COALESCENCE

kəʊə'ləsns

COALESCENCE

A Post Conference Publication cum Students' Resource Book

Chief Editors: Abhijit Debnath & Tariq Khan

Editors: Amalesh Gope & Bindu Madhavi

Hyderabad, 2012

Contents

SECTION V: Papers

Welcome Note

The editors feel privileged to present this omnibus volume, **'Coalescence'** which is an outcome of the Fifth Students' Conference of Linguistics in India hosted by the University of Hyderabad from 21-23 February, 2011. With an objective to make the conference papers public and with that provide a continual reference point for research in language and linguistics, we welcome all with a hope that **Coalescence** would prove to be highly rewarding for the readers.

SCONLI - An Introduction

The Students' Conference of Linguistics in India, or SCONLI, is a brain child of Dr. Tanmoy Bhattacharya, University of Delhi. This annual congregation, which embodies the spirit and commitment of the student linguists, is an ever improving platform for learning and sharing. It's a fine concatenation of expert talks, presentation of research work, workshops, exhibitions and students' interactions. In course of time this event evolved as a highly revered name among the research and PG students of linguistics. It could establish this recognition in a very short time. Obviously, it was possible due to the nurture it received from students who participated as well as acted as hosts and faculty members who offered direct and indirect support from time to time. Among these, the ever enthusiastic support from Dr. Ayesha Kidwai, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Dr. Tanmoy Bhattacharya and the Keynote speakers will always be remembered with fondness. The chronology of this 'phenomenon' called SCONLI is given below.

Edition	Year	Venue	Keynote Speaker
SCONLI-1	Dec, 2006	EFL University, Hyderabad	Dr. Ayesha Kidwai
SCONLI-2	Jan, 2008	Delhi University	Dr. Rajesh Bhat
SCONLI-3	Feb, 2009	Jawaharlal Nehru University	Dr. R. K. Agnihotri
SCONLI-4	Feb, 2010	University of Mumbai	Dr. Nirmalangshu Mukherjee
SCONLI-5	Feb, 2011	University of Hyderabad	Dr. K. A. Jayaseelan
SCONLI-6	Feb, 2012	Banaras Hindu University	Dr. R. M. K. Sinha

UoH SCONLI – Highlights

The three day event witnessed 47 student presentations (37 oral + 10 posters) spread in 5 sessions at two parallel venues. The participants constituted of students from 21 universities and institutions including the host. Besides paper presentations, the participants were also benefited by the following expert talks & workshops:

Expert talks:
- 'Bilingual Acquisition' by, Prof. Lakshmi Bai, Language Technology, Research Centre, IIIT-Hyedrabad.
- 'Anaphora in South Asian Languages' by K. V. Subbarao, CALTS, University of Hyderabad.
- 'Reciprocals in South Asian Languages' by K. V. Subