

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 3

February 1977



DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY
HYDERABAD 500 007 (A.P.)
INDIA

December 1978

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

BH. KRISHNAMURTI

H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA

C. RAMARAO

B. LAKSHMI BAI

Editor

H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA

Osmania Papers in Linguistics (OPiL) is a periodical for publishing research articles by the staff and students of the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University. Articles may occasionally be invited from scholars outside Osmania, on special topics. *OPiL* is issued annually having approximately 80 pages. Articles will be in English. Views expressed in *OPiL* are only those of the authors.

This publication is supported by funds from the University Grants Commission and is supplied to institutions, societies, and departments of Linguistics in exchange for similar publications. Individuals may order copies from the Editor at a nominal price of Rs. 6.00 or \$ 1.50 each (excluding postage).

All matters relating to payments, exchange, and change of address should be addressed to the Editor, *OPiL*, c/o Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, Hyderabad-500007, India.

MODERNIZATION AND DIGLOSSIA IN BURMESE

DAVID BRADLEY

Australian National University, Canberra.

Data presented here shows that diglossia situation developed in Burmese as High and Low registers will be continued and that Burmese has utilized three basic processes in its modernization, viz. Sanskritic borrowing into H register, English borrowing into L register and native formation.*

1. OVERVIEW

Burmese is a Southeast Asian language which has confronted similar language development problems to Indian languages. Like all Indian languages it has been continuously in contact with Sanskritic models, but like the Dravidian languages, it is not genetically related to Sanskrit.¹ In its modernization, native, Sanskritic, and English models can be seen, just as in India.

Burmese has always, since 1112 A.D., been written in a Devanāgarī-based script. The orthography became standardized about 400 to 500 years ago, under Sinhalese influence. There is massive lexical borrowing from Pali, the language of the Buddhist scriptures. There is a continuous tradition of Pali studies in Burma; Pali is written there with the same script. One extreme form of written Burmese, Nissaya, (Okell 1965) is a word-by-word translation of Pali. Apart from these there is a minimum of morphological and syntactic interference from Pali on less extreme forms of writing and speaking. As Jakobson has pointed out, morphology and syntax are less amenable to borrowing.

One reason for the relative lack of non-lexical borrowing is the very great typological barrier between South Asia and Southeast Asia. Emeneau, Masica and others have investigated some characteristics of the South Asian linguistic area; Henderson and others have done the same for Southeast Asia. The results show different phonological, morphological, and syntactic patterns and tendencies. In the history of Burma, there was an early period of Indic influence, and a later period of (Theravāda)

*This paper was originally presented to a Seminar on 'Modernization of Indian Languages in Newsmedia' convened by the Dept. of Linguistics at Osmania University, February 1-3, 1978.

1. Burmese is a Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Southeastern Tibeto-Burman language, spoken natively by about half the population of Burma. It is thus the Tibeto-Burman language with the largest number of speakers.

Buddhist influence in contact with Sri Lanka and other Southeast Asian cultures. From the 19th Century to 1937, Burma was of course included within British India. Thus, even though contact has been longstanding and of profound importance, the major typological border has not been moved eastwards by interference on Burmese phonology, morphology or syntax.

Partly due to this outside influence, Burmese has developed into a diglossia situation. There is a written, H (high) register which is now being used in fewer contexts than formerly; and a spoken, L (low) register used in most contexts. The present usage is shown in the following table:

<i>Medium</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>L</i>
published	textbook	novel
written	forms	letters
newspaper	news	cartoons
radio	news	discussion
spoken	formal speech	asides, jokes, political speech, normal speech

The H register is taught and written (but not spoken) in schools; the L register is the native language of about half the population of Burma, and is learned as a second language by most of the rest. The H has the prestige of history and is strongly supported by Buddhist religion, which is the source of many concepts and words. The L often shows more native lexicon than the H (which borrows from Pali) but it does not gain prestige. Similarly, dialects often show phonological or lexical conservatism *vis-à-vis* the standard language.

The sources of innovation in the H register are mostly Pali. There is relatively little internal innovation except semantic shifts or metaphors, and compounding. Compounds may be entirely Pali, or part Pali and part native. A considerable amount of such lexical material eventually filters down into the spoken language, as the new H lexical items appogiorate the old L lexical items. The pronoun system is full of examples:

/nga/ 'I' (used to inferiors, babies, pets)

/canə/ 'I' compound of 'slave' + 'honorable/royal'

Innovation in the L register is much freer. For the L it is not stigmatised, while for the H there is some disapproval of spoken-style changes. In addition to borrowings from the H as noted above, there is a great deal of internal innovation. The most ephemeral of this, the 'road devil language'² or slang, is naturally disapproved of by the older generation, and others who are not *au courant* with it. But much internal innovation does become accepted, and may ultimately creep upwards into some forms of H.

Another important source of borrowings is English. English was the colonial language, and since independence standards of English are declining. However a large number of words, especially in L register, are from English or Indian English. Better-educated people use more of these loans, but others occur only in the 'road devil language'. Technical and scientific words are largely international, both H and L; but often there is an alternative, Pali or native compound used more in H register.

As a result of changes in the recent history of Burma, the H register is being replaced by L register in some contexts. When the British conquered Burmese territory from the 1820s to 1880s, H was replaced by L or English as the administrative language. Thereafter, when Rangoon University was opened in the early 1920s L was the medium of instruction, unlike earlier religious institutions which used H. L also replaced H in some printed styles, notably comics and novels, over the last fifty years or so.

The general tendency to replace H with L in many contexts can be attributed to two basic tendencies. As Haugen (1972:143) writes, "The cohesive force of the colloquial standard is not easily counteracted". There is pressure to write as one speaks. Another reason is the destruction of the monarchy in 1885. A further reason is the increasing secularization of life in Burma, with the Buddhist influence still strong but not providing the innovations needed for modernization. With its two main former supports, the monarchy and the *samgha*, ineffective, the contraction of H may continue, to the point where it is just a set of alternative morphological particles used in some printed styles (see below).

2. PROCESSES OF BORROWING

A. *Lexicon*

2. 'road-devil-language' slang of motorcycle gangs; used now for slang of urban young people generally. Transcription is as in Okell 1969.

As in most instances of diglossia the main oppositions are lexical: pairs of words one of which is H, the other of which is L, and which otherwise do not differ in meaning. This excludes some sets of words, such as pronouns and some bodily functions, which have connotative or usage differences *within* L, possibly introduced from H. In Burmese the H/L pairs include most of the commonest morphological particles in the language: final clause and non-final clause verb particles, and noun-phrase final case particles.

Some examples are:

<i>H</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>gloss</i>
1. /thi/ present /i/ past	/te/	Pvf nonfuture
2. /mi/	/me/	Pvf future
3. /lyin/	/yin/	Pvnf conditional
4. /thí/	/té/	Pvnf subordinator (nonfuture)
5. /hnai'/	/hma/	Pn locative
6. /i/	/yé/	Pn genitive
7. /hnín/	/né/	Pn instrument accompaniment
(super H /hpyín/)		
8. /mày/	/twe/, /te/	An plural

One or more such particles occurs in every sentence, marking it as H or L. Some of the H/L pairs are suppletive and unrelated, such as 5, 6, and 8. Others are etymologically related, but show more conservative forms in H. Many frequently-used words also have H/L pairs, for example:

<i>H</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>gloss</i>
9. /i/	/di/	Dem this
10. /lou/	/hein/	VV want to

In some cases the H form occurs in early inscriptions and has cognates outside Burmese; hence the L form is a more recent spoken innovation. There is little evidence that any of these forms are borrowed from Pali.

Burmese H does however contain a very large number of Pali loans. Many are part of Buddhism. While in some cases a native L noun survives, in other cases the concept is new so the Pali word may ultimately be used in L. This use of Pali has recently been extended to modern political and technical terms, with varying success. For example, [adhipatī] ādīpātī was used for 'President' in the wartime Japanese puppet government. Now, /thamāda/ is used instead, under the new 1973 constitution. As for technical vocabulary, even linguistic terminology is as Pali as possible, using such terms as [sadda] /tha' da/ for 'phonetics'. Since all linguistics teachers were trained in English-speaking countries, the L form is English as in most such cases.

The process of adapting a Pali form for Burmese is systematic. The continuous tradition of Pali studies started before a number of sound changes in Burmese. Naturally, as in the various pronunciations of Latin in different European countries, these same changes apply to Pali loans. Examples with initials follow:

	<i>Pali</i>	<i>Burmese</i>	<i>gloss</i>
*r > y	ratana	yá <u>t</u> āna	jewel
*ś > th	sāsanā	thath <u>ā</u> na	religion
*c > s	cakkū	se'ku	paper
*ch > hs	chanda	hsa <u>ñ</u> dá	desire
*j > z	jāti	za'	race
*kr c	krammā	ca <u>ñ</u> ma	result of evil
*ky >			
*khr hc	khrāsa	h <u>ci</u> ñtha	lion
*khy >			
*gr j	griha	jí	planet
*gy >			
*pr > py	pra <u>ñ</u> ñā	py <u>in</u> nya	wisdom

Some consonants of Pali are written, but always pronounced like another in loans: the retroflexes and voiced aspirates. Similarly, a large number of rhyme (vowel and final, if any) changes occur; some examples are seen on page 6: | añ | > /in/, | at | > /a'/. Many other examples could be cited³, but basically the process is nearly regular. One area of difficulty is Pali rhymes that are noncanonical in Burmese, e.g. jāti with long vowel in stop-final syllable. The regular process of borrowing simply ignores the long vowel:

| le: yāñ pyam | /lèi yin pyan/ 'airplane'

(L form shortened to /leiñpyan/)

Another problem is final consonants that do not occur in Burmese; most are omitted, e.g. -l in | buil | > /bou/ 'military'

There are some amusing instances of Pali forms influencing the spelling of native Burmese words by a false etymology. These have mostly been corrected, e.g.:

| muigh | for /mòu/ 'sky' cf. Pali megha

but some persist, e.g.:

| kuiy | for /kou/ 'body' cf. Pali kāya

where they serve a useful purpose—in this case, distinguishing the etymologically related, phonologically identical forms for 'body' from 'self' (reflexive pronoun) and Pn object/goal, spelled without the -y. Another way to handle noncanonical, Pali final consonants is to treat aspirated, voiced, and voiced aspirated like unaspirated stops. When all else fails, and especially in words that are also used in L, all but the first syllable may be cut off:

jātaka > | jāt | > /za' / 'Buddhist story'

Words which have their full Pali form, pronounced according to Burmese phonological rules, tend to be H or H influence on L. Shortened words with one syllable for several in Pali are more often used in L; perhaps the mechanism of adapting H Pali words to L is to shorten them, though it would be very difficult to state the rules exactly.

3. for details of *BL > WBsc > spoken Bsc rhyme developments see Bradley. Vertical lines enclose orthographic forms transliterated.

The process of adapting English loans, again mainly nouns, into L is not very systematic. While no secondary systems of phonology are required for Pali H loans, the degree of knowledge of English often determines the form of the loan. For example,

‘coffee’ /ko phì/ or /kof ì/ with non-native /f/

‘radio’ /yedíyou/ or /redíyou/ with non-native /r/

However there is still trouble with final consonants and especially final clusters. The normal solution is to omit:

‘hotel’ /hote/

Thus there is a range in the realization of each English loan. Some English loans are so well assimilated that they now have a standard Burmese form, H and L. New English technical loans often acquire a H Pali counterpart if they become widely-used. Conversely, some English loans are used with very extreme humorous shifts in ‘road devil language’.

The area of new lexicon should not be left without reference to shifts and compounding of native material. Burmese has a number of productive derivational processes, mainly for nominalization. These can produce appropriate new nouns which are more transparent than Pali or English loans. Shifts and metaphors, whether or not influenced by a foreign model, are also common. Another possibility is compounds based on calquing foreign compounds, though sometimes it is not possible to know whether it was a spontaneous or calqued compound, e.g. /mì yáthà/ ‘fire-carriage’ (train). A final possibility is compounds containing elements from mixed sources; Pali, English, Burmese. Since almost all loans are nouns, they must be compounded with a (Burmese) verb. The commonest are /lou? te/ ‘do/work’ with transitive actions, and /hpyi? te/ ‘be/become’ with stative and intransitive actions.

There is some H/L pairing within native lexicon based on recent phonological developments. Words spelled with | -ññ | often have two forms: H form with /i/, and L form with /e/ or less frequently /ei/. Some initial clusters are simplified in L: | ly | → /y/, | hly | → /hy/. For example, see above; also ‘tongue’ | hlya | H /hlya/, L /sa/. The breathy | hw | is sometimes realized as /hw/ in H, but is completely eliminated in L by adding an initial stop. For example, ‘hide’ | hwak | H /hwe?/ or /phwe?/; L /phwe?/. There are also some less systematic vowel differences between H and L e.g. ‘seed’ | se? | /sei/ H; /sí/ L.

B. Morphology

Apart from the profound differences of particles noted above (1) the morphological and syntactic differences between H and L are relatively small. There are some Pali-like constructions in imitation of gerunds and right relative clauses. Some compounding processes produce Pali-like derived nouns from verbs, e.g. /?ēi *phyu*/ 'white horse' from /?ēi/ 'horse' + /?ə *phyu*/ 'white' with juncture. The tense distinctions in H are past/ present/ future, mostly without aspect, in final clauses. In L the distinctions are nonfuture perfective; nonfuture imperfective; or future, possibly the tense/aspect system of H has been restructured under Pali influence.

Gerunds are formed in H with verb+ /hcin/; this construction is used in a few set phrases that have also entered L. Right relative clauses, with the embedded sentence after its head, are not morphologically distinct from normal left relative clauses: they have the creaked form of the final verb particle: /thí/ or /mí/. The tense/aspect particles are shown in the following chart.

H	L	form class	H gloss	L gloss
/thi/	/te/	Pvf	present	non-future imperfective.
/mi/	/me/	Pvf	future	future.
-	/pyi/	Pvf	-	non-future perfective
/í/	-	Pvf	past	-
/ywé/	/pyi/	Pvnf	(nonfinal)	perfective

Another fundamental difference of case system may also be suggested: many other Tibeto-Burman languages are ergative/ absolute for nouns, but Burmese, like other Southeastern Tibeto-Burman languages, is nominative/accusative. In general, a considerable increase in postpositional particle case markers seems to be fairly recent, possibly developed as morphological prefixes were eroded by sound change. In early Burmese inscriptions there are relatively few such particles, though some still used do occur: /kou/ 'object/goal'.

Some of these morphological and syntactic parallelisms may be coincidences, but gerund-like and right relative clause constructions and the H tense/aspect system appear to represent Pali influence. They are most frequent in Burmese religious literature,

which of course is most strongly influenced by Pali. In fact it is likely that they have entered the H in some subregisters from the most Pali-like style of all, Nissaya.

Nissaya Burmese is simply word-by-word translation of a Pali text. Normally the Pali word is given first, then the Burmese translation, with a particle to represent the Pali morphology: noun case, verb tense, and so on. Some of these particles used in the Burmese are doubtless innovations required by Pali cases or tenses; some may have since spread into H.

Sometimes Nissaya is given without the Pali. In such cases, an extreme form of interference on Burmese has taken place: the word order, and to a certain extent the particles, are determined by Pali rather than Burmese. However, the extreme differences between Pali and Burmese have prevented such a style from having too much influence on non-religious Burmese H.

3. LANGUAGE PLANNING

Burma is well-supplied with language planners, and they carry their policies through. The Burma Language Commission is headed by the President, who takes an active role in meetings. It suggests areas of work for the actual workers in the Burma Translation Commission, which then has books printed and distributed by the Government Press.

The *Burmese Encyclopedia* (in Burmese) was completed recently and contains articles in Burmese on all subjects. Much new technical vocabulary was needed for this series. Academics teaching in each discipline were requested to draft and agree on a set of Burmese terms for use in textbooks and the encyclopedia. Also texts in Burmese for all secondary and tertiary subjects have been printed, or are in preparation, written by Burmese academics⁴.

Spelling reform consists mainly of checking conservative dialect forms, and revising spelling if dialects suggest a different form. Most such revisions are purely orthographic, as mergers in the standard language have eliminated various contrasts. Spellings presumably got out of line after these mergers, but dialect study facilitates revisions. A new standard spelling book has appeared in early 1978.

All these processes are combined in the new Burmese-Burmese dictionary now in preparation. It will begin to appear late in 1978. A new standard for Burmese will thereby be established. To date, no official dictionary on a large scale has ever appeared.

4. This work was facilitated by the closure of universities for nearly two years due to political disturbances.

Privately-prepared dictionaries, mostly from the 19th century, are still the best sources; but they are much out of date. The dictionary may form the basis of a new standardization of Burmese, backed by the authority of the Government Press, Translation Department, Language Commission, and the President himself.

4. LANGUAGE IN THE MEDIA

In Burma most media, including the radio, all newspapers, and the publishers of most books, are government entities. As such they fully represent the government position, on language register as in content. The registers used are summarized in the chart above (p. 21).

News is centrally distributed, including foreign news translated into Burmese H register. News in English is also provided to two English-medium newspapers in Rangoon, the capital. There are relatively few newspapers (2 Burmese and 2 English in Rangoon, the capital) but since they contain the same news this makes little difference. They are fairly cheap, widely distributed and widely read. Literacy (in H) is high, owing to British education policies and a recent, quite successful literacy program carried out by the Ministry of Education under Dr. Nyi Nyi. The Burma Broadcasting Corporation has programs in various languages but mainly Burmese. They read much of their programming from scripts, using a spoken form of the H register Burmese. The British Broadcasting Corporation also has a shortwave Burmese program, using the same H register but somewhat less up-to-date lexicon.

Both newspapers and radio, being government bodies, naturally follow language-planning suggestions to a considerable extent. As a result they are limited to a somewhat stilted H register for most purposes; they escape only when spoken speech, not read from a script or printed in a newscolumn, is used. Thus cartoons in newspapers, which show people talking, use L register; likewise discussions on radio tend to be in L register.

Other media prepared by the government, such as textbooks, laws and other documents, are also in H register. However, many non-government books, including most novels, more or less mix H and L, using L for vividness in reporting spoken speech. Some novels, and most comics, are entirely written in L.

Six years ago Burma experimented with mass language planning in the drafting of its constitution. This document was first distributed (in H register), then discussed by numerous mobile teams (in L register), and revisions to the text were suggested.

The final result has rather less Pali lexicon in it than the usual government document. Perhaps this indicates the socialist ideals that it supports, and perhaps also the popular preference for something easy to understand. It would be interesting to compare various government documents, on different subjects, and see if subregisters within H could be defined.

5. CONCLUSION

In the Burmese context, we see a situation where the authority of the government and its language planners is reinforcing a H register which was on the decline, being replaced by L in many contexts. The effect will probably be continued diglossia, though with more convergence of H and L.

The news media, as propagators of the government line, thus find themselves not as innovators of lexicon and other material for modernization, but as preservers of the H register tradition. The H register was formerly based on religion and the king, now it is based on the government and to a lesser extent weakened religion. Government news media may also be called upon to carry out spelling and other reforms as they are promulgated.

The new technical lexicon is mostly created by academics; new administrative lexicon by bureaucrats; and so on. Lists are approved and sent to the Burma Language Commission, and will eventually be disseminated via the media. As in India, three basic processes occur; the first and third are preferred for H lexicon.

1. Sanskritic borrowing (Pali in Burmese) mostly into H register.
2. English borrowing mostly into L register.
3. Native formation:
 - a. semantic shift, metaphor.
 - b. compounding (possibly some calquing).

REFERENCES

- Bradley, D. 1978. *Proto-Loloish*. Copenhagen: Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies.
- Emeneau, M.B. 1956. India as a linguistic area. *Lg.* 32.3-16.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15.325-40.

- . 1967. National sociolinguistic profile formulas. In W. Bright (ed.) *Sociolinguistics* 309-24. The Hague.
- Haugen, E. 1972. *The ecology of language*. (ed. A.S. Dil). Stanford.
- Henderson, EJA. 1965. The topology of certain phonetic and morphological characteristics of South East Asian languages. *Lingua* 15. 400-34.
- Jakobson, R. 1971. *Selected writings*. The Hague.
- Masica, C.P. 1977. *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago.
- Okell, JAO. 1965. Nissaya Burmese. *Lingua* 15.186-227.
- . 1969. *A reference grammar of colloquial Burmese*. 2v. Oxford.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN PRAKRIT

H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA

The paper presents the morphology and syntax of the verb in the two principal varieties of Prakrit and notes that the dialects appear to show similar developments except for minor details.*

This paper attempts to present the verbal constructions in the two principal varieties of Prakrit, viz., Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. Māhārāṣṭrī is considered as the best variety among the Prakrits¹ and the grammarians devote accordingly more space for Māhārāṣṭrī in their descriptions.² Only the special features are listed for other dialects at the end of which a rule states that for the remaining they share in common the characteristics of Māhārāṣṭrī.³

The most important work for our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭrī is the Sattasaī of Hāla. There are besides two great epics written in this Prakrit, Rāvaṇavaho attributed to Pravarasena and Gauḍavaho of Bappairāa. There is however not a single work composed in Śaurasenī alone although the editor of the drama Karpūramañjarī published in the Vidya Bhawan Sanskrit Series claims that the language of this drama is Śaurasenī. Accordingly, this edition presents even the verse portions of the drama in Śaurasenī. We know from the author of this drama that the language he uses is Prakrit⁴ and this may be interpreted to mean Māhārāṣṭrī⁵ although the author himself has nowhere glossed it thus expressly. He does not seem to distinguish between the two varieties and yet he may have intended to use only Māhārāṣṭrī which had by

*This paper was originally presented to a Seminar on 'Verbal Construction in Indo-Aryan' convened by the Dept. of Linguistics at Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, in December 1974.

1. mahaaraaSTraashrayaam bhaashaam prakriSTam praakritam viduh—Kaavyaadarsha I. 34.

2. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters having 424 rules to MaahaaraaSTrii and only one chapter to each of the other three dialects (Paishaacii, Maagadhii, and Shaurasenii) and that only with 14, 17, and 32 rules. Hemacandra devotes 27 rules (4.260-286) for Shaurasenii.

3. sheSam maahaaraaSTriivat—Vararuci 12. 32.
sheSam praakritavat—Hemacandra 4.287.

4. parusaa sakkaabamdho paaubamdho vi hoi suumaaro KM 1.7.

“Sanskrit compositions are harsh, while a composition in Prakrit sounds so soft”.

5. amiam paaakavvam PR 2 “Composition in Prakrit is like nector”. Here by ‘paaua’ is meant MaahaarsaSTrii since the verses in Hala’s Sattasaai are all in MaahaaraaSTrii prakrit.

then gained in prestige by the great literary works mentioned above. He may however be showing an admixture of Śaurasenī in the prose passages. Pischel therefore has justly observed that the poets did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects and cited as examples Rājaśekhara and Somadeva. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by Konow has observed that manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectical errors committed by Rājaśekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in his other works.⁶ Pischel has listed some non-Śaurasenī characteristics in the Śaurasenī passages of this drama. All the manuscripts of Karpūramañjarī, he points out, have *ghettūna* in place of the Śaurasenī form *genhīa*. The dative form *suhāa* is wrong in Śaurasenī. The manuscripts show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with *d* in Śaurasenī. The edition of this drama by Suru who has followed that of Konow presents the text according to the traditional distinction, i.e. songs in Māhārāṣṭrī and prose passages in Śaurasenī.

I have used the following works for my description of these dialects.

1. Suru, N.G. (ed.) *Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara*, 1960.
2. Parab, K.P. (ed.) *Mṛcchakaṭikam of Śūdraka*, 1904‡
3. Gajendragadkar, A.B. (ed.) *Abhijñānaśakuntalam of Kālidāsa*.
4. Ananthanarayana, H.S. 'A *Prakrit Reader*—a linguistic introduction based on selections from Hāla's *Sattasaī*, Mysore, 1973.

Māhārāṣṭrī is employed generally for the songs and of the several Prakrit dialects used in the prose passages Śaurasenī occupies the first place. The features which distinguish Śaurasenī from Māhārāṣṭrī are the following:

1. The non-initial, non-conjunct, *d* in Śaurasenī corresponds to zero in Māhārāṣṭrī. Consequently, the 3rd person singular termination *-di* (Indicative) and *-du* (Imperative) of Śaurasenī are matched by *-i* and *-u* in Māhārāṣṭrī.

E.g.S. jāṇādi 'he knows' : M. jāṇai 'id.'

S. kadhedu 'let him say' : M. kaheu 'id.'

6. cf. R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit languages*, (Eng. Trn. by Subhadra Jha) p. 23.

2. The non-initial, non-conjunct, *dh* in Śaurasenī corresponds to *h* in Māhārāṣṭrī. Consequently, the 2nd person plural ending *-dha* in Śaurasenī is matched by *-ha* in Māhārāṣṭrī.

E.g. S. *jivadha* 'live' : M. *jivaha* 'id.'

S. *muñcadha* 'discard' : M. *muñcaha* 'id.'

3. The absolutive in Śaurasenī is formed almost exclusively by the addition of the suffix *-ia* while it is marked by *-ūṇa* in Māhārāṣṭrī.

E.g. S. *bhamia* 'having wandered' : M. *datthūṇa* 'having seen'

4. The future tense is marked exclusively by the suffix *-issa* in Śaurasenī.⁷ In Māhārāṣṭrī, besides forms in *-ssa* we also have forms in *-hi*.

E.g. S. *bhavissadi* 'it will become' : M. *hohii* 'id.'

MORPHOLOGY

We may describe the structure of the verb in both the dialects within a common frame, keeping in mind the above mentioned phonological and morphological differences between the two.

We may first of all distinguish for these Prakrits two types of 'word' classes. Of these, one type is identified by inflectional morphemes and the other does not show any such inflection. Verbs belong to the inflected class (e.g. *kuppa-di/kuppa-i* 'he becomes angry') and the connectives (e.g. *ca* 'and') to the non-inflected class. The inflectional morphemes come as last elements in words and the constructions may be said to be closed after the addition of inflectional morphemes. We may therefore state that such words contain at least two members of which the second member is the inflection. The other, to which inflections are added, may be called the 'stem'. Some verb forms contain one more suffix which is added before the inflectional suffix (e.g. *gam-issa-di/gam-issa-i* 'he will go'). A set of affixal morphemes commonly known as prefixes may go before the stem (e.g. *ā-ṇe-di/ā-ṇe-i* 'he brings'). The minimal free form in these Prakrits is therefore a word and neither a stem nor an inflectional morpheme occurs by itself as a free form.

Verbs are distinguished from nouns which are also inflected forms. The inflections that are added to nominal stems mark for number and case, and only in a few instances, the distinction

7. cf. Hemacandra 4.275 *bhaviSyati ssih*. This suffix *ssi*-for *shaurasenii*, is however not found in our texts.

for gender may be noticed. The verbal inflections, on the other hand, mark number and person. They are sometimes called personal endings since the differentiation for person is important in the verbal form and not so in the nominal form.

The numbers are only two, singular and plural, and in each number there are three persons, first, second, and third. The singular refers to a single action or event (e.g. bhaṇādi/bhaṇai 'he says') and the plural to more than one (e.g. bhaṇānti 'they say'). The verb forms containing this inflection may be called the finite forms since we have another class of verbal stems which do not add the personal endings but denote a reference to gender like the nouns (e.g. diṭṭho masc., diṭṭhā fem., and diṭṭham neut. all from diṭṭha- 'seen'). These verbal forms, which are generally called participles, along with the infinitives (e.g. geṇhidum/geṇhium 'to seize') and gerunds (e.g. pekkhia 'having seen', kāūna 'having done') are not finite forms. The distinction may be made also on their syntactic behaviour. The non-finite forms are found in subordinate clauses or they are structurally completed by the addition of a form of the verb 'to be'.

The majority of the verbs are in, what is known as, active voice. Very few forms are noted in the middle voice. The two are distinguished by a difference in the personal endings (e.g. reha-i 'shines' active, reha-e 'id.' middle). There is a passive which mostly adds the active (e.g. suṇ-īa-di 'is heard', di-jja-i 'is given') and rarely the middle terminations (e.g. kha-jja-e 'is eaten'). The passive is distinguished from the non-passive by a difference in the stem. The passive has a marker which is added before the personal endings. The passive marker is -īa- in Śaurasenī and -(i)jja- in Māhārāṣṭrī⁸ (e.g. bhaṇā-di 'tells' active, bhaṇ-īa-di 'is told' passive; liha-i 'licks' active, lih-ijja-e 'is licked' passive). There is also a causative which is distinguished from the non-causative again by a difference in the stem. The causative stem shows vrddhi of the radical vowel (e.g. kāre-i 'causes someone to make' vs. kare-i 'makes'). The causative stem may sometimes show a suffix which goes before the personal endings (e.g. hasā-ve-i 'makes someone to laugh').

The tenses are the present and the future. While the present is an unmarked form (e.g. gaccha-di 'he goes'), the future has a marker which is placed between the stem and the personal ending (e.g. gam-issa-di 'he will go'). The personal endings in the future are the same as in the present indicative, except for

8. Morpheme alternants with initial vowels are complementarily distributed with those beginning with consonants. The former are found after stems in final consonants and the latter after stems ending in vowels. E.g. paDh-ium 'to read', so-um 'to listen'.

the 1st singular which is *-m* in the future and *-mi* in the present (e.g. *pucch-issa-m* 'I shall ask', *pucchā-mi* 'I ask'). Reference to a past action is made by the past participle form (e.g. *ki-da/ki-a* 'made'). The verb is also differentiated for three moods, viz., indicative, imperative, and optative. The optative is a rare form here and is marked by *-ejja-* in Māhārāṣṭri and *-e* in Śaurasenī which are added before the inflectional suffix (e.g. *lah-ejja* 'may obtain', *bhave-* 'may become'). The inflection for optative is noted in Māhārāṣṭri for only the plural of 1st person and for both the numbers of 2nd person. In the latter case, the endings are the same as those found in the present indicative. In Śaurasenī, inflection is noted only for the 1st singular (e.g. *lah-e-am* 'may obtain'). The imperative is distinguished from the indicative by a difference in the personal endings (e.g. *ciṭṭha-di/ciṭṭha-i* 'stands' indicative, *ciṭṭha-du/ciṭṭha-u* 'let him stand' imperative).

Inflections

	Active			
	Indicative		Imperative	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st person	<i>mi</i>	<i>mo</i>	(<i>mu</i>)	(<i>mo</i>), <i>mha</i>
2nd person	<i>si</i>	(<i>dha/ha</i>)	ϕ , <i>su, hi</i>	<i>dha/ha</i>
3rd person	<i>di/i</i>	<i>mti</i>	<i>du/u</i>	<i>mtu</i>

Of the middle terminations, endings for only singular are attested: 1st and 3rd singular-*e* (e.g. *jāṇ-e* 'I know'), 2nd singular *-se* (e.g. *hiṇḍa-se* 'wander about').

Verbs may be distinguished on the basis of the stem form. There are mainly two types of stems, those which end in *-a* and those which end in *-e*. The portion without this vowel may be considered the root. Thus, in *gacchadi* 'goes' *gacch-* is the root, *-a-* the theme vowel, and *-di* the personal ending. Although it is thus possible to differentiate roots from stems, it can not however be predicted whether a given root adds *-a-* or *-e-* to make the stem. It may therefore be expedient to cite the stems and distinguish them on the basis of the final vowel. The *-e-* stems seem to have causal origin since the causative stems too end in *-e*.

There is a very small class of verbs in which the roots are identical with the stems. These are the roots which have finally either *ā* or *o* (e.g. *jā-* 'to go', *bhā-* 'shine', *bho-/ho-* 'to become'). The forms *atthi* 'is', *si* 'are', *mhi* 'am' and the form *āsi* 'was' are remnants of a fuller paradigm and form a class by themselves.

Among the roots, some show alternation (e.g. *gacch-* has an alternant *gam-* in the future). The stem vowel of the root *jān-* 'to know' is always long and of root *bhan-* 'to say' is long only in Sauraseni. Some roots show differing phonological shapes in the two dialects (e.g. S. *kar-*, M. *kuṇ-* 'to make').

