara (1967) defined it as possession to a minimal degree of the one of the language skills.

Bilingualism is a characteristic phenomenon for many speech communities of Asia and Africa. It is rare today to locate a society that is homogenous and uniting in the large and complex national states. The complex social, political and economic interactions of our times has motivated our universe towards second language learning. De Bot (1992) stated that the majority of the world's population is bilingual. According to 1991 census report, 19.44% of Indian population is bilingual which is on an increase as compared to 13.04% of 1971. This increasing trend stresses the importance and need of studies on bilingual phenomenon in Indian context.

The consequence of being a bilingual is that in the bilingual mode it is difficult to keep the two languages separate. This leads to the bilingual phenomena like code switching code mixing and borrowing. A bilingual speaker's switch in language can convey meaning which is superimposed on the linguistic content of utterance. Speakers can code switch to indicate a quote, to target a reference to a specific addressee in the group, to emphasize, to focus, elaborate or clarify, to switch topics or modes or to convey emotional content. Switches can occur at all levels of language (phonological, lexical, semantic, syntactic) and in all the modalities (spoken and written). Code mixing refers to intrasentential phenomenon and code switching refers to intersentential mixing of linguistic units (Ritchie and Bhatia 1996). The distinction between code mixing and code switching however is controversial, with some scholars doubting the usefulness of the distinction (Hatch 1976) as sometimes in natural conversation it becomes difficult to separate the two.

Poplack (1980) delineated that in normal switching of languages, the transitions are very smooth and the speaker is seemingly unaware of these transitions. Grosjean (1982) suggested that the actual choice of the base language is the function of many factors such as participants involved, the situation, the topic and the function of interaction. Other factors that have been found to influence include degree of intimacy, personal characteristics shared such as socio-economic status, age, gender and the social setting of the communication.

Different studies have been carried out to study code switching and code mixing in different languages and these studies are abundant in western languages. One of the earliest studies by Weinreich (1953)

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discussed phenomenon like interference, transfer and switching in second language acquisition and use. Clyne (1967) suggested that interference occurs between the languages and introduced a term "triggering" for the effect such inserted items have on formulating the sentence. He suggests that the sentence must be abstractly formed even before the speaker is sure of the language in which it will come out. A lot of factors have been shown to affect the language selection in a conversation and these factors vary with the communication situation, interlocutor, topic and other factors.

Valdes-Fallis (1976) found that switching does not simply occur because the informant lacked equivalent expression in the base language chosen. Switching patterns were seen to be influenced by the particular proficiency of the other speakers and their preference for one language or the other or the blend of the two. This point was supported by Gumperz (1976) who focused on semantic aspects of the code switching in a particular social context. Speakers and listeners utilize both social and grammatical knowledge in the interpretation of the bilingual conversations. He found that the syntactic constraints affecting the code switching are length of phrase, sequential and semantic unity of the message.

A lot of languages have coexisted in India since prehistoric times. It is the consequence of this coexistence and the language contact that India is not only a rich example of diffusion of the linguistic traits but is an instance of societal bilingualism. So in India also such studies have been carried out. Gumperz (1964) studied Hindi-Punjabi code switching in Delhi. He observed that more than 90% of lexical items in the urban code switching style are Hindi words. Interference was seen to exist at all the levels of grammatical levels.

Aspects of Hindi-English code switching were discussed by Verma (1976). He concluded that inter and intra language switching obeyed some socio-linguistic norms and switchers used English words and expressions even when equivalents exist in Hindi. Kachru (1978) also indicated the presence of intersentential code switching in English-Hindi and English-Punjabi language pairs. The form and function of code mixing in the Hindi films was studied by Vaid (1980). She found that code mixing occurred at all the levels and obeyed a number of linguistic, social and pragmatic constraints.

Very little studies have been carried out to compare the varieties of code switching in different language pairs. Gumperz in 1976 collected code-switching data from three linguistically and socially distinct situations – Slovenian / German, Hindi / English and Spanish / English. In all the above language pairs it was found that pronoun- verb sequences are more unitary than noun-verb sequences. Thus there was some kind of universality seen in the kind of code switching among different language pairs. Verma (1976) argues that intra and interlanguage switching are sociolinguistic universals.

The review of literature suggests that studies on comparison of code switching among different language pairs are very few and that this necessitates the need for the present study. This study aims at comparing code switching across different language communities to find if it is a universal strategy.

Method

Subjects

Ten normal adults in the age range of 18-20 years were taken as subjects. Five of the subjects were bilingual speakers of Hindi-English and five were bilingual speakers of Kannada-English. The language use questionnaire specifically designed for the study (Appendix-A) was

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used to obtain information on language usage and proficiency. Demographic details of the subjects are given in table-1.

Subject name	Age/Sex	Educational background	First language	Age of Learning
				L2
Ms.Po	20/F	B.Sc.	Hindi	5 yrs
Ms.Bi	20/F	B.Sc.	Hindi	6 yrs
Mr.Sh	19/M	B.Sc	Hindi	6 yrs
Mr.Bi	20/M	B.Sc.	Hindi	5 yrs
Mr.Ya	19/M	B.Sc.	Hindi	5 yrs
Ms.De	19/F	B.Sc.	Kannada	6 yrs
Ms.Ga	19/F	B.Sc.	Kannada	6 yrs
Mr.Sa	19/M	B.Sc.	Kannada	5 yrs
Mr.Su	20/M	B.Sc.	Kannada	6 yrs
Mr.Vi	20/M	B.Sc.	Kannada	5 yrs

Table – 1 Demographic details of the subjects

Procedures

Subjects participated in three conversational tasks each with a different communicative partner: monolingual Hindi/ Kannada, monolingual English and bilingual (both languages in the same conversation). The communication partners had knowledge about the purpose of the study and were instructed to use the prescribed language in the conversation. This was done to approximate the communication breakdown that occurs when a language unknown to the listener is employed.

Topics were chosen based on the study by Munoz, Marquardt and Copeland (1999) with a view to minimize their effect on the code switching. The conversations were audio recorded in a quiet room with only the subject and the partner present and transcribed later.

Analysis

The constituents of the Matrix language frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton 1993) were used as a system for coding. It includes four categories (see Appendix B) based on the relationship between matrix language (ML) and embedded language (EL). Matrix language or ML refers to the base language of the conversation that contributes all the system morphemes to the interaction and sets the morphosyntactic structure of the utterance. System morphemes usually come from ML whereas the content morphemes can be accessed from any language. ML can change between the utterances or the clausal boundaries. The embedded language or EL is the less active language inserted into the structure established by the ML.

The first category, Matrix Language island (ML island), consists of the utterances or clauses containing only the matrix language lexemes structured around the morphosyntax of the matrix language. The second category, Matrix Language shift (ML shifts) identifies changes in the matrix language between utterances and the clauses. The embedded language is inserted into the matrix language to form the constituents of the Embedded Language island (EL island) and utterances containing constituents from both matrix and embedded language (ML+EL). The constituents in the third category, Embedded Language islands, are multi word embedded language elements, which follow the syntactic structure of the embedded language. The fourth category of ML+EL, which are comprised of single embedded language elements, inserted within the syntactic structure of the matrix language.

In case of the fourth category, a distinction was made between lexical insertion and borrowing. Three native speakers of Hindi and Kannada reviewed the lexical insertions. Those lexemes identified by two out of three evaluators, as borrowed forms were not considered as CODE SWITCHING IN NORMAL HINDI-ENGLISH. & KANNADA-ENGLISH. BILINGUALS 36

code switches because of high level of integration in the ML. They were on the contrary coded as matrix language islands.

The amount of code switching speech across three conversational situations was analyzed and compared with the native speakers of Kannada and Hindi. An attempt was made to find if code switching varied with the language background and whether MLF could be used to describe language mixing universally.

Results and Discussion

The frequency of occurrence of each constituent in the subjects' speech will be described.

Language choice: ML island and ML shift:

In the monolingual contexts, all the subjects spoke in the assigned language and the majority of the utterances were ML islands.

In Kannada: na:nu baruti:ni. 'l am coming'.

In Hindi: ghar meen sab hain 'Every one is at home'.

In English: I go home early.

In the bilingual context, two out of five Hindi speakers preferred Hindi as ML and three preferred English. Four out of five Kannada speakers preferred Kannada as ML and only one preferred to use English as ML. This could be explained based on the proficiency ratings of the speakers. As is evident from Table2, the choice of the base language correlated with the results of the self-proficiency and language preference ratings on the questionnaire.

Name	First language L1	Choice of base language	Proficiency (L1=Hindi/ Kannada, L2=English)	Preference
Ms.Po	Hindi	Hindi	L1 > L2	L1
Ms.Bi	Hindi	English	L2 > L1	L2
Mr.Sh	Hindi	English	L2 > L1	L2
Mr.Bi	Hindi	English	L2 = L1	L2
Mr.Ya	Hindi	Hindi	L1 > L2	L1
Ms.De	Kannada	Kannada	L1 > L2	L1
Ms.Ga	Kannada	Kannada	L1 > L2	L1
Mr.Sa	Kannada	English	L1 = L2	L2
Mr.Su	Kannada	Kannada	L1 > L2	L1
Mr.Vi	Kannada	Kannada	L1 > L2	L1

Table 2:	Language Choices, Proficiency and
	Preference of the Subjects

Subjects with L1 = L2 or L2 > L1 always chose English as the base language in the bilingual context. Even the self-rating for preference for one language over the other showed the same trend.

In the bilingual context, there was a shift of the ML from Hindi / Kannada to English or vice versa. There was no ML shift in the monolingual context. The majority of the utterances had a ML shift from English to Hindi / Kannada.

Kannada-English: na:nu baruti:ni 'They should leave me early'.

Hindi-English: ghar meen sab hain 'but I have a lot of friends outside'.

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These shifts were usually found at the clausal boundaries. All these utterances follow the syntax of the ML (Hindi / Kannada) and then there is change from this language to English or vice versa.

Code switching: EL islands and ML + EL:

All the subjects exhibited the EL islands and ML+EL constituents that signify code switching. Even when the subjects were instructed to maintain one language they produced ML+EL in both the languages. This was prominent in the monolingual contexts.

EL islands:	Kannada-English: <i>na:vu manealli siks members idi:vi</i> 'We are six members at home'.
EL islands:	Hindi-English: <i>hamare ghar men bhi seem praablam he</i> 'In our home also we have same problem'.
ML+EL:	Kannada-English: <i>ellaaru Tiich maaDutaare</i> 'All of them teach'
ML+EL:	Hindi-English: ham newspaper paDte hain 'we read newspaper'.

On the contrary, when instructed to speak in English, only two of the Hindi speakers and one of the Kannada speakers produced ML + EL and the frequency of this constituent was also comparatively less. The number of ML + EL showed an increase from English to monolingual Hindi/ Kannada contexts and the maximum in the bilingual context (Hindi / Kannada and English).

All the subjects showed an increased frequency of ML + EL in the bilingual context as compared to the monolingual contexts in Hindi as well as Kannada. Munoz, Marquardt and Copeland (1999) obtained similar results in the Spanish – English bilinguals. EL islands were seen and they also were more frequent in the bilingual contexts. In the monolingual Hindi and Kannada all the subjects produced EL islands. EL islands were formed with the English as ML in the bilingual contexts. Even when the equivalents existed in the other languages there was shifting of the languages as reported by Gumperz (1976) earlier. This finding goes in hand with Yaron's (2000) findings which show that some times cognitive motivations override the social communication constraints on the discourse leading to unintentional code switching. Thus it is suggested that the sentence may be formulated in an abstract form as an idea and this idea is explained in any of the languages available to the bilingual speaker. The results of the present study lead us to believe that this is a cognitive strategy used by all the bilinguals even if they speak different language pairs. The choice of language can be influenced by the sociolinguistic factors and the constraints of the communicative situation.

The frequency of code switching is more in Hindi / Kannada than the English monolingual situation. This finding should be interpreted with caution as it could be attributed to the language mode of the speakers. All the subjects in the present study were well-educated urban bilinguals in a social situation where English is the language of instruction and formal conversation besides being the most used language of communication. So we observe that subjects code switch less in English in comparison with Hindi / Kannada. It is also expected that a similar study carried out on same subjects with different language mode, may have lead to different results. Language mode is the state of activation of the bilingual's languages. The factors influencing the language mode of the person are language proficiency, language mixing habits, the situation and specific research factors etc. Thus the research conducted on code switching needs to be evaluated in the background of such operating mode of bilingual speakers. Grosjean (1989) discusses the importance of language mode as a confounding variable in evaluating language mixing which can be seen to effect results of the present study as well.

Borrowed form

Identification of ML + EL was made only after the distinction was made between the lexical insertion and borrowing. This was done on the basis of judgment carried out on three native speakers of Hindi and Kannada. Borrowed forms existed in the speech of all the bilinguals in all the contexts. The utterances containing these were considered as ML island rather than instances of code switching. Borrowed forms such as cricket, lecturer, guitar etc. were found in both the monolingual contexts.

Comparison across languages

Comparison of the instances of occurrence of each MLF constituent across subjects revealed that the Hindi speakers code switched more frequently as compared to Kannada speakers (Table 3). There was only slight difference on terms of the quantity of code switching but no appreciable difference in terms of the type of code switching i.e. quality. As is evident from the code switching instances given above the types of switching are same across the two languages that is Kannada and Hindi.

This reflects that mixing of languages across and between the sentences is a general communicative strategy used by all bilinguals and does not differ with their native language. As is evident from the table 3, there are lesser instances of code switching in Kannada as compared to Hindi, which is revealed by increased frequency of ML + EL and EL islands. The majority of utterances in monolingual situations in both the groups were ML islands, which do not suggest any mixing of languages. The ML shifts were not evidenced in both the groups suggesting that there was no change in the base language across sentence and clausal boundaries.

Borrowed forms are seen in both the languages and there is only a slight difference in the number of borrowed forms. Morphological mixing was evidenced in these forms like addition of Kannada morpheme –alli to the English form compartment (compartmentally). This suggests phonological integration of the words into the language and thus these instances were not considered as code switches.

SI. No.	Subjects	First Language	ML island	ML+EL	EL island	Borrowed forms
1.	Ms. Po	Hindi	65	7	2	13
2.	Ms. Bi	Hindi	67	6	1	11
3.	Mr. Sh	Hindi	62	7	3	10_
4.	Mr. Bi	Hindi	66	9	2	9
5.	Mr. Ya	Hindi	65	6	2	12
6.	Ms. De	Kannada	70	4	1	8
7.	Ms. Ga	Kannada	68	5	2	10
8.	Mr. Sa	Kannada	69	5	2	10
9.	Mr. Su	Kannada	67	6	2	10
10.	Mr. Vi	Kannada	66	5	3	12

Table 3 Instances of MLF constituents across the subjects

Myers – Scotton (1993) states, according to research on the code switching in 11 language pairs that MLF could code the instances of mixing. Most of these studies have been carried out on western languages and thus cannot be generalized to Indian context. As is evident from the results of the present study, MLF proved to be useful in coding language mixing across the two Indian language communities. This is because the basic hypotheses on which MLF relies are not language specific and thus are more universal.

Conclusion

All the four constituents of MLF were seen in all the speakers of the two language pairs. The frequency of all these constituents differed with the context and the mixing of the languages was maximum in the bilingual context. Apart from that other factors like language preference, language mode and language proficiency play a major part in determining the amount of mixing.

Present findings are very important in the light of the current research on code switching in aphasics or dementics. Abnormality can be labeled so only when we have the definition of what is normal and thus the research on abnormal language mixing cannot be complete till more research focuses on details of normal code switching.

The comparison of language mixing in the speakers of two language pairs revealed that there was no significant difference in the type but slight differences existed in the amount of the code switching. This would lead us to interpret that code switching is a universal strategy used by all the bilingual speakers in spite of the native language of the speaker. The MLF model could effectively describe all the instances of code switching in all the subjects. However more research needs to be carried out on speakers of different languages as well as in clinical populations such as aphasics and dementics in order to validate the present findings.

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APPENDIX – A

QUESTIONNAIRE TO ASSESS THE SUBJECT'S LANGUAGE

Name:

Age/Sex:

- 1. What languages do you speak?
- 2. a. What is your mother tongue?
 - b. As a child what languages did you speak most at :
 - i) Home
 - ii) School
 - iii) With friends
 - iv) Community
- 3. Which languages did your parents / caretaker speak?
- 4. What was your medium of instruction in school?
- 5. Did you have any formal instruction in any other language?
- 6. How many years of education have you received and in what language?
- 7. What is your age of acquisition of L2?
- 8. What is the mode of acquisition of L2 (whether it is formal in school or in natural settings in home)?
- 9. What is the relative degree of proficiency in each language?

Choices: L1=L2, L1>L2 or L1<L2.

10. Order the rate of proficiency in different languages you know?

Most proficient to least proficient

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11. What is the pattern of language use?

	Home	Neighbors	College Friends
L1			
L2			
L3			
L4			

- 12. Can you estimate the frequency and type of the language mixing in your daily usage?
- 13. Abilities in each language in following modes?

L1	L2	L3	L4
Understanding			
Speaking			
Reading			
Writing			

- 14. Which language do you prefer for written and oral communication?
- 15. What is your most preferred language for use?

APPENDIX - B

Definition of matrix language frame constituents

SI. No.	Constituent	Definition	
1.	ML islands	Well-formed constituents consisting entirely of ML (matrix language) morphemes demonstrating syntactic structure.	
2.	ML shift	Change in ML (matrix language) in Consecutive utterances or clausal Structures.	
3.	EL islands	Well-formed constituents consisting of at least two EL (embedded language) morphemes showing syntactic structure that has been inserted into ML (matrix language)	
4.	ML + EL	A single EL (embedded language) lexeme (not a borrowed form) inserted into the syntactic frame of any number of ML (matrix language) morphemes	

ADVERTISEMENTS IN TELUGU – COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

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Abstract

This paper aims to bring out certain linguistic strategies used in the advertisements given in Telugu language for effective communication taking advantage of multilingual situation prevailing in Andhra Pradesh.

India is a multilingual country comprising of the native speakers of different languages belonging to different language families. The magnitude of multilingualism in India has made the scholars wonder about how communication takes place without being detrimental to the social identities of the individuals. An important characteristic of Indian multilingualism is that it is bifocal existing both at mass level and the elite level. At the elite level it is English bilingualism, which is formally acquired. Indian multilingualism is motivated and sustained by the primary and secondary socialization processes at home and the work place. Only a guarter of the multilingualism is contributed by formal learning in school and it is of elite kind (Annamalai, 2001). Some languages are learnt through formal learning in order to enable them to get earnings or for some specific purposes. Functional distribution of languages helps the languages not to be in conflict within individual. One language for ethnic identity, another for business transactions, another for official dealings, another for entertainment, another for ritual and so on. Though different languages are used in different domains, code mixing is found in the communication patterns, as the Indian languages are in the process of modernization enriching their vocabulary by drawing the lexicon from different resources.

Telugu is the major language of Andhra Pradesh, situated between Northern and extreme Southern states of India. The northern part of Andhra Pradesh, comprising of 9 districts of present Telangana

region, parts of Karnataka and Maharastra was under the rule of Muslims 14th to 18th centuries. Though the official language was Persian during Qutubshahis and Asafiahis till the British Government has declared Urdu as official language in 1835 A.D., the colloquial language was Dakkini Urdu. Due to the interaction between these two communities. the natives of this region have turned out to be Telugu-Dakkini bilinguals. The elite class who have aspired higher posts were learning Persian and Dakkini Urdu formally. The folk class too, out of necessity, were learning Dakkini Urdu at informal level. It was something like learning Latin, Greek or French in addition to one's mother tongue by the educated people in different ages. At other levels and for other reasons more humble citizens have also been bilinguals from earliest times. It was necessary under the Ptolemies to acquire Greek, even for quite minor posts and Athenian slaves representatives of the lowest class of all were often bilinguals as they were pressed into domestic service and teaching (John Edwards, 1994). After the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 with Hyderabad as capital, English has become official language, which has continued till Telugu has occupied its place in the year 1966. Therefore, in Hyderabad, the masses acquire Dakkini informally and the elite class acquires English through formal learning. Though they use different languages for different purposes, the natives of this region tend to code mix Dakkini, English, besides Sanskrit in different domains. In the advertisements and notifications given by the government as well as commercial organization, the multilingual character of this speech community is reflected. The advertisers primarily aim at effective communication keeping in mind brevity, clarity and comprehensibility. Taking the maximum advantage of multilingualism prevalent in the community the text of the advertisement is prepared. In this paper the advertisements from Telugu News papers given both by government agencies and commercial organizations are observed and the communication strategies adopted by them are analyzed. Some advertisements are given below as they appeared in the news papers. ADVERTISEMENTS IN TELUGU - COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

Telugu used for formal writing purposes makes use of quite a lot of Sanskrit borrowings, like *vritti* 'occupation'; *suucana* 'suggestion'; *aadaraNa* 'respect'; *adhika* 'more'; *subhapradamayna* 'auspicious' which have become very well established. When Telugu has become official language in the State of Andhra Pradesh, the domains of its use have been increased. In the context of extending its use in different spheres of acticity viz., writing scientific articles in text books, news papers, official correspondence, commercial transactions, technical terms were coined by Telugu scholars in the institutes like Telugu Akademi, official language commission of Andhra Pradesh drawing mostly from Sanskrit which have gained wide currency.

Eg: adhiikruta 'authorises'; labdhidaarulu 'beneficiaries'

However, there are lexical gaps in certain areas which are generally filled by the words from either English or Dakkhini Urdu. In such type of situation the advertisers have freedom to make lexical choice and code mixing to achieve their goals of effective communication. The communicative strategies adopted by the advertisers are as follows:

Code mixing from more than one source

The following kind of code mixing is made to avoid lengthy constructions.

<i>vividha</i> Skt	<i>labdhidaarulu</i> Skt Urdu	'different beneficiaries'
tayaarii	<i>daarulu</i> (Ur)	'manufacturers'
<i>adhiikruta</i> Skt	<i>Diilarlu</i> Eng Te	'authorized dealers'

labdhi (Sk) *tayaarii* (Ur) nomianls have taken *daar* to form an agentive noun to which number suffixes *Du/lu* are added. This can be expressed in Telugu without code mixing, through relative construction.

laabham	pondina	vaaru	ʻon	е	who	got	profit'	
tayaaru	ceesina	vaaru	'on	е	who	man	ufctures	

adhiikruta is of Sanskrit origin to which the English word Diilar is added. There is a lexical gap in Telugu for 'dealer'. Moreover, adhiikruta can be replaced by a longest construction *nammakam* kaligina, 'having faith' which goes against the principle of brevity. This kind of code mixing drawing lexicon from more than one source is found in the following advertisement.

Advertisement 1



aadaraNa Feez – II adhunâtana vrutti parikaramula egzibishan aandhra pradeesh prabhutvamu vaaru aadaraNa pathakamu dvaaraa ceetivruttula vaariki adhunaatana parikaramulanu sarafaraa ceeyuTaku maarga darsaka suutramulanu icciyunnaaru. Prabhutva uttarvula meeraku ii diguva suucincina teediilaloo aadaraNa pathakamu krinda empika ceesina vividha labdhidaarulaku vrutti parikaramulu karaaru ceesi labdhidaarula angiikaaramu seekarincuTa koraku vividha parikaramula tayaarii daarulu leedaa adhiikruta Diilarlanu krinda cuupina vrutti parikaramulatoo paata jillaa parishat kaaryaalayamu aavaraNa ongooluloo u.10 gan.la nuNDi saa.6gan.la varaku nirvahincu avagaahana egzibishan nandu paalgonavalasindigaa aahvaanincaDamaynadi.

teedii	vrutti parikaramulu
20.12.2002	nuune gaanugalu, kammari, kasaayi — heyr
	Drassing, myuuzikals

Transliteration of English words:

In the following advertisements 2,3 and 4 English words are transliterated into Telugu.

	విండరు స్రాకటన నెం. 2/DB(E)/PCC Pumping Pient/2002-03, తేది 6-8-20 పై టెండరు ప్రకటనకు దిగువ తెలిపిన సవరణను జారీ ఎధనలన్నీ యధాతథంగా ఉన్నాయి. అయుబంధరం	121 H 122-HULLING	
కమ		అంచనా వ్యయం	ధరావతు
Sop	1	(రూ.ల <u>క</u> లలో)	(రూ.లక్షలలో)
1	కోదండఫార్వద్ద మొత్తం 140m హెడ్ కొరక ఒక్కొక్కటి గంటకు 2228 క్యూ.మీ. కెపాసిటీగల 6 నెం॥ క్లియర్ వాటర్ సెంట్రిప్పాగల్ స్నిట్ కేసింగ్ పంఫలను, నాసర్తపల్లి వద్ద మొత్తం 150m హెడ్ కొరకు ఒక్కొక్కటి గంటకు 2228 క్యూ.మీ. కెపాసిటీగల 6 నెం॥ క్లియర్ వాటర్ సెంటిక్ర్యూగల్ స్నిట్ కేసింగ్ పంఫలను మరియు గొడక్రొండ్ల వద్ద మొత్తం 136m హెడ్ కొరకు ఒక్కొక్కటి గంటకు 2228 క్యూ.మీ. కెపాసిటీ గల 6 నెం॥ క్లియర్ వాటర్ సెంటిఫ్యూగల్ స్నిట్ కేసింగ్ పంఫలను (పతి స్టేషన్ వద్ద 4 పంఫలను నడపటం ద్వారా ప్యారల్ అపరేషన్ కొరకు అనువైన రీతిలో ఏర్పాటు చేయుట మరియు 24 నెలల డిఫెక్ట్ లయలిలిటి కాలంల్ (పతి స్టేషన్ వద్ద 24 నెలల కాలానికి మ్యాచింగ్, ఆపరేషన్ అండ్ మెయింటెనెన్సితో సహా టెలిమెటీ మరియు PLCలతో PC బేస్ట్ SCADA సిస్టమ్, జనిస్తుపెంటేషన్, అనుబంధ ఉపకరడాలతో పైన తెలిపిన పంఫలకు అనువైన 6.6KV, 3ఫేట్, 50Hz, హరికాంటల్, స్క్విరల్ కేజ్ ఉండక్షన్ మోటార్ ఏర్పాటుతో సహా	3000.00	30.00

KoodanDapuur vadda mottam 140m heD koraku okkokkaTi gaNTaku 2228 kyu. mrr kepaasiTii gala 6 nem. Kliyar vaaTar seNTrifyuugal split keesing pampulanu — —

- naDapaDam dvaaraa pyaaralal aapareshan koraku anuvayna riitiloo eerpaaTu ceeyuTa.

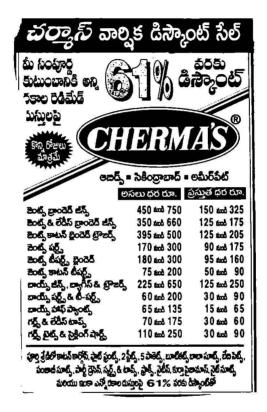


kaaveeri Traavels vaari vaalvo nuutana praarambham. prapanca nem.1 lagjarii bassulayna vaalvo kampeni vaari bassulu aandhrapradeeshloo moTTamodaTi saarigaa aadhunika saukaryamulatoo haydaraabaaduloo praveesa peDutunnaamu.

vaalvo eyir saspenshan bas (senTral A/c), neeTi nuNDi haydaraabaad Tu nelluuru vaya ongooluku raa.gan.9.00 bayaludeerunu.



vaarshika *kliyarens seel* 61% varaku DiskaunT CHERMA'S



carmaas vaarshika DiskaunT seel

mii sampuurNa kuTumbaaniki annirakaala *reDiimeeD* dustulapay 61% varaku DiskaunT.

	asalu dhara ruu.	prastuta dhara ruu.
jeNTs braanDeD jiins	450 nunDi 750	150 nuNDi 325
jenTs & leeDiis braanDeD jiins	350 nuNDi 660	125 nuNDi 175



ADVERTISEMENTS IN TELUGU - COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

'priya' andistoondi marinni sarikotta instant ruculu

vaDa miks, upma miks, idlii miks, ravva doose miks

Following are the transliterated English words in the above advertisements.

- 1. kliyar vaatar sentrifuugal split keesing
- 2. vaalvo eer saspenSan bas
- 3. lagjarii bassulu
- 4. kliyarens seel
- 5. janTs braanDeD jiins
- 6. vupmaa miks

English words are transliterated into Telugu because the people who have issued notifications and advertisements felt that if the text is to be rendered in Telugu, it would result into a complex construction with full of Sanskrit lexicon which may not be understood by majority of the people.

- 1a. svacchamayna niiru keendram ninci bayaTiki veLLagaligee ciilika gala toDugu'the case which has a split through which clear water flows out from the center'.
- 2a. vaayusaktitoo pani ceesee breekulu gala vaalvo bassu
 'valvo bus with brakes which work with air pressure'.
- 3a. vilaasavantamayna bassu 'the bus which is luxurious'

- 4a. avasaram leeni sarukuni tolaginciveeyaDaaniki taggimpu dharalaku ceeseeammakam 'sale at reduced rates to get rid of the goods which are not required'
- 5a. naaNyata suucincee gurtu gala magavaaLLa jrrns 'jeans of gents which has the symbol showing the quality'
- 6a. vupmaa misramam 'mixture of upma'

In 1a to 3a – all are relative constructions which are lengthier compared to English constructions 1 to 3. In 6a *miks* 'mix' a verb form in English which is being used as a noun form in *vupma mix*. The word *misramam* 'mixture' is a Sanskrit word. Both are equally new to Telugu natives. Comparatively '*miks*' is a shorter utterance which must have made the advertiser to choose this word. In 5a there is no corresponding word for 'clearance' in Telugu, though *ammakam* corresponds to 'sale' of English. Therefore the word 'clearance' sale has gained currency in the advertisements. It occurs either as an independent word *seel* 'sale' or as one of the constituents in the phrase like *DiskaunT sel* 'discount sale'. It is very well understood by the Telugu speakers.

One of the two homophonous post positions code mixed

To avoid confusion arising out of the repetition of the same post position giving two kinds of meaning, one post position from english *Tu* 'to' is used. neeTi *nunDi* haydraabaad *Tu* nelluuru (vayaa ongoolu) ku raa.gan. 9.00laku bayaludeerunu. *nunDi* in Telugu stands for both adverb of time as well as adverb of place. Therefore, the English preposition *to* is used in the advertisement.

Usage of English

The information intended for wider public is given in English though details are given in Telugu, as found in the advertisements given below:

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RAMOJI FILM CITY

Sintex International LTD

CHERMA'S

SHILPARAMAM

VARUN MOTORS LTD

ICICI BANK

FRANKIE SWISS KITCHEN SYSTEMS

Following conclusions can be drawn from the above mentioned data. Code mixing is found in the advertisements to achieve brevity and clarity of the message rendering effective communication. The choice of sources from which lexical items are to be drawn is left to the language user who in turn chooses the source based on the target group. If the target group happens to be technical personnel who are very much acquainted with English technical terms he would rather use English words instead of looking at the technical terminology prepared by Telugu Akademi. If particular lexical items drawn from particular languages get established in Telugu and already gained currency, the advertiser would rather choose that particular item because they are easily understood by the masses.

Eg: darakaastu, karaaru ceeyu to 'decide' pathakam 'programme'

However, the language user is not concentrating either on the purity of the language or on the particular source of language from which lexicon are to be drawn. His aim is to have effective communication and he looks at the ways and means to achieve it. He, therefore, resorts to code mixing drawing from different sources taking advantage of the multilingual situation.

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LEXICAL SEMANTIC IMPAIRMENT IN BILINGUAL ANOMIC APHASICS

Sudheer Bhan AYJNIHH Secunderabad.

