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ANTHROPOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN MODERN LINGUISTICS

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Human language is worth studying not only from the point of view of its formal structure, but it deserves to be investigated within an interdisciplinary perspective. A survey of language studies from the vantage point of such disciplines as evolutionary biology, communication theory, cultural and social anthropology and other social sciences is the prime concern of this paper. The interdependence of anthropology and linguistics is discussed afresh and contemporary linguists are better advised to view language as a product of human evolution and sociocultural set-up.

Already as far back as in the 17th century the outstanding representative of the German Age of Enlightenment, Christian Thomasius—who, incidentally, was the first scholar to read a paper in German instead of Latin as had been the custom of his days—pointed out to a close interdependence between thinking (ratio), speech (sermo), and society (societas). when he proclaimed: “Ratio absque sermone non est, sermonis extra societatem nullus est usus, nec ratio citra societatem se exiit”, in English: “There is no reasoning without speaking, language will never be used outside the human society, and intelligence, too, does not manifest itself without human society”. The close connection between the evolution of language on the one hand and society as well as culture on the other, displays in itself a number of various problems. It is to be seen most conspicuously in the lexical sphere of a language, as can easily be shown by those examples of duplicity known to every schoolboy in English classes: viz. swine and pork, calf and veal, sheep and mutton, or by the distribution over certain semantic fields of Sanskrit loan words in Indonesian, or the peculiarities of word usage in American English, called forth by environmental and sociolinguistic factors.

Strictly speaking, it is neither language nor culture alone that actually live and change through history, but rather their carriers. Those, however, that coin and carry language and culture, are the whole of mankind. Accordingly, both the origin and development of language are intimately linked with the origin of the human species and the development of man from his hominoid and hominid ancestors, so that DELL HYMES (1964a) may rightly speak of a “complex interaction between an evolving brain, evolving code and evolving society”. Thus we understand that within this frame of historical and developmental problems natural anthropology will immediately get in touch with social anthropology and vice versa, their joint methodological standpoint being necessarily an evolutionary one. Along this line of mutual contact arises what

has been called and postulated by HYMES under the name of "linguistic anthropology", and seen from this angle LENNEBERG's idea of a "biological foundation of language" seems to make good sense. It will become more and more urgent for us to rid ourselves of that biased and meantime archaic blame that was cast upon the 19th century linguist of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena, AUGUST SCHLEICHER, for introducing what his and at the same time DARWIN's adversaries claimed to be an undue "biologism" into the linguistic science. We have to do so the more, since most authors explain the analogy between biological and social phenomena and processes in the sense of simile or modelling. ERNST HAECKEL, for one, was to a large extent inspired as to his design of a "Stammbaum" of species by his friend and turnverein-comrade SCHLEICHER, and I am sure that both of them used it only as a working hypothesis. Nobody would see any harm in similar tree-like descriptions to be used in structural linguistics today.

Together with the transition from prehuman forms to man—which is marked by an ever increasing mental ability, by an extended utilization of instruments and by a clever distribution of labour—the gradual development from an animal call-system of a closed structure over a hypothetical open system of a so-called "pre-language" probably used by hominids, up to the final stage of articulated and highly grammaticalized human language goes hand in hand. Some evolutionary linguists feel inclined to even project this general course of language development far beyond the present state into the future perspective. One of them is JOSEPH GREENBERG who imagines something like a "post-language" that will have to be cleared of all insufficiencies and ineffective redundancies of natural languages, so that it would comply with the rules of DARWIN's theory of selection which nowadays has become interesting again under the spotlight of our modern concept of an all pervading, general optimization. GREENBERG (1957) refers, above all, to writing systems and codes based on natural languages, new sign systems as e.g. those of mathematics and algebraic logic, and on artificial languages.

Similar ideas had been expressed almost a hundred years ago by CHARLES DARWIN in his book "The Descent of Man" (1871). In its second chapter, dealing preeminently with matters of language, he says: "We see variability in every tongue, and new words are continually cropping up; but as there is a limit to the powers of the memory, single words, like whole languages, gradually become extinct". Immediately we are reminded of the coming and going of fad words, above all adverbs of degree, as may be demonstrated by the century long struggle for existence among the intensives *full*, *right*, and *very* from which *very* came out

winner as the English intensifying adverb *par excellence*, whereas *right* is still alive in the American variety of English. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon verb *niman* (German "nehmen") which has been replaced by the Old Scandinavian form *taka* (Mod. Eng. *to take*) the extinction of words and forms within the history of a language can be illustrated even more drastically. DARWIN carried on his thoughts about the survival of the fittest by quoting from his contemporary MAX MÜLLER: "The better, the shorter, the easier forms are constantly gaining the upper hand, and they owe their success to their own inherent virtue".

Although MAX MÜLLER, at that time occupying the Chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford, never seemed to be in real sympathy with DARWIN's opinion regarding man's primordial ancestry, he nevertheless does not hesitate to make proud in 1873 by announcing: "In language, I was Darwinian before Darwin". Certainly MÜLLER was able to say so for the mere reason that the general idea of evolution as a postulate of historical continuity in nature and society is stone old. It is to be found in ancient philosophy with HERAKLIT, EMPEDOKLES, ANAXIMANDER, with LEIBNIZ, SCHELLING, HEGEL, and GOETHE, whom in the 19th century, the founder of the biological theory of evolution proper, CHARLES DARWIN himself, called one of his intellectual forerunners apart from LAMARCK, BUFFON, ST. HILAIRE, and his own grandfather ERASMUS DARWIN.

As far as DARWIN's views of language development are concerned, most of them can be said to hold linguistically good yet in our time. So e. g. the fact that it is chiefly articulation by which human language distinguishes itself from communication systems in the animal kingdom. Furthermore, the interaction between speaking and thinking, or the origin of language not only by mere imitation of sounds heard from animals or the surrounding nature, but likewise by its modification accompanied by signs and gestures. In this connection DARWIN also mentions instinctive cries. Of considerable importance is DARWIN's emphasis laid on the scientific inadequacy to draw conclusions about the cultural superiority or inferiority of a people from the simple or complex structure of their language.

In modern linguistics, especially in the U. S. A., DARWIN's reasonings and findings are now being increasingly reexamined and applied under new aspects to problems of linguistic theory. Since the late fifties, to give it a little more precisely, immediately after the 100th anniversary of the first publication of DARWIN's most important book "On the Origin of Species", that is to say immediately after the year 1959, we are justified to speak of a downright neo-Darwinian tendency in modern linguistics. "Now that the battle against the mistaken evolutionary ideas has been won, and the study of formal structure well established, it is time to take

up the evolutionary question again". These words, brought forth by DELL HYMES (1961) are to be regarded in some way or other as an appeal to linguists throughout the world for a whole new programme of their branch of science. In another paper of equally programmatic nature (HYMES 1964a) the same author says: "An evolutionary theory of language has again become a respectable scholarly topic, in the form of comparing the generic features of human language with those of communication in other species."

Most American representatives of this newly revived trend in linguistics have to some degree, either directly or indirectly, been influenced by the teachings of the German-American anthropologist FRANZ BOAS who might be placed at the beginning of this linguistic-anthropological line of language theory. Several among them, as e. g. HOCKETT, CRITCHLEY, GREENBERG clearly refer to DARWIN's theory of evolution by selection of species. LENNEBERG more or less tackles this problem from the viewpoint of biological anthropology, investigating for instance the development of speech habits in connection with that of the activity of the brain. He has shown that both purposive, i.e. culturally acquired by training and learning, and unconscious, i.e. innate or biological, factors are effective in language formation. Among the latter must be named, in his opinion, "phonematization", "concatenation" of morphemes, and "grammatization".

Other representatives of a modern evolutionary consideration of language are BROSNAHAN (from the University College of Ibadan, Nigeria), who emphasized the analogy between the process of linguistic adaptation to the cultural environment and biological adaptation to the physical environment; or SEBEOK, who is particularly concerned with the communicative systems of animals; moreover there are to be named LOUNSBURY, GOODENOUGH, STUART and many others. Some of them like HOCKETT, seem to be oscillating between the behavioristic way paved by BLOOMFIELD and the biologically accentuated neo-evolutionary school. The interrelation between speech, meaning, and behaviour with an emphasis on the role played by social interest of the speakers as the basic element in semantics, was treated in H. PITKIN's paper on "Some Problems of Method in Anthropological Linguistics", held at the "1966 Linguistic Institute Conference on Linguistic Method" at the University of California at Los Angeles, from 1st to 3rd August, 1966. He is absolutely right in demanding "an emphasis on the study of (natural) languages rather than Language (spelled with a capital L!) as well as the development of linguistic theories based on the results of "field work". The interdependence between language and cul-

ture was the main topic of a paper read by DELL HYMES about "Linguistic Method of Ethnography", at the same conference.

The rather interesting phenomenon that language in its permanent evolution advances on a cyclical or spiral way instead of a rigidly linear one, may be brought home by certain assumptions as to the structural histories of Chinese or Indo-European languages, where it seems highly probable that from their proto-structures up to the present time, evolutionary epochs in which analytic features predominated will have changed with those of predominantly synthetical formation of both lexical and grammatical units. At least this spiral movement may be traced, ontogenetically, in the history of English verbs. In old English we meet many synthetical verb-forms with prefixes, comparable to German verbs "aufnehmen, einnehmen, eingeben, ausgeben". Thus we find e. g. O.E. of -gifan = "to give away", for -niman "to carry off", etc. This possibility of word-formation has been radically reduced in Mod.E., where analytic verb-adverb combinations are being used instead of prefixed verb-forms: to take up, to take in, to put in, to put out, etc. Through such nouns, however, as e.g. the uptake, the input, and the output, secondary structures of a synthetical shape are derived by means of conversion, i. e. verbal forms with prefixes, just as we had them already in King Alfred's time: for example words like to input and to output, as they are used today in cybernetics and data processing. Similarly the first elements in adjectival intensifications of the kind brand-new, chock-full, cock-sure, stock-still, top-secret are on their way towards prefixation as another instance of synthetic structure in Modern English.

A good deal would have to be said here on the academic problem of terminology. It may suffice to point out to the difference between "evolutionary" and "Darwinian" being that of two notions of, respectively, higher or lower order, so that not all adherents to the idea of evolution must of necessity be Darwinians. Moreover, we will have to keep apart the adjectives "evolutionary" and "evolutionist", because the latter has acquired a philosophical connotation in that it is used for some methodological point of view according to which any development is considered as a continuous, quantitative accumulation of phenomena. The representatives of such a philosophical and sometimes political "evolutionism" deny the spontaneous growth of a new quality, for example the species of man with their facility of language separated by a Rubicon from the foregoing developmental qualitative stage of animal life with its call-system. This sudden change of accumulated quantity into a new quality is, consequently, not to be regarded as a transformation by degree, but as "transformation of kind", as JOSEPH GREENBERG once called it quite appropriately. Faced with such an intricate state of things CHARLES

HOCKETT and ROBERT ASCHER had all good reason to publish their joint paper for *Current Anthropology* vol. V, No. 3, 1964, about the emergence of the first humans from their prehuman ancestors with special regard to the growth of human speech not just under the headline of "Human Evolution", but under the proper title of "The Human Revolution".

Among the manifold trends and various mainstreams in modern linguistics the application of mathematical methods and automatic information processing in language analysis, the so-called "generative" transformationalism, contrastive studies and language typology, lexico-statistics and glottochronology, historical-comparative philology, linguistic anthropology etc., we shall have to differentiate more strongly than hitherto between Theory and Method. In my opinion, e. g., CHOMSKY's transformation theory seems to be more of a method rather than a theory, whereas the neo-Darwinian tendency in modern linguistics precisely marks a theoretical standpoint. Today, under the aspects of an evolutionarily oriented linguistic anthropology, the old views of the biologists CHARLES DARWIN and ERNST HAECKEL together with those of their linguist friend and fellow-evolutionist AUGUST SCHLEICHER require critical reconsideration and reestimation. In his former criticism against SCHLEICHER the American Sanskritist and philologist WILLIAM WHITNEY remarked in the very same year in which DARWIN's "Descent of Man" came out (1871): "Darwinism must stand or fall by its own merits; it cannot be bolstered up by linguistic science". We, in our days, however, can very well say that old-time Darwinism has neither entirely stood the test of scientific advance nor fallen by its own shortcomings, but that it is being revived and revalued critically in today's anthropology of which the linguistic science has come to be part and parcel. Inasmuch as man is nothing but an element within the huge system of natural evolution, the universal integration of natural and social sciences does not make a halt before modern linguistics which comprises all features of current anthropology, including those of both communication and information theory in particular, and mathematical cybernetics in general.

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ASSIMILATORY PROCESSES IN CHILD LANGUAGE

B. LAKSHMI BAI AND C. NIRMALA

Certain phonological processes common in the child language acquisition, as found in three of the Indian languages, are investigated for the first time. The data are drawn mainly from Telugu, Tamil and Hindi. Two significant assimilatory changes of nasal assimilation and voice assimilation are identified and described in detail. These processes do not figure in the works of other scholars like Ingram (1976). The generalizations proposed here can be extended to other languages of India in future.

Describing some common phonological processes found in the speech of young children, Ingram (1976: 15) has given six assimilatory processes besides some syllabic structure processes and substitution processes. The six assimilatory processes given by him are the following :

1. Prevocalic voicing of consonants: e.g. pen/bEn/, tea/di/;
2. Devoicing of final consonants: e.g. bed /bEt/, big /bik/;
3. Nasalization of vowels : vowels tend to take on the nasality of a following nasal consonant: e.g. friend /frɛ̃/;
4. Velar assimilation: apical consonants tend to assimilate to a following velar consonant, e.g. duck/gək/, tongue/gɔŋ/;
5. Labial assimilation: e.g. top /bap/;
6. Progressive vowel assimilation : an unstressed vowel will assimilate to a preceding stressed vowel: e.g. apple /aba/.

The present study seeks to examine the assimilatory processes operating in the speech of Indian children from different language backgrounds. Such a study will help us to find out how far the assimilatory processes mentioned by Ingram are general enough. It will also bring to light other assimilatory processes, not given in Ingram's list, found to operate in the language of the Indian children.

The data for the present study are drawn from the speech of one bilingual child in Tamil-Telugu by name Chetan (age 1 to 3 years), four Telugu speaking children, Swati (age 1.7 to 2 years), Kalyani (age 2 to 2.6 years), Pavan Kumar (age 2.6 to 3 years) and Madhavi (age 3 to 3.6 years) and eight Hindi speaking children, Anurag, Sruti, Upasana, Peeyush, Nutan, Rakhee, Manukant and Vikrant. The Hindi data are taken from Sharma's doctoral thesis (1974). Her study is a combination of longitudinal and cross-sectional methods, involving children from one to five years. Sharma has listed the forms present at each age group and has not given them separately for each of the children. We will, therefore,

give the Hindi examples without the names of the children but will indicate the age at which such forms are found to exist.

Assimilation for place of articulation : Two of the six assimilatory processes given by Ingram, viz., velar assimilation and labial assimilation are assimilation of consonants for place. Notice that while Ingram speaks of velar assimilation and labial assimilation there is no such rule as dental assimilation.

Smith (1973) in his case study of the phonological acquisition of his son Amahl mentions the following two rules for the assimilation of consonants for place of articulation :

1. "Non nasal, alveolar and palato-alveolar consonants harmonise to the point of articulation of a preceding velar" (Smith, 1973: 19).

e. g. cloth → gɔk
 good → gug
 glasses → ga:gi

2. "Alveolar and palato-alveolar consonants harmonise to the point of articulation of a following consonant obligatorily if that consonant is velar, optionally if it is bilabial" (Smith, 1973: 20).

e. g. dark → ga:k
 stuck → gʌk
 stop → bɔp ~ dɔp

Notice that in both of these rules leading to consonant harmony the assimilated sounds belong to alveolar and palatal series and the assimilating sound is either velar or bilabial.

Menn (1972) points out the existence of two patterns of assimilation operating in C_1VC_2 syllables in the speech of Daniel Menn. In one pattern C_1 gets assimilated to C_2 . As will be clear from the following examples given by Menn C_2 can be labial, dental or velar and accordingly could be characterized as labialization, dentalization, or velarization.

e. g. duck → gʌk
 book → guk
 tab → bab
 boot → dut

The other pattern of assimilation, according to Menn, is based upon a strength hierarchy of consonants. A consonant which

is 'weaker' becomes homorganic to a 'stronger' one and the major positions in order of increasing strength, according to Menn, are dental, labial, and velar. This means that velar never gets assimilated and that dentals assimilate to velars or labials and labials assimilate to dentals only rarely. Examples for the second type of assimilation are :

stock → g_Δk
 top → b_ɔp
 boot → b_up
 bread → b_Δb

Our observation of the assimilatory processes in the speech of Indian children shows that in a word with two consonants the bilabial and velar consonants tend to be assimilated to a dental one irrespective of whether the latter is in the C₁ position or C₂ position. This will be clear from an examination of the following examples:

Name of the Child	Child's form	Model	Meaning	
Chetan	daati	b _ɔ T _μ l	bottle	
„	diteti	bisket	biscuit	
„	tayti	saykil	cycle	
„	tiddi	kiDDi	kiddy	
Swati	taata tettu	paaTa PeTTu	play the song	
„	tinna	kinda	below	
„	tinni	pinni	aunt	
„	tattaani	baThaaNi	peas	
Pavan Kumar	deedaa	Deegaa	vulture	
Data from Hindi	13 months to 24	daadaa	dhaagaa	thread
	25 months to 36 months	danni totaa tittaa	kanghi caukaa chilkaa	comb kitchen peeling

It should be made clear here that it is not the case that at the time when velar and bilabial sounds are made to assimilate to the dentals the child has only dental sounds in his repertoire. For instance, both Chetan and Swati who showed several examples of dental assimilation had in their speech bilabial, dental, and velar sounds at a stage when the assimilatory rule in question was operative as can be observed from the presence of the following forms in their speech.

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Chetan	paa	paal	milk
„	aat μ	aac μ	it is over
„	aagi	(no model)	song
„	adi	adi	that
Swati	akkaya	akkaDa	there
„	poonaam	poodaam	let us go
„	atta	roTTe	roti
„	oppu	noppi	pain

The widespread use of dentalization by the Indian children does not rule out velar and bilabial assimilation from the speech of these children. For example, Chetan had velar assimilation in his speech as in *anuraag* \rightarrow *anugaag* 'name of a boy' or *kaafii* \rightarrow *kaakii* 'coffee'. Similarly Swati had velar assimilation in *Dankaa* \rightarrow *kankaa* 'drum' and our data from Hindi show *caaklet* \rightarrow *kaaket*. What seems to be true is that children in the early stages of language development prefer both C₁ and C₂ of a C₁VC₂ word to have the same position of articulation whether they are bilabial, dental, or velar. There seems to be no justification in listing velarization and labialization alone as common assimilatory processes to the exclusion of dental assimilation.

Nasal harmony : Another assimilatory process found to operate very commonly in the speech of the Indian children is nasal harmony by which a non-nasal consonant either assimilates to the nasal completely or acquires nasality. Ingram's list of assimilatory processes does not include this.

Smith has noted nasal harmony to operate marginally in his child's language. "In some cases a continuant consonant preceded by a nasal and vowel itself becomes a nasal" (Smith, 1973:15) e. g. *noisy* \rightarrow *no:imi*. . But he points out "This rule is somewhat marginal as there are just as many cases where it does not apply as where it does." (p. 15)

Nasal harmony seems to be a major process of assimilation in the speech of the Indian children as could be seen from the following data:

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Chetan	mānaa	pu:nəe	cat
„	nanni	taNni	water
„	nammu	tammu	a boy's name
„	naamanaaw	raamaraaw	name of a person
Swati	namanaa	ramaNaa	name of a person
„	naamulu	raamulu	name of a person
„	poonaam	poodaam	let us go
Madhavi	miina	miida	up
Data from Hindi	naanaa	gaanaa	song
10 to 12 months	manin	baniyan	banian
13 to 24 months	duunan	cuuran	medicine in the form of powder
	manduk	banduk	gun
	banan	baTan	button

An examination of the forms given above shows that unlike the case study taken by Smith, nasal assimilation affects not only continuants but also non-continuants. Further, the nasal can assimilate either the preceding consonant as in *pūmaa* → *mānaa*, *poodaam* → *poonaam* or the following one as in *kumaar* → *kumaan*, *miida* → *miina*.

Voice assimilation : Yet another assimilation found to operate commonly in the case of the Indian children but not included in Ingram's list as a general process, is the assimilation of consonants for the voicing or the lack of it. At a particular stage in child language there seems to be present a constraint which dictates that all consonants in a word should be either [+voice] or [-voice]. Examine the following forms :

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Chetan	pukku	bukku	book
„	puTTi	buTTi	basket
„	kiitu	giitu	name of a child
„	kæec	glæes	glass
Swati	kuukaa	guurkhaa	a Gurkha watchman
„	taateetinni	daacesindi	she hid it

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Pavan Kumar	bedda	pedda	big
„	bamoodanna	pamoodanna	brother
			Pramod
Hindi data 13to24 months	pēc	bhāis	buffalo
	taatar	DaakTar	doctor
	takhan	Dhakkan	a lid
25 to 36 months	kunkuru	ghunghuru	bells tied around the ankles while dancing
	kañcaa	gañje	a bald person

In this regard it is interesting to note the development of the word for *sabbu* 'soap' in Chetan's language. The word was first rendered by him as *taapu* i.e. with both consonants being voiceless. In the next stage the word became *dabbu* alternating also with *tabbu*. After a brief period it got settled as *tabbu* and after quite some time it changed to *šabbu* which is where it stands today.

This tendency to maintain harmony among consonants with regard to the feature of voicing is also discernible from the substitution pattern that a child has for certain consonants. For example, an affricate /j/ of the adult model was substituted by Chetan by both /t/ and /d/, but /t/ was used only in voiceless context and /d/ in voiced context. For example, *jokar* → *tokar* 'joker' but *bajji* → *baddi* 'a snack'. Similarly he substituted /r/ by a /t/ in voiceless context and by /d/ in a voiced context. For example, *roTTi* → *totti* 'roti' *rottō* → *tattō* 'blood', but *rabbar* → *dabbar* 'rubber'. Similarly in Sharma's data for Hindi we have examples in which a child substituted /t/ for /c/, but by a /d/ in voiced context. For example, *acaar* → *ataar* 'pickle' but *caDDi* → *daddi* 'underwear'.

Vowel harmony: Compared with consonant harmony, instances of vowel harmony in the children under study were very rare. The following are a few examples found in the speech of our children :

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Chetan	piitii	puucii	insect
Swati	taatinni	taagutundi	she or it is drinking
„	atta	roTTe	roti
„	oppu	noppi	pain
Kalyani	icciim	ayskriim	ice cream

Nasalization of vowel : Ingram has listed nasalization of a preceding vowel due to the following nasal consonant as one of the common assimilatory processes found in child language. Our observation of Indian children also confirms this.

For example,

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Chetan	āāti	aaNTii	aunt
„	pētil	pensil	pencil
Data from Hindi	pāā	paan	beetle leaf
„	āāti	aaNTii	aunt

But we also found some examples in which it is the vowel following the nasal consonant which gets nasalization and not the preceding one. For example,

Name of the child	Child's form	Model	Meaning
Chetan	akūū	ankul	uncle
Data from Hindi	paaī	paanii	water

Devoicing of final consonants : Two examples involving this process were found in our Hindi data namely *balb* → *balp* 'bulb' and *dandh* → *dunt* 'milk'. In the case of the other children there were no examples available for this process which is understandable in the light of the fact that Tamil and Telugu do not allow obstruent consonants at the end of words. The only possible source for the occurrence of final voiced obstruents in these children's speech is the English words. But at least in one child's case, all English words ending in voiced obstruents were changed into vowel ending words by the addition of a vowel at the end. For example, Chetan's speech had the following words.

Child's form	Model	Meaning
bæti	bæT	bat
kaaku	keek	cake
duuti	juus	juice
doodu	rooD	road
fiji	frij	fridge

Prevocalic voicing of consonants : In the children taken for the present study there were no examples for this assimilatory process which Ingram has included as one of the common processes.

Assimilation of consonantal cluster : An examination of consonantal clusters in the speech of Indian children showed a very consistent and regular pattern and therefore it is worthwhile to discuss these in a somewhat detailed manner.

While initial clusters were simplified by these children by dropping one or the other member of a cluster, e.g. *prasanna* → *pacanna* 'name of a girl' (Chetan), *skuul* → *kuul* 'school' (Chetan), *prasaadam* → *pesaadam* 'offerings made to God', (Madhavi), *sravanti* → *tavanti* 'name of a girl' (Pavan Kumar), medial clusters were subjected to assimilatory changes. The following list includes the type of assimilatory changes in the speech of these children.

Type of change	Name of the child	Child's form	Adult form	Meaning
stop + liquid → stop + stop				
tr → tt	Swati	taatte	raatre	in the night itself
dr → dd	Kalyani	samuddam	samudram	ocean
Tr → T' or tt	Chetan	peT'Tool	peT'ool	petrol
	Data from Hindi	pittool	piT'ool	petrol
kr → kk	Data from Hindi	bakki	bakri	goat
	Pavan Kumar	cakkam	cakram	wheel
gr → gg	Data from Hindi	tiggeet	sigreet	cigarette
stop + flap → stop + stop pR → pp	Chetan	ippi	ipRi	like this

Nasal + stop
 → nasal + nasal
 nd → nn

Chetan kinna kinda below

Swati tinna kinda below

Data from Hindi ganne gande dirty

Swati unnu UnDu wait

ND → nn

ng → nn

Data from Hindi danni kanghi comb
 ,, annur anguur grapes

sibilant + stop
 → stop + stop
 st → tt

Chetan poRuttaa poRusta I will poke it

Pavan Kumar poottaaru poostaaru they will pour

Swati tuuttaa cuustaa I will sec
 Kalyani ippulottaa ippuRostaa I will come just now

Chetan dattar DasTar duster

Madhavi buuttu buusTuu Boost, a food drink

Data from Hindi ittshan isTeshan station

ʂT → tt

ST → TT	Chetan	kaT'Tam	kaSTam	difficulty
	Kalyani	kiT'Tabaabaay	kiSTA baabaayi	uncle kiSTA (a name)
sk → kk	Data from Hindi	ikkit	biskiT	biscuit
Trill + stop → stop + stop				
fɸ → pp	Kalyani	sappam	sarpam	snake
	Data from Hindi	kuppi	kurpi	an instrument for digging the earth
rt → tt	Data from Hindi	buttaa	bhurtaa	chutney
rd → dd	Data from Hindi	paddaa	pardaa	curtain
	Chetan	evaddi	evardi	whose
rc → cc	Chetan	kucc i	kurci	chair
rj → jj	Data from Hindi	dajji	darji	tailor
rk → kk	Chetan	ikku	irkμ	it is
flap + stop → stop + stop				
	Data from Hindi	lakki	laRki	girl

Lateral + stop → Stop + stop ld → dd	Data from Hindi	daddi	jaldi	quickly
stop + nasal → nasal + nasal	Data from Hindi	aammi	aadmi	man
Sibilant + nasal → nasal + nasal	Data from Hindi	kimmic	kishmish	dried grapes
Trill + nasal → nasal + nasal	Data from Hindi	gammi	garmi	heat
Nasal + lateral → nasal + nasal	Data from Hindi	immi	imli	tamarind
Trill + lateral → lateral + lateral				
rl → ll	Kalyani	kaallo	kaarlo	in the car

The pattern of assimilation found in the speech of these children can be accounted for by setting up a hierarchy of order among the consonants as given below :

- (1) Nasal
- (2) Stop
- (3) Affricate
- (4) Fricative
- (5) Lateral
- (6) Flap / Trill

In a sequence of consonants, assimilation will be towards a sound which occupies a higher position in the hierarchy. Thus,

nasal + stop → nasal + nasal
 stop + trill → stop + stop
 trill + stop → stop + stop, etc.

Except for the nasals, the hierarchy given above coincides with the order of acquisition of consonants by children. For example, Jakobson points out that "the first consonantal opposition is that of nasal and oral stop (Jakobson, 1968 : 48). Similarly, "the acquisition of fricatives presupposes the acquisition of stops in child language" (Jakobson, 1968 : 51). Similarly the acquisition of fricative, lateral, flap, and trill followed that of stops in all these children.

To conclude, a study of assimilatory changes in Indian children brings to light certain common type, of assimilatory processes which are phonotically quite plausible but did not find a place in the list of common type of assimilatory processes given by Ingram. Two such assimilatory changes are :

- (1) Nasal assimilation of consonants by which a non-nasal consonant gets nasalized due to a nasal consonant in the neighbouring syllable.
- (2) Voice assimilation whereby in a word with C_1 and C_2 both the consonants must agree for the feature of voicing.

Our study also shows that there is a third widespread assimilatory process by which C_1 and C_2 in a word harmonise for place of articulation. This assimilatory change can affect bilabial, dental, and velar sounds equally. Therefore there is no need for us to specify velarization and labialization alone as typical assimilatory processes of child language.

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**TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF
'SOCIO-LINGUISTICS'**

A. BAPUJI

This paper is an attempt to give an integrated understanding of the language-society relationship and to project a theory which looks at Social process as a historical process under constant change that can explain the complexity of movement between socio-cultural mediations and psychological perceptions and the linguistic expressions. A diagrammatic representation of the theoretical exposition, which sums up the present approach to the question of sociolinguistics, is also given.

That language is a social phenomenon and there exists a close inter-relationship between language and society¹ is more of an aphorism expressed by linguists and language experts than of a prognosis arrived at after a careful analysis of the subject. The situation is aptly summed up by Hymes (1972) :

“There is as yet no body of systematic knowledge and theory. There is not even agreement on a mode of description of language, in interaction with social life, one which, being explicit and of standard form, could facilitate development of knowledge and theory through studies that are full and comparable. There is not even agreement on the desirability or necessity of such a mode of description”.²

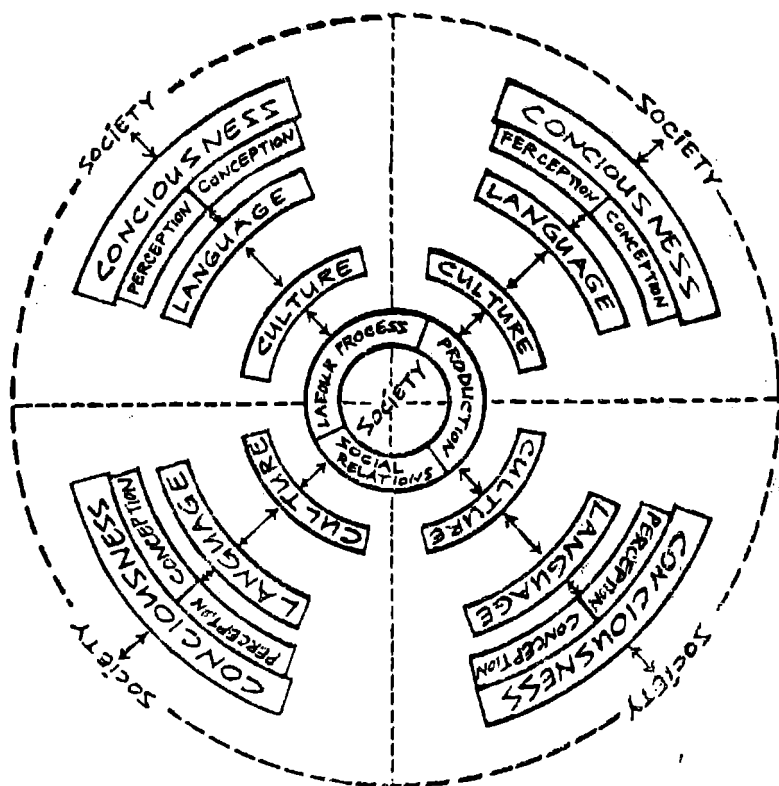
Though the realization is widespread that the study of a language without reference to its ‘social context’ leads inevitably, to “the loss of opportunities for further theoretical progress”³ the term ‘socio-linguistics’ is very often understood either as the ‘sociology of language’,⁴ or as just one of the branches in the study of linguistics.⁵ In the former, it is meant to be one of the approaches borrowed, more often than not, from the discipline of sociology or more precisely, the functional or behaviourist technique.⁶ In the latter, it is an attempt to emphasise on the social and cultural content of a given language behaviour. In both the cases, one discerns a failure to formulate an integrated theory that explains the social process of which the language behaviour is an inextricable element.

It is not being suggested that the problem is not felt and confronted by linguists but that the problem is not posed in a scientific spirit. While it is recognised that linguistics is a science, i.e., there are rules and laws that govern a language, no such realization is sought for when an attempt to build a concept of society (hence of sociolinguistics) is made. It can be said without any shade of doubt that the disproval of biological and geographical determinism of language change and the acceptance of social determinism is a big leap forward in the progress of linguistic theory. However, such determinism focuses the attention on a one way mechanical process and has less emphasis on the interconnection and interaction between the two.

Halliday (1972), perhaps, makes a departure from this understanding when he says that "language is controlled by the social structure and the social structure is maintained and transmitted through language".⁷ Proceeding in this direction, Khubchandani (1973) has tried to describe this inseparable relationship by characterizing language itself as a "social institution" and as "distinctive complex of social actions". He very aptly criticises the formalists who try to explain language behaviour on a unilateral cognition track, according to some given static rules operating in isolation. However, he also realizes the limited progress that has been made in the social aspect of linguistics studies, the (one) significant exception being the stratificational approach.⁸ Taking the clue from these definitions, we would state our position in the following manner.⁹

Language is primarily an instrument of thought. The process of thinking and the power of thought are inseparable from language. The formation of ideas and the exchange of ideas are impossible without a language. It is by means of words and combination of words into sentences that a given reality is reproduced in thoughts. Language is, therefore, as Marx would call, 'practical consciousness'. Like consciousness, language arises from the need of intercourse with other men, hence, from the beginning, it is a 'social product'. Though it belongs to the realm of psychology, it is social in the sense that psychology itself is determined by life, i.e. man's activity in the society, and what is expressed through language is the level of consciousness and perception of social reality. Consciousness and ideas have no separate existence from society, and language is the bodily form of the expression of these ideas. The use of language originates and develops from the 'social activity of man, as product and instrument, in the first place of social labour. Social labour is man's productive activity, of his cooperation with other human beings in the process of social production. This is what gives language the character of an instrument for social communication and exchange of ideas. The words and grammatical rules of language must always satisfy the common requirements of what is to be expressed in language, which are objective requirements independent of the particular convention of particular languages'. Language, therefore, is not merely a set of rules, and laws as a 'linguist' would claim it, but is the practical form of thought whose content is the perceptions about and conceptions of social reality.¹⁰ A diagrammatic representation of society-language relationship is given on the following page.

This diagram is only an approximate representation of society-language relationship. Society is here shown to permeate the entirety of the process for in our conception there is no dualistic



separation, but only a conceptual separation between the material or production level and the cultural and consciousness level. This is because we see culture itself as an aspect and articulation of the society; the consciousness (here language as the bodily form of consciousness) itself as a mode of being. Only from this stand point language is a social institution i.e. expression or articulation of perception or conception of society.

For conceptual clarity, culture, here should be understood as the sum of social customs and symbols in a given society. This preliminary delimitation of the concept is essential, because this is what mediates between the material process and the psychological process. By consciousness, we mean man's perception and articulation and his capacity to relate himself to the society through the cultural medium of a given epoch. Language, therefore, as the bodily form of this aspect of the process is diagrammatically situated between consciousness and culture.

Moreover, these perceptions are not just a mechanical reflection of the society or its labour and production process but are mediated through complex structures of culture and psychological processes. Consequently, the forms of expression of these psychological perceptions of social reality have no direct correlation with any given single element or what the sociologists term as social 'factor' or 'factors'. Therefore, any attempt to emphasize a particular aspect of language determinism meets with the criticism of neglect of other 'factors'.¹¹ Such a criticism becomes circular and fails to analyse the phenomenon under study. This is due to a lack of method that looks at society, culture etc., as historically changing and conditioned concepts of concrete reality.¹² It is only a theory which looks at social process as a historical process and under constant change that can explain the complexity of movement between sociocultural mediations and psychological perceptions and the linguistic expressions. It is our proposition that language behaviour, being part of this historically changing social process, originates, evolves, develops, or stagnates and even dies in and through specific and combined forms of historic conditions.

Thus Ludwig Noire has shown that "common activity directed at common aim, the primeval work of our common ancestors were the sources from which language and rational life sprang"¹³ out of the need for not just individual's effort to communicate with another individual, but 'for the organization of society as a whole'. He even goes to the extent of characterizing the phoneme, originally, as 'the expression, accompanying common activity, of heightened social feeling'. As the division of labour developed and the laws of motion of society began to act in specific combinations to increase the complexity of social structure, the forms of linguistic expressions evolved according to the needs of the organization of social existence in an economic, social, and cultural sense. However, the origin and development of a language had, apart from historical time, a spatial dimension too. This specific combination of historical time and space goes to explain the existence of not one but many languages. Depending on the specific combination and character of these forces, these languages attain distinctive vocabulary, grammar, and syntax of their own. The method of lexico-statistics (i.e. the technique which helps linguistics to find out dates for the earlier stages of languages) and the comparative method (i. e. the tool for reconstructing pre-historic linguistic data) have helped us determine the origin and nature of the proto-languages and the subsequent branching off. However, the study of a language in its totality cannot be divorced from the history of that language. Such a study would be not only to locate the dates in its chronology but also to attempt to relate it to the civilization of the time. One could not agree more with Slama-

Cazacu's contention that this method should be conceived as one in which all data and interpretations of speech behaviour ought to be related to the course of action (historical process) which is in constant development during the development of a language. (as in Dittmar, 1976). Thus the multiplicity of languages, either in their origin or the later branching off into daughter languages cannot be explained except by grasping the historical process working behind these mutations.

It is an established fact of history that in the past the social necessity of various communities to leave their places of settlement and migrate all over the globe and the resulting separation, isolation and interaction led to the development of different speech communities, which, hitherto belonged to one parent language. The social necessity that drove them to this new formation is generally believed to be the increase in population and the development of agriculture and division of labour and the exchange of communities among the early communities. This approach also holds water in analysing the related and specific problems like development of a language in terms of the increase in its vocabulary, modification of grammar, semantic changes, reforms in script, linguistic borrowing, etc. Behind these changes and transformation is the transformation that goes about in a civilization and the acquisition of culture by the society and its newly emerged classes. That the development of production and the corresponding emergence of classes, the rise of the state and its administration, the requirements of trade, technological changes, in the habits, customs, the development of arts and sciences have all gone into the transformation of language. A specific and closely related question needs to be posed here. Given the social transformation at a point of history, do all languages develop uniformly and to the same extent and degree? The answer is an emphatic 'No'. This is because of the uneven nature of the social development itself and the uneven nature of the perception of human beings. It is to be pointed out that there is no-one-to-one mechanical relationship in any process of development. Also there are contradictions in the process of development itself, which produces constraints of structural nature on the various elements of a given society of an uneven dimension.

The process of development not only includes the uneven growth of various elements but also the movement of these elements in a specific combination. Thus both the elements of backwardness and progress combine together in concrete, specific correlation in the historic process. Uneven and combined development is one of the fundamental laws of human history. The contradictions and the structural constraints are the result of the operation of this very same law. Therefore, it is correct in a

general sense, to say that there is a general correlation between social development and language development. However, this correlation needs to be applied with caution when a specific case needs tackling. A generalization is valid only when its specificity in operation is properly analysed and determined.

Many instances from history can be cited to show the nature of the structural constraints on the development of a language. In the middle ages, the Catholic church which was the legitimizing agency of the rule of the nobility, fought against the use of the Vernacular Italian¹⁴ and for the preservation of Latin as the 'universal' language, since this was a key element in its own intellectual hegemony; hence of the hegemony of the ruling classes. This obstructed the development of a script for Italian, consequently robbed it of its growing vocabulary. The constraints were removed only with the flowering of the Communes and the emergence of a Princely regime at the fall of these Communes and the emergence of Princely regime at the fall of these Communes resulting in the Italian (Florentine) dialect becoming a literary language under the official patronage to defeat Latin and reduce it to a minority status. Having acquired the status of the language of the new Italian nation State, Italian in its turn acted as a constraint on any further development of Latin. (Gramsci *op. cit.* Hertzler *op. cit.*)

In our own times, (19th and early 20th century), the dominance of the Russian speaking nationality over the various state apparatus (which were the controlling organs in the hands of the Russian landed aristocracy) resulted in the monstrous national oppression, manifesting itself in the form of 'forced' and 'artificial' implanting of Russian language on other linguistic nationalities and the forcible suppression of their original languages. (Lenin 1964: *Passim*). Nearer home, we have the example of pre-1948 Hyderabad State, where the dominance of a minority 'Urdu elite' in the State apparatus, resulted if not in a forcible imposition of Urdu language, a kind of national oppression of discouraging the development of the other majority languages viz., Telugu, Marathi, and Kannada, through its policies of discrimination and mal-treatment. (Hanumantha Rao, 1949; Date, 1952; Harinath, 1979.¹⁵)

In these cases, language as an attribute of nationality (a pre-capitalist community) bore the brunt of oppression of an oppressive state dominated by functionaries serving the interests of the ruling classes. The politics of the classes in war with each other played the dominant role in the suppression of a language, which otherwise had all the potentialities of development. These needed a socio-political solution, viz., the assertion of right of self-deter-

mination of nationalities and fighting the oppressive state by the oppressed, and not purely a linguistic one.

If in the past (ancient and medieval times) the tendency has been one of emergence of new languages and widespread internal linguistic diversity in one and the same language; in the modern age, especially since the advent and universal penetration of capitalism, the tendency has been one of reduction of certain languages to the status of Classical languages and disappearance of certain tribal languages and finally the process of standardization (Dasgupta, 1970) among certain languages. The first two and the last one are the two aspects of the same process. More often than not the 'new standard languages destroyed the dominance of Classical languages'. On a closer observation, this is not just a linguistic process but predominantly a social one. The social transformation has thoroughly effected a change not only in the sense of transformation of language but also the functional (sociocultural) aspect of these languages. The Classical languages under the changed social conditions retain the only ornamental function of usage on special occasions. The tribal languages, depending on the circumstances cease to have any utility as instruments of new socio-cultural communication. The standard language, by centralizing the various dialects, serves the new social requirement and attains the status of the dominant language.

The questions of standardization and standard languages have drawn much attention in the modern times owing to this predominantly socio-cultural dimension and importance. The very understanding of this question is based on facts which are social rather than purely linguistic. The definitions galore puts the emphasis on the 'acceptance' by a 'larger' speech community the 'established usage' 'social establishment and social valuation' 'legitimized' 'on the strength of the interests of the dominant forces in that society', by the socio-political motivation 'political situations, intellectual initiatives, forms of national consciousness and language loyalty'. Linguistically speaking a standard language has come to be understood as 'a matter of approximate uniformity of vocabulary, regularity of syntax, similarity of pronunciation and uniformity of meaning of terms used'. (Hertzler *op. cit.*) How does one try to explain these two levels of description in an integrated manner? It is an indisputable fact that no language has any intrinsic linguistic qualities or properties to become a standard language. The question of how a given dialect attains the status of standard language, therefore, cannot be explained in terms of linguistic evolution (in a technical sense). As Krishnamurti (1976 :1) puts it, 'a complex pattern of social values is projected on to linguistic usage to provide a judgement as to its validation or invalidation and this is

represented as though the judgement is basically linguistic'. The attainment of the status of a standard language can only be explained in terms of the socio-cultural recognition and acceptance at a historical juncture. A standard language evolves through a process of determination 'by specific types of social conditions prevailing in each country, although these different types usually combine in a particular way in each instance'. Thus it may arise from 'some favoured dialect or local language of the area or from the language forms of a social class or the language of a conquering people', depending on the specific processes operating in each case.

It is a generally accepted fact that at the structural level of a society's development the centralizing process in the economy also facilitates the uniformity and centralization in the sphere of human communication (hence standardization) through such institutional apparatus like education, mass communication media, governmental patronage, etc. The extent and degree of this standardization is dependent on the effectivity and the persuasive character of the combination of socio-cultural and political drives effected on the minds of the people, for in the ultimate analysis, it is the widespread, conscious, democratic acceptance by the people who speak the language that gives it the character of a standard language. Much depends on the cultural advance of the various classes in the society. Many times, the creation of such conditions requires a democratic political solution. The forces ranged against standardization are specific to each situation and a solution adopted at one place need not be the key to a solution elsewhere. The forces that attach themselves to the process of identity to non-standard variety need careful handling and the diagnosis of the problem and the solution may very well be left to the policy makers. However, Sociolinguists can be of great importance and help in analysing the specific processes at work. This is where the function of concepts of scientific vigour becomes all the more important, because the concepts so used are not concepts operating in vacuum but are of a given reality. To grasp this concreteness, the abstraction needs to be scientific, the method has to be historical. The concepts of economy, social class, state, culture, consciousness, and of language should be units of analysis of a dialectical unity and any attempt to individualize them or to reduce them to deterministic mechanics should be thoroughly checked. While all attempts to present an integrated picture of Socio-linguistics should be welcome, any attempt to undermine the relationship between language and society should be thoroughly discouraged. Everything is not social in linguistics, the rules and laws of language cannot be reduced to social categories.¹⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. See Friedrich (1966), Trudgill (1974), and Hertzler (1972). This particular idea is seen scattered all over. At times it takes the form of a perceptive statement. But as an analytical category it has little correlative content in it.

2. This dilemma is also expressed by others; e. g. Friedrich *op. cit.*, Trudgill *op. cit.*

3. See Trudgill *op. cit.* p. 32. This realization springs from the recognition of the variability of language phenomenon, society being one of the causes of such variability.

4. See Labov (1964) and (1971).

5. For such an understanding see Labov (1964) and Labov (1971). In this connection, it is important to quote the following significant observation (of Kanngiesser) which comes nearer to the kind of hypothesis we intend to put forward (cf. Dittmar, 1976).

"Linguistics...is ... *ipso facto* also 'Sociolinguistics', for like all behaviour linguistic behaviour takes place in a social context ...Accordingly, Linguistics cannot have any special subdiscipline called 'socio-linguistics'".

6. See Trudgill *op. cit.* p. 33. Also, Labov's study (1966) can be approximately characterized as one. For a critique that shows the limitations of this technique, see Dittmar (1976).

7. A much more rigorous and inclusive definition has been given by the Italian Philosopher, Antonio Gramsci. He says: "Language is a condition and instrument, a cause and an effect of Sociability". (Gramsci: 1973).

8. The credit goes to Labov (1966) for this healthy departure.

9. We base our understanding on the theoretical writings of the following authors: Cornforth (1976: 334); Hertzler (1972: 42-3); Thomson (1972: Ch. 1 'Speech and Thought')

10. Gramsci *op. cit.* tells us that language is not rules and grammar but is a body of notions and impressions about society.

11. Antal's (1971) brilliant critique of the transformationalist approach as one that completely neglects the social nature of language is a case in point. Thus, Dittmar (1976) blames generative grammar for its total concentration on the 'intuitionist' description of what

are usually called 'idiolects'... and its neglect of group-specific linguistic behaviour in correlation with social norms".

12. For an elaborate explanation of such a method see Bottmore and Rubel (ed) (1975).

13. Cornforth (1976: 174) says: "The development of speech is an essential part of the development of labour".

14. For a brilliant scientific exposition of this historical process, see Gramsci *op. cit.* p. 131. For a similar analogy from France and England, see Hertzler p. 188.

15. Based on author's interview with Mr. Gopalrao Ekbote, Ex-Minister for Education, Government of Hyderabad State.

16. As Fredrick Engels (1975: 395) wrote: "...It will hardly be possible for anyone without being ridiculous to explain, in terms of economics, the origin of the High-German alternation of consonants".

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A NOTE ON TULU TENSE FORMS

A. USHA DEVI

An attempt to suggest a new interpretation of Tulu tense formation is the focus of this paper. The data are drawn from the paper "Verb morphology of Common Tulu" by B. Ramachandra Rao (1968). The following paper brings out the parallelism between the allomorphs of past and non-past tenses and the similarity of morphological make-up between distant past and present-future. Though there remain certain unsolved problems, the paper tries to propose some generalizations which are applicable to other South Dravidian languages in general, and to Tulu in particular.

B. Ramachandra Rao (hereafter B. R.), in his paper "Verb Morphology of Common Tulu" (1968) describes the verbs of Tulu, a Dravidian language.¹ The major tense categories of Tulu are past and non-past. Past tense has two types: immediate past and distant past; and non-past also has two types, future and present-future. B. R. classifies the verbs into four classes, of which the first three are based on certain morphological regularities. The fourth one is used as a 'waste paper basket' to throw all the rest of the verbs (about 16 or 17 verbs out of more than 400 collected), which do not fit into any one of the other three classes. These verbs, which do not have regular alternation with other categories, deserve special attention.

In this paper, I am principally concerned with restating the analysis of B. R.'s paper, though the available data are very limited to allow for any generalizations. The present paper attempts to suggest a new interpretation which might be a step in the right direction. I, however, would like to confine my analysis only to that part which deals with past and non-past verbs, including negatives, for which extensive and detailed data are given in B. R.'s paper.

Tulu verb, like all other Dravidian languages, consists of Root + Tense / Aspect + Person suffix in that order. The fact that all the verbs have all the syllabic structures, suggests that syllable structure does not have any implications in the classification, though we might understand from the data that class II and III verbs have vowel endings. (But this does not contribute anything to the problem). B. R.'s classification of the verb-root is as follows:

Class I:— (a) Class I verbs take the suffix *-pu* to form their II person singular imperative forms. (b) In non-past verbs the suffix *-p(u)* is retained as part of the stem; but it has no special function; e.g. *kaal-p-u-vE* 'I am learning.' (c) The immediate past stems are formed by adding the suffix *-t* to the roots. (d) the distant past

(i. e. perfect) and immediate past stems of these roots themselves function as past participles : e. g. *kal-ti*, *kal-tidi* 'having learnt' etc.

Classes II and III:— (a) These verbs do not add any suffix to form II person singular imperatives. (b) The immediate past tense stems are followed by adding the morph *-y-*. The two classes are distinguished because of two reasons : (i) they differ in the surface representation of distant past marker. (ii) While class III verbs themselves function as participles, class II verbs derive the past participles by voicing the distant past marker *-t-*.

Since class IV verbs are all irregular and very few, they are treated as exceptions and the present paper does not take them into consideration.

The remaining three classes are :

Class I

kal- 'to learn'

Immediate past		Distant past	
kal-t-E	'I learnt'	kal-t̄id-E	
kal-t-a	'You (sg.) learnt'	kal-t̄id-a	
kal-t-e	'he learnt'	kal-t̄id-e	
Future		Present Future	
kal-p-E	'I will learn'	kal-puv-E	'I am learning'
kal-p-a	'You (sg.) will learn'	kal-puv-a	'You (sg.) are learning'
kal-p-e	'He will learn'	kal-puv-e	'He is learning'

Class II

agi- 'to chew'

Immediate past		Distant past	
agi-y-E	'I chewed'	agi-t-E	
agi-y-a	'You (sg.) chewed'	agi-t-a	
agi-y-e	'he chewed'	agi-t-e	

Future

Present Future

aga-v-E	'I will chew'	agi-p-E	'I am chewing'
agii-v-a	'You (sg.) will chew'	agi-p-a	'You (sg.) are chewing'
agi-v-e	'He will chew'	agi-p-e	'he is chewing'

Class III

tāngi- 'to support'

Immediate past

Distant past

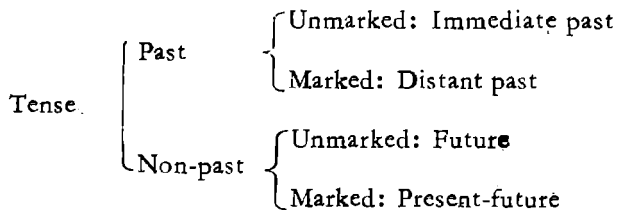
tāngi-y-E	'I supported'	tāngi-d-E
tāngi-y-a	'You (sg.) supported'	tāngi-d-a
tāngi-y-c	'he supported'	tāngi-d-e

Future

Present Future

tāngi-v-E	'I will support'	tāngi-b-E	'I am supporting'
tāngi-v-a	'You (sg.) will support'	tāngi-b-a	'You (sg.) are supporting'
tāngi-v-e	'he will support'	tāngi-b-e	'he is supporting'

Though B. R. has given the paradigms as immediate versus distant past, and present-future versus future, he seems to have ignored the parallelisms that exist between past and non-past in the distribution of allomorphs. We can interpret the tense, by utilizing the markedness concept, in the following way: marked tense category has a complex morphological source, (which can be seen in class I verbs), while unmarked tense has a simple source. Thus :



Class I markers :

-t- -t id- -p- -puy-

The tense markers of these forms in various classes are:

	Class I	Class II	Class III
Immediate past	-t-	-y-	-y-
Distant past	-tid-	-t-	-d-
Future	-p-	-v-	-v-
Pres-future	-puv-	-p-	-b-

The immediate past tense marker in class I is -t- which alternates with -y- in class II and III. Similarly the future marker of class I -p- alternates with -v-. Phonologically -p- changing to -v- is possible in Dravidian languages but there are no indications of -t- changing to -y-.²

The controversy whether $t \sim y$ alternation is conditioned phonologically or morphologically, does not in any way, affect the present discussion; therefore the problem is not dealt in this paper. But as there is no controversy in $p \sim v$ alternation (even historically) the writer makes use of the same even for $t \sim y$ to capture a generalization. If we first accept this, we can take one of them as underlying tense marker for each of past and non-past and then the changes can be explained in the following way.

Thus in the underlying structure we can postulate *-t- as past tense marker and *-p- as non-past marker. Complex morphological structures are derived by the repetition of the same marker to the unmarked derived stems.

Class I:	Underlying Representation	Surface appearance
Immediate past	*kal-t-E	kaltE
Future	*kal-p-E	kalpE
Distant past	*kal-t-t-E	kaltidE but not *kaltE
Present Future	*kal-p-p-E	kalpuvE but not *kalpE

Dravidian languages usually do not permit a sequence of three consonant clusters, (CCC), though they allow two consonant clusters. Therefore for the underlying form like *kal-t-t-E, or *kal-p-p-E, the correct surface forms must be delivered. In the above sequence, there can operate two types of rules: (a) one of the consonants may get dropped (b) or it has to find a new process so as to have all the three consonants. Root final consonant cannot be dropped, since it affects the structure of the

morpheme which may result in forms that either may not exist in the language, or may not give the intended meaning. Thus, there should be either geminate reduction ($tt \rightarrow t$) or some other process. $cc \rightarrow c$ is not a new process in the language, but it cannot operate here since it creates the same paradigms of immediate past and future forms as given above, which are incorrect forms (i.e. $*kal-t-t-E \rightarrow *kal-t-E$; $*kal-p-p-E \rightarrow *kal-p-E$ by which the contrast between the tenses is lost). To maintain the grammatical differences, the language makes use of some other process, namely, the process of inserting a vowel between the clusters. This type of vowel insertion is also called 'vowel epenthesis'. The epenthetic vowel is unpredictable in general, though many languages in the world make use of the process. The vowel which occurs thus in Tulu is -i, high back unrounded vowel.

$$R1 \quad \phi \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +high \\ +back \\ -round \end{array} \right] / \dots C \longrightarrow C$$

The other processes which are interrelated with the above process are :

$$R2 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ -voice \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[+voice \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +high \\ +back \\ -round \end{array} \right] -V$$

$$R3 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +high \\ +back \\ -round \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[+round \right] / \left[\begin{array}{c} C \\ +round \end{array} \right]$$

$$R4 \quad p \longrightarrow v / u \longrightarrow V$$

R5 $C_1 C_2 \longrightarrow C_1$ This rule applies when there is no need of Rule 1. (CC need not be identical)

These are the five rules that operate in the derivation of the three classes of Tulu verbs. They apply to the underlying forms whenever their structural conditions are fulfilled.

It must be remembered that these rules operate only after our recognition of $p \sim v$ and $t \sim y$ alternation in tense markers, as discussed above. Thus we may or may not have it as a rule. Since all the other rules follow it, we can have it as:

Ro $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{p} \\ \text{t} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{v} \\ \text{y} \end{array} \right]$ in class II and III of B. R.'s classification

The application of the rules .

Class I :

Immediate Past	Distant past	Future	Present future
kal-t-E	*kal-t-t-E	*kal-p-E	*kal-p-p-E
kalte	R1 kal-t-i-t-E	kalpĒ	R1 kal-p-i-p-E
	R2 kal-t-i-d-E		R2 inapplicable
	kaltidE		R3 kal-p-u-p-E
			R4 kalpuvĒ

Class II :

Immediate Past	Distant Past	Future	Present future
*par-t-E	*par-t-t-E	*par-p-E	*par-p-p-E
par-y-E	R1 inapplicable	Ro par-v-E	R1 inapplicable
Ro parye	R5 partĒ	parvE	R5 parpĒ

Class III :

Immediate Past	Distant Past	Future	Present future
*tāngi-t-E	*tāngi-t-t-E	*tāngi-p-E	*tāngi-p-p-E
Ro tāngiyE	R1 inapplicable	Ro tāngivĒ	R1 inapplicable
	R5 tāngi-t-E		R5 tāngi-p-E
	R2 tāngidE		R2 tāngibE

In class I forms of present future, the epenthetic vowel-i- which is inserted between the complex tense markers (*kal-p-i-p-E) is harmonized to the preceding consonant [p] gives way for B. R. to mistake it as the imperative suffix with no special function.

The present study tries to establish the similarities in the past and non-past tenses of the Tulu verb which can be generalised as simple derivations and complex derivations. However, the rule of vowel epenthesis can also be supported and justified from negative paradigms. As for example :

Negatives	Immediate Past	Distant Past
Class I	*kal-t-j-i R1 kal-t-ī-j-i kaltiji	*kal-t-t-j-i R1 kal-t-ī-d-ī-j-i kaltīdiji
Class II	*kor-t-j-i RO kor-y-j-i R5 kor-j-i korji	*kor-t-t-j-i R5 kor-t-j-i R1 kor-t-ī-j-i kortiji
Class III	*ardī-t-j-i RO ardī-y-j-i R5 ardī-j-i ardiji	*ardī-t-t-j-i R5 ardī-t-j-i R1 ardī-t-ī-j-i R2 ardī-d-ī-j-i ardīdiji

(In the future the negative marker is different, and is directly added to the forms).

	Future	Present Future
Class I	*kal-p-ay-E kalpayE	*kal-p-p-j-i R5 kal-p-j-i R1 kal-p-ī-j-i R3 kal-p-u-j-i kalpuji
Class II	*kor-ay-E korayE	*kor-p-p-j-i R5 kor-p-j-i R1 kor-p-ī-j-i R3 kor-p-u-j-i korpuji
Class III	*ard-ay-E ardayE	*ard-p-p-j-i R5 ard-p-j-i R1 ard-p-ī-j-i R3 ard-p-u-j-i R5 arduji

This paper cannot pretend to have solved the problems of Tulu verb morphology nor is it a radical proposal to explain everything. However, it pin-points the problems and thus tries to suggest a way in understanding certain aspects of the language better. This brings out the parallelism between the allomorphs of past and non-past and also between the way the distant past and present future forms are built. Typologically, Tulu comes closer to other Dravidian languages like Kōṇḍa, Pengo and Parji, in employing epenthetic vowel to separate the consonants of tense morphemes. Though epenthesis has enough justification from negative formations also, we still have to explain why only this process is selected among other available devices. This requires more careful and thorough investigation. This paper, the writer hopes, is at least a modest attempt in that direction.

FOOTNOTES

1. I would like to express my deep felt gratitude to Dr. B. Ramchandra Rao, Department of Kannada, Osmania University, who gave me not only his published article "Verb Morphology of Common Tulu" but also the unpublished data of Tulu verbs which he has collected for his own work. My thanks are also due to the teachers and students of the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, who participated in the discussion when the paper was presented in the Research Forum of the Department.

2. Professor Bh. Krishnamurti argues that they should be taken as morphologically conditioned and not phonologically conditioned. But the writer thinks that it may be possible even phonologically, for which she has a personal experience with a 2 1/2 year old child's speech, who called her aunt *Sita* as *Siya*. There is also another example of *Siyaram* for *Sitaram* in some dialects of Hindi.

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THE PLURAL MORPHEME IN ERUKALA LANGUAGE

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This paper deals with plural formation in Erukala, a less-known Dravidian speech. The plural allomorphs and their distributions are copiously illustrated within a structuralist framework. The data so presented can be reinterpreted through other models of description as well.

Erukala is a nomad tribe which permeates the length of the Indian peninsula. They are known by different names in different localities. They are known as Korava from extreme south to the north of the North Arcot district. In the Ceded Districts they become Erukala. They are also known as Koracha or Korcha.

In Andhra Pradesh they are called Erukavāṇḍlu or Korachavāṇḍlu. But they always speak of themselves as Kurru. In Telugu Erukavāṇḍlu would mean fortune-tellers.

The Erukalas in Warangal, from where my informants come, are known as 'Ōran Kurru', for they have settled down in the place unlike most of their tribe in other places who are nomads. Most of these Erukalas in Warangal are illiterates and speak Erukala language among themselves. But when they speak to others outside their community they speak in Telugu. A few that can be counted on fingers are working in white collar positions and they are the only educated ones. However some of the families are now sending their children to schools and colleges and are eager to take up jobs leaving their traditional occupations. Pig-rearing is the main occupation of Erukalas in this region.

The linguistic data elicited in Warangal shows a predominant influence of Telugu language. This seems to be the inevitable result of the assimilation of this minority community to the mainstream of the Telugu linguistic atmosphere around. From the collected linguistic corpus it also becomes clear that the slow and gradual assimilation of Erukala language to Telugu structures has affected even its basic vocabulary.

I have presented here some of the distinctive features relating to the plural morpheme in Erukala language. My attempt at it is based upon the linguistic data I have collected from three informants—two of whom are illiterates. Having cross-checked the linguistic data of the illiterates with that of the literate I have come to the conclusion that the assimilation process has proved

to be ineffectual as far as the grammatical structures of this language are concerned.

There is no gender distinction whatsoever in this language. Neither the grammatical gender nor the semantic gender plays any role in it. It is only the addition of the general terms meaning 'female' and 'male' that determine the gender of the nouns in this language.

geṇḍu nāyi	'dog (male)'
poṭa nāyi	'bitch'
esi gunṭa	'young lady'
esi gōḍo	'young man'

The neutralization of gender distinction is further carried into pronominal system. Hence the noun stems are inflected only for the categories of number and case.

There are two numbers, singular (denoting one) and plural (denoting more than one); the singular is unmarked unlike the plural. The place of the plural suffix (in a nominal form) is always immediately before a case suffix.

The plural morpheme in this language has five allomorphs: *māru*, *āye*, *e*, *ga*, and *-lu*. *lu* freely varies with *-e* and *-ga*. The allomorphs *-māru* and *-āye* occur after rational nouns. Kinship nouns take *-māru*, as in the following examples :

tang isi	'younger sister'	tangisimāru
tembi/temmi	'younger brother'	temmāru
nanga	'sister-in-law (elder)'	nangamāru
meccinci	'sister-in-law (younger)'	meccincimāru
meccaḍo	'husband's elder brother'	meccaḍamāru
meccuno	'husband's younger brother'	meccunamāru (-māru is in free variation with -mārru)
pētō	'grandson'	pētōmāru
pēti	'grand daughter'	pētīmāru
tāyi	'mother'	tāyimāru/tāye
monāgo	'husband'	monagamāru
kulci	'wife'	kulcimāru

māru has a phonologically determined variant *-rru* after rational non-kinship nouns such as,

monso	'man'	monsurrū
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tekko	' thief '	tekkurru
dantaḡānu	' friend '	dantaḡārru
mūko	' policeman '	mūkurru
monuvu	' king, lord '	monuvurru

The rest of the rational nouns take the allomorph *-āye* whose corresponding singular forms inevitably end in /-Vdu/. This form also appears in the plural forms of the pronominal predicates.

takkurdu	' goldsmith or blacksmith '	takkurāye
ennadu	' dhobi '	ennāye
ulugadu	' muslim '	ulugāye
parradu	' untouchable '	parrāye (-āye is in free varia- tion with -āy)
serikirdu	' barber '	serikirāy
tannikordu	Brahmin	tannikorāye
nōntudu	' vyshya '	nōntāye
sēnedu	' weaver '	sēnāye
kurrudu	' Brukala '	kurrāye
pangaldu	' fruit seller '	pangalāye
ellagudu	' kapu '	ellagāye

Hence it follows that the plurals of this type *nallāye* ' good ones ' *kiṭṭāye* ' nearby ones ' *uṭṭāye* ' housewives ' are formed with such words which are themselves generally of adjectival origin.

elladu	' white one '	ellāye
kartadu	' black one '	kartāye
erradu	' red one '	errāye
kunṭidu	' lame '	kunṭāye
mūḡadu/ mūḡa monso	' dumb '	mūḡāye-mūḡa monsurru
nattidu	' stammerer '	nattāye
ḡuḍḍidu	' blind '	ḡuḍḍāye

Although the nouns in this language are not marked for gender, exceptionally we come across such instances as :

ḡuḍḍo/ḡuḍḍi monso	' blind man '	
ḡuḍḍi monsi	' blind woman '	
ḡuḍḍidu	' blind person '	(man and woman)
ḡuḍḍāye	' blind persons '	(man and woman)

The same pattern applies to words such as,

piccō	' madman '
jakaro	' beggar '
pirkō	' coward '

mūgō	'dum (man)'
sevō	'deaf (man)'
pīsō	'stingy man'
kuntō/ kūgālō	'lame (man)'

Apart from these we find such pairs of words as :

pētō	'grandson'
pēti	'grand daughter'
monso	'man'
monsi	'woman'
monuvo	'king, lord'
monvisi	'queen'

But no definite conclusion can be drawn from such pairs to associate -ō ending with maleness and *i*-ending with femininity because such pairs are not many.

nangaldu	'ours'	nangātāye (non-human)
ningaldu	'yours'	nangāye (human)
attundu	'his'	ningātāye (non-human)
attumuḍdu		ningāye (human)
		attumuṭāye (non-human)
		attāye (human)

The same applies to *asukātāye*, *asukāye* 'theirs and their people'. At no other place such a demarcation between human and non-human is made. In all the above mentioned cases -āye is in free variation with -āy.

Among the irrational nouns, those ending in *-i* take *-e* after dropping the *-i*.

seḍi	'tree'	seḍe
setri	'umbrella'	setre
muyyi	'mouth'	muyye
keyyi	'hand'	keyye
balli	'lizard'	balle
tuni	'saree'	tune
keṭṭi	'knife'	keṭṭe
kenki	'maize corn'	kenke
egi	'way'	ege
kuṭṭi	'young one'	kuṭṭe
unji	'vessel'	unje

Except *tāyi* 'mother' which has *tāyimāru* and *tāye* as plurals, all the other words ending in *yi* (not *yī*) take *a*.

vāyi	'mouth'	vāya
nāyi	'dog'	nāya
kōyi	'hen'	kōya

The irrational nouns ending in a nasal consonant, or *n*, or *o* take *-ga* allomorph.

Nouns ending in a nasal : The word final nasal consonant of these nouns is assimilated in its point of articulation to the following initial consonant of the plural suffix.

gyānam	'eclipse'	gyānanga
naram	'nerve'	naranga
addam	'mirror'	addanga
aitāram	'Sunday'	aitānanga
pādam	'foot'	pādanga
mīsam	'moustache'	mīsanga
paṭnam	'town'	paṭnanga
sōlam	'maize'	sōlanga

First and second person pronouns drop their final vowel (besides shortening of the first vowel of the stem) before taking the plural allomorph *-ga*.

nānu	'I'	nanga
nīnu	'you (sg.)'	ninga

Nouns of the CVCCV(C) (V) type accept the plural *-ga*, they take the stem formative suffix *-n*. The stem final vowel (in most cases *-o*) is changed to *-a* before the vowel of the plural allomorph *-ga* due to vowel harmony.

kavvo	'crow'	kavvanga
korgo	'monkey'	korganga
narsigo	'jackal'	narsiganga
gunṭa	'girl'	gunṭanga/gunṭlānga.

Nouns ending in *-u* :

māḍu	'cow'	māḍuga
ūḍu	'house'	ūḍuga
tōlu	'skin'	tōluga
kōlu	'stick'	kōluga
kunju	'bird'	kunjuga
gēnru	'well'	gēnruḡa

nellu	' paddy '	nelluga
pellu	' tooth '	pelluga
nuggu	' firewood '	nugguga
pōḍu	' sun '	pōḍuga
eṅṅuka	' mangoose '	eṅṅuga

Many of these nouns accept *-lu* as freely as *-ga*.

The rest of the irrational nouns ending in *-a* take *-lu*.

irka	' liver '	irkalu
muṭṭa	' egg '	muṭṭalu
erka	' finger '	erkalu
koḍa	' intestine '	koḍalu
dobba	' lung '	dobbalu
kappa	' frog '	kappalu
pūna	' cat '	pūnalu
ela	' leaf '	elalu
kēda	' donkey '	kēllu
iga	fly	igalu

AUXILIARY VERBS IN TELUGU

C. NIRMALA

Auxiliary verbs in Telugu are identified and classified on the basis of distributional and functional criteria into two types: modal and simple auxiliaries. Modals occur after infinitive form, simple auxiliaries after an extended verbal stem. Characteristics of both types are discussed. Various functions of these auxiliaries like modality, tense and aspect, transitivity, reciprocation etc., are presented in detail. The co-occurrence restrictions of auxiliary and main verb and the sentential constraints on the auxiliary verbs are described. The contribution of meaning of auxiliaries to a sentence, and the differences of verb roots functioning as main verbs as auxiliaries are also noted.

1.1. Traditional grammars generally distinguish between main and auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs are sometimes called defective verbs. In Telugu, there are however no special set of verbs or verb roots which may be called only auxiliaries. The verb or verb root which in some contexts functions as a main verb will also function as an auxiliary verb some other times. Therefore auxiliary verbs have to be identified on the basis of their position in the verb phrase and their function. For instance, the verb *waccu* as a main verb means 'to come, to arrive, to happen, to occur, and to take place'.

1. *ninna waccaamu* 'We arrived yesterday'.

But when it is used with another verb in the infinitive it functions as an auxiliary and denotes various senses like 'possibility, probability, and permission'. It has the sense 'long habit' or 'continuance' after durative participle.

2. *nuvvu iipustakaalu cadawaccu*
'You can read these books'—(Permission)

3. *aayana iisaari ennikalloo gelawaccu*
'He may win the elections this time'—(Possibility)

4. *ceptuu waccaadu*
'He continued to tell'—(long habit or continuance)

1.2. On the basis of the position and function in the verb phrase the following are identified as auxiliary verbs :

(i) *kala/galugu* 'ability' (ii) *lee/leedu* 'not' (iii) *waccu* 'may/can' (iv) *kuudadu* 'must not, should not' (v) *aali (valayu)* 'need to (obligation), (vi) *waddu* 'don't' (vii) *poo* 'about-going to' (viii) *undu* 'be' (ix) *wecyu* 'completive' (x) *pettu* 'benefactive' (xi) *padu*
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'passivizing' (xii). konu 'reflexive' (xiii). koṭṭu 'transitivizer' (xiv). iccu 'permissive' (xv). tiiru 'certaintative' (xvi). paracu 'transitive marker' (xvii) ceeyu 'causative marker' (xviii). tagu 'to be proper' (xix) kuurcunḍu 'manner of the action' (xx) eeḍcu (xxi). caccu (xxii). tagalaḍu (xxiii). taga 'manner of action'.

1.3. Depending on the distribution in the verb phrase the above auxiliaries are divided into four classes :

Class-I : Only post infinitive auxiliaries : kala/galugu, waccu, aali, kuḍaḍu, waddu, lee, leedu.

Class-II : Post infinitive/extended form auxiliaries :

- (a). poo, weeyu, ceeyu, paḍu, koṭṭu, paracu, tagu, iccu (in both the places).
- (b). peṭṭu, konu, tiiru, kuurcunḍu, caccu, eeḍcu, tagalaḍu (taga labaḍu) (only after extended stems)

Class-III : Post inflexional suffixes : unḍu

Class-IV : Prepositional auxiliaries : tega.

1.4. Class I auxiliaries are called modal auxiliaries as they express modality and the remaining are called simple auxiliaries. There are marked differences between these two types both syntactically and functionally. Modal auxiliaries can follow simple auxiliaries and in such cases simple auxiliaries become part of the main verb, i.e., modal auxiliaries would be in immediate constituency with the whole unit consisting of the main verb and the simple auxiliary, thus the structure of the verb phrase is :

Main +	Simple +	Modal +	Tense +	GNP
Verb	auxiliary	auxiliary	suffix	markers

unḍu and *tega* are exceptions to this general pattern and the reasons for this will be discussed below.

1.5. Modal auxiliaries or auxiliaries attached to the infinitive of the main verb are as follows :

kala/galugu occurs with such verbs as

5. *maaṭlaaḍa galugu* 'to be able to speak'
6. *ceyya galugu* 'to be able to do'

lee occurs in negative sentences in place of *galugu*, e. g.

7. *ceyya leedu* ' (she) cannot do '
8. *maatlaada leedu* ' (he) cannot speak '
aali which is a contracted form of *valayu* is used after
 infinitives, as in
9. *iwwaali* ' must give '

10. *ceyyaali* ' must do '

11. *tinaali* ' must eat '

waddu occurs in negative sentences

12. *tinawaddu* ' don't eat '

13. *raawaddu* ' don't come '

waccu occurs after infinitive verbs, as in

14. *kona waccu* ' may buy '

15. *raawaccu* ' may come '

kuudadu gives the prohibitive sense

16. *kona kuudadu* ' must not buy '

17. *raa kuudadu* ' should/must not come '

1.6. Class II or simple auxiliaries are attached to infinitive as well as to the extended verb root. Extended verb roots are formed by adding *i* and *u* to roots with consonantal endings. Auxiliaries of class II (a) can occur after infinitives and also after one of the vowel ending stems; and class II (b) only after extended stems. The difference in distribution sometimes brings change in their function also. For example auxiliary *po* occurs after infinitive and after the extended stem.

after infinitive: 18. *tina booyindi* 'she was about to eat'

19. *wella booyindi* 'she was about to go'

after *i* ending: 20. *welli pooyindi* 'she has gone away'

After infinitive it indicates futurity and after *i* ending it indicates completeness of the action.

weeyu 21. *paḍa weeyu* 'to cast off'

	22. koosi weeyu	'to cut off'
<i>paɖu</i>	23. diga baɖu	'sink, fall down'
	24. tuuli paɖu	'to slumber'
<i>kottu</i>	25. pagala goɖtu	'to break to pieces'
<i>ceeyu</i>	26. anda jeesaɖu	'he made it reach, handed over'
<i>paracu</i>	27. teliya paracu	'to make it known'
<i>icc</i>	28. welllaniccaɖu	'he allowed to go'
<i>taga</i>	29. ceyya tagunaa	'Is it proper to do?'

Though the above auxiliaries of class II (a) occur after infinitive their usage in this environment is restrictive unlike modals.

Class-II (b) consists of those auxiliaries that occur after extended verb roots only. They are :

<i>Peɖtu</i>	30. ceesi peɖtu	'do it (imperative)'
<i>konu</i>	31. teccu konu	'get it for oneself'
<i>tiiru</i>	32. ceesitiirutaanu	'I would certainly do (it)'
<i>kuurcunɖu</i>	33. ceppi kuurcunnaɖu	'he had told (unnecessary)'
<i>caccu</i>	34. ceppi caawala	'did not tell (disgust)'
<i>eeɖcu</i>	35. ceppi eeɖu	'do tell (anger)'
<i>tagalaɖu</i>	36. ceesi tagalaɖu	'do it (anger)'

1.7. Class-III has got one auxiliary *andu*. This is the only auxiliary which can occur not only after modal auxiliaries but also after inflexional suffixes, as in

37. tiisi unɖaɖu	'he must have removed (it)'
38. tecci unɖaɖu	'he must have brought (it)'

Here the *i* which occurs after the verb root is a past tense rather than a stem extension. Though the *i* of stem extension is identical in shape with the suffix of past participle, they are different

in their function. Past participle suffix marks a clause and stem extension *i* - has only a morpheme boundary. Stem extension *i* - and the following verbal constituent cannot be interrupted by an adverb, whereas such an interruption is possible between past participle *i* and the following constituent. For example.

39. ceesi peṭṭu 'do it (imperative)'

does not mean the same when an adverb like *akkāḍa* 'there' is inserted as in

40. ceesi akkāḍa peṭṭu 'do it and keep it there'.

In the former *peṭṭu* is an auxiliary verb and in the latter it is a full verb which has a clause as its source. It is possible to infer that these stems might have been originally identical with past participles but descriptively they have to be separated for the contrast they show in the modern language.

More compelling reason to place *unḍu* under a separate class is that all auxiliaries except *unḍu* seem to have certain selectional restrictions. That is, only certain vowel extensions are possible or required for certain auxiliaries just as *konu* and *peṭṭu* which require *u* and *i*-extension, as in

41. ceesu konu 'do for oneself'

42. tecci peṭṭu 'get it (imperative)'

They not only select the extension of the vowel but select even the main verb. But *unḍu* has no such restrictions. It can be suffixed to practically any verb that has a tense marker, either *t* or *i*. For these reasons *unḍu* can be given the status of a special class by itself.

1.8. Class (IV) of the auxiliary verbs consists of auxiliaries which occur before the main verb. Therefore they are called prepositional auxiliaries. The usage as an auxiliary has no obvious connection with the usage as a main verb. *tega* comes under this class. *tegu* as a main verb would mean 'to get broken' but when it is used as a prepositional auxiliary it denotes the manner of the action performed by the subject, as in

43. tega tinnaaḍu 'he ate too much'

44. tega laagaḍu 'he pulled it to the breaking point'.