Morphophonemic rules

1. $-V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2$ (V_1 and V_2 are non-homorganic vowels. $V_1 = a$)
2. $-a \rightarrow \bar{a}$ before m/v of suffix
(of stem)

Sample paradigms

Present Active -a stem					
		Indicative		Imperative	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st person		gacchāmi	gacchāmo	..	gacchamha
2nd person		gacchasi	gacchadha/ gacchaha	gaccha	gacchadha/ gacchaha
3rd person		gacchadi/ gacchai	gaccharṃti	gacchadu/ gacchau	gaccharṃtu
Future Active -a stem					
		Sg.	Pl.		
1st person		gamissam	gamissāmo		
2nd person		gamissasi	gamissadha/gamissaha		
3rd person		gamissadi/ gamissai	gamissarṃti		
Present Active -e stem					
		Indicative		Imperative	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st person		kadhemi/ kahemi	kadhemo/ kahemo		kadhemha/ kahemha

2nd person	kadhesi/ kahesi	kadhedha/ kaheha	kadhehi/ kadhesu/ kahesu	kadhedha/ kaheha
3rd person	kadhedi/ kahei	kadhemti/ kahemti	kadhedu/ kaheu	kadhemtu/ kahemtu

Of the non-finite forms, we may note participles differentiated for present and future both in the active and in the middle. There is also a past participle which some consider under the passive participles because of its syntactic function, viz. its use as predicator in passive sentences. The present participle in the active is formed by adding *-(a)m̐ta* to the stem (e.g. *ā-lih-am̐ta* 'licking') and the future participle has the future marker in addition to the participle suffix which is same as that in the present (e.g. *pucch-issa-m̐ta* 'asking'). There are stray cases of a participle in the middle as well (e.g. *jaradhāa-māṇa* 'growing old'). The past passive participle is formed in Śaurasenī by the addition of the suffix *-(i)da* and in Māhārāṣṭrī by the addition of *-(i)a* (e.g. *ki-da* 'done', *ga-a* 'gone', *gah-ia* 'seized').

There is also a participle generally called the potential which is not distinguished for either voice or tense. This participle is made by adding the suffixes *-(i) davva* and *-ṇia* in Śaurasenī (e.g. *rakkh-idavva* 'to be protected', *acca-ṇia* 'to be worshipped') and *-avva* and *-ṇija* in Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g. *cim̐taṇija* 'to be reflected').

There is an infinitive formed by adding *-(i) dum* in Śaurasenī and *-(i) um* in Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g. *ṇi-ved-idum* 'to report', *paḍh-ium* 'to read'). There is also a gerundive formed by the addition of the suffix *-ia* in Śaurasenī (e.g. *pucch-ia* 'having asked') and *-(i)ūṇa* in Māhārāṣṭrī (e.g. *uṭṭh-iūṇa* 'having stood up').

There are bound morphemes which go before the verb. These are called the prefixes. The commonest are *aṇu*, *ā*, *uva*, *ṇi*, *pa*, and *sam*. There are two more prefixes which may have to be listed in their canonical form. When we examine forms like *ṇid-disadi*, *ṇip-pajjadi*, and *ṇig-gacchadi*, we may be able to set up a prefix the final consonant of which is identical with the initial consonant of the verbal forms. We may write this morpheme canonically as *ṇiC-* where *C* represents the same consonant as of the initial of the following morpheme. Similarly, in the verb forms *up-pādedi*, *uv-vahadi*, *uj-jaledi*, and *ug-ghāḍijjanti*, we may establish a prefix of the shape *uC-* where *C* represents again the same consonant as of the initial of the following morpheme. More than one prefixal morpheme are found in some instances. As may be noted, the first prefix in such sequences is frequently *sam* (e.g. *sam-ā-lahissasi*, *sam-ā-acchadi*, *sam-uv-vahadi*, *sam-ug-girai*, *aṇu-sam-dhemi*).

If frequency is of any interest, the count made of verb forms used in Karpūramañjari may be tabulated as follows:

Active

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>			Total
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	
Pres. Ind. ..	21	11	82	6	..	40	=160
„ Imp.		23	24	4	10	4	= 65
„ Opt.		..	1	..	..	..	= 1
Fut. Ind. ..	12	1	3	1	1	..	= 18
Pass. Ind. ..	2	4	29	..	..	4	= 39
„ Imp. ..		..	11			2	= 13
Caus. Ind. ..	..	..	3	..	..		= 3
„ Imp. ..		2					= 2
„ Fut. ..			1	..	..		= 1
„ Pass. ..	..	..	1				= 1

Middle

Pres. Ind. ..	2	1	2	..	..	= 5
Pass. Ind. ..	..	..	8	..	..	= 8

[note: .. under 3rd sg. the variants like *lahai* and *lahadi* are both counted.]

SYNTAX

A sentence may be defined as consisting of a predicator and one or more noun phrases, each of which stands in some definite relation to the predicator. The predicator may be a finite form of the verb or a non-finite form.

E.g. taruṇo vi rūvarehārahassena phullamti KM 45⁹

9. Abbreviations used are: (S—Sauraseni, M—Maharastri) AS—AbhijanaSakuntalam, KM—Karpuuramanjarii, Mr—MricchakaTikam, PR—A Prakrit Reader.

References are to be read as follows: KM 45==page 45 in KM,
PR 2==verse 2 in PR, KM 1.11==verse 11 of Act 1 in KM.

‘ Even trees blossom at the mystery of the beauty of form. ’

samñihido samkedakālo kadhido sahihim KM 39

‘The time of appointment as told by friends has approached.’

The predicator is the principal component of a sentence. Since it carries with it a reference to the subject, the predicator alone may be found to constitute a sentence even without the presence of an overt subject.

E.g. ña hu ña hu āgamissam KM 12

‘ No, no, I shall not come back. ’

CONCORD

There is concord for number between the subject of a sentence which is expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative form and the predicate. The subject may be the agent, as in the following constructions.

E.g. sã paumjaium eam icchai KM 1.11

‘ She desires this (drama) to be enacted on the stage. ’

te kaham ña lajjamti PR 2

‘ How are they not ashamed? ’

or, it may be the object as in these sentences.

E.g. ko dāñim so bhattidāriāe kāmīadi Mr 51

‘ Who is it now that is desired by the mistress? ’

bhāmarīo dijjamtu KM 75

‘ Let circumambulations be done. ’

The latter type of sentences traditionally referred to as passive often include a noun phrase in the instrumental case form which functions as the agent. In the following sentence, *vāāi* and *bhattidāriāe* in the above are in such agent relation.

E.g. vāāi kim bhanijjau PR 28

‘ What can be described by words? ’

When two singular subjects are connected by *ca* 'and' the verb is found in the plural.

E.g. mahārāadeviṇam bhūmiam gheṭṭuṇa ajjo ajjabhāriā
a javāṇiāntare vaṭṭanti KM 5

'Here are the director and his wife, ready behind the curtain, having taken up the roles of the king and the queen.'

But if a contrast is intended between the two noun phrases, then the verb stays in the singular.

E.g. mairā paṇcagavvam ca ekkassim bhaṇḍae kariadi KM 11

'Wine and mixture of cow's five products are put together in one vessel.'

kaccam māṇikkam ca samam āharaṇe paumjādi KM 11

'Glass bead and ruby are set together in one ornament.'

Contrast is shown in the above examples between *mairā* and *paṇcagavvam*, and between *kaccam* and *māṇikkam*. Similarly, when there are more than two singular subjects, the verb is again in the singular.

E.g. vacchomī taha māahī phurau ṇo sā kim ca paṇcālīā
KM 1.1

'May (the style) Vaidarbhi, as also Magadhi and that Pancalika too, reveal themselves to us with a flash.'

WORD ORDER

There appears to be no rigid formula as for as the arrangement of elements in a sentence is concerned. The relation of noun phrases to the predicator is expressed by their case forms and thus their position in a sequence does not seem to have any importance. The final position is normal for the verb although it may move up to the initial position in a sentence.

E.g. bheravāṇaṃdo duvāre ciṭṭhadi KM 13

'Bhairavananda is at the door.'

kahim pi visae acchariam daṭṭhum icchāmi KM 14

'I desire to see some miracle in some respect.'

It is more often an imperative form of the verb in the initial position.

E.g. gaccha uḍaam AS 27

‘Go to the hermitage.’

avadāriādu punṇimāhariṇamko dharanīdale KM 15

‘Let the full moon be lowered on the earth’s surface.’

Verb will be initial also when there is some emphasis to be expressed.

E.g. atthi me sodarasineho vi edesu AS 19

‘I have paternal affection too for these.’

atthi ettha dakkhiṇāvadhe vacchomam nāma ṇaaram
KM 13

‘There is here in the south a city of the name of Vacchoma.’

SENTENCE TYPES

We have seen above that there are two major types of sentences, one with finite form of verb as its predicator and the other with non-finite forms. The latter where a participle fills the position of a predicator may be called a nominal type as opposed to the other, the verbal type.

E.g. uvaṭṭhiā ṇaṇi AS 82

‘The night has approached.’

bhaṇidā sā devīe KM 41

‘She is told by the queen.’

The nominal type may be completed by an auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb is a finite form of the verb ‘to be’, ‘to become’, or ‘to exist’.

E.g. ṇāmam se pucchidā si Mṛ 52

‘You are asked (to give) his name.’

taḍā tumam ittham pahasido si AS 132

‘Then you said smilingly thus.’

bhaṭṭā vi cakkavaṭṭi kido bhodi KM 70

‘The king too will become an emperor.’

saṁjhā vi saṁṇihidā v.ṭṭadi KM 39

‘The evening time is also very near.’

Sometimes, this finite form may precede the participle.

E.g. tumam si diṭṭhā KM 3.22

‘You are seen.’

samdesena mhi pesidā Mṛ 100

‘I am sent with a message.’

The verb ‘to be’ is also used in what is called an equational type of sentence where the predicator is some kind of a comment and is filled by a nominal.

E.g. ado kkhu piṁvadā si tumam AS 22

‘Hence, indeed, are you (called) Priyamvada.’

The infinitive can not alone fill the role of a predicator. It needs either a finite form of the verb or a participle form to complete the structure.

E.g. amhe vi saṁjham vaṁdidum gamissāmo KM 22

‘We too shall go to worship the evening.’

viakkhaṇā mae saha saṁdhim kādum āadā KM 26

‘Vicaksana came to negotiate peace with me.’

The finite form need not follow the infinitive in the sequence. It may even precede the infinitive in the sentence.

E.g. mahābhāa ṇa aruhasi evvam maṁtidum AS 132

‘Worthy sir, you should not say so.’

tuvara tuvara saumdalāe patthāṇa koduam ṇivattidum
AS 93

‘Make haste to celebrate the customary rites at Sakuntala’s departure.’

Another way of looking at sentence types is to note the basic sentence pattern and its modifications. The basic sentence pattern here as in many other languages is simple by which is meant that the sentence consists of only a single predication made either by a finite form of the verb, a nonfinite form, or a non-finite form plus an auxiliary which will be a finite form. This simple pattern may be altered in some ways to generate patterns which may still remain simple.¹⁰ Of these alternations, we may consider questions, negatives, passives, and causatives.

Questions

A question is framed here with the *ka*-words which occupy generally the initial position in a sentence. It may also go immediately before or after the verb in the sentence.

E.g. kim vā saum̐dalā bhaṇadi AS 73

‘What does Sakuntala say?’

kahim pi apuvvam diṭṭham mahilāradaṇam KM 15.

‘Have you anywhere seen an extraordinary gem of a woman?’

mam kim uvālabhesi AS 20

‘Why do you blame me?’

jāṇāsi kim saum̐dalā vaṇajosiṇam adimettam pek-khaditti AS 23

‘Do you know why Sakuntala is looking so very attentively at Vanajyotsna?’

kaham ido vi mam aṇusaradi AS 26

‘How now, it follows me even here?’

(b) Negatives

A negative sentence is formed by adding the particle *na* ‘not’ either immediately before the verb or at the initial position. The verb alone may be said to be negated in the former pattern and the whole sentence in the second.

10. I use ‘simple’ here only with reference to the surface structure.

E.g. ettaeṇa dāṇim vi piḍā ṇa ṇikkamadi AS 41

‘With so much, misfortune will not leave me even now.’

ṇidda vvia teṇa viṇā ṇa ei PR 15

‘Sleep itself does not approach me without him.’

ṇa de juttam gaṇtum AS 35

‘It is not proper for you to go away.’

ṇa ettha eso avarajjhadi Mṛ 34

‘It is not he who offends here.’

(c) *Passives*

Passive alternation is made by changing the object of a sentence expressed by an accusative form into the subject which will then have to be expressed by a nominative. Similarly, the subject of a sentence is changed into an instrumental case form in the passive. The verb is then made to agree with the subject of the passive sentence.

E.g. iam viṇā paḍisāriadi KM 2

‘This lute is being strung.’

This is a passive sentence and may be said to be derived from

imam viṇam paḍisāredi

‘(Someone) strings this lute.’

[cf. aṇṇā paḍisisāim paḍisāredi KM 2

‘Another is adjusting the masks.’]

Similarly,

ime tiṇṇi vi miṇṅgā sajjīamti KM 2

‘These three drums are being made ready.’

is derived from

‘(They) keep these three drums ready.’

And

idiso aham mukkho jeṇa tae vi uvahasiāmi KM 8.

‘Am I such a fool as to be laughed at even by you?’

may be derived from

idiso aham mukkho jeṇa tumam pi uvahasasi

‘Am I such a fool that you also laugh at me?’

(d) *Causatives*

A causative construction may be similarly considered to be derived from a non-causative construction. The subject of a non-causative sentence which is expressed by a nominative form will be changed to either an accusative form or to an instrumental form. The verb will include in it a causative suffix and agrees with the subject which is here an instigator. The subject may be overtly expressed or left out since the verb carries a reference to the person and number of the subject.

E.g. mam uṇa bamhaṇam pādāim dhovāvedī Mr 82

‘He makes me, a brahmin, to wash the feet.’

This causative construction may be related to

aham uṇa bamhaṇo pādāim dhovāmi

‘I, a brahmin, wash the feet.’

Similarly,

abbhaṃtaracadussālaam pavesaāmi ṇam Mr 83

‘I shall put this in the interior room.’

is derived from

edam abbhaṃtaracadussālaam pavisadī

‘This enters the interior room.’

There are two main devices by which the basic patterns of a language are extended. One of them is called ‘coordination’

and the other 'subordination'. In coordination, sentences or parts of sentences are conjoined and they retain equal status. We might therefore state that there will be more than one event or action in a coordinated structure. The coordinated events or actions may be sequential or simultaneous. If they are sequential, coordination is effected by the use of a function word *ca* 'and' (which has an alternant form *a* after words ending in vowels) generally, only with the last predicator. If the events are simultaneous, they are coordinated just by being placed in a sequence without the linking word.

(i) *Coordination with the use of ca*

upphaḍai makkāḍo khokkhei poṭṭam ca piṭṭei PR 46

'The monkey jumps, makes noise, and strikes the stomach.'

majjam piāmo mahilam ramāmo mōkkham ca jāmo
KM 1.22

'We drink wine, enjoy women, and we attain salvation.'

evvam de āsā chijjissadi abhāvam a gamissadi Mṛ 7

'Thus your hope will be shattered and you will become non-existent.'

The connecting word *ca* may be placed either before the last verb as in the above sentences or after it as in the following.

E.g. bheravāṇaṁdo uṇa edāṇam saṁjoaro accido māṇido
a KM 21

'Bhairavananda too, for having joined them together is worshipped and highly valued.'

majjidā ṭikkidā bhūsidā tosidā a KM 29

'She was bathed, marked with a spot (on her forehead), decorated, and then entertained.'

(iii) *Coordination without the use of ca*

agghāi chivai curivai ṭhavei hiaāmmi PR 17
'Smells; touches, kisses and places in the heart.'

kālavasavasahāsialōā osaramṅti paṇamamṅti hasamṅti
KM 4.18

‘(These girls) make people laugh by their black dress,
as they withdraw, bow, and gige.’

osarai dhunai sāham...puṇo samullihai PR 56

‘(The monkey) moves, shakes the branch, and licks again’

ekkā vaṇṇaam pīsedī avarā sumañāim gumphedi Mṛ 5

‘One is grinding colour-pastes and the other one is weaving
the flower-wreaths.’