Abstract

Naming and Comprehension of colour terms, body parts, furniture items was assessed using a modified version of Kannada Aphasia Test of Psycholinguistic abilities and Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination in Dakkhini Urdu and Telugu among two Bilingual Anomic Aphasics— S-1 (Telugu-Dakkhini Urdu) and S-2 (Telugu-English). Speech errors in these two tasks were analyzed into various categories in Bilingual Aphasics' two languages. Subjects had more difficulty in naming and Comprehension of objects than other categories. Hence, this paper presents findings in object naming task only. The study refutes Ribot's Primacy Hypothesis, Pitre's Habit Strength Hypothesis and Jacobson's Regression Hypothesis. It assumes that it is the Language spoken in the immediate environment of the Aphasic after the Stroke, which recovers first.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the comprehension and naming errors in object naming among two Bilingual Anomic Aphasics. It also observes their rate of spontaneous recovery and tries to ascertain whether it is mother tongue or second language which recovers first after the stroke. Anomia as a word finding difficulty in spontaneous speech and confrontation naming tasks is common across all Aphasic Syndromes. However, it needs to be differentiated from the syndrome of Anomic Aphasia. Anomic Aphasia is characterized by fluent speech, preserved or mildly impaired comprehension, pervasive impairment of word finding in any modality, empty speech (replacement of specific words or names by generalizations- e.g. thing, it, them etc.), Circumlocutions (naming the attribute or function of an object in place of its name), neologisms, difficulty in naming to confrontation and responsive naming, difficulty in reading and writing. The degree of word finding difficulty varies from case to case. Some patients have mild naming disturbance on confrontation naming task, while others confrontation naming is severely impaired. Anomic Aphasia is often an end result of recovery from Wernicke's or Conduction Aphasia.

As Globalisation takes down former barriers of trade, travel, migration and communication, the world is finding more need for Bilingualism. Bilingualism or Multilingualism is the ability to function to whatever degree in one or more of the four language skills - speaking, listening, comprehension, reading and writing. Bilinguals / Multilinguals acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains and with different attitudes. Their two languages are represented in different hemispheres of brain. Hence, an injury to brain does not result in equal impairment of Bilingual's two languages. Bilingualism in children differs from the one found in Adults. Two types of bilingualism have been reported in children. (a) Simultaneous Bilingualism, in which dual language input is available to children from parents. It includes two situations- (1) one parent- one language situation (2) one parent- two language situation. (b) Sequential Bilingualism where two different languages are acquired at two different situations by children- Chinese at home and English at School at 4 years in a Chinese speaking family. Among adults, Weinreich (1953) has classified Bilingualism into three major types: (A) Co-ordinate Bilingualism: the linguistic elements (words, phrases) in the speaker's mind are all related to their unique concepts e.g. A French- English Bilingual speaker has different associations for 'Chien' (dog-french) and 'Dog'. This type of Bilingual speaker belongs to different communities that do not interact frequently. (B) Compound Bilingualism: speakers of this type attach most of their linguistic elements to the same concepts. For them, 'Chien' and 'Dog' are two words for the same concept. Such speakers are found in minority Language community or amongst fluent L-2 learners. (C) Superordinate Bilingualism: In this type, the linguistic elements of one of the speaker's languages are only available through elements of his other languages. That means the bilingual interprets words of the weaker language through words of his stronger language. This is typical

LEXICAL SEMANTIC IMPAIRMENT IN BILINGUAL ANOMIC APHASICS 64 of, but not restricted to beginning learners. McKey (1964) describes two more types of Bilingualism: (i) Dormant Bilinguals are those, who stop using one of their languages either due to Conscious Decision (e.g. Migration to other place) or (2) exterior events (e.g. being away from the motherland) (ii) Balanced Bilingual is one, who is equally proficient in both languages. But at competence level, it is very difficult to have equal proficiency in two languages.

Bilingualism: Its Relevance to Aphasia

Bilingualism plays a significant role in recovery from various Facets of Aphasic Syndromes. Modes of recovery in Aphasic Bilinguals are 1. Recovery is said to be Synergistic, When progress in one language is accompanied by progress in another, (a) It is Parallel, when the languages are similarly impaired and restored at the same rate. (B) Differential, when impairment is of a different degree in each language and restitution occurs at the same or different rate. 2. Recovery is said to be Antagonistic, when one Language regresses, as the other progresses. (a) In Reciprocal or Alternate Antagonism, one language regresses as the other language becomes available; this one in turn becomes unavailable and the first one reappears and so on. -a seesaw pattern. 3. Recovery is said to be selective, when the Aphasic does not regain one or more of his languages. 4. Recovery is said to be Successive, when one language does not begin to reappear, until another one has been restored. 5. Recovery is said to be Mixed, When the Bilingual's two languages are intermingled. However, it has not been possible to correlate type of Bilingualism with a particular pattern of recovery precisely in present study.

Studies

Bilingual / Multilingual Aphasias are an important aspect of clinical practice and research in the field of language disorders. Some of the major clinical and experimental studies in Bilingual Aphasia are: Fabro, Franco et al (1997) studied three Bilingual mixed trancortical

Aphasics {Italian-English-1, Friulian-Italian-2} with Ischemic or tumoral lesions in left Thalamus. Following were the findings: Morphology and Syntax were most disrupted levels among Aphasics- more in L2 than in L1. One Aphasic had code mixing and major difficulties in translating sentences. Two Aphasics made more errors in their L2 than in their L1, whereas in third Aphasic both languages were equally impaired after his surgical operation. Springer et al (1998) studied a Bilingual Aphasics (German-English). Significant improvement was seen between German settings, but not in English. The occurrence of German words and Phrases in English was significantly higher. A Whiteworth and H.S.Jardin (1993) investigated three Australian bilingual Aphasics (Australian English-Dutch, Italian-English and Macedonian-English). Case I-a woman had code switching between English and Dutch. There was Language Interference from English into Dutch. Other two bilingual aphasics were most successful in L1 and L2. There was interference from English into Macedonian in third Aphasic. Vaid, Jyotsna and Chengappa, Shyamala (1998) studied two monolingual Kannada speaking Wernicke's Aphasics, three Kannada monolinguals and 21 Kannada English Bilinguals for investing the relative strength of three cues - word order, noun animacy and subject-verb agreement in a sentence interpretation test. Results were: (1) In monolinguals, bilinguals and monolingual Aphasics, the effect of animacy cue was dominant in sentence interpretation, whereas in Bilingual Aphasics, this cue appears to have been spared in both English and Kannada. (2) In word order, N.N.V. sentences yielded a strong first noun preference in Kannada as compared to that in English among monolinguals, bilinguals, but not in bilingual Apahsics. Karanth (1981) studied a Kannada English Bilingual Aphasic with Agraphia. The patient found reading Kannada more difficult. It took him more time than reading English. This was despite the fact that the patient had learned Kannada before he had learned English. Bying et al (1984) describes a case of a 15 year old English-Nepalese deep Alexic, whose ability to read aloud Nepalese words was much worse than his ability to read aloud English words. Nilipour and Ashayery (1989) report a case of alternate antagonism between two languages and successive recovery of a third in a Farsi-German-English LEXICAL SEMANTIC IMPAIRMENT IN BILINGUAL ANOMIC APHASICS 66 trilingual Aphasic. Chary's (1986) Aphasic Agraphic recovered English (the language of instruction at the college) over Telugu (His mother tongue). Before insult, the patient would use both languages interchangeably for all speech functions, but was more fluent in English than in Telugu for writing.

Hypothesis

This study seeks an explanation for the refutation of following three hypotheses, (a) Ribot's Primacy Hypothesis (1881), which proposes that the earliest learned language would be the least damaged and the first one to recover after the stroke.

(b) Pitre's Habit Strength Hypothesis (1895) which says that the language most in use immediately preceding the injury will recover first.

(c) Jacobson's Regression Hypothesis (1905), which proposes that mother tongue recovers first and second language later assumes a Hypothesis that it is the language spoken in immediate environment of the patient after the Stroke, which recovers first.

Objectives

The purpose of present study is to observe the rate of spontaneous recovery in two Bilingual Anomic Aphasics- one male (Telugu-Dakkhini Urdu) and one female – (Telugu- English). It also analyses their speech in terms of Semantic and Phonological errors. It tries to ascertain whether it is mother tongue or Second language, which recovers first in Aphasics after the stroke.

Methodology

The study is based on two Bilingual Anomic Aphasics, whose Case Histories are as follows:

The first patient S1 (M)- (41 years), a B.Sc. graduate was a motor mechanic and complained of chronic hypertension frequently.

On 6th September, 1986, he had a sudden fall in his house and was admitted to Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad. His clinical diagnosis on Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination (B.D.A.E.) (Goodglass and Kaplan) proved him to be a Classical Anomic. His spontaneous recovery during three sessions was observed with one month interval between the sessions.

The second patient S2 (F) (50 years) a maths teacher had a sudden C.V.A. or Stroke on 21st April 1986 at her home in Hyderabad. She was admitted in Gandhi Hospital, Secunderabad. Clinical examination on the basis of B.D.A.E. indicated that she was a case of classical Anomic Aphasia. Her spontaneous recovery was tested in three sessions with one month interval between the sessions. Her reading and writing were severely impaired. Her family history was negative.

Table-1

Б І.	Age	Aphasia Type	Etiology	Hemiplegia	Mother tongue	Second language	Handedness
S 1	41	Anomia	C.V.A. (Thrombosis)	right sided	Telugu	Dakkhini Urdu	right
52	50	Anomia	C.V.A. (Thrombosis)	right sided	Telugu	English	right

Material

22 plastic objects and their pictorial representations along with 22 lexical cards were used as an experimental tool. (See Appendix 1 for objects used in the study).

LEXICAL SEMANTIC IMPAIRMENT IN BILINGUAL ANOMIC APHASICS 68 Methods

Following tasks were used to elicit naming in Aphasics of present study.

(a) Verbal Naming, where a real object or its pictorial representation is presented before the patient and he is asked to name it verbally. The errors found are – neologisms, (ng) semantic substitution errors. (sse).

(b) Visual Confrontation Naming, where he is supposed to indicate the object presented to him verbally. Semantic substitution errors are noted.

(c) Word Association Naming, where the patient is asked to associate a real object with its Lexical card.

(d) Confrontation Naming, where the patient is asked how a particular object is known as.,

(e) Responsive Naming, where he is shown an object, given its use and asked to name. He circumlocutes it by giving its use (e.g. Is it for wearing — Watch)

Analysis and Discussion

Following error patterns were observed among Bilingual Anomic Aphasics of present study

S1 Task Verbal Naming	Visual Confrontation	Word Association
[Te]		
duvena du-kapana tepok	gaajulu—traaDu	
'comb' neologism (ng) 'b	ottle' 'spectacles'	'bangles' 'rope'

69 Sudheer Bhan [U] kangha — kankutta kainci-kunji aina-ainok 'comb' 'scissors' 'key' 'mirror' 'spectacles' ng [Te] pensilu-pennu 'pencil' 'pen' Confrontation Naming **Responsive Naming** Investigator-I (pointing to I-sudilo eemi guccutaaru [Te] [Te] camca 'spoon' 'what do you pierce in needle' patient -(P) Tapakita p- kutivedu, kuta 'is it for stitching' ng Investigator-I (pointing to I-kolavaDaaniki eemi vaaDataaru [Te] [Te] kattera 'scissors' 'what do you measure with scale' patient-picum p-asvami to-masam na ng S2 Verbal Naming Visual confrontation Association Word Naming Naming gaajulu – *traaDu* [Te] kancamu—banti [Te] pensilu—pennu [Te] 'bangles' 'rope' 'ball' 'pencil' 'pen' 'plate'

Analysis of object naming in S-1 and S-2 reveals that they had semantic substitution errors in L-1 (Telugu) and L-2 (English & Urdu).

'lock'—'key' [E]

'spectacles'—'mirror'[E] 'rope'—'thread'[E]

These errors were more in L-1 than in L-2. Besides it, S-1 had a large

LEXICAL SEMANTIC IMPAIRMENT IN BILINGUAL ANOMIC APHASICS 70 number of neologisms in confrontation naming task. In confrontation naming and word association naming, both usually had semantically related responses, but in exceptional cases even semantically unrelated responses and associations too were observed (e.g. *kancamu* 'plate' — *banti* 'ball' –S-2). When provided a semantic cue, S-1 either named the function of the object (circumlocution) or a neologism in its place.

S-1 had a fast rate of recovery in his second language – Dakkhini than mother tongue- Telugu. Later Dakkhini almost recovered, but Telugu remained largely impaired. On the other hand, S-2 had slow pace of recovery in English, but more recovery in comparison to mother tongue-Telugu. However, S-1's Telugu has remained moderately impaired, whereas S-2's Telugu is severely impaired till today. Patterns of recovery were largely inconsistent in these two Aphasics.

Language use and communication strategies in two Bilingual Anomic Aphasics can be described as follows: S-1 (Telugu+Dakkhini)-Before Stroke, S-1 used Telugu at home, but Dakkhini with friends and neighbourhood during childhood. After joining a job in a military workshop in Secunderabad, he switched from Telugu to Dakkhini and vice versa with his colleagues. He used to speak in Dakkhini to his boss and sometimes occasionally in English. After the stroke, it was Dakkhini which improved first and Telugu remained impaired to a larger extent. His writing to dictation as well as mirror writing in Telugu was impaired. He never learnt to read and write in Dakkhini.

S-2 (Telugu+English) S-2's mother tongue was Telugu. She studied in an English medium school and later became a teacher in mathematics in a school in Hyderabad. She used to communicate with her colleagues in English and occasionally switch over to Telugu, while discussing household issues. Classroom interaction was always carried out in English. She was M.A. (English). After the stroke, it was English which improved first and Telugu remained impaired. It was perhaps due to interaction with hospital staff and family members after the stroke. Statistical Analysis of S-1's speech points out that % of neologisms, semantic substitution errors and even nil responses was more profound in Telugu rather than Dakkhini in all three sessions. Supplementary data in S-2's speech also indicates greater % of errors in her mother tongue Telugu rather than English.

Conclusion

Linguistic and Statistical analysis of the two bilingual Anomic Aphasics conforms our hypothesis that it is the language spoken in the immediate environment of the patient during post onset period which recovers first and fast. This disagrees with the hypothesis presented by Pitre, Ribot and Jacobson.

Present Study being a cross-longitudinal and short sample study in semantic lexicon cannot be regarded as conclusive in itself. In future, a larger sample study covering all the aspects of Linguistics will provide significant results.

LEXICAL SEMANTIC IMPAIRMENT IN BILINGUAL ANOMIC APHASICS

Dakkhini Urdu	Telugu	English
sikka	ruupaayalu	'coins'
caaku	katti	'knife'
suui	suudi	'needle'
taalaa	taaLam	'lock'
ghaDi	gaDiyaaramu	'watch'
bootal	siisa	'bottle'
kanga	duvvena	'comb'
camca	camca	'spoon'
pen	pennu	'pen'
caSma	kaLLaddaalu	'spectacles'
geend	banti	'ball'
gilaas	glaasu	'glass'
pensil	pensilu	'pencil'
rabber	rabbaru	'rubber'
kunjî	taalam cevi	'key'
kitaab	pustakamu	'book'
aaina	addamu	'mirror'
rassi	traaDu	'rope'
pleeT	kancamu	'plate'
daagaa	daaramu	'thread'
cuDiyan	gaajulu	'bangles'
phuta	kolatabadda	'scale'
<u> </u>		

Objects used in the study

APPENDIX - I

References

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NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT:

The Head of the Department has submitted a proposal before the Expert Committee of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, for sanction of Assistance for Strengthening Infrastructure for Humanities & Social Sciences (ASIHSS) programme in February 2004. Subsequently, the UGC has sanctioned the ASIHSS grant under the following heads for a period of 3 years (2004-2007). Prof.V.Swarajya Lakshmi, Head of the Department is the Coordinator of the ASIHSS programme.