2. The second criterion for classification of the auxiliaries is their function. The auxiliary verbs in Telugu do not just have a specific function but have various functions. On the basis of their function, auxiliaries may be broadly divided into the following classes : (1). Auxiliaries expressing modality (2). Auxiliaries expressing tense and aspect (3) Auxiliaries used for transitivization (4) Auxiliaries used for reflexivization (5) Auxiliaries used for reciprocation (6). Auxiliaries used for modification of the root meaning (7). Auxiliaries used for verbalizing adjectives and nouns (8). Auxiliaries used to show completion of an action (9). Auxiliaries used for negation and (10). Auxiliaries used to express the manner of the action. A discussion of these functions is attempted below.

2.1. Modality is generally defined as designating the possibility, probability, obligation, necessity or truth-value of the proposition. For example *aali* denotes two different senses like :

1. i. *Obligation* :

neenu intiki poowaali 'I must go home'

nuwwu reepu raawaali 'You must come tomorrow'

ii. *inference* :

waadu reepu raawaali 'he should come tomorrow'

2.2. Aspect in Telugu is expressed by the two auxiliaries *poo* and *undu* of which *poo* suggests 'intent' or 'futuraity' after infinitive of the main verb.

2. paḍa booyindi 'She was about to fall'

3. kona booyindi 'She was about to buy'

undu expresses uninterrupted action either in the present or in the past.

4. wastuu unṭaḍu 'he comes often' (habitual)

Other auxiliaries cannot express any aspect by themselves. But when they co-occur with *undu* or other adverbial morphemes like *roojuu* (daily) *taracu* (frequently) *sādharaṅga* (usually) can denote habitual or continuous aspect along with some tense.

5. nuwwu roojuu raawaccu 'You may/can come everyday'
—(future-cum-habitual)

2.3. In Modern Telugu some intransitives are transitivized by adding certain verb roots and these suffixed verb roots are auxiliary verbs. The auxiliaries thus used in this process are *petṭu*, *tiiyu*, *ceeyu*, *paṛacu*, *wēeyu*, *koṭṭu* and *konu* as shown below:

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------|-----------------|------------|-----------------------|
| petṭu | 6. aaru | 'to get dried'; | aarabeṭṭu | 'to dry' |
| | 7. kaagu | 'to be heated'; | kaagabeṭṭu | 'to heat' |
| koṭṭu | 8. paḍu | 'to fall'; | paḍagoṭṭu | 'to knock down' |
| | 9. wellu | 'to go'; | wellaḡoṭṭu | 'to expel, drive out' |

2.4. The function of reflexivization and reciprocation are carried out with the help of an auxiliary verb (unlike English where they are carried out by pronominalization). *konu* is used for this purpose. Though it is mainly a reflexivizer and reciprocator it has other functions depending upon the meaning of the verbal bases to which it is appended.

- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 10. ceeyu | 'to do'; | ceesukonu | 'to do for oneself' |
| 11. ammu | 'to buy'; | ammukonu | 'to sell for one's own benefit'. |

For reciprocation, the condition of plural subject has to be met, as in

- | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------------|---------------|
| 12. maatlaaḍu | 'to speak' | maatlaaḍu konu | 'to converse' |
|---------------|------------|----------------|---------------|

2.5. *konu* is sometimes used to modify the meaning of the root, as in

- | | | | |
|----------|------------|----------|---------------|
| 13. anu | 'to say' | anukonu | 'to think' |
| 14. paḍu | 'to fall'; | paḍukonu | 'to lie down' |

2.6. In Telugu an abstract noun, adjective or an adverb can be verbalized by the addition of one of the verb roots functioning as auxiliaries. The auxiliaries used in this process are *Paḍu* and *Petṭu*. Of these, *Petṭu* functions as a transitivizer and also as a verbalizer. Generally *petṭu* functions as a transitive verbalizer and *paḍu* functions as an intransitive verbalizer, as in

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 15. atanu bhaya paḍtaaḍu | 'he will be scared' |
| 16. aayana nannu bhaya peḍtaaḍu | 'he frightens me' |

2.7. *po* and *weyy* show the completion of the action, as in

17. (a). intr.: aa gooda paḍi pooyindi 'that wall has fallen down'

(b). trans.: aa puwvu koosi weesaaḍu, 'he cut off that flower'

2.8. Negation is manifested by negativizing the auxiliary or by using an auxiliary which has negative meaning. *lee*, *kuuḍadu* and *waddu* come under this class.

18. waallu raaleeru 'they cannot come'

19. ceyya waddu 'don't do it'

2.9. Auxiliaries *tega*, *kuurcundu*, *eedu*, *caccu*, and *tagalabaḍu* indicate the manner of the action. *Kuurcundu* expresses the disapproval of the speaker regarding the action or process expressed by the main verbs and it is highly productive.

20. maa waḍu pariikṣaloo tappi kuurcunnaaḍu
'My boy failed in the examinations'

21. maa ammaayi waddanna pani ceesikuurcuntundi
'My girl does the work which we want her not to do'

But this cannot be used with inanimate subjects as in

22. * waḍiki paapapu sommu waccikuurcundi
'Illegal money came to him'

The use of this auxiliary is also ungrammatical with certain physical and mental state verbs.

23. (a). * waḍu nidra pooyi kuurcunnaaḍu 'he slept'
(b). * waḍu kooppaḍi kuurcunnaaḍu 'he became angry'

Similarly *eedu* is used to express the indifferent manner of the subject, as in

24. sangateedoo twaragaa ceppi eedū
'Tell the matter quickly'

caccu, *tagalabaḍu* and *tagaleeyu* show the angry mood of the subject as in

25. waḍeppuḍu nijam ceppi caccaḍu ?

‘ When did he tell the truth (lit) ? ’
 ‘ He would never tell the truth ’

26. saayantramloogaa tecci tagaleymanu
 ‘ Ask him to bring it before evening ’

This class of auxiliaries are quite interesting and highly productive in the language.

3. The study of auxiliary verbs in a sentence would reveal many important factors like the differences between modal and simple auxiliaries and their collocational properties.

3.1. Modal *kala* is used when no reference to time is intended. When there is reference to time *galugu* is used in place of *gala*. But *gala* with personal suffix may be substituted for *galugu* in case of present and future tenses without much difference in meaning:

1. parugedtee manam bassu ekka galam / galugutaamu
 ‘ If we run, we can catch the bus ’

This auxiliary takes all personal suffixes and is used in all tenses. It can take personal suffixes directly (without first taking the tense suffixes) as in *galaḍu*, and *galanu*. Generally if we add GNP marker directly after infinitive it gives the negative meaning to such verbs as

2. ceyyaḍu ‘ he won’t do ’
 3. ceppaḍu ‘ he won’t tell ’

But it is not applicable to *kala* / *galugu*.

Modal *waccu* can not take tense and personal suffixes. It can occur with non-past, as in

4. miiru reepu raawaccu ‘ You may come tomorrow ’

kunḍadu does not take any tense and personal suffixes. Therefore this modal cannot be used in any particular tense but only in prohibitive sense.

5. dongatanamu ceyya kuaḍḍu ‘ One should not steal ’

aali participates in past and non-past distinction and indicates future along with obligation.

6. kalaraatoo jaagrattagaa unḍaali — future + obligation
 ‘ One must be careful with cholera ’

waddu generally occurs at the end of the VP and does not take any tense and personal suffixes;

7. nuwwu reepu raawaddu ' (You) don't come tomorrow '

3.2. Among simple auxiliaries *poo*, *undu*, and *tagunu* indicate tense to some extent. Though they occur with other tenses, they also participate in tense distinction and inflect for all tense and personal suffixes

8. (a) welli pooyaadu ' (he) has gone '
 (b) welli pootaadu ' (he) would go away '
 (c) welli pootunnaadu ' (he) is going away '

3.3 Other simple auxiliaries like *weeyu*, *padu*, *konn*, *kottu*, and *paracu* occur in all tenses but take *undu* for present tense, and auxiliaries like *padu*, and *konn* indicate habitual and continuous aspects along with future and present respectively.

- weeyu* 9. (a) tineesaadu ' he ate away '
 (b) tineestaadu ' he would eat away '
 (c) tineestunnaadu ' he is eating away '

These auxiliaries take all personal suffixes directly or after tense suffix. But *tiiru* generally occurs only in future but takes all personal suffixes. e.g.

10. nuwwu ipani ceesitiiraali ' You must do this work '

In Telugu some of the auxiliary verbs can sometimes replace each other without much difference in their function and the meaning. Auxiliaries can be paraphrased with the help of either auxiliaries or other verbs. For example *waccu* may be replaced by *kala* followed by proper personal suffix as follows :

11. aa daarina wastee teeliggaa (raawaccu)
 (raagalaru)

' If you come that way (you) can reach easily '

The same auxiliary *waccu* may be replaced by the verb *kuduru* ' to be possible ' followed by proper tense and personal suffixes, in which case the main verb will be a verbal noun. For e. g.

12. ii ceruwuloo iidawaccu 'One can swim in this tank'

13. ii ceruwuloo iidaḍam kudurutundi 'It is possible to swim in this tank'

Though the use of *waccu* shows more of 'permission' and *kenduru* more of possibility, they can be paraphrased.

3.4 Auxiliary verbs in Telugu co-occur with each other, and some of the auxiliaries are mutually exclusive. For example modals cannot co-occur with each other but they all can co-occur with simple auxiliaries. They sometimes co-occur with more than one simple auxiliary, as in :

14. *ceesi paḍeyya galaḍu* 'he will be able to do it away'.

Though the auxiliaries co-occur with each other they have certain variations. Some auxiliaries like *paḍu* and *weeyu* co-occur more commonly and *weeyu* can co-occur with all modal auxiliaries but the usage is less common with modals like *kuṇḍadu*, *waddu*, and *leedu*. Though it is not ungrammatical to use both these auxiliaries in the VP but native speakers would prefer the usage where *weeyu* is not used, as in

15. *ceeseyya kuṇḍadu* vs *ceyyakuṇḍadu* 'must not do'

Similarly *paḍu* can co-occur with all modal auxiliaries, but not with all simple auxiliaries. It cannot co-occur with *konu*, *kottu*, *paracu*, *tiiru*, *taagu* and *iccu*.

3.5 When there is more than one simple auxiliary the general pattern is as follows :

Main + Simple + Simple + Modal + Tense + GNP
verb + aux., + aux., + aux., + suffix + suffix

When there are more than one simple auxiliary, the place of the auxiliary is fixed, otherwise it results in ungrammatical expressions as :

16. *konipeṭṭitiiraali* vs **konitiirapeṭṭaali* '(you) must buy'

Auxiliaries *paḍu*, *peṭṭu*, *kottu*, and *paracu* occur in the first position and *poo*, *unḍu*, *konu*, *iccu*, and *tiiru* in the second position. Auxiliaries *caccu*, *kuṇṅcunḍu*, *eḍcu*, and *tagalaḍu* occur at the end and *unḍu* as a special class can occur anywhere in the verb phrase. *weeyu* can occur in first as well as in the second position. But when it occurs in the first position the other auxiliaries which can occur in the first position cannot occur in the same VP.

3.6 Modal auxiliaries can occur in all types of sentences except imperatives whereas simple auxiliaries can occur in all types of sentences co-occurring with various morphemes.

4. The contribution of the meaning to the word or sentence in which the auxiliary is being used can be seen by studying the semantics of auxiliaries.

4.1 Though auxiliary verbs in Telugu seem to be meaningless superficially, they do have an important role in the semantics of the language. Without the auxiliaries it is impossible to express the mood of the speaker or the manner of the action.

For e. g.

1. (a) *maawaadu eppudoo fastuna paasayyaadu*
'Our (excl) boy passed in first class long back'
- (b) *maawaadu eppudoo fastuna paasayi pooyaadu*
'Our (excl) boy passed out in first class long back'.

Though superficially both sentences appear to be identical the excitement or the proud feeling of the person who is narrating the facts are shown in sentence (b) where auxiliary *pooy* is used, whereas sentence (a) cannot express any manner besides the fact.

In Telugu generally there is difference between the verb root as a main verb and as an auxiliary except for negative auxiliaries. This can be seen in the following example. *pooyu* as a main verb means 'to go, proceed, to pass, cease, disappear, to be lost, to die' whereas the auxiliary *pooy* gives the sense of futurity or intent:

2. *daanni kotta booyaadu* 'he was about to strike her'

Completeness :

3. *waallu welli pooyaru* 'They went away'

Continuity :

4. *ceptuu pootunnaadu* '(he) continued to tell'

Thus simple auxiliaries also express more than one meaning.

4.2. *Padu* has no definite meaning as an auxiliary but shows the manner of the action of the main verb and thus adds semantic content though not directly, as in:

5. (a) *varsamloo wanukkuntu vaccaadu*
'(he) came shivering in the rain'

- (b) varṣamloo waṇukkunṭu waccipaḍḍaaḍu
 'Somehow he came shivering in the rain'

The difference between saying just *waccaadu* and *waccipaḍḍaaḍu* denotes the manner of coming and also brings some change in the way of narration.

4.3 *kottu* as a main verb means 'to strike, knock, beat, smite, thrash' but when used as an auxiliary it suggests the sense of displacement in violent manner, as in

6. aa gooda paḍagoṭṭaaru '(they) threw down the wall'

This is used in idiomatic expressions also, as in

7. waḍi aplikeṣanni 'They have sent back his
 tiraggoṭṭaaru application'.

but this actually means they have rejected his application.

4.4. Similarly the modal auxiliaries also play an important role by expressing modality. There is a difference in the meaning of the verb root as a main verb and as a modal. For example *walayu* (*aali*) as a main verb means 'to want, desire' but as a modal it denotes obligation or necessity and inference, as in

8. (a) naaku niḷḷu kaawaal: 'I want water' — (necessity)
 (b) neenu kaaleejiiki 'I must go to the college'
 wellaali —(obligation)
 (c) waḍu reepu raavaali 'He should come tomorrow'
 — (inference).

NOTES AND REVIEWS

AUDIO-LINGUAL METHOD IN SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

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If we glance through the history of language teaching we will come to know that the act of teaching-learning has been going on right from human history. However, available records indicate that the history of teaching goes back to the very ancient people like Sumerians, Egyptians and the Romans approximately to 3,000 B. C. Since then various methods were being developed. Some of them are as follows : Grammar method, Translation method, Grammar translation method, Reading method, phonetic method, Natural method, Direct method, Structural method, Bilingual method, Cognate method, Audio-Lingual method and Cognitive method. These methods were developed in different contexts and situations depending upon the objectives of the course. If the objective is to teach rapid reading it will involve Reading method. If the objective is to translate from foreign language into mother tongue and vice-versa based on grammar analysis then this involves "Grammar translation method". Thus, several methods came into existence and each new method was supported by research and evaluation which seemed to prove to be the best. In this process development of Linguistics Science also contributed for the betterment of existing methods. The aim of this paper is not to deal about all the methods of teaching but to explain one of the methods of Second Language teaching i. e. Audio-Lingual method.

The term Audio-Lingual was first introduced by Nelson Brooks of Yale University. This was earlier known under Army method's terminology as "Aural-oral method" based on mimicry and memorization popularly known as "mim-mem method".

The origin of Audio-Lingual method is found in the works of the American Structural Linguists and cultural Anthropologists who were very much influenced by the Behaviorist psychology. There was a scientific investigation of human behaviour, in Linguistics

this took the form of Descriptive approach to study the Language. This descriptive approach which is also popularly known as "Bloomfieldian Linguistics" has made great influence on the Language Teaching methods in those days. This is because the methods applied in the Armed forces Language schools of America were actually those which had been developed by "Bloomfieldian Linguistics" in establishing various Centres for intensive courses during and after the Second World War.