Another device by which extended patterns are derived is by subordination. Here, one of the actions may be considered as the main action and the others as supporting actions. The main action or event will be expressed by a finite form of the verb and the others are expressed by gerundive forms. The main action may be said to temporally follow the actions expressed by the gerundive forms. Accordingly, the gerundive constructions precede and the construction with the finite verb follows in this pattern.

E.g. vivāhovaaraṇāim lahum geṇhia ācchadha KM 72

‘Take with you all the wedding things and come here
quickly.’

aṅgabhaṅgavialo via bhavia ciṭṭhissam AS 42

‘I shall stand (here) languid, as it were, on account of the
breakdown of my limbs.’

imam dāva cittaphalaam mama sāṅṅie ṭhāvia tālavenṭaam
geṇhia lahu āccha Mṛ 101

‘Keep this painting in my bedroom and return quickly
after taking the fan.’

Subordination is expressed also by relative constructions. They are termed subordinate here since structurally as well as semantically they remain incomplete unless a correlative sentence is added. The relative clause is introduced by *ja*-words and the correlative clause by *sa*- words. Structurally, either clause may precede or follow. They may both have finite verb forms, or non-finite forms. Sometimes, the relative clause has a non-finite form and the correlative clause a finite form.

(i) *Relative clause preceding:*

E.g. paḍium soum ca je na jāṇaṁti...te
kham na lajjaṁti PR 2

‘How are they not ashamed who do not know how to read
and to listen.’

jaha ṇo piasahī bandhuanasoṇijjā ṇa hoi taha ṇivvāhehi
AS 79

‘Act in such a way that this dear friend of ours will not
have to be bewailed by her kinsmen.’

bhāsā jā hoi sā hou KM 1.8

‘Let that be whatever is the language.’

(ii) *Relative clause following:*

E.g. tahim gaccha jahim me paḍhamā sāḍia gadā KM 11

‘Go to where my first apparel went.’

taha vadḍha bhaavai ṇise jaha se kallam via ṇa hoi PR 9

‘Extend yourself, oh night; so much that it will not dawn
tomorrow.’

so sattaṭṭa tti-bhaṇṇai dūram jo ṇāḍiāi aṇuharai KM 1.6

‘That is called a Sattaka which goes far to resemble a
Natika.’

The word introducing a correlative clause may be sometimes
absent, if the relative clause follows the correlative clause.

E.g. savvam tujjha aṇuggahena bhariam jam māṇuse labbhai
KM 76

‘Everything that could be obtained in human life, has
been fulfilled by your favour.’

bhaṇāmi jai devo ṇa kuppadi KM 44

‘I will speak if your Majesty will not get angry.’

Subordination may also be signalled by what is called a
quotative particle, (*t*)*ti*, being placed at the end of the clause.

This subordinate clause may precede or follow the main clause which is more often simply a finite form of the verb. The predicator of the subordinate clause is again a non-finite form. The subordinate clause is structurally and semantically identical on the surface to its manifestation in isolation.

E.g. kidam tue uvavaṇam tavovaṇam tti pekkhāmi AS 56

‘I perceive that you have transformed the penance-forest into a pleasure garden.’

āṇavedu ajjo ko ṇioo aṇucitṭhiadu tti Mr 6

‘May your honour command what duty be performed.’

We may conclude this description by noting briefly the principle of gapping in these dialects. By ‘gapping’ we mean the deletion of an identical form in the two sentences which are sequential in a discourse. Gapping operates here in the backward as well as forward direction. Backward gapping is illustrated by the subject noun phrase while forward gapping by the object noun phrase and the predicator.

(i) *Backward gapping:*

E.g. salilaseasambhamuggado ṇomāliam ujjhia vaṇam me mahuarō ahivaṭṭai AS 24

‘A honey bee, on account of my sprinkling water, hurriedly started up and leaving the jasmine creeper is making towards my face.’

This sentence is a simplification of two sentences both of which would contain the subject noun phrase *mahuarō* ‘honey bee.’

salilaseasambhamuggado mahuarō ṇomāliam ujjhadi .

and

mahuarō vaṇam me ahivaṭṭai

are the two sentences. When they are combined, the finite form of the verb in the first sentence is substituted by the gerundive, thus transforming it to a subordinate clause since the action expressed there is temporally earlier to the one expressed in the following sentence. The subject noun phrase of the main clause is retained and of the subordinate clause deleted.

Similarly, the sentence

idha uvavisia piavaasso paḍivāledu tam KM 39
 'Sitting here my friend may wait for her.'

may be said to be derived from conjoining the following two sentences

idha piavaasso uvavisadu 'My friend may sit here'.
 and
 piavaasso paḍivāledu tam 'My friend may wait for her'.

(ii) *Forward gapping*

E.g. tae kidam caṁdavaṇṇaṇam mahārāssa purado
 paḍhissam KM 60

'I will now recite before his Majesty your description of
 the moon.'

This sentence is the result of conjoining two sentences which contain an object noun phrase in common. By deleting the second occurrence, we will get one sentence. The two sentences are:

tae caṁdavaṇṇaṇam kidam
 'The description of the moon was done by you'.
 and
 tam caṁdavaṇṇaṇam mahārāssa purado paḍhissam
 'I will recite that description of the moon before his
 Majesty.'

Similarly, the following sentence

jā sã kappūramamjarie rakkhābhavaṇe suraṁgā diṇṇā
 sã devie diṭṭhā KM 66

'The underground passage made inside Kaipuramanjari's
 prison-house was seen by the queen.'

is derived from two sentences which contain the object noun phrase *suraṁgā* 'underground passage' in common.

The following is an instance where the second occurrence of the finite form of the verb is deleted since it would be identical with the one already used in the first sentence.

haṁje, ramidum icchāmi, ṇa sevidum Mṛ 50

'I want to enjoy, my friend, not to serve.'

TELUGU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY: A Propositional Perspective

P. C. NARASIMHAREDDI

Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati

A detailed analysis of Telugu kinship terminology is presented here involving all aspects of semantic subsystems. It also shows how individual ethnographic studies of a linguistic community display crucial soci-linguistic aspects of verbal behaviour.

INTRODUCTION. The analysis of Telugu kinship terminology presented in this paper is based on the data collected from a variety of Telugu spoken in a remote village called *pencukalapādu* of Mahboobnagar district in Andhra Pradesh. The village is about fifteen kilometres from the border of Karnataka State, where Kannada is spoken. Besides Telugu, a sizable number of people represent Kannada and Urdu language communities also, who form certain caste and religious groups respectively. The impact of bilingualism and language contact on kinship behaviour may be noticed in the data. The statements concerning different aspects of kinship system are essentially ethnographic in nature. They need not necessarily represent varieties of Telugu spoken elsewhere.

The etymological information of the Telugu kinship terms is found in Burrow and Emeneau 1961, 1968, and 1972. However, it is to be noted that terms *bāva*, *savti*, and *sadgudu*, which are discussed in this paper are found to be unattested either in Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, its Supplement, or Notes.

The terms *bāva* and *sadgudu* are identified as loans from Indo-Aryan by Emeneau and Burrow (1962). The term *savti* is, however, found unattested even in this work. Another term *nāyna* is also not found in any of these works.

1.0. NATURE OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY. The lexical units in kinship terminology show two aspects of their meanings: The person-designating aspect and the role-symbolizing aspect. Apart from referring to a person, a kin term often represents what it means to be called by that term in that society (excluding the metaphorical extensions to non-relatives).

Another characteristic feature of kinship terms is that they involve relational structures. Each term in the system expresses a relation between two (or more) persons identified by the generalized labels, namely the EGO (the person from whom the relation

is traced) and the ALTER (the person who is actually referred or addressed to by the term).

The person-designating aspect of kinship terminology of a particular language is derived by a limited set of denotata, symbolizing the most basic categories of the nuclear family. The following set of denotata is used in the present study: F=Father, M=Mother, P=Parent, H=Husband, W=Wife, Sp=Spouse, B=Brother, Si=Sister, S=Son, D=Daughter, O=Offspring.

The following abbreviations are used to denote the biological and sociological aspects of kinship usage: e=e'lder, y=younger, +E=Male ego, -E=Female ego; +A=Male alter, -A=Female alter, (+)=Male, (-)=Female U=Upper stratum, L=Lower stratum.

1.1. ENUMERATION OF TELUGU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY.

1. Core kin terms: (C)

REFERENCE		ADDRESS	
ALTER	DENOTATA	EGO	ALTER
(a) <i>Consanguineal terms:</i>			
1. tāta	PF	C 11 & 12	tatā
2. avva	PM	C 11 & 12	yavā
3. taṅḍri (formal)	F	C 9 & 10	
U. nāyna			naynā
appa			yapā
L. ayya			yayā
abba (derogatory)			
4. talli (formal)	M	C 9 & 10	
amma			yamā
5. anna	eB	C 7 & 8	yanā
6. akka	eSi	C 7 & 8	yakā

TELUGU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|-----------------------|------|
| 7. tammuḍu | yB | C 5 & 6 | |
| 8. cellelu | ySi | C 5 & 6 | |
| 9. koḍuku | S | C 3 & 4 | |
| komāruḍu (formal) | | D 9, 10, 11, 12, & 13 | |
| 10. biḍḍa | D | C 3 & 4 | |
| komārte (formal) | | D 9, 10, 11, 12 & 13 | |
| 11. manmaḍu | OS | C 1 & 2 | |
| manmanguḍu (old generation) | | | |
| 12. manmarālu | OD | C 1 & 2 | |
| (b) <i>Affinal kin terms:</i> | | | |
| 13. māma | SpF | C 15 & 16 | mamā |
| | | D 7 & 8 | |
| 14. atta | SpM | C 15 & 16 | yatā |
| | | D 7 & 8 | |
| 15. alluḍu | DH | C 13 & 14 | |
| | | D 5 & 6 | |
| 16. kvāḍālu | SW | C 13 & 14 | |
| | | D 5 & 6 | |
| 17. bharta (formal) | H | C 18 | |
| moguḍu | | | |
| 18. bhārya (formal) | W | C 17 | |
| U. penḍlāmu | | | |
| L. ālu | | | |
| 19. viyyankuḍu | OSpF | C 19 & 20 | |
| biḡuḍu (jokular) | | | |
| 20. viyyankurālu | OSpM | C 19 & 20 | |
| biḡurālu (jokular) | | | |

21. bāva	HeB, eSiH	C 24 D 14 & 15	bavā
22. odine	WeSi, eBW	C 23 D 15	odinē
23. mārdi	HyB, ySH	C 22	
24. mardālu	WyS, yBW	C 21	
25. saḍḡuḍu	WSH	C 25	
26. yārālu	HBW	C 26	
27. savti	HW	C 27	

2. Derived kin terms: (D)

(a) Terms marked for generation:

1. muttāta	PPF	D 3 & 4	t tā
jēji tāta (informal)			
2. jējavva	PPM	D 3 & 4	jeji
jēji (informal)			
3. munimanmaḍu 00S		D 1 & 2	
4. munimanmarālu 00D		D 1 & 2	

(b) Terms marked for affinal relation:

5. mēnamāma	MB	D 7 & 8	mamā
6. mēnatta	FSi	D 7 & 8	yatā
7. mēnalluḍu	SiS (+E) BS (-E) MBS, FSiS	D 5 & 6	
8. mēnagvādālu	SD (+E) BD (-E) MBD, MSiD	D 5 & 6	

(c) Terms marked for relative age:

9. pettandri (formal)	FeB, McSiH		
-----------------------	------------	--	--

U. pedanāyna

pedāhayanā

peddappa		pedapā
L. peddayya		pedayā
10. pettalli (formal)	FeBW, MeSi	
peddamma		pedamā
11. cinatandri (formal)	FyB, MySiH	
U. cinnāyna		cinnaynā
cinnappa		cinapā
L. sinnayya		sinayā
12. cinnamma	FeBW, MySi	cinamā

(d) *Term marked for marital order:*

13. savittalli	MHW	C 9 & 10
mārdalli (informal)		

(e) *Terms marked for neutralization of relative age by coordination:*

14. bāmārdi	WB, BWB	C 21
15. ōdinemardālu	HS, SiHSi	C 22 & 24
ādipilla (informal)		

2.0. STRUCTURAL FEATURES. Address terms are relatively shorter than their respective reference terms and they are simpler too in their phonotactics. The gemination and the length of a vowel in the reference term is lost in address form. Final vowel of the address form is lengthened.

2.1 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:

a. *Social variation.*

The kinship terms of Telugu also exhibit some common social variation in its phonological structure, representing upper and lower strata of the society.

(i) c s: cellelu (U)—sellelu (L), cinnamma (U)—sinnamma (L) etc.,

(ii) v O or-i viyyankuḍu (U)—yiyankuḍu (L) etc.

(Note: y is not phonemic in this position.)

(iii) Aspirated consonants found in Sanskritic terms are deaspirated in the speech of lower stratum: bharta (U)—barta (L), bhārya (U)—bārya (L), etc.

b. *Dialect variation.*

(i) The deletion of short vowel of the second syllable in poly-syllabic words is a feature found in this dialect: savati—savti, maradi—mardi, marāḍalu—mardālu, manumāḍu — manmāḍu, maṇumarālu — manmarālu, saḍḍakuḍu—saḍḍuḍu.

(ii) *mardālu* and *kvāḍālu* show lengthening of the penultimate syllable, which retain the original feature of length of female marker *-ālu*. In the term *bāmārdi* (*bāvamaradi*), the lengthening of the penultimate syllable is due to compensatory lengthening (Loss of final syllable in *bāva* and lengthening of first syllable of *mardi*).

2.2. PLURAL FORMATION:

Plural forms are formed by the addition of suffix *-lu* to the singular form. The alternation that occurs after the addition of the suffix is listed below.

(i) tāta-lu, anna-lu, appa-lu. koḍuku, komārte, avva, atta, amma, akka, ayya, abba form this group. In this group, there is no alternation in the forms.

(ii) The singular form loses its final vowel before the plural suffix.

(a) The deletion of final *-e* is optional: odine—odinlu, odinelu.

(b) The deletion of final *-a*: nāyna—nāyinlu.

It may be noted that the deletion of final vowel in this case results in three consonant cluster. Hence the vowel *i* is inserted after the first consonant.

- (iii) The deletion of masculine marker *-du* of the singular form: *saḍḡuḍu—saḍḡu'u*, *biḡuḍu—biḡu'u*, *manmanḡuḍu—manmanḡu'u*.
- (iv) The alternation of the final vowel *-i* to *-u*: *tandri—tandru'u*, *talli—tallu'u*, *mardi—mardu'u*, *savti—savtu'u*.
- (v) The deletion of final vowel *-a* and the reduction of the preceding geminate consonant: *biḍḍa—biḍḍu*.
- (vi) The singular forms which end with feminine marker *-ālu* or *ēlu* alternate with *āḍu* / *aḍu* and *eḍu* respectively. *manmraālu—manmarāḍu*, *mardālu—mardāḍu*, *yārālu—yārāḍu*, *biḡurālu—biḡurāḍu*, *eḷḷelu—eḷḷeḍu*. *kvāḍālu* has a shorter form *kvāḍaḍu*.
- (vii) The masculine marker *-du* of the singular form alternates with *-ḍu*: *tammuḍu—tammunḍu*, *aliḍu—allunḍu*, *moguḍu—mogunḍu*.
- (viii) The singular form *komāruḍu* has two alternative forms in plural. The final vowel is elided in both the cases.
- (a) The deletion of masculine marker *-du*: *komāruḍu—komārḷu*.
- (b) The final *-r* of the alternant further changes to *-ḷ* before plural suffix *-lu*. *komāruḍu—komārḷlu*.
- (ix) The singular form *penḍlāmu* forms its plural by replacing the final *-mu* by *-lu*. *penḍlāmu—penḍlālu*. The form *ālu* wife has zero alternant of the plural morpheme *ālu—ālu*.