NON-RECURRING		(Rs. in Lakhs)
 Books & Journals Extension of Building 		5.00 15.00
То	tal:	Rs.20.00 lakhs
RECURRING		
. Working Expenses, & Contengency (@ Rs.0.40 lakh p.a.)		1.20
Seminar/Conference/Workshops (@Rs.0.60 lakhs p.a.) Advisory Committee meetings (TA/DA to outside		1.80
experts as UGC nominees in the Committee (@Rs.0.20 lakh p.a.) . Travel/Field Trips/Field Facilities (in India)		0.60
(@ rs.0.40 lakh p.a.) Hiring Services of Industrial/Secretarial Assistance	ce	1.20
as relevant to the programme (@Rs.0.60 lakhs p.a.) . Visiting Fellows (@ Rs.0.60 lakhs p.a.)		1.80
		1.80
Тс	tal:	Rs. 8.40 lakhs

75

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Publications of the faculty:

Prof.K.Nagamma Reddy

• On the Phonological Status of /à:/ in Telugu. In International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics. Vol.33. 2004. pp.93-104.

Prof.V.Swarajya Lakshmi

- Advertisements in Telugu: Communicative Strategies. Osmania Papers in Linguistics Vol. 30 – 2004
- Co-edited Savara Bharati (okatava taragati waacakam) Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Tribal Welfare Department, Govt of Andhra Pradesh.

Dr.D.Vasanta

- Processing phonological information in a semi-syllabic script: Developmental data from Telugu. Special issue (Reading and Writing in semi-syllabic scripts) Reading and Writing: An Interdisciplinary Journal (USA) 17: 59-78.
- Childhood, Work and Schooling: Some Reflections. Contemporary Education Dialogue 2:1, 5-29.
- Congenital hearing impairment and speech-language competence: A study based on Telugu children. In M.V.V.Reddy and P.P.Reddy (Eds.). Hearing Impairment: Indian Scenario. Hyderabad: Editor's Publication.

Dr.A.Usha Rani

 'Acquisition of the Non-nominative Subject in Telugu'. In Peri Bhaskararao and Karmuri Venkata Subbarao (eds.) Non nominative Subjects Vol.2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (coauthored with V.Sailaja).

Mr. K.Ramesh Kumar

- Co-edited Gondi bhaarati (okaTava taragati waacakam). Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Tribal Welfare Department, AP.
- Co-edited Adivaasi oriya bhaarati (okaTava taragai vaacakam) Hyderabad: Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute, Tribal Welfare Department, AP.

Papers presented in Seminars / Conferences

Prof.K.Nagamma Reddy

 Dravidan Phonology : Contribution of Prof. M. B. Emeneau. Invited Endowment Paper presented at the 32nd All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists, under Endowment Lecture of M. B. Emeneau Centenary Lectures, Warangal.

Dr.D.Vasanta

 Role of Semantic transparency in the processing of Telugu compounds. Paper Presented at the National Seminar on Theoretical and Applied Aspects of Lexical Semantics organized by the CAS, Osmania University.

Mr.B.Vijayanarayana

 Telugu lexical semantics: Some issues relating to 'word', 'meaning', 'reference' and 'sense'. Paper presented at the National Seminar on Theoretical and Applied Aspects of Lexical Semantics organized by the Center of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Mr.K.Ramesh Kumar

 The Implementation of Tribal Languages in School Education: The Andhra Pradesh Experiment to the DLA Conference held at P.S.Telugu University Campus, Warangal, A.P.

 Tribal Languages of Andhra Pradesh: Mother Tongue Teaching in Primary Schools. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Effective (English) Language Management in SAARC Countries, held at Indo-American Centre For International Studies, O.U.campus.

Other Academic Activities

Prof. Aditi Mukherjee

- Summer School Course on Bangla language. University of Zagreb, Croatia.
- Resource person at the Colloquium on Agenda for Sociolinguistics in India. Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

of.V.Swarajya Lakshmi

 Participated as resource person in the workshops organized by the Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute, Tribal Welfare Department, Govt of Andhra Pradesh, in connection with the preparation of the Text books in Savara language and Kuvi language.

.D.Vasanta

- Keynote address (as part of ISHA award) at the 36th Annual Conference of the Indian Speech, Language and Hearing Association (ISHA) held at Mysore During January 2004.
- Two lectures on 'Psycholinguistics' to the participants of UGC sponsored Refresher course in Linguistics held at the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages during March 2004.
- Two lectures on the topic of 'Speech Perception' to final year B.Sc. students atThe Southern Regional Centre of the AYJ National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped, Secunderabad.

Dr.A.Usha Rani

 A lecture on the topic 'Chomsky's Views on Language Acquisition' to M.A. Psychology 1st year students at Arts College.

Mr.K.Ramesh Kumar

- Participated as a Resource person in "Teachers' Training Workshop and Implementation of 1st class Text Books in Tribal Languages" at Paderu, Visakhapatnam district, A.P. (Konda, Kuvi, Adivasi Oriya and Savara languages).
- Participated as a Resource person in "Teachers' Training Workshop and Implementation of 1st class Text Books in Tribal languages" at Utnoor, Adilabad dist, A.P. (Gondi, Kolami, Koya and Banjara languages).
- Participated as a resource person on the "Mother tongue teaching-Multilingual education" a one day seminar conducted by TCR&TI, TWD, AP.
- Participated as a resource person on the "Mother tongue teaching-Multilingual education" a one day seminar conducted by DPEP, AP.
- Participated as a resource person on the "Mother tongue teaching-Multilingual education" a three day workshop for revising and correcting the First Standard Text Books in the tribal mothertongues, conducted by TCR&TI, TWD, AP. organized by the Dept of Linguistics, O.U., Hyderabad.

Awards

Prof.K.Nagamma Reddy

 Phonetic Society of India Award for the book on "Studies in Phonetics and Phonology: with reference to Indian languages" instituted by Dravidian Linguistics Association, Thiruvananthapuram at the 32nd All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists held at P.S.Telugu University, Warangal

Dr.D.Vasanta

 Ratna Oration Award: From the Indian Speech and Hearing Association (ISHA) – at the 36th Annual Conference of ISHA held in Mysore January 2004.

Seminars / Conferences organized:

Theoretical and Applied Aspects of Lexical Semantics - 2004

The seminar organized by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Osmania University, was well attended with participants coming from sister institutions from Hyderabad – Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad Central University, P.S. Telugu University, Central Institute of Hindi, International Institute of Information Technology – and from Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, Central Institute of Indian Languages – Regional Language Centre, Solon, Annamalai University, Chennai and Bangalore.

Prof.J.Anantha Swamy, the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University was the Chief Guest. Prof.Bh. Krishnamurti, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Central University of Hyderabad presided over the inaugural session. Prof.Amritavalli from CIEFL delivered the keynote address.

In all 31 papers were presented covering areas like computational linguistics, psycholinguistics, clinical linguistics, translation studies, sociolinguistics, socio-semiotics and theoretical linguistics among others. The Department was encouraged by the fact that the M.A. students of the Department also came forward to present papers.

The seminar was a great success because scholars from different disciplines interacted intensely and it was obvious that the layman's understanding of 'meaning' of 'word' is not sufficient as we need a more complex and comprehensive inter-disciplinary analysis of meaning generation and comprehension. The seminar highlighted the fact that both theoretical and applied linguistics need feedback from each other for a better understanding of the structure and use of language. The deliberations of the seminar with ample data from Indian languages have implications for manual and machine translation, speech/language therapy, language teaching, dictionary making and semantic theory particularly in the Indian context. Prof.Aditi Mukherjee was the Director of the Seminar and Dr.A.Usha Rani and Mr.K.Ramesh Kumar were Organizing Secretaries.