To understand the principles behind the Audic-Lingual method it is necessary to know something about the Bloomfieldian Linguistics.

1. Bloomfield was a behaviorist.
2. He rejected the mentalistic interpretations of learning in favour of mechanistic approach.
3. The command of a Language is a matter of practice and Language Learning is over Learning.
4. Language acquisition can take place through a process of habit formation consistent with Behavioristic theories of Learning.

Thus, the Audio-Lingual theory is based on the principles of Descriptive Linguistics which in turn is related to the Skinnerian behavioristic model of Learning. According to Skinner the Verbal behavior like any other behavior is composed of Stimulus response bonds and Language Learning is mechanical and not an intellectual process. In order for behavior to be conditioned the student must be led through a series of stimulus response situations in which his active response is followed by immediate reinforcement, As Skinner says "Habits are established when reward or reinforcement follows immediately on the occurrence of an act".

William Moulton of Princeton University, a Linguist and Foreign Language teacher, gave five slogans which have a bearing on Audio-Lingual method. They are :—

1. Language is speech, not writing.
2. A Language is a set of habits.
3. Teach the Language and not about the Language.
4. A Language is what its native speakers say not what some one thinks they ought to say.

5. Languages are different.

Upto this point my aim has been to give the psychological and linguistic background of the Audio-Lingual method. Now let us explain what exactly is Audio-Lingual method.

Audio-Lingual method aims at teaching the Language skills in the strict order of Listening, Speaking, Reading and Writing. In the beginning importance is given to the spoken Language of every day situations because Language is essentially sound, used for communication. Reading and writing follow after the basic speech patterns of the Language are learnt. These structures are learnt through the process of Mimicry-memorization and pattern drilling. Habit formation concept is taken care of by these techniques. For Audio-Lingual teacher Grammar is a means to an end and not an end in itself.

In the first Level of instruction Learning is based on the conversations or dialogues depicting the day to day situations of the culture and the speakers of the target language.

These dialogues are prepared by the gradation of the structures of the target language. The structures are graded on the basis of high frequency and its relation to each other from simple to complex. In the beginning, vocabulary content is less enabling the learner to master the structure.

In the class room Learners listen carefully to their teacher or a model on the tape in a Laboratory until they can distinguish the sounds and intonations of the sentences to be learnt. Then they repeat the sentences after the model until they are fluent in the pronunciation. This learning process takes place first as a group activity. Students repeat the sentences in chorus, then in smaller groups and then individual attention is given. If the small group pronounces wrongly then the teacher will go for choral repetition and if the individual commits error the teacher will go for group repetition. Thus, the choral repetition helps the learners in memorizing several sentences. Then the teacher asks questions pertaining to the dialogue and learners answer in the target language. Then the teacher selects two individuals or two small groups of students out of whom one will ask questions and the other will give answers.

Once the structures of the dialogue have been learnt, the teacher asks the students or the two groups to make a conversation on their own situations based on the structures already learnt. This will provide an opportunity to learners for more flexible use of the material. In this way sentences in the dialogue will become familiar to

Learners and the pattern drills are administered orally until the learners are capable of manipulating those structures. Then the students are given a text pertaining to the structures that they are learning. Once the learners acquire mastery over structure, they are introduced systematically to the reading of the printed script that they have learnt. After the learners have learnt reading then they are introduced to writing. In the beginning writing would be imitative and the learners copy the script symbols and practice. Once the basic symbols and secondary symbols are taught then dictation will be given to them in order of the dialogues taught. Then the teacher gives cues on certain topics and the students will write guided composition on it. Once the learners are capable of writing guided composition, the teacher gives some topics known to them and asks them to write free composition. The teacher corrects the mistakes if any in the free composition. This helps the teacher in evaluating the student's progress in two ways.

1. It gives the teacher a clear idea of the amount of accuracy and language learning which has taken place.
2. It also indicates the overall ability of the student to present his ideas in organised form. Free compositions provide the students greater ability to think in the target language and express in the target language through its writing system.

In the advanced level learners are encouraged towards reading supplementary materials. Passages of literary quality are carefully selected so that they represent the culture of the people who speak that language and also stimulate the interest of the learners. This also helps in increasing the vocabulary of the learners. Learners are given liberty to read louder in the class which helps them to increase the speed of reading with comprehension. Reading is also done silently in the class room.

In spite of the popularity of Audio-Lingual method several comments are made by the scholars on this method. Some of them are as follows :

1. Students who are trained through Audio-Lingual method learn the language in a mechanical way like a trained parrot, they cannot get mastery of creating new sentences.
2. Memorization and Drilling technique do not inspire the learner as they create boredom.

3. There is a big gap between the presentation of language material orally and the presentation of the same material in printed or written form.
4. It is not testified whether this method suits all types of learners and of all age groups.
5. Strict ordering of listening, speaking, reading and writing is not beneficial to the learners.

In spite of its abovelisted ac-merits we cannot ignore the importance of this method. However, it is necessary to take the best ideas of this method and adopt some of the ideas according to the requirements of the learners. Then this method will be more purposeful and meaningful.

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2. Rivers, Wilga M. *Teaching Foreign Language Skills*.
3. Chastain, K. (1969) Audio-Lingual habit theory versus cognitive code learning theory : Some theoretical consideration. *IRAD VII*.

COLOPHONE

This paper was presented in the Central Institute of Indian Language discussion club on 1-6-77 and the author is thankful to the members for their comments.

A PRAKRIT READER

By

H. S. ANANTHANARAYANA

(Published by Central Institute of Indian Languages,
Mysore, 1973, 99 pp. Price Rs. 6-00)

This small book, written by Prof. H. S. Ananthanarayana of the Department of Linguistics, Osmania University, has come as a great relief to the students of Prakrit in general and to the students of 'Gaahaa Sattasaii' in particular. Though there are many treatises like those of Pischel, Upadhye, Neminath Sastri and other scholars dealing with Prakrit languages and literature, a student of linguistics and in Particular of MIA languages, could not get the necessary material in a short, readable treatise. Generally 'Readers' are written for the initiates in a particular discipline. Though much has been written on Prakrit Grammar, both by ancient and modern scholars and critics, the Prakrit languages were rarely approached linguistically. Prof. H. S. Ananthanarayana has done a great service to those students of linguistics who are interested in OIA and MIA languages. This particular book, though small, presents us with new findings (in terms of linguistics terminology), for concentration on and further studies in, an area of research which has upto now received only inadequate attention. The author deserves encomiums for his deep study of Prakrit Phonetics and Morphology, and presenting his findings in new vocabulary of terms. He has shown a keen analytical acumen in sifting the data of Prakrit terms, mostly found in Gaataasattasaii. He has given wide format of illustrations.

The presentation of the theme or theory is descriptive and thus is very appropriate for the beginners. The book is divided into suitable chapters. The chapter on Phonology has given more or less a complete picture of the distribution of consonants and vowels. The learned author has given coherent, organically inter-related list of plosives (unaspirate as well as aspirate), considering all possible occurrences like Initial, Medial, as Clusters and with Nasals. Vowels and semivowels also are treated in the same manner. The English rendering of the illustrations is a quite faultless. In tables dealing with Historical Phonology, he has pointed out some of the main sources in Sanskrit for the reflexes in Prakrit Sound System. Thus for Prakrit / j /, he has appropriately pointed out /j/ and /y/. These sounds are then arranged according to the traditional Varṇamaala.

The chapter on Morphology gives certain general remarks, in the beginning, about the genders and cases in Maahaaraashtri. Prakrit. He has thus given detailed tables about the Nominal Inflexions, illustrated with copious paradigms. While giving the examples of verbal inflexion, he has given paradigms of Present Active, Present Imperative, Present Optative and Future. The understanding of past participle morphemes with allomorphs like ia, a, ta, na is quite useful for the students.

The entire discussion about the phonology and morphology of Maahaaraashtri-Prakrit is free from pedantic discussions or highly technical expressions. The author has used only some commonly understood technical words from Linguistics. An important feature of this 'Reader' is the 'Text' part of it. He has selected one hundred and one Gaahaas (Gaathaa) from the famous work 'Gaathaa sattasaii', attributed to Haala Saatavaahana. As the author's approach is purely linguistic, it was expected of him to give a critical appreciation of the beautiful verses; though such an attempt on a small scale could not have been out of place. The author has given exhaustive grammatical notes on some important grammatical phenomena. Here too he has used very common phrases, which may be easily comprehended even by the beginners. The grammatical notes, however, presuppose a certain amount of the syntax, case relations and Verbal derivatives, which are often used in many other languages. Thus while explaining 'Ghariniie', the author has given the formation as follows:
gen. sg. fem. - ii-stem, ghariniie 'housewife' (p. 36).

While explaining grammatical peculiarities, the learned author has also explained some peculiar grammatical events. For example, putte putthim samaaruhamtammi = locative absolute construction in which the subject and the predicate are in the locative case and the whole construction having an adverbial force—'while the son was climbing the back.' (p. 36). There cannot be any simpler definition of locative absolute construction. He has given an idea about passive voice in an equally succinct manner. For example, Vaaheṇa... dhaṇum mukkam = a passive construction in which the actor will be in the instrumental and the concord is between the object and the verb. (p. 42). These notes are enriched by references to various ancient and modern grammarians. These references certainly will stimulate a desire for further studies in Prakrit-languages among the students. The author has reproduced Varzuci for about 21 times and Hemachandra for about 20 times. For example, harialii = Yellow colour, a kind of grass, cf, Hem. Desi. VIII. 64. or Salaha = Skt. Slaaghaa, cf. Vol. III 63,

Keeping in view the readers of various areas, the author has given illustration from many modern Indian languages, to bring home the import of a particular word.

pupphan = acc. sing. neut. (cf. Vat. II. 35-51)

cf. Ta. puppu 'flowering'

Tel. puvvu

Dr. Ety. Dict. 3564.

or

piima 'a young bird' cf. pilha —; Hem. Desii. VI. 46. cf. Telugu Pilla. Marathi — Pili 'a young one' in general of dogs, cats, hens, parrots, crows and some other birds (Weber) Hindi — pillu (worm) Skt. piilu :— 'atom, worm, insect'

It may be noted in passing that Marathi word is 'pillu' and Hindi pillu rarely means a 'worm'. Similarly 'rusai' cannot be compared with Hindi 'rona'.

The author has also added some explanatory notes (Eg. p. 41 on Verse 13; p. 55 on verse 51; on p. 57 on verse 57; p. 58 verse 60 etc.) Though such comments are very few and far between, they help the readers appreciate the implied or the suggested meaning of the verse. One only wishes that many such comments would be added in the next edition.

In the end, an exhaustive glossory, arranged in order of Sanskrit alphabets is given. Every word is rendered into simple English. The Sanskrit equivalents of the Prakrit words are given in the parantheses. '=' Sign is used to show that the Sanskrit word is phonetically and semantically equivalent to the Prakrit word. Moreover, the utility of the glossory has been enhanced, by the grammatical explanation of every word. For this, certain abbreviations are used which are explained earlier.

In short, the 'Prakrit Reader' is of immense use to the initiates as well as for the advanced students of Prakrit.

The glossory, however, could have been made absolutely flawless by giving exact English rendering. 'Kunānti', for example should have been rendered 'they do or make' instead of 'do or make'. The Imperative import of 'khamijanta' would have more conveyed by 'Let them (or those people) forgive'. In some cases, however, the author has given the correct tense rendering. For example, Chajjai — shines, Cimtei — thinks, [Some words, however, could have been rendered in better English Papaa (p. 80) is not just a water tank].

The Alphabetical index to the verses and the appendix containing the grammatical rules referred to in the text (with English translation) bring the book to an appropriate end. Thus the book, though small in size, has done a great service to the Prakrit students, by giving the grammatical peculiarities of Maahaaraashtrii-Prakrit in linguistic forms. The previous authors like Pischel, Woolner have also given exhaustive information about various types of Prakrit. These books are also quite useful. The present work has provided a splendid opportunity not only to study some verses in 'Gaahaasattasaii' but the Prakrit literature in its entirety. The author's painstaking endeavour will certainly be quite admissible for their novelty and brevity. It is humbly suggested that the title 'MaahaaraaSTrii Reader' would have been more appropriate.

Reviewed by
P. G. LALYE

NEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT

Award of research degrees :

Ph. D.: Ranganadhacharyulu, K. K. A Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Telugu (From 1401 A. D. to 1900 A. D.). (Supervisor: Dr. Bh. Krishnamurti).

M.Phil.: Usha Devi, A. A typological study of Dravidian Morphophonemics (Supervisor: Dr. C. Ramarao); Durga Devi, N. K. A typological study of some lexical categories in German, English and Telugu, (Supervisor: Dr. B. Lakshmi Bai); Trehan, Ruby. Error analysis in Hindi of Telugu mother tongue students. (Supervisor : DR. H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA)

Seminar :

A seminar on 'Modernization of Indian languages in News Media' was organised during February 1-3, 1978 in which distinguished linguists from various Institutions in the country participated. Prof. Kostic of the Institute for Experimental Phonetics and Speech Pathology, Belgrade was the chief guest and delivered the inaugural address.

Distinguished visitors :

- (i) Prof. Winfred Lehmann, Professor of Linguistics and Director, Linguistics Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin spoke on 'Indo-European language & thought (January, 1978).
- (ii) Prof. Gordon Fairbanks, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii gave a lecture on 'Some aspects of morphological change' (October, 1978).
- (iii) Prof. Thomas Burrow, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University spoke on 'Linguistic fieldwork in tribal areas' (October, 1978).
- (iv) Prof. Harry Spitzbardt, Head of the Department of German at the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad spoke on 'Language Policy and Language Planning' (March, 1978).
- (v) Dr. David Bradley, Assistant Professor at Australian National University, Canberra gave a seminar on 'Acoustic Phonetics.' ((January-February, 1978).

- (vi) Dr. Nikita Gurov, a Russian Indologist who spent a year studying Telugu language and culture delivered a course of lectures on following topics : 'Elements of the Proto-Dravidian calendar', 'South-Dravidian legend of the motherland overseas', and 'The investigation of the Indus valley script and culture in Soviet Union 1965-77'.

Fieldwork :

Dr. B. Ramakrishna Reddy conducted field work on Manda, a tribal Dravidian language of Central India and discovered a new Language called Indi and he has collected material for the preparation of Grammars and Dictionaries of these two languages.

Memorial lecture :

Prof. H. S. Ananthanarayana was invited during November, 1978 by the Department of Comparative Philology and Linguistics Calcutta University to deliver a course of two special lectures, in memory of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and he spoke on 'Ancient Indian contribution to linguistic theory, method, and analysis'.

Publications :

Bh. Krishnamurti

- 1978a. Spelling pronunciation in Indian English. In *Indian Writings in English* 131-39. Madras: Orient Longman.
- 1978b. Language Planning and Development : a case of Telugu. In *Contributions to South Asian Studies* 37-56. Leiden : E. J. Brill.
- 1978c. Areal and Lexical diffusion of sound change : evidence from Dravidian. *Language* 54.1-20.
- 1978d. On diachronic and synchronic rules in phonology : a case of Parji. *Indian Linguistics* 39. 252-76.

H. S. Ananthanarayana

- 1978a. The influence of Sanskrit grammatical tradition in the description of the syntax of Kannada in Sabdamani-darpaṇa. In *Studies in Early Dravidian Grammars* 293-307. Annamalainagar : Annamalai University.
- 1978b. *Four Lectures on Panini's Astadhyayi*. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University (1976)

C. Ramarao

- 1978a. Rule chase. *Indian Linguistics* 39. 183-188
- 1978b. *Vacana Padyam*. Hyderabad : Nagarjuna Printers.

Dissertation Abstracts

RANGANADHACHARYULU, K. K. A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL TELUGU (FROM 1401 A. D. to 1900 A. D.) (Ph.D. DISSERTATION, 1978).