All the forms which show the oblique endings *-ḍu*, *āḍu* / *aḍu* and *eḍu* lose their final vowel before the plural suffix *-lu*. The forms also show the alternation in oblique ending *-ḷ* in upper stratum and *-l* in lower stratum.

The consonant cluster of the consonant group *-ḅḷ-* of the forms *penḍlāmu* and *penḍlālu* is reduced to *ḅ* by upper stratum and *n* by lower stratum. *penlāmu* (U), *penlāmu* (CL). The plural forms of kinship terms do not show any remarkable departure from the general pattern observed in non-kinship terms. The only departure seems to be the system of plural formation by the addition of *-ḡāru* to a singular form (cf. section 7.)

2.3. CATEGORY MARKING

All the kinship terms show gender distinction. They fall into two groups.

- (1) Those which are marked by a morphological process called suffixation.
- (2) Those which show lexical distinction adopting one for masculine and another for feminine.

The first category comprises of terms denoting kinsfolk representing ego's descending generation or younger siblings. Masculine is marked by the suffix *-du* and feminine by the suffix *-ālu* (*elu* in *cellelu*).

However, there are two terms which do not conform to this pattern, one, denoting 'son' (*koḍuku*) and another, 'daughter' (*biḍḍa*). Though they belong to the descending generation they do not show morphological marking for gender. It may be noted that forms with *-ālu* are female spouses of their male counterparts. The only exception seems to be in the case of *manmaḍu* and *manmarālu* which show sibling relation. The term *yārālu* has no male counterpart lexically.

The second category includes the terms denoting the ascending generation, including the above two forms of descending generation.

The derived kin terms show the morphological marking for blood relation, generation, marital order, relative age of the linking relative, etc. by prefixation. It is to be noted that the relative age of the same generation is not marked by morphological process but by lexical selection.

Core kin terms marked for sex: *moguḍu-ālu* (spouses), *biḍḍu-biḍḍurālu* (spouses), *manmaḍu-manmarālu* (siblings), *tammaḍu-cellelu* (siblings), *alluḍu-kvāḍālu* (possible siblings), *saḍḍu-yārālu* (spouse's, sibling's spouse-male and female respectively), *mardi-mardālu*.

Core kin terms unmarked for sex: *tāta-avva*, *appa-amma*, *mama-atta* (spouses), *anna-akka*, *koḍuku-biḍḍa* (siblings), *bava-odine*, (spouses), *sayti*, *āḍipilla*, *penḍlāmu*.

The derived reference term *jējavva* often used as *jēji* in reference and *jeji* in address, retains its former part rather than the latter one. Here the adjective *jēji* is nominalized and the adjective, which is only an ascending generation marker stands for the whole form. Its address form is invariably *jeji*.

3.0. POSSESSIVE FORMS. Reference terms are generally preceded by the possessive forms of first, second, and third person pronouns of both singular and plural.

Reference terms may be grouped into three sets according to whether they take plural possessive pronoun or singular possessive pronoun or alternatively, either. First person pronouns are used when the reference in the context involves the speaker and the alter. Second person pronouns are used when the reference in the context involves the hearer and the alter. The inclusive pronoun found in Telugu is used when the reference in the context involves both the interlocutors and the alter. Third person pronouns are used when the reference in the context involves neither of the interlocutors with the alter.

(1) *Terms which take plural possessive pronouns:*

ma- 'our' (exclusive), mi- 'your' (pl.), mana-
'our' (inclusive) vālla- 'their'.

The first two forms are formed by the shortening of the final vowels: tāta, nāyna, māma, bāva, odine, saḍguḍu, savti, biḡuḍu biḡurālu. The following terms take -y- before them, like *miyamma*, *miyamma* etc., avva, appa, ayya, amma, anna, akka, atta, alluḍu, āḍipilla. Excepting the term *alluḍu* all other forms which begin with *a* denote senior relatives. *atani* 'he' and *avḍa* 'she' are used along with plural possessive pronouns to denote husband and wife respectively (*mayatani*, *miyatani*, *mayavḍa*, *miyavḍa*, etc.). *atani*, *avḍa* denoting husband and wife respectively are used to avoid direct reference to one's spouse. These forms are also used to denote joking or ridicule. The form *abba* denoting 'father' is used only in the derogatory sense like *miyabba* 'your father', by an upper class speaker to a lower class one. This is also used in compounds like *abbaganṭu* 'father's property' (derogatory). The possible derived forms of the above terms also take the plural possessive pronouns.

Notice that all the above terms are either of the ascending generation or belong to the elders of the same generation, or those equated to the same generation (affinal relatives), where age is neutralized.

(2) *Terms which take singular possessive pronouns:*

na- 'my', ni- 'your' (sg.), atani/van- 'his', dan- 'her'.

mogudu, pendlāmu, koduku; biḍḍa fall in this group. The term ālu which also falls in this group takes -y- before it.

(3) *Terms which take either:*

bāmārdi, odinemardālu, yārālu, tammuḍu, cellelu, mardī, mardālu, kvāḍālu, manmaḍu, manmarālu. The term *alluḍu* takes -y- before it. The derived forms of the above terms also take the same possessives.

mavōḍu 'my son' mivōḍu 'your son' are manipulative reference forms of younger relatives. They also denote younger brother, if the age difference between the ego and the alter is considerable.

(4) *Pattern manipulation:*

The above pattern, if disturbed, results in either non-existing usage or in exhibiting totally new semantic dimension. The terms *avva*, *amma*, *akka*, *ālu*, if prefixed with singular possessive pronouns like *ni-*, *van*, *dan-* give rise to abusive terminology.

a. *Terms of vituperation.*

ni: niyavva, niyamma, niyakka, niyāli,
van: vanavva, vanamma, vanakka, vanāli.
dan: danavva, danamma, danakka-

By observing the structure of the last form of *ālu* (*āli* is an oblique form of *ālu*) we can deduce that these forms by themselves are not the underlying forms representing the whole construction but they result after the deletion rule(s) operated upon them. The deleted portion which follows these forms represent the tabooed expression, especially relating to conjugal act.

b. *Terms of denigration.*

The forms like *nyavva*, *nyamma*, *nyakka*, *nyāli* are also in vogue as interjections of self denigration or repentence.

4.0. DIFFERENTIALS OF TELUGU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY. There are three semantic differentiae deducible for Telugu Kinship terminology:

1. GENERATION: Three generations are distinguished in each ascending and descending levels. The terms for the third generation are derived by the morphological process called prefixation. The other two generations are represented by separate lexical units.

a. *Morphological marking:*

muttāta, jējavva (Third ascending generation) munimanmaḍu, munimanmarālu (Third descending generation) mut-(mudimi 'oldage') jēji (God) are used to denote ascending generation. muni (munu 'earlier') is used to denote descending generation.

b. *Lexical distinction:*

tāta, avva (second ascending generation). manmaḍu, manmarālu (second descending generation) appa, amma (first ascending generation) koḍuku, biḍḍa (first descending generation) anna, akka, tammudu, cellelu (ego's generation).

2. RELATIVE AGE:

Dravidian languages, in general, distinguish lexically between younger and older siblings—but not between parents' siblings. The parents' siblings are distinguished for age in relation to the parent (linking relative) by prefixes denoting *pedda-* 'elder' and *cinna* 'younger'. Wives of father's brothers and husbands of mother's sisters take the same adjectival prefix of age as the parents' respective siblings take. These derived kin-terms extend the same relation to the linked relatives as the Core terms do. Rajagopal (1970) finds the principle of relative age as another essential statement of an alternative strategy for Telugu Kinship.

The relative age in ascending generation is marked by the morphological process called prefixation. Relative age of the ego's generation is marked by lexical distinction.

a. *Relative age of the ego in relation to the alter:*

anna, akka (Ego is younger than the alter). tammudu, cellelu (Ego is older than the alter).

b. *Relative age of the alter in relation to the linking relative (parent):*

LINKING RELATIVE

ALTER

(appa, amma)

peddappa, peddamma
(alter is older than the parent)

cinnappa, cinnamma

(alter is younger than the parent)

c. *Relative age of the ego in relation to the linking relative:*

LINKING RELATIVE	ALTER
(akka) Spouse relation ..	bāva (Ego is younger than the linking relative)
(anna) ,, ..	odine (,,)
(tammuḍu) ..	mardālu (Ego is older than the linking relative)
(cellelu) ,, ..	mardi (,,)

d. *Relative age of the ego and alter (pertinent in address):*

REFERENCE	ADDRESS
saḍguḍu	yanā (younger to older)
bīguḍu (y) to bīgurālu (o)	yakā (Ego is younger)
bīgurālu (y) to bīguḍu (o)	yanā (,, ,,)

e. *Relative age of the linking relatives of ego and alter in address:*

yārālu (y) to yārālu (o)–yakā (yBW to eBW)

f. *Relative order of marriage with the linking relative of ego and alter in address:*

savti (latter) to savti (former)–yakā (irrespective of age)

3. RELATIVE SEX:

a. *Relative sex of the ego in relation to the linking relative:*

LINKING RELATIVE	ALTER
Female ego (anna, tammuḍu) Offspring	.. mēnalluḍu, mēnagvādālu
Male ego (,,) ,,	.. koḍuku, biḍḍa
Male ego (akka, cellelu) Offspring	.. mēnalluḍu, mēnagvādālu
Female ego (,,) ,,	.. koḍuku, biḍḍa

b. *Relative sex of the alter in relation to the linking relative:*

LINKING RELATIVE	ALTER
(amma) (Opposite sex sibling)	..mēnamāma
(appa) („ „)	..mēnatta

The above forms of alter show the affinal relation with the ego.

(amma) equisex sibling	..peddamma (older than the linking relative) cinnamma (younger than the linking relative).
(appa) „ „	..peddappa (older than the linking relative) cinnappa (younger than the linking relative).

The above forms of alter show the parent relation with the ego.

c. *Relative sex of the ego in relation to the alter:*

There seems to be another differentia known as spouse relation, which is pertinent in the description of affinal relatives. Notice that 2c. exhibits both relative age and the spouse relation.

LINKING RELATIVE	ALTER
(koḍuku) .. kvāḍālu	spouse relation.
(biḍḍa) .. alluḍu	spouse relation.

There are other terms which show simple spouse relation without involving the linking relative.

moguḍu—ālu, biḡuḍu—biḡurālu, appa—amma,
tata—avva, anna—vadina, akka—bāva, māma—atta,
tammuḍu—mardālu, bāmārdi—cellelu.

d. *Relative sex of the ego and alter: (equi-sex)*

The terms are reciprocal in relation. This is one kind of bipolarity observed in Telugu. Other kinds of bipolarity established through address system is explained in section 5.

Male ego—spouse's equisex sibling's spouse—saḍguḍu

Female ego .. ,, ,, ,, yārālu

,, ,, .. Spouse's spouse .. savti

- e. *Relative sex of the ego and the alter applicable in equivalence principle of address:* bīguḍu and bīgurālu stand in bipolar reference.

They are spouses in one reference, in another they are parents of offspring's spouse. In the second category of reference they are equated to siblings each representing opposite sex.

bīguḍu—bīguḍūlu (Address term bāva) affinal relation.

bīgurālu—bīgurālu (Address term vodine) ,, ,,

bīguḍu—bīgurālu (siblings in address) spouse relation.

bīgurālu to bīguḍu, anā if male is older (intimate address)

apā (general address)

bīguḍu to bīgurālu, akā if female is older (intimate address)

amā (general address)

5.0. REFERENCE AND ADDRESS SYSTEMS OF KINSHIP. The address terms are modified forms of reference terms and they are limited, when compared to their respective reference terms. They are restricted to a few terms of ascending generations and elders of the same generation (equated or otherwise). Kins of descending generation and younger siblings are addressed preferably by their short names. But never by their reference terms. Special address forms may be adopted when the names are not preferred. Derived kin terms of reference drop their prefixal elements except when they denote age.

1. *Equivalence of kinship terms in address:*

Certain terms of reference have totally different set of address terms and the system involving them.

a. *Bipolar terms.*

saḍgulu are those persons who marry sisters, so they stand in sibling relation. Hence the elder sister's husband is addressed

by his *sadguḍu* as *anā*, an address term adopted for his elder brother. On the same pattern *yārāṅḍlu* are those females who marry brothers. Hence the elder brother's wife is addressed by her *yārālu* as *akā*, an address term adopted for her elder sister. Accordingly *savtulu* are those females who marry the same person. Hence they stand in the same relation (spouse relation) with the linking relative. *savtalli* or *mārdalli* is on par with the mother, hence she is addressed as *pedamā* or *cinamā* depending upon the age and marital order of her with ego's mother.

If two or more kins show the same relation with the linking relative or ego or alter, as the case may be, they stand in sibling relation unless they belong to the ascending generation. Even if they belong to the ascending generation, if they are of the same sex they prove to be in sibling relation. The limited set of address terms which are applied to the whole gamut of reference system adopted at the micro-level of the society is either because of the equivalence principle or because of the principle of extension. These are discussed to the extent of the present requirement further in this and the following section.

Two opposite sex kins, who show *bigudu* and *bigurālu* relation, stand in sibling relation. Hence the person who is older is addressed by the equated elder sibling term distinguishing sex. Because of this equivalence the spouses of these are addressed by the respective egos as *bāva* (a male ego to his male alter *biguḍu*) and *odine* (a female ego to her female alter *bigurālu*).

b. Terms of descending generation:

Spouses address each other by some attention-drawing forms (generally by the interjections of various sorts) or by conspicuous absence of any term.

The offspring are often addressed by the special terms which denote birth-order comprising three distinctions: Eldest, Middle and Youngest.

Sons: *pedavodā* (eldest), *naḍipodā* (middle), *cinavodā* (youngest).

Daughters: *pedapilē*, *naḍippilē*, *cinapilē* in that order.

The spouses of offspring are also differentiated by adopting this method of reference or address like *pedavōni penḍlāmu* 'Elder son's wife' (Daughter-in-law), *pedapilla muguḍu* 'Elder daughter's husband' (Son-in-law). Daughters-in-law are even addressed by these terms, since they can not be addressed by their respective kin terms.

An address form *tamā* (The corresponding address form of reference term *tammuḍu*) is often used to address an younger male relative or even younger non-relative by the ego.

The terms for son and brother are manipulated by other method in reference as explained in section 3.

c. *Terms of affinal relatives:*

Affinal relatives who cannot represent the consanguineal kinship are the spouses and their opposite sex siblings. They have different set of address terms. Affinal relatives may be grouped into two sets. (i) Those who are addressed by the consanguineal kin terms, (ii) those who are not. *māma-atta*, *alluḍu-kvādālu*, *bāva-odine*, *mardī-mardālu* exhibit the same affinal relation as those of their corresponding *mēna* relatives. The *mēna* relatives are those affinal relatives who are consanguineally related. The same address terms are adopted for both the sets. Hence they are equated to the feature of generation. The equivalence of kinship relation can be established through address terms adopted for the respective kinsfolk.

d. *kinship terms as titles:*

kinship terms may be suffixed in the names either to refer or address a person denoting ego's relation with the alter. e.g. *irannanna* "elder brother iranna". This is also found in ritual kinship (section 6.).

The kin terms can be treated as a form of title in address, but only the ascending generation has this privilege. If a title is used in direct address and there are several members of the same kin category the name of the person may also precede the kinterm as shown above.

2. *Principle of equivalence.*

The principle of equivalence can be established by the address term adopted for the affinal relatives. In these address terms both age and sex are also observed. The spouses are put on par with the sibling and two lineages are counted thereon. The sibling relation of the linking relative and their relative age are also pertinent.

Equivalence chart:

+3 muttāta

jējavva			
+2 tāta			
avva			
+1 appa	siblings of parents	mēnatta	parents of spouses
amma		mēnamāma	māma
<hr/>			
moguḍu			
pendlāmu			
anna	odine		
tammuḍu	spouses	Neutralization of age saḍguḍu biḡuḍu	
	mardālu		
akka	bāva		
cellelu	spouses	„ „ „	yārālu, savti biḡurālu
	bāmārdi		
	or		
	mardi		
<hr/>			
-1 koḍuku	kvāḍālu		mēnalluḍu
spouses		Cross siblings offspring	
biḍḍa	alluḍu		mēnagvāḍālu
-2 manmaḍu			
manmarālu			
-3 munimanmaḍu			
munimanmarālu			

Father's male siblings and mother's female siblings are equated to the parents. *savittalli* is equated to the female parent. Numbers denote the distance of generation removed from the ego's own generation. Symbols (+) and (-) which precede the numbers denoting generation indicate ascending and descending generations respectively. Ego's own generation is not indicated by any symbol.