Publications of the Department

Osmania Papers in Linguistics Volume 29

Research Projects

i) Three year project entitled Development of Instructional materials for improving Linguistic Awareness of Telugu Speaking Hearing Impaired Children

The aim of this project is to design systematic teaching materials to enhance hearing impaired children's access to salient phonological and orthographic features of Telugu language that have an impact on their language learning and use in schools. Using tasks such as syllable counting, syllable segmentation, syllable insertion, rhyme judgment, rhyme generation, compound noun segmentation & generation, word awareness etc., training material was developed to enhance linguistic awareness of a group of hearing impaired children studying in regular schools in Hyderabad / Secunderabad. The project will be closed by March 15, 2005. In addition to final technical report, an instruction manual for use of these materials by teachers and parents will be developed.

ii) Dynamics of Multilingualism in Adilabad District

Chief Investigator: Aditi Mukherjee Co-Investigator: K.Ramesh Kumar

The Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh has traditionally been a multilingual area at the grassroots level. Telugu, Marathi, Hindi, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi and other tribal languages are spoken by different groups as mother tongue. Each linguistic community speaks several languages which facilitates inter-group communication. The situation is similar to that of Kupwar in Maharashtra (as cited by Gumperz and Wilson 1969). In Kupwar, the population is multilingual in Marathi, Kannada and Urdu. Marathi is the medium of instruction in school but that does not seem to have encouraged language shift. Each group has maintained its mother tongue for over four to six hundred years.

Of late, it has been reported that a tendency to language shift is emerging in Adilabad. There has been a drive for primary education in this area in the recent years. Since the area is politically a part of Andhra Pradesh, the language of instruction in school is Telugu. The younger generation (from all groups), as a result, seems to be becoming monolingual in Telugu. This does not match the experience in Kupwar.

The aim of this project will be to investigate the social and political dynamics of language shift, and the implications of privileging a particular language in a traditionally multilingual community. The duration of the project will be for 3 years. In the first year, a pilot survey was done involving ethno linguistic methodology. On the basis of the findings of the pilot survey, a focused plan and methodology was drawn for the second year. In the third year we will do the analysis and write up the report.

iii) Telugu in the Border areas of Andhra Pradesh: Impact of Bilingualism

Investigators: 1. Prof.V.Swarajya Lakshmi, Coordinator of the project

- 2. Prof.Aditi Mukherjee, Professor
- 3. Dr.A.Usha Rani, Associate Professor
- 4. Dr.D.Vasanta, Associate Professor
- 5. Mr.K.Ramesh Kumar, Assistant Professor
- 6. Ms.Haobam Basantarani, JRF

Andhra Pradesh state is surrounded by Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra and Orissa. Adilabad and Nizamabad districts are situated in the border of Maharashtra. Mahboobnagar district and Karnataka state borders coincide with each other. Similarly, Chittoor district is on the border of Tamilnadu. Srikakulam is on the border of Orissa. Prior to the formation of linguistically based states in 1956, some parts of Andhra Pradesh were included in the erstwhile Madras State and in some parts of Karnataka and Maratha areas were under the control of Nizam along with other areas of present Talangana. There was absolutely free mobility of people from one area to the other. This sort of phenomenon lead to extensive bilingualism and as a result of which Telugu spoken in the border districts of Andhra Pradesh has been in contact with the languages like Kannada, Marathi, Tamil and Oriya.

Telugu in these areas may be studied from structural point of view and also from sociolinguistic point of view. In addition to this psycholinguistic analysis of the impact of bilingualism on the cognitive and particularly scholastic achievements can be studied. This project is spread over to 4 years.

Research Degrees Awarded

 Awarded Ph.D. Degree to Smt. Medha Ram Karbhari Adhyaru for thesis on - Reading, Writing and Deafness: A Study of Phonological Awareness and Morphological knowledge in Marathi speaking children.

Supervisor: Dr.D.Vasanta

The Summary of the thesis is as follows. Learning to read is a formal linguistic task. Research on reading based on English and other European languages reported in the past two decades has established that 1) phonological awareness skills of prereaders predict early reading abilities, and 2) training in phonological awareness results in improved reading achievement. Moreover, morphological awareness, syntactic awareness and pragmatic awareness have also been shown to influence reading comprehension. These findings are primarily based on languages, associated with alphabetic scripts. They cannot be generalized to non-alphabetic languages like Marathi, which made use of syllabo-alphabatic script (e.g. Marathi and several other Indian languages). The functional skills of reading and writing of Marathi speaking hearing impaired children are limited even at the school leaving stage. However, there is little, if any published information on the development of linguistic awareness in Marathi speaking children.

This study was designed to investigate the relations between two metalinguistic abilities (phonological awareness and morphological awareness) and reading comprehension. In order to examine these connections, the dependent variable, reading comprehension was measured using specially designed cloze procedure and passage comprehension tests. Writing ability was assessed by having children recount a familiar incident. The independent variables were phonological awareness (PA) and morphological knowledge (MK). Phonological awareness was measured with four tasks, viz., rhyme identification,

phoneme oddity, phoneme segmentation and phoneme identification. Morphological knowledge of number form, oblique form with case markers and verb tense was measured with respect to both identification and production. Materials were specifically developed for each subtest keeping in mind the language features of Marathi and field tested in a pilot study. Participants were 80 normal hearing children from Grade V through VIII, twenty in each grade and 60 hearing impaired children of Grade V through VII.

Descriptive statistical techniques, correlation, ANOVA and stepwise regression analyses were employed to analyze the data. Results indicated that the normal hearing children (NH) performed significantly better than the hearing impaired group (HI) especially on MK component. Reading comprehension was highly correlated with morphological knowledge and moderately highly with phonological awareness.

Morphological knowledge was the most predictive of reading comprehension for both the groups. Morphological knowledge contributed 62.4% of the variance while Phonological Awareness contributed to 38% to reading comprehension among the normal hearing. Among the hearing impaired, morphological knowledge contributed 60.4% and phonological awareness 50.8%. Morphological knowledge combined with phonological awareness termed Linguistic Awareness Index (LAI) in the present study is highly predictive of reading comprehension. Also developmental trends for some tasks of the independent variables were established for Grade V to VII for both the groups. There was no difference in the performance of girls and boys in both the groups. The finding that morphological knowledge is more predictive of reading comprehension then phonological awareness received support from earlier researchers.

One of the clinical implications of these results is that if training for phonological awareness and morphological knowledge using simple tasks and games is provided to young children, their reading comprehension might improve at a later stage. Awarded Ph.D. Degree to Smt. Geetha Mukundan for Language, Memory and Aging: An Experimental study of the Effects of Aging on Aspects of Lexical-Semantics.

Supervisor: Dr.D.Vasanta

The present study was designed to assess the effects of age on aspects of lexical semantic processing in adult subjects whose primary language of communication was English. One group of 31 younger (18-29 years), and a second group of 34 older (65-98 years) people served as subjects in this study. All the subjects met the experimental criteria for qualifying as normal healthy educated adults. A language-use questionnaire was adapted to enable selection of subjects who had English as their primary language of communication. Most of them belonged to the Anglo-Indian, East Indian, Parsi and Konkani communities. However, a subgroup of them were bilinguals (speaking Marathi, Hindi or Konkani along with English in their day-to-day lives. The subjects were assessed for aspects of lexical-semantics (sense relations among words) and memory using protocols which were developed/ adapted from available sources. Several experiments were specifically assessed both memory and language aspects in English, and one experimental task was administered to the bilingual subjects in their second languages.

Results showed that certain aspects of lexical-semantics were preserved well into old age. However, speed, accuracy and recall of verbal material were compromised especially in the subjects aged 85 and above. Processing of complex verbal stimuli also showed age-related decrements. It was concluded that aging differentially affected performance on lexicalsemantic tasks in both monolinguals and bilinguals. The implications of the results for enhancing communication skills in the older adult are discussed.

The contents of the thesis are organized under five chapters. Chapters I introduces the topic, the need for the study and the hypotheses to be tested. Chapter 2 is a thorough review of the literature encompassing interdisciplinary perspectives on language, memory and aging with respect to existing theoretical models and experimental findings. Also included here

are studies dealing with impairment of language in older adults subsequent to brain damage. Chapter 3 on methodology provides detailed information on the tasks designed and used in the study to test memory and language; included in this chapter are methods of administration and scoring of various tasks and a brief description of the statistical treatment of the data. The results are presented and discussed in Chapter-4. The major findings of the study are contrasted with those of previous studies in this area. The scope and implications of the study are discussed in Chapter 5. Some suggestions have also been made in the last chapter for future research in the area of aging and lexical-semantics in Indian languages. A glossary of technical terms in the subject area has been provided. The test material used in the various experiments of this study are listed in Appendices A to H.

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