The purpose of this research work is to study the evolution of the Telugu language based on a thorough analysis of the linguistic material of the Telugu inscriptions spanning five centuries, dating from 1401 A. D. to the date of the last published inscription available, i.e. 1890 A.D. This work is a continuation of the work done on inscriptional Telugu upto the end of the 14th century by the earlier scholars, so that the historical study of the Telugu language will be completed. There are 993 inscriptions collected from a large number of volumes. This study throws light on the historical evolution of the Telugu language culminating in what is known as Modern Telugu.

The following stages in the evolution of the Telugu language are set up :

Old	Early Old Telugu	200 A. D. to 700 A. D.
	Late Old Telugu	701 A. D. to 1200 A. D.
Middle	Early Middle Telugu	1201 A. D. to 1400 A. D.
	Late Middle Talugu	1401 A. D. to 1600 A. D.
Modern	Early Modern Telugu	1601 A. D. to 1900 A. D.
	Modern Telugu	1901 A. D. onwards

The present study covers two stages : the later part of Middle Telugu and the early part of Modern Telugu. Most of the important phonological changes started in Late Old Telugu itself and were accomplished by the end of that stage. Most of the spoken forms closer to Modern Telugu started to surface in Middle Telugu which represents a transitional stage between Old Telugu and Modern Telugu. Most of the changes, which started in 12th/13th century, became widespread during the 15th and 16th centuries, covered by the present study. Apart from the complete establishment of the developments that took place in Middle Telugu, certain new features, which are closer to present day Telugu, started

to appear in Early Modern Telugu from the 17th century. On the whole it can be said that the Telugu language has taken its modern shape by the beginning of the 17th century.

The period covered by the present study as a whole has temporal unity in one respect. Apart from Sanskrit loans and other early borrowings, loanwords from Persian and Arabic are found in inscriptional Telugu from the early 15th century. Loanwords from English also started to appear from 1802 A. D. onwards.

The following are the significant observations made with regard to the various aspects of the evolution of the Telugu language during the period under study.

Writing practices :

The significant aspect of this study is the interpretation of the inscriptional orthography. The following principles are set up for this purpose :

1. Orthographic abbreviation, e.g. *gkā* for *gāka* 'besides', etc.
2. Systematic spelling conventions, i. e. the practice of writing consonants geminated following anuswara to indicate the pronunciation of full nasal, e.g. *reṁḍḍu* for *reṁḍu* 'two', etc.
3. Aberrant spelling conventions, i. e. the practice of writing aspirated stops for unaspirated geminated ones, e. g., *kukha* for *kukka* 'dog', etc.
4. Spelling variations reflecting various phenomena like phonemic and sub-phonemic variation, neutralization of contrast, phonemic free variation, morphemic and phonemic spellings, regional and social dialect variation, mixture of styles, etc.
5. Inverse spellings, i. e. *ṙ* for original *r*, e. g. *teṙuvu* for *teruvu* 'way', etc.
6. Hyper-correct forms, i. e. representation of unaspirated stops by aspirated stops, e. g., *dhāri* for *dāri* 'way', etc.
7. Transfer of native pattern of spelling variation to non-native lexical items, i. e., ai/ay and au/av alternation, e.g., *vaiśāka* | *vaiśāka* 'name of a month', etc.

8. Obvious misspellings, i. e., unexpected gemination or want of gemination, e.g., *papu* for *pappu* 'pulse', etc.

Phonology :

No significant phonological changes are observed during the period under study, except that certain new sounds are introduced through perso-Arabic loans, i.e., *f*, *χ*, *g*, *γ* and *z*. The phonemic system of Telugu took the shape, which is now called Modern Telugu even by the end of the 16th century.

Sandhi :

Regarding sandhi certain new features are observed, which are closer to Modern Telugu, i. e., deletion of *a* preceded by habitual adjectival suffix *e*, e. g., *pettē + attulugā* → *pettētṭulugā* 'so as to put', etc., consonantal sandhi involving deletion of word final vowel before certain consonants of the following word, e.g., *kōmatī + reddi* → *kōmatreddi* 'proper noun', etc. Consonant laxing rule became limited only to the initial stops in verbs from the 15th century, e.g., *nuvi + kattimci* → *nuvigattimci* 'having built a well', etc.

Morphology :

Nouns :— Restructuring of the plural bases of certain nouns like *āvu* (—*lu*) and *kūturu* (—*lu*) on the basis of the singular forms took place in the 15th century. —*mḍl* > —*l* in plural forms is also noticed from the 16th century, e. g., *yimḍlu* > *yilḷu* 'houses'. —*ḍi + ni* → *nṇi* is also strated to appear from the 16th century, e.g., *dēvḍi + ni* → *dēvṇṇi* 'God (acc.)'. The analogical tendency to merge the class of noun stems in which nominative is different from the oblique form with the class of stems, which have identical forms in nominative and oblique is found from the 15th century onwards, e.g., *tiruvḍulō* for old *tiruvṇṇilō* 'in a place called Tiruvidu'. Among the case markers sociative case marker —*tōṭi* appears from the 15th century —*paṭṭi* and —*nuṇci* surface from the 17th century. Adding —*kūḍa* and —*pāṭu* to the sociative case marker —*tō* is also found from the 17th century.

Plural forms of human demonstrative pronouns like *vāṇḍlu*—*vimḍlu* surface from the 16th century and they became grammatical plurals when the older grammatical plurals *vāru*, *vīru* became honorific. *nēṇu*, which is frequently found as first person plural pronoun presupposes the reconstruction of *nām* 'we (exl.)' in proto-Dravidian. Among the numerals modern forms like *pada-n-āru* 'sixteen'—*panneṇḍu* 'twelve' are found for the first time during this period.,

Verbs :—Verb stems originally ending in *-v* have been restructured as the ones ending in *-s* by the 15th century, e.g., *cēv* > *cēs*, etc. Allomorph *-imc* has completely replaced *-imp* even before the non-past suffixes, e.g., *cēvimcaka* for old *cēvipaka* 'not having made to do'. Modern past tense verbs like *vimṭimi* '(we) heard', *vuṃṭimi* '(we) were' and *aiṃdi* 'it happened' surface first time during this period. Modern habitual future verbs like *cēs-tāru* 'they will do' became widespread. Imperative plural suffix *-andi* first appears in the 15th century, e.g. *sēvamdi* 'you (pl.) do'. The periphrastic negative past finite verbs like *sēvalēdu* '(one) did not do' are also found from the 16th century. Contraction of *koni* (past participle of auxiliary *kon*) to *-ka* is also found from the 15th century. *-tā/-ta* as the durative participle found for the first time in the 16th century.

Syntax :

One of the main features of the syntax of this period is the significant absence of passive constructions. Correlative sentences, which are modelled after Sanskrit constructions are numerous, in inscriptional Telugu conforming to the literary usage, most of the implicatory sentences belong to this type. Most of the other sentence types found in the material occur even in Modern Telugu.

DURGA DEVI, N. K. A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY OF SOME LEXICAL CATEGORIES IN GERMAN, ENGLISH, AND TELUGU (M. PHIL DISSERTATION. 1978)

The present dissertation is an attempt at the analysis and comparison of selected Lexical fields from German, English and Telugu. And also the intension of this research has been a twofold one : firstly to describe Lexical fields in as much detail as possible and secondly to compare relevant semantic syntactic structures, to see the typological similarities and differences among these languages. The author has tried to analyse certain lexical fields using the principles and methods recently developed in field-theory and componential analysis which draw heavily from the works of Anthropological Linguists like Goodenough and Lounsbury on the one hand, and from semanticists like Lyons, Lehrer and Nida, on the other. The fields selected for investigation are : 1. Kinship terms 2. Verbs of 'Being' and 'Having' and 3. Verbs of motion which are broad and unrelated.

The Chapter on Kinship starts with a survey of important kinship studies and the application of componential analysis to this

area by Anthropological semanticists. The analysis of kinship terms from each of the three languages is organized as follows: First of all the kin words from the given language are described with the help of componential features along with dialectal variants, if any, for each term and these are tabulated for ease of reference. Secondly, parameters sensitive to the semantic distinctions of each language were established. Finally, the meaning of each kin term is abbreviated under range of expressions. This is like a mini-dictionary providing all the functional aspects of meanings available for each word in the language. This sort of presentation is adopted for the convenience of typological comparison. Eight principal parameters were set up for the analysis of kin words: 1. Degrees of genealogical distance, 2. Reciprocal relations, 3. Linking relations 4. Equivalent rules, 5. Relative age, 6. Sex of the Ego, 7. Extension of the terms and 8. Non-applicability of the sex of the Ego. Out of these, first six parameters are applicable to Telugu, whereas German and English require the first three and the last two only.

The verbs of 'being' and 'having' and their various syntactic-semantic characteristics are detailed in chapter-III. The elementary morphology and Syntax of *be*, *have*, *sein*, *haben*, *undu* and *agu* are given along with their syntactic uses. Three types of syntactic structures connected with 'be' and 'have', namely, locative-existential, possessive and equative are discussed and their similarities and differences from all the three languages are discussed with the help of abbreviatory components like 'X', 'A' and 'Y', that are postulated for this purpose. This work suggests that *undu*, *be* and *sein*, i.e. the existential verb is a basic lexical item that deserves a place in the lexical component of a transformational grammar. *Have* and *haben* are not deep verbs, but contextually determined variants of *be* and *sein*. In other words, Telugu situation faithfully represents the underlying structure, in that *undu* is used both with locative-existential and possessive sentences. English and German use *be* and *sein* with the equative sentences as well. The Telugu equivalents are verbless atleast superficially. Sufficient evidence is put forward to postulate *agu* as an underlying verb and to differentiate *be* and *sein* as two verbs of *be*¹ and *be*² or *sein*¹ and *sein*², wherein the former stands for the locative — existential verb, and the latter for the equative verb (copula).

Chapter-IV deals with the verbs of motion. Making use of the notion of binary features the components of '± specific', '± Contact', '± Goal', '± Predictable direction' and '± Rhythmic' were set up. The verbs of motion from each language were described in detail. For each verb, first of all its basic meaning was

given and then the extended uses like emotional state, temporal indication, process of cognition and also the auxiliary uses, were given and discussed. Limitations of componential analysis are pointed out in the concluding chapter and a detailed bibliographical list is provided at the end.

TREHAN, RUBY

ERROR ANALYSIS IN HINDI OF TELUGU MOTHER TONGUE STUDENTS (M. Phil DISSERTATION, 1978)

After a brief introduction wherein we are told about the data collected for the analysis, the author presents a discussion on the understanding of 'errors' by scholars working in the field. The findings are then presented in the third chapter under the headings phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. In the section on phonology are listed the errors commonly committed by the Telugu speaking children learning Hindi. Some of these errors, according to the authors, are denasalization, deaspiration, devoicing, stop articulation for flap articulation, h-deletion, addition of the vowel at word-final position, and diphthongisation. The areas of difficulty seem to be more in the consonantal system than in the vowels. The morphology deals with errors observed in the use of cases, number and gender. It is observed that the plural formation is obtained by Telugu students by addition consistently of a suffix *a* to the singular form no matter what gender the word belongs to in Hindi. The author suggests, for this error, contact with and borrowing from Dakhini Hindi. In gender distinction it is noted that the children bring in Telugu system to bear on Hindi also and thus miss the agreement rule between the verb and the noun. The section on syntax brings forth the errors committed in the use of negative, interrogative, and passive. Telugu children while negating a Hindi sentence appear to follow the mother tongue pattern. They also do not delete the auxiliary following the aspect marker *ta:va* :. In the interrogative, it is observed that the students use wrong interrogative forms, viz. *kaise* for *kyo*, *kaha* : for *kidhar*. They also forget the use of *ne* with the subject when a transitive form of the finite verb is used in the sentence. Similarly, in forming an indirect report, the sentence is again modelled after the Dravidian structure. The short section on semantics indicates how Telugu children use words, commonly found in Hindi and Telugu, not realizing that some of them have different meanings in the two languages. For instance, the word *abhimān* in Hindi means 'pride' and in Telugu *abhimānamu* means 'to have regards'.

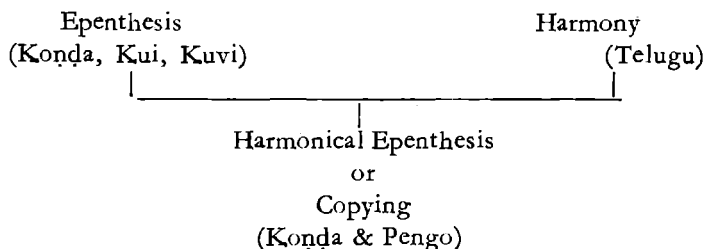
In chapter 4, the author has a few suggestions for remedial teaching. According to her, there appear to be mainly four drawbacks in the teaching. viz. great amount of syllabus that can not be comfortably finished in a year ; material being presented in different varieties of Hindi ; lessons not being graded ; and poor motivation for learning. The author feels that a little bit of orientation for the teacher in linguistic theory, especially, contrastive analysis, might go a long way in helping him for better presentation of the material. The vocabulary and structures to be introduced must be decided in advance and they must be put in the lessons in a graded way. The author has also something to tell the teacher as to how he should plan his teaching, techniques he should follow in introducing the lesson and to make the classroom as lively as he can. At the end are listed the words used in the test and a short bibliography.

USHA DEVI, A. A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY OF DRAVIDIAN MORPHOPHONEMICS (*M. Phil. Dissertation, 1978*)

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter I is an introduction. The present state of the theory of phonology, with focus on the differences between transformational generative approach, and natural generative approach, is briefly discussed here.

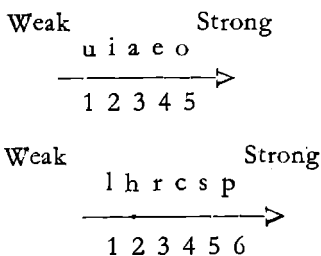
Chapter II analyses various vowel and consonantal processes in South Dravidian-II languages. Konda, Pengo, Kui, Kuvi Gondi, Koya, Maṇḍa and Telugu are classified as South Dravidian-II by Bh. Krishnamurti. The vowel processes that are common to these languages are Epenthesis, Copying and Deletion. The consonantal processes are mainly assimilatory : Progressive, Regressive, Retroflexion, Lateral and Cluster Reduction are some of the shared processes in these languages. These are discussed in detail with individual differences in form and function. Vowel harmony is also described here which is the unique process of Telugu.

Chapter III gives a typological classification of SDr-II languages based on their rule types discussed in Chapter II with their distributional or implicational differences. Contrary to the results of historical subgrouping, a different typological affinities have emerged by the study of these rules. Insertion of vowel, either in the form of epenthetic or copying or harmony are proposed as three faces of one and the same in a diagram as :

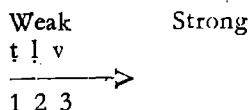


A Chart is also given for the presence or absence of a rule in individual languages.

In Chapter IV the concept of 'markedness theory' of Transformational generative phonology and the 'strength hierarchy' of Natural generative phonology have been applied to the phonological system of SDr-II languages based on their changes. As the theory of markedness gives the universal nature of phonological features, Strength hierarchy is observed to suit better not only in formulating some of the generalizations but also in explaining the direction of the phonological changes. The proposed relative phonological strength hierarchy for vowels and consonants in this chapter is :



This hierarchical scale is also proposed to a single feature. In other words, it is recognised that there are different degrees in markedness. The proposed hierarchy for the feature of retroflexion based on Ramaras's historical observation is :



t = retroflex stop ; ! = retroflex sonorant ; v = retroflex vowel.

Rule ordering has been examined in the final Chapter. It has been found that extrinsic ordering cannot be completely ruled out.