3. *Equivalence through linkage:*

Age, sex, and their combination show certain patterns of kinship relation which can be shown through the diagrams of linkage.

Age: sadguḍu—Wife's elder sister's husband—anna

—Wife's younger sister's husband—tammuḍu. yārālu—
HeBW—akka; HyBW—cellelu.

(1)——(2e)——(2y)——(3) tammuḍu, cellelu
(2y)——(2e)——(4) anna, akka.

(1)——(2e)——(3) bāva, odine.
(2y)——(4) mardi, mardālu.

savti—husband's first wife (generally older)—akka.
—husband's second ,, (,, younger)—cellelu.

(1)——(2e)——(3) akka.
(2y)——(4) cellelu.

b. *Sex:*

(Females)—anna/tammuḍu—biguḍu—bāva—(Males).

(Males)—akka/cellelu—bigurālu—odine—(Females).

(1—)——(1±)——(2) alluḍu, kvāḍālu.
(1±)——(3) koḍuku, biḍḍa.

(1)——(2+)——(3—)——(4) biguḍu,
bigurālu.
(2—)——(3+)

c. *Age and sex:*

a. father's siblings: mēnatta, peddappa, cinnappa.

(1)——(2+)——(2—) mēnatta.
(2+y)——(2+e) peddappa.
(2+e)——(2+y) cinnappa.

b. mother's siblings: mēnamāma, peddamma, cinnamma.

(1)——(2—)——(2+) mēnamāma.
(2—y)——(2—e) peddamma.
(2—e)——(2—y) cinnamma.

In these linkage diagrams the siblings are given the same number.

Since their relative age and sex are pertinent they are differentiated.

6.0. SOCIAL LEARNING APPROACH. Kinship terminology is linked to both the linguistic matrix of grammatical paradigms and the cultural matrix of social statuses and group categories.

The social learning approach attempts to establish the behavioral and psychological processes that bring about the extension of kin terms from geneologically close relatives to those who are geneologically distant. Kinship terms that range beyond ones own biological kin type are extended. There is movement in affectionate address granting consanguineal relationship. This phenomenon, apart from affinal relatives can also apply to family friends, co-residents, strangers and the whole net work of village community.

The denotative meaning of a kinship term is susceptible to structural analysis; How learning takes place is a psychological problem existing completely apart from the semantic analysis.

The analysis of kinship terminologies has traditionally operated only with the geneological denotata of the nominal stems of kin terms, with little reference to the Social and linguistic contexts in which kin terms are used. Such analysis has usually resulted in the delineation of a single unitary structure. Problems of alternation are seldom systematically accounted for; one reason for this failure is that an explanation of it requires information on the Social and linguistic environments as well. (Tyler 1966). The linguistic (structural) contexts of kinship terms are discussed in section 3.0.

1. *Ritual kinship:*

A set of kinship terms are used to address non-kins. They include terms for consanguineal relatives. Ritual kinship is common and usually it extends logically to the members of both the sides. This is almost parallel to biological relationships excepting the spouse and direct parent-offspring relation. Even the strangers are addressed in this way along with various attitudinal terms differentiating the age and sex of the alter.

tatā	..	to an old man.
avā	..	to an old woman.
apā	..	to all males irrespective of age.
anā	..	to a male person who is equal in age.
tamā	..	to a male youngster.
naynā	..	younger female to a middle aged male to show paternal reverence.

- ayā .. to a person belonging to Brahmin, Komati, or Jangam caste, irrespective of age.
 amā .. to women, irrespective of age.
 ange .. to an old woman, with a contemptuous attitude.

2. Gender marking:

In the preceding sections we have seen that *ālu* denotes gender in kinship terms. Kin terms also act as gender markers suffixed to the caste and occupation terms. *amma* is used along with the caste and occupation denoting terms to mark female sex of the referent e.g. bapanamma 'Brahmin lady'; angatemma 'Lady shop-keeper'. The above forms will become male denoting if suffix *amma* is replaced by *ayya* e.g. bapanayya, angatayya.

akka is also used to denote female sex of a person, in occupation. e.g: vantaḷakka.

If the words themselves express the male person, suffixation of *appa* or *ayya* denote contempt or ridicule. talāyya, talārappa alārāyappa (ridiculing village servant).

In this dialect. *āyana* and *āma* (*āyama*) have undergone a diectic re-analysis as *āyanna* and *āyamma* respectively. Inversely the kin term *appa* is re-analysed as *āyappa* as in *talārāyappa*.

The pronouns he and she are formed by prefixing a demonstrative *a-* to the kin terms *appa*, *anna* (male) and *amma* (female) e.g: ayappa, ayanna (he) ayamma (she); demonstrative vowel can be long or short.

3. Terms of affection and endearment:

In addition to short names or pet-names the parent may prefer to use bipolar terms in address to cajole or placate the child. These terms which go along with possessive pronoun *mā-* are not found in direct commands.

The ego can show affection towards younger folk by raising deference level like using *nāyna*, *appa*, *tanḍri*, for males and *talli* and *amma* for females. Raising the deference for younger folk and lowering it for the old denote an attitude of ridicule and contempt.

Affection denoting address: *mātandrē*, *mānāynē*, *māyappē*, (males) these terms also denote appreciation or sympathy towards

younger folk. *mātallē*, *māyammē* (to younger females by older females) *buḍā-* is an address term used to show extreme intimate affection towards a child (male or female) by a relatively older person (generally females).

Pluralizing the Kin term denoting parents is also observed in affectionate address. e.g: *nāyinlu* (male), *ammalu* (female)

Bangāru (lit. gold) *bujjulu*, *cinnalu* are also used to show endearment.

4. Terms of reproach:

koḍuku (in address, *koḍakā*), and *munḍa* in address, *munḍā*) are used to abuse a person male and female respectively. These can be prefixed by any abusive terms.

donga koḍuku- 'a thief' (male), *donga munḍā-* 'a thief' (female) *Biḍḍa* (in address, *biḍḍā*) is used to abuse a female person.

Notice that by calling a person *koḍakā* son and *biḍḍā-* daughter one is demoralizing alter's female parent.

5. Interjections and vocatives:

Many interjections are formed by the kinship terms. They denote various feelings and attitudes. The different terms may be used to denote the same feeling.

Interjections:

Expressing fear: *ammō*

„ pain: *ammā*; *abbā*

„ relief: *ammayya*

„ surprise or disapproval: *vāyannā*, *vāyabbā*, *vāyammā*

„ praise: *abbō*

„ sympathy: *ayyō*; *ayyayyō*

„ hopeless state or distrust: *abbē*

„ surprise, accusation, or pretext: *avva*

„ prohibition: *ammamma*; *ənnanna*

„ intolerance: *abba*; *abbabba*; *abbabbabba* (according to the degree of feeling)

„ dis-belief: *vāyannō*, *vāyabbō*; *vāyammō*

Vocatives:

appō; *annō* (for males); *ammō* (for females)

6. *Respect markers:*

The overt expression of respect through morphological marking is totally absent in this dialect.

Acquired forms *sāb* (an Urdu term) and *gāru* (a term from standard variety) are used in most formal occasions by strangers and high stratum which denote 'Sir' in address. They also are used usually in ridicule or in joking by the native interlocutors.

The respect behaviour in this dialect is patterned through other means as can be seen in the chart showing kinship term as personal name suffixes.

7.0. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION. Kinship terms are used to serve gender denotation, attitudinal marking, and social stratification, suffixed to a personal name. Though the stratification is applicable to both the alter and the speaker, at times it is explicit only with regard to the alter. However the attitude of the speaker is indistinguishable in this context. The status of a kin is dependant upon the generation, the age (which naturally goes along with generation), the kind of relation with the ego (consanguineal or affinal) and the sex.

1. *Chart Showing kinship Terms as Personal Name Suffixes:*

Status of interlocutor's caste	Interlocutor's sex.	Interlocutor's age	ATTITUDE		
			Contempt & anger.	Ridicule & joking.	
Upper castes	+A.	-ayya	-gāḍu		
		-īrayya (a Brahmin or a Jangam)			
	-appa	irigāḍu			
	irappa				
-A.	-amma	-akka			
	iramma	irakka			
Upper middle castes [including Kannada mother tongue groups)	+A.	-aṇṇa	-gāḍu irigāḍu	-ayya irayya	
		iraṇṇa			-appa irappa (Aged)
					-aṇṇa

		iraṇṇa		
	—A.	-avva	-avva	-akka
		iravva	iravva (Aged)	irakka
		-amma	-amma	
		iramma	iramma	
Lowermiddle castes	+A.	-anna	-anna	-gāḍu
		iranna	-iranna (older)	irigāḍu
			-ḍu	
			iraḍu (younger)	-ayya
				irayya
	—A.	-akka	-amma	-akka
		irakka	iramma (older)	irakkalāḍi
			-akka	iramma (younger)
			irakka	
Lower castes	+A.	-ḍu	-ḍu	-gāḍu
		iraḍu	iraḍu(aged)	-irigāḍu (aged)
				-ayya
				irayya (older)
		-gāḍu	-gāḍu	-appa
		irigāḍu	irigāḍu	irappa (older)
				-anna
				-iranna (younger)
	—A.	-akka	-akka	-akka
		irakka	irakka	irakkalāḍi
				-amma
				iramma

It may be noted that forms denoting contempt / anger and ridicule / joking are those that are not used in general reference or address in the speech of that stratum. These forms can be categorised into two classes; Higher and Lower. This depends on the interlocutors' reciprocal status. The awareness of ideal behavioural patterns of deference order may induce interlocutors to manipulate these patterns for stylistic purposes by violating the order.

Since *ayya*, *appa*, and *anna* (all referring to males) in that order, stand for forms of ridicule for Upper Middle, Lower Middle, and Lower castes respectively they denote the degree of descending deference order. *amma* is used to ridicule lower caste woman, and *akka* to show contempt for higher caste woman. Hence *amma* and *akka* denote descending degree of deference in that order. *-gāḍu* and *akka* show an attitude of contempt for all castes for male and female persons respectively.

Address forms of the above reference names:

- +A. irayya-irayā ; irappa-irapā ; iranna-iranā ; iranna-iranā
 iraḍu-irā; irigāḍu-irigā
 —A. iramma-iramā ; irakka-irakā.

+A. and —A. denote male and female alters respectively in the chart.

Some personal names are formed with-ōḍu a variant of vāḍu like *naḍipōḍu* (lit. middle fellow). This form is generally found in names formed after the personal features of the alter like birth order, skin colour, deviant physical, mental and social behaviour

a. personal names formed by kinship terms:

The personal names can also be formed by the conjunction of two kinship terms. The final kin term marks the gender of the referent.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| +A. ayyappa (ayya+appa) | —A. ayyamma (ayya+amma) |
| tāyappa (tāyi+appa) | tāyamma (tāyi+amma) |
| tāyanna (tāyi+anna) | tāyakka (tāyi+akka) |

tāyi, a term for mother is not used as a kinship term among Telugu speakers. But it is found in the speech of Kannada speakers of the same village.

ayyappa and *tāyamma* are the names of the male and female deities respectively; *ayyamma* and *tāyappa* are the corresponding derived names for the opposite sex.

b. Personal names formed by adjectives and kinship terms: The first member can be an adjective like *pedda* (elder) *cina* (younger)

- +A. peddanna, cinnanna —A. cinnakka

These forms can also show social deference when the second element is replaced by *ayya* and —*gāḍu* for males and *amma* and —*di* for females.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| +A. peddayya, cinnayya (older) | —A. Cinnamma (older / Res- |
| peddigāḍu, cinnigāḍu (younger) | pec:f.l)
cinnidi (younger / Derogatory) |

peddayya / *peddanna*, *cinnayya* / *cinnanna* and *cinnamma* / *cinnakka* are exocentric but *ayyappa* / *tāyappa* / *tāyanna* and *ayyamma* / *tāyamma* / *tāyakka* are not, since the whole forms denote a personal name.

A term *māginālu* refers to a lady, with her husband alive. The first element of this compound form acts as an adjective to the second.

The upper middle castes include Kannada speakers and they have Kannada forms *anna* (elder brother) and *avva* (grand mother, which may either be treated as language markers or caste markers, since they form certain castes or caste groups.

2. Lexical alternation:

Lexical alternation in kinship terminology denotes social stratification of the interlocutors. It may be noted that this alternation is limited to the terms denoting father, wife, and offspring.

Higher Castes :

nāyana ; appa ; penḍlāmu ; komāruḍu ; komārte

bharta and *bhārya* are used to denote husband and wife respectively by the higher castes. These forms along with *komāruḍu* and *komārte* signify the formal speech.

Lower Castes :

ayya ; abba ; ālu, koḍuku ; biḍḍa ;

These forms also denote the informal speech. *abba* is used to refer a lower caste person by an higher caste speaker.

3. Structural interference in plural denotation :

Plurality is denoted by the suffix *-gāru*, which is generally used elsewhere as a respect marker. Kins of ascending generation and their equivalents take this plural form. This may be due to the structural interference of Kannada. The terms *appa*, *ayya*, *amma* do not fall into this group, though they belong to ascending generation.

Kannada:—*māvnōru* (*māva-n-avaru*) 'fathers-in-law'

māva 'father-in-law', *avaru* 'they'

Telugu:—*māmgāru*—'*-gāru*' is a respect marker in the speech of other dialects. But here it denotes plurality.

biḅḅu, *biḅḅālu* and *biḅḅu* (affinal relative) are loans from Kannada.

The plural form *manmagulu* shows *-gu* before plural suffix *-lu*, which can be traced to the interference of Kannada terms *mammaga* 'offspring's son' and *mammagulu* 'offspring's daughter'. The singular form *manmagudu* is also found, which is an analogical creation.

Co-ordinate compounds denoting plural show the absence of plural marker, like *taldandri* 'parents', *attamāma* 'parents-in-law' *avvāāta* 'grand parents'. The form *annaldammulu* shows plural marker at the end of each constituent.

8.0. SUBSYSTEMS OF KINSHIP SYSTEM. There are different sets of terms related to the institution of family, associated with the system of kinship terminology. They are especially related to kin group, nature of kinship, position of an individual member in the family and in the society by nature of one's function.

These sets of terms variously show biological, sociological, psychological, religious and legal subsystems anchored to the primary system.

1. Biological Subsystem :

The family is the basic unit of a society which also happens to be the primary level of all kinship systems.

Kuṭumbam is the term for family. The whole net work of family is denoted by another term *bandubalgam*. *saṭṭam* is the term used to denote common descent of different nuclear families identified by their *intipēru* 'family name' or clan (*gōtram*). Marriages are prohibited among the members of the same *saṭṭam*, since they are essentially considered to be consanguineal relatives. The members of one's own *saṭṭam* are legally approved as *dāyādulu* 'legal heirs'. *Kulam* is a still bigger unit denoting caste, the affiliation of which ensures possible kinship relation among members of the present or future.

The general terms for relatives include *cuṭṭālu* and *bandulu*. The first one is a native term used by all and the second one a Sanskrit loan, used by the upper castes. Another term *suṭṭabandūkulu* is used by the lower castes to denote the whole group of one's relatives. The term *bigulu*, a loan from Kannada denoting the relatives in general, is restricted to the affinal relatives and this term is used by all. The Telugu term *vīyankulu* is often found among the higher castes.

2. Psychological Subsystem :

The term *cuṭṭirkem* is used to denote relationship in general. But it often refers to affinal relationship. *mēnirkem* is the practice of arranging one's marriage with the parent's opposite sex siblings or with their offspring.

Female ego: mēnamāma (MB) or mēnalluḍu (MBS, FSiS)

Male ego: mēnagvāḍālu (FSiD, MBD).

The marriage of the respective egos with the latter relatives (parent's opposite sex sibling's offspring) is approved only if no equisex sibling of the ego is married to the former relatives (parent's opposite sex sibling). Both of them are possible mates and the latter becomes offspring if the former is married to one's equisex sibling; they are, therefore, strictly prohibited. The stray cases of this kind may occur occasionally, which are always condemned, atleast at the time of the marriage.

3. *Legal subsystem :*

There are certain legal aspects involved in parent-offspring (own or adopted) and spouse relation. The property of the parents is equally divided among the offspring. This share of an individual heir is called *bāgam*. The legal heirs, who share the property are called *bāgastulu* or *vārasadārlu*. *-dār* is an Urdu suffix denoting possessor. *vāraslu*, a term without this suffix is also in vogue. There is a recognised legal sanction to possess property of an individual even though one is not a hereditary heir to inherit it, if one is procedurally adopted as legal child by that person. Generally, the need arises when the person is childless. (The childless woman, who is inherently incapable to bear a child is called *godrālu*). This type of legal adoption of a child is called *dattu*. There is another type of non-hereditary legal right called *ikām* to enjoy the property of in-laws through recognised residence of son-in-law in his in-laws' place, looking after the property obligations. However, he can not legally possess any authority on the property (for sale deeds etc.), though his children will have it after the expiry of his wife, who is the actual owner of the property. The parents of a bride may also depart with a portion of their property (Generally movable) to the child as a token of gift at the time of her marriage. This is called *arnam*.

dāyādulu is a term used for the legal heirs among blood-relatives *sarikulu* and *vārasdārlu* are the terms used for contemptuous and legal connotations for the same. *kāsa*, *sayāna*, *sontam* are the terms used to denote very close relation, apparently claimed or real.

4. *Social and ritual subsystem :*

A widow (*raṇḍamunḍa* or *munḍamōpi*) is deprived of performing the ceremonial functions associated with the womenfolk, in social and ritual acts. *muttaida* is a married woman who is necessarily associated with all these functions, since she is blessed with her husband to continue women's most cherished desires.

A childless widow is entitled to get some regular amount for her subsistence, from the legal heir(s) of her deceased husband. This is called *barāṇam*. If this right is legally acquired through moving to court it is called *manōvarti*.

5. Moral subsystem :

Illegal sexual intercourse of a married person is unequivocally condemned by the society which is apparent by the terms used to refer to them, which are general abusive terms. This type of act is called *ranku* and the person involved in this is *langa* (Male), *langadi* (Female). The cover term for the person who is never supposed to be involved in such an act is *samsāri*. The term is sarcastically used in contrast to the above. *mindagāḍu* (Male), and *lanja* (Female) are terms for those involved in an illegal sexual act. Habitual offenders of this type are called *mundalakōri* or *lanjalakōri* (A male person who is after women) *mindalakōri* or *rankulādi* (A female person who is after men). The act itself is named as *lanjirkem* (Referring to a female) and *mindirkem* (Referring to a male). The husband can seek divorce (*viḍākulu*) from his wife if she has been proved to be in sexual inter-course with someone else. The remarriage of a person is called *mārumannu*. *Mannu* and *penḍli* are the terms for marriage.

9.0. BEHAVIOURAL CONSTRAINTS. There are certain social sexual, attitudinal, and behavioural constraints of permissiveness and prohibition associated with the kinsfolk.

The marriage among the linked relatives is decided by the positive and negative relationship of incest (*varse*) one has with the proposed mate.

1. Rules of incest:

The incest taboo among the members of a nuclear family induces psychologically a sexual indifference towards the opposite sex member. The marriage between the father's (younger) sister (*mēnatta*) and the male ego is non-existent, since she forms a member of the nuclear family until her marriage with an outsider. *mēna* relatives of opposite sex having marriageable difference of age (possible bridegroom is preferably older than the bride) are usually the most favoured pair among the Telugu people in general. The random surveys indicate that the incidence of consanguineous marriages is as high as 40% in Andhra Pradesh which is probably the highest in any part of the world. Another type of incest taboo among the *mēna* relatives is prohibition of marriage between the female ego and her mother's brother's son, when one of her sister is married to her mother's brother, since in that case the proposed bridegroom is equated to her son.

2. *Avoidance behaviour:*

The avoidance behaviour associated with certain sets of kinsfolk is closely linked to the attitude of respect, characterised by shyness or timidity. This broadly falls into three groups: Avoidance of presence, talk, and prohibition of habitual behaviour. The presence and talk is generally reduced to a minimum due to timid state of mind, between a female individual of a family with her father-in-law (*māma*), or her husband's elder brother (*bāva*). The close presence and intimate talking is avoided by the couple before each other's parents. The habitual behaviour like smoking, and ragging (*sādimpu*) of one's spouse is avoided before elders of the family.

3. *Psychological and associative behavioural constraints:*

Putnillu 'parent's place' and *metnillu*, *attavārilu* or *moginillu* 'in-law's place' have certain social and mental associations for a married woman, since she is related to two different nuclear families usually of different places.

The constant nagging by the mother-in-law (*attapōru*), by the co-wife (*savipōru*) and by the sister of one's husband (*adipilapōru*) is essentially psychological and may be due to bigot and insecurity apparently loosing confidence of one's son, husband, and the brother.

4. *Joking relationship:*

The joking relationship occurs between *māmanallundlu* 'father-in-law and son-in-law' *bāvābāmārdulu* 'elder sister's husband and wife's brother' *odinēmardalu* 'elder brother's wife, husband's younger brother', *odinēodinemardāndlu* 'elder brother's wife and husband's sister' *bāvamardāndlu* 'elder sister's husband and wife's younger sisters, this is possible only when *mardālu* is unmarried, and *ālumogullu* 'wife and husband'. This behaviour will have apparent sexual connotations either through speech or through gestures. The alternative address forms are employed when cross-cousins engage in joking relationship, which is their privilege. Since a female person is given some what more latitude in a joking relation, sex of the speaker is a determinant. The next determinant is audience composition, since presence or absence of a referent, elder consanguineal relatives of the speaker and elder non-kins or strangers alter the behavioural pattern of the speaker in the context (Tyler 1966).

10.0. PROPOSITIONAL PERSPECTIVE. Friedrich (1972) displays ten components which underlie the symbolic systems of both

the pronominal usage and the kinship terminology. They are the topic of discourse, the context of the speech event, the age, the generation, the sex, the kinship status, the dialect, the group membership, the relative jural and political authority, and the emotional solidarity.

The first two discriminations are implied in all acts of speech. The next four are the culturally defined biological discriminations. The dialect refers to the lexical, grammatical, and semantic patterns marking a particular variety of language or dialect to which the subset in question belongs. The group membership subsumes the notion of household and the village membership. The last two discriminations include various social and group phenomena. The relative authority depends on the relation between the members, who are identified by the term or their descendants, in possessing, sharing or inheriting the property and its obligations. The laws and conditions of adoption also form part of this legal sanction. The discrimination of emotional solidarity represents the sympathy or antipathy between the interlocutors.

The overlap of the above ten components in the two semantic subsystems namely the symbolism underlying the pronominal and kinship terminologies as referred by Friedrich suggests that a limited number of similar components may be found to underlie in all such systems. A limited set of dimensions or universals for the sociolinguistic symbolism may be established through further research in these and other similar culture-bound semantic systems.

CONCLUSIONS. The individual or small group behaviour associated with the semantic subsystems are either assumed to be social and implied in some of these discriminations or obviously they are totally eliminated from the underlying systems. The present study stresses the need to recognize this aspect as separate dimension since it is pertinent not only in address system but also in rules of incest, joking relationship and avoidance behaviour.

Another perspective drawn from this study is that individual ethnographic studies of a linguistic community may display certain crucial socio-linguistic aspects of verbal behaviour, which are likely to be overlooked in the macro-level study.

REFERENCES

- Burrow, Thomas & Murray B. Emeneau. 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- . 1968. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary: Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1972. *Dravidian Etymological Notes: Supplement to DED DEDS, and DBIA*. JAOS 92.397-418; 475-91.
- Emeneau, Murray B. & T. Burrow. 1962. *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Friedrich, Paul. 1972. Social context and semantic feature: the Russian pronominal usage. In Gumperz, John J. and Dell Hymes (eds.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: the Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Rajagopal, Ryali. 1970. *Semantic analysis of Telugu kinship terminology*. Ph. D. Dissertation, Duke University, North Carolina.
- Tyler, Stephen A. 1966. Context and variation in Koya kinship terminology. *American Anthropologist* 68.693-707.

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE PARTICLE *TO* IN HINDI

B. LAKSHMI BAI

A number of arguments are presented to show the distinction between the conjunctive *to* and what has been traditionally called the emphatic *to*. Several constraints on the occurrence of the latter are pointed out, on the basis of which, an attempt is made to characterize its exact function in a discourse. It is claimed on certain structural grounds that a third *to* which is a particle of request must be recognized as distinct from the other two*

Existing grammars of Hindi talk of two uses of *to*; one, as a conjunction and the other as an emphatic particle.

Kellogg (1938:490), for example, calls *to* in sentence (1) below an illative conjunction and that in (2) an Emphatic particle.

(1) jo maī nahī jaaū to vah nahī aayegaa
if I not will go then he not will come
'If I do not go then he will not come.'

(2) tribhuvanapati jagat kaa kartaa to maī hū
lord of the three worlds earth of creator I am
'Lord of the three worlds and the creator of the earth
I am.'

Regarding their function, Kellogg maintains that "*to* as an illative conjunction regularly introduces the apodosis of a conditional clause" (p. 490). On the other hand, *to* as an emphatic particle "conveys a shade of emphasis which can only be expressed in English by a particular stress of voice" (p. 490). Kamta prasad Guru (1920) also makes this distinction.

As a conjunction, *to* connects either the main clause to a conditional clause as shown in (3) below or a clause which is subsequent to another, causally or in time as shown in (4) and (5).

(3) agar mohan aaye to use mere paas bhej denaa
if Mohan comes then him my near send
'If Mohan comes send him to me.'

*A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the VI All India Conference of Linguists held at Tirupati, January 1976.

(4) maïne usse uskaa naam puuchaa to vah śarmaa gayii

I her her name asked then she blushed

'When I asked her name she blushed.'

(5) jab aap log cale gaye to maïne usko ghar bhej diyaa

when you people go away then I him home sent away

'When you people had left I sent him home.'

Guru points out that "as distinct from the conjunctive particle the emphatic particle comes only after such a part of speech in a sentence on which there is emphasis and any movement of *to* in a sentence leads to a difference in the meaning" (p. 147 translation mine). The following are a few examples showing the occurrence of *to* with different constituents of a sentence.

(6) hamlog to kaar khariid rahe haī

we car buy progressive aspect

'We are buying a car.'

(7) kaar to maī zaruur khariidūḡaa

car I definitely buy will

'Car, I will definitely buy.'

(8) hamlog kaar khariidēḡe to zaruur

we car buy will definitely

'Buying a car, we will definitely do.'

(9) maī gaaRii tez to calaa saktaa hūū

I vehicle fast drive can

'Driving the vehicle fast, I can do it.'

In the above examples the particle *to* goes with the Agentive NP in (6) with the Objective NP in (7) with the verb in (8) and with the adverbial in (9).

There are enough grounds for postulating the conjunctive *to* and the emphatic *to* as two different particles. We have already

noticed that emphatic *to* can go with any of the major constituents of a sentence whereas the conjunctive *to* serves only to connect a conditional clause with the main clause.

Secondly, neither the emphatic *to* nor the conjunctive *to* can occur more than once in a given sentence. For example sentences (10) and (11) in which emphatic *to* occurs more than once are ill formed.

(10) *maī kaar to tez to calaa saktaa hūū

I car fast drive can

(11) *usne to mujhe pāāc rupaye to diye

he me five rupees gave

However, we can find both the conjunctive *to* and the emphatic *to* occurring in the same sentence. Note, for example, that sentences (12) and (13) are good even though they contain two occurrences of *to* in them.

(12) agar raam kal tak mujhse nahī milaa to maī

If Ram tomorrow upto me not meet then I

to yahī samjhūūgaa ki vah dhokebaaz hai

this think that he cheat is

'If Ram does not meet me by tomorrow

I will think that he is a cheat.'

(13) meDikal mē jagahī nah milii to maī to

medicine in seat not available I

duukaan kholne vaalaa hūū

shop open am

'If no seat is available in medicine I am going to open a shop.'

Thirdly, an emphatic *to* can never occur in a real question, whereas there is no such restriction for a conjunctive *to*.

Note, for example, that sentences (14) and (15) below which are real questions (read with question intonation) and which have emphatic *to* are ungrammatical but sentences (16) and (17) which also are real questions but have conjunctive *to* are normal sentences.

(14) *tum to kal madraas jaa rahe ho
 you tomorrow Madras go progressive aspect

(15) *tumhaaraa naam to kyaa hai
 your name what is

(16) agar mohān aayaa to usse kyaa kahūū
 if mohān comes then to him what should say
 'If Mohan comes what should I tell him?'

(17) tumne use kitaab lauTaayii to usne kyaa kahaa
 you to him book returned then he what said
 'When you returned the book to him what did he say?'

Our main concern in this paper is to study in detail what has been called the emphatic particle *to* with a view to characterizing its exact function. Existing works on Hindi have distinguished the emphatic *to* from the conjunctive *to* but have not made any attempt to characterize its function in explicit terms.

Interestingly enough, the particle in question has a number of constraints on its occurrence and it is precisely these constraints that help us to determine its function.

Firstly, *to* goes with what is 'given' in the discourse rather than with 'new'. The key for the distinction between 'given' and 'new' is the notion of consciousness as has been suggested by Chafe. "Given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. So called new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says" (Chafe: 1976).

Notice that sentences (18-20) are not acceptable as opening sentences of a discourse.

(18) *raam to fasT klaas mē paās ho gayaa

Ram first class in pass happened

'Ram has passed in first class.'

(19) *kalkatta to meraa janmasthaan hai

Calcutta my birth place is

'Calcutta is my birth place.'

(20) *maī to ek maamuulii insaan hūū

I one ordinary man am

'I am just an ordinary man.'

If, however, *raam*, *kalkattaa* and *maī* have already been under discussion these sentences will not be odd in the discourse. Note, for example, that sentences (18-20) all of which appear in sentences (21-23) after proper reference, as shown in the parenthesis, are acceptable.

(21) (raam †) raam to fasT klaas mē paas hogayaa

'Ram? Ram has passed in first class'.

(22) (kalkatte ke baare mē puuch rahe hai aap †)

Calcutta about asking you

kalkatta to meraa janmasthaan ha

'you are asking about Calcutta? Calcutta is my birth place'.

(23) (aap merii itnii praśansaa kyō karte hai)

you my so much praise why do

maī to ek maamuulii insaan hūū

'Why are you praising me so much? I am just an ordinary man.'

It may be pointed out here that sentences (24) and (25) which take a *to* are possible as opening sentences of a speech, story or discussion.

- (24) bhaayio aur bahano aap log to jaante hii
 brothers and sisters you all know
 hōge ki aaj hamlog yahāā kyō ikatthe hue hai
 must be that today we here why assembled are

‘Brothers and sisters, you are aware why we have assembled here today.’

- (25) baccho tumhe to pattaā hii hogāā ki śer ko jangal kaa
 children you know must be that lion jungle of
 raajaa kahte hai
 king say

‘Children, you may know that lion is called the king of the jungle.’

Sentences (24) and (25), however, do not contradict the fact that the particle *to* goes with what is ‘given’. Because in (24) the speaker assumes that ‘the reason for which the people have gathered’ is known to them and is in their consciousness. Similarly in (25) the speaker assumes not only that the children he is addressing know that ‘lion is the king of the forest’ but also that this is in their consciousness at the time of his uttering the sentence in question.

It is important to note here that though *to* can be used in a discourse only with what is ‘given’ the speaker has the freedom to select any one of the candidates from a set of ‘given’ elements as a “focus of contrast”. It is precisely this focus of contrast which is marked with *to*. Consider, for example, the following sentences.

- (26) caliye caay piikar aayē
 come tea having taken we will come
 ‘Come, we will have some tea and come.’

- (27) abhii to tiin nahī baje hai
 Now three not struck
 ‘It is not yet three o’clock.’

- (28) kenTiin to band hogayaa hogaa abhii
 canteen close happened must now
 'Canteen must be closed now.'
- (29) mere paas to bas das paise hai
 My near just ten paise is
 'I have only ten paise with me.'
- (30) ek das minaT to apnii jagah par baiThkar
 one ten minutes one's own place on sitting
 kaam karne do bhaaii
 work do let brother
 'Oh brother, let me at least sit in my place for ten
 minutes and work.'
- (31) caay to mai piitaa hii nahii
 tea I drink at all not
 'As for tea, I never drink any.'

Sentences (27-31) all of which have a *to* can be an appropriate reply of speaker B to sentence (26) of speaker A. But note that it is only in sentence (31) that *to* goes with the noun *caay* 'tea', which is introduced by A in (26). In each of the other four sentences B has chosen a different item as 'focus'. In other words, at the time of uttering sentences (27-31), B has not only what is expressed in (26) as 'given' but several other alternatives of which the following are a few. (i) A and B usually drink tea at 3 o'clock (27); (ii) A and B drink tea at the canteen (28); (iii) B thinks that A is expecting him to pay for the tea (29); and (iv) A has been disturbing B in his work (30).

It is clear from this that *to* in Hindi is used by a speaker to bring into 'focus' a particular candidate from a set of propositions which are 'given' in the discourse.

A second constraint on the occurrence of *to* is that it cannot occur in real interrogative sentences as is clear from the following examples.

- (32) *aap kaa beTaa to kis klaas mẽ paas huaa
 you of son which class in pass happened
- (33) *yah makaan to khaalii hai ↑
 this house vacant is

This constraint leads us to the hypothesis that *to* is a marker of 'assertion'.

A number of other constraints on the occurrence of *to* seem to support our hypothesis.

Firstly though *to* does not appear in a real interrogative it can occur freely in tag-questions as is obvious from the following examples.

- (34) tum to kal madraas jaa rahe ho naa
 you tomorrow Madras go progressive aspect
 'You are going to Madras tomorrow. Is it not so?'
- (35) aap caay to piyēge naa
 you tea will drink won't you
 'You will drink tea, won't you?'

What is then the difference between the two types of questions? In a genuine interrogation the speaker seeks new information regarding a proposition. On the other hand, in a tag-question no new information is sought. The speaker makes an assertion and would like the addressee to confirm it.

Secondly, *to* does not come in a conditional clause. Sentences (36) and (37) below in which *to* is used in the conditional clause are ill formed.

- (36) *agar tum to jaa rahe ho to maī nahī jaaūgaa
 If you go progressive I not will go
- (36) *agar mujhe rupaye to mil jaayē to maī skuuTar
 if to me money available them I scooter
 khariidūga
 will buy.

A conditional clause is not an assertion and if it is true that *to* is a marker of assertion then *to* must be precluded from a conditional clause.

Thirdly, *to* cannot, occur also in a relative clause. Note, for example, that sentence (37) in which *to* occurs in a relative clause is bad.

- (37) *tum to jis laRkii se mile the vah merii bahan hai
 you which girl with met she my sister is

The non-occurrence of *to* in a relative clause is easy to explain. In a sentence with a relative clause the assertion made by the speaker is contained in the main clause. The relative clause contains only the referent about which the speaker makes the assertion. Therefore, it is natural for the particle *to* not to occur in the relative clause.

Fourthly, a clause with an emphatic particle *to* cannot be embedded under a higher verb except as a quotation. Note, for example, that sentences (38) and (39) in which such embeddings are involved are ill formed for certain speakers including myself and for others *to* in these sentences is superfluous.

- (38) *maī bhuul gayaa thaa ki aaj to tumhaaraa barthDe

I forget past that today your birthday

hai

is

‘I forgot that today is your birthday.’

- (39) *ve jaante haī ki tumhaarii to tabiyat kharaab hai

he knows that your health bad is

‘He knows that your health is bad.’

The non-occurrence of a *to* clause in the embedded position also seems to be quite logical. If it is true that *to* indicates an assertion then it is natural for it not to occur in the embedded position. A predicate of assertion is always a main predicate and not a subordinate one.

From the above considerations, we can characterize the function of the particle *to* in Hindi as that of bringing into focus a proposition which is ‘given’ and about which the speaker makes an assertion.

This characterization of *to* holds good also in sentences (40) and (41) which, at first sight, might look quite different from the *to* sentences we discussed so far.

(40) hamlog vahāā gaye to the par unse nahī mil sake
 we there went but with him not meet could
 'We did go there no doubt but we could not meet
 him?'

(41) liilaa to paas ho gayii par maī fail ho gayaa
 Leela pass did but I failed
 'Leela passed but I failed.'

Notice that the *to* clauses in (40) and (41) make assertions about what is already 'given' in the discourse, which can be identified roughly as 'Leela's passing the examination' in (41) and as 'our going there' in (40). These sentences differ from earlier ones only in having an additional clause introduced by the conjunction *par* 'but'.

There is, however, a third use of *to* in Hindi which has not been discussed in any of the standard grammars of Hindi. This is the particle of request which appears in sentences (42-44) below.

(42) zaraa haTiye to
 little move
 'Please move a little.'

(43) aaplog sab baiTh jaayie to
 you all sit down
 'All of you sit down please.'

(44) ek glaas paanii laanaa to
 one glass water bring
 'Bring a glass of water please.'

Unlike the so called emphatic particle which can go with any of the major constituents of a sentence the particle of request goes only with the verb phrase, that too, with the imperative form of the verb as should be seen in the above sentences.

Secondly, *to* as a particle of request comes at the end of a sentence whereas *to* as an emphatic particle does not. Notice that sentences (45) and (46) in which the emphatic *to* is placed at the end of the sentence are not good.

(45) *hamlog gaye to
we went

(46) *māi skuuTar khariidūḡaa to
I scooter will buy

But notice that sentences (47) and (48) below, which differ from (45) and (46) respectively only in that in the earlier we have added the auxiliary verb *the* 'was' and in the latter the emphatic adverb *zaruur* 'definitely' after the emphatic particle, are acceptable sentences.

(47) hamlog gaye to the
we went

'We did go.'

(48) māi skuuTar khariidūḡa to zaruur

I scooter will buy definitely

'I will definitely buy a scooter.'

Yet another difference between the request particle and the emphatic particle is this that when a request particle is used in a sentence with a transitive verb the particle can be placed with verb or with the object NP without any difference in the meaning of the sentence. Note, for example, that (49) and (50) can also be rendered as (51) and (52) respectively without leading to any difference in meaning.

(49) zaraa pankhaa band kar denaa to

little fan close do give

'Please turn off the fan.'

(50) ek kap caay denaa to

one cup tea give

'Give me a cup of tea.'

(51) zaraa pankhaa to band kar denaa

little fan close do give

'Please turn off the fan.'

(52) ek kap caay to denaa

one cup tea give

'Give me a cup of tea.'

But as we have already mentioned in the case of the emphatic particle *to* no such movement can be made.

To conclude, it is not at all my claim that my observations are the last say on the syntax and semantics of Hindi *to*. My only attempt was to bring it to the notice of people working in different areas of Hindi grammar that little particles like *to* can have quite a complicated grammar and only serious research on them can equip us with proper teaching material for teaching their correct use to a non-native speaker.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that the wrong uses of this particle by non-native speakers of Hindi motivated me to undertake this study.

REFERENCES

- Chafe, Wallace, 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, Definiteness Subjects, Topics and points of view in Charles N. Li ed. *Subject and Topic*, New York: Academic Press.
- Guru, Kamtaprasad, 1920: *Hindi Vyakaran*, Banaras: Nagri Pracharini Sabha.
- Kellogg Rev. S.H. 1938: *A grammar of the Hindi language*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd.,

NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT

UGC Special Assistance:

On the recommendation of the review committee in Linguistics, the Department was selected by the University Grants Commission to participate on its Special Assistance Programme. As part of the development under this scheme, in addition to providing academic positions (Professors: two, Readers: two, Lecturers: two), sanction was also given for the award annually of Four National scholarships for students studying in M.A. Course, Four Junior research fellowships for candidates working on their research degrees, Four Senior research fellowships for post-Doctoral research, and Six Teacher fellowships for the University teachers to work for a research degree in linguistics. Grants were also provided for publication of research by the teachers and for organizing Seminars on socially relevant linguistic topics.

Fresh appointments:

Under the Special Assistance Programme, the following persons were appointed for the posts indicated against their names.

1. Dr. H.S. Ananthanarayana Professor of Historical Linguistics (with special reference to Indo-Aryan)
2. Dr. C. Ramarao Professor of Descriptive Linguistics (with special reference to Transformational Generative Grammar)
3. Dr. B. Lakshmi Bai Reader in Applied Linguistics (with special reference to Hindi-Urdu)
4. Dr. Arun Kumar Sharma Lecturer in Linguistics (with specialization in Sociolinguistics)

Besides the above teaching positions, Mr. A. Venkoba Rao was appointed Stenographer and Miss Geeta Patalay as Library Assistant to be in charge of the Departmental library.

Dissertation Abstracts

UPADHYAY, U.S. DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE BANJARA LANGUAGE: Grammar, Texts & Vocabulary (Ph.D. Dissertation, 1976).

This is an attempt to analyze the Banjara language spoken in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. The contents include Phonology, Morphology, Syntax of the language with Texts and Vocabulary.

The Banjara language belongs to the Central group of the Indo-Aryan family and is spoken by about 12,74,958 people, according to the 1961 census. It has altogether twentyseven segmental phonemes (21 consonants and six vowels) and the suprasegmentals of nasalization, juncture, pitch, and the terminal contours. The aspirated consonants have been treated as stop + h clusters.

A phonological word in Banjara may have one to five syllables. Each syllable has a distinctive peak and may or may not have an onset and/or a coda. Syllables are of four types, viz., peak type, onset-peak type, peak-coda type, and onset-peak-coda type. Two member clusters of consonants and vowels are very common. The oppositions of the Banjara phonemes are described in terms of eleven distinctive features, viz., vocalic, consonantal, sonorant, continuant, lateral, coronal, anterior, low, back, tense, and voice. The morphophonemic changes in Banjara involve assimilations, loss and addition of phonemes.

In morphology the following word classes are noted, viz., Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, Intensifiers, Post positions, Vocatives, Sentence-words, Interjections, Connectives, Question words, Negatives and Particles. In addition to these, there is a class of suffixes.

Nouns occur as heads in noun phrases and in the locative, temporal and frequency adverb phrases. They can be either nominative or oblique, masculine or feminine, singular or plural. Pronouns are a closed class of words standing for a noun or a noun phrase. Pronouns are classified into personal pronouns and non-personal pronouns. Numeral adjectives can also function as pronouns.

Verbs are a class of words inflected for the categories of mood or aspect and which occur as the head of the verb phrase. Syntactically the verbs are categorized as intransitive, transitive, double transitive; stative and receptive verbs. A verb stem may be simple, complex, or compound. Simple verb stems are all

monomorphemic roots. Complex verb stems consist of transitive/causative forms derived from the roots by means of vowel change and/or suffixation. Compound verbs are of three types, viz., Explicator compounds, conjunct verbs and Nominal compounds.

Verb stems are inflected for mood or aspect and person-number/gender-number. Verb forms in general may be classified into Finite verb forms and Non-finite verb forms.

Finite verb forms are aspectual or non-aspectual. Finite aspectual forms are inflected for four aspects, viz., Indefinite, Durative, Perfect, and the Prospective aspects. Finite non-aspectual forms are inflected for four moods, viz. obligative, Imperative, Subjunctive and the Contingent moods. Non-finite verb forms are aspectual or non-aspectual. Present participle and the perfect participle are the aspectual forms. Infinitive is the non-aspectual form.

Person-number suffixes occur after the verbs in the present Indefinite, Imperative and the Subjunctive forms. Gender number suffixes occur after the verbs in the Past indefinite, Durative, Perfect, Prospective, Contingent, and the Present participle (with-t-) forms. Verbs in the Obligative, Present participle (with tū), Perfect participle and the Infinitive form do not take person-number/gender-number suffixes. Verb always agrees in person, number and gender with the subject of the sentence except in case of the receptive verbs which agree with the compliment. There are two tense auxiliaries viz. present tense auxiliary taking person-number suffixes and the past-tense auxiliary taking gender-number suffixes. These occur only after the finite aspectual verb forms.

A sentence consists of a subject folloed by a predicate. The subject consists of a Noun phrase or a Noun clause. A noun phrase consists of either a noun preceded and/or followed by an optional adjective phrase/adjective clause or more than one NP. Noun clauses are of two types viz., Verbal noun clauses and Relative noun clauses.

A sentence is either a Major sentence or a Minor sentence. Major sentences are Intransitive, Transitive, Double transitive, Stative, or Receptive. A major sentence can be simple, complex, or compound. Minor sentences include Vocatives, Exclamatory utterance, Sentence words, Short replies, and Greetings.

The Banjara language is influenced in different degree at the phonological, morphological (lexical) and syntactic level by contact with Telugu and Dakhini.

Vocabulary consists of about 3000 items; word class of the each entry and the source in case of loanwords is given.

SUBBARAO, A. A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THIRTY ENGLISH VERBS AND THEIR TELUGU EQUIVALENTS (M.Phil. Dissertation, 1976).

The basic assumptions underlying the present study are as follows. Verbs in a language can be divided into different semantic fields on the basis of their meaning relationships. Each field comprises a set of verbs and each verb distinguishes itself from the others belonging to that field in terms of its 'componential features'. One or two such features will suffice to distinguish any two verbs in a 'field'. This is referred to as 'minimal distinction'. Componential feature matrices of the verbs in a field reflect their paradigmatic meaning relationship.

Verbs express processes of diverse nature; but they are not totally independent or isolated in meaning. A verb like 'marry', for instance, presupposes its Agent or Patient to carry the feature + HUMAN. That is, the componential features of a given verb convey relevant information about the meanings of the other lexical items also present in a given sentence. This property of meaning is syntagmatic in nature.

The two kinds of meaning relationship mentioned above prevent the formulation of unacceptable, ungrammatical, non-sensical, deviant and contradictory sentences in the normal use of language on the one hand and reflect the native speaker-hearer's competence on the other. This also makes room for synonymy, antonymy and polysemy (or ambiguity).

English verbs, classified into six semantic fields in accordance with the above-mentioned meaning relationships, are analysed, compared and contrasted with their equivalents in Telugu from a cross-linguistic point of view in this dissertation that consists of three parts apart from Introduction, Conclusion and Bibliography.

The first part deals with the verbs of Physical Processes, i.e. those which can be directly verified. The semantic fields included in this part are verbs of Motion (section 2) and Verbs of Transaction (section 3). Part II presents a description of the verbs of non-physical Processes, namely Verbs of Mental activity (section 4), Verbs of Cognition (section 5), Verbs of Sensation (section 6) and Verbs of Oral Communication (sections 7). Each section opens with a working definition of the process indicated by the 'field', explanatory definitions of the compen-

tial features concerned and a diagrammatic detail of these features, followed by a list of the verbs under study. This is followed by contrasts which are drawn in terms of synonymy, antonymy, and substitutability. At the end of each chapter the meaning relationships of the members of the field concerned is presented in terms of their componential features either by giving a table or a diagram or both.

Part III constitutes a cross-linguistic study wherein a description of thirty Telugu verbs, divided into six semantic fields as those in English, is presented. The componential features set up for the analysis of English verbs are applied in this description that draws itself upon the relevant semantic-syntactic comparisons and contrasts between the verbs in the two languages. Thus, the general applicability of the componential features proposed, is demonstrated in this part. The claim for their universality will either be validated or rejected only when they are applied further to many other languages.

OSMANIA PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 3, February 1977

David Bradley

MODERNIZATION AND DIGLOSSIA IN BURMESE .. 1-12

H.S. Ananthanarayana

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN PRAKRIT 13-32

P.C. Narasimhareddi

TELUGU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY: A PROPOSITIONAL
PERSPECTIVE 33-63

B. Lakshmi Bai

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE PARTICLE *to* IN
HINDI 64-75

NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT 76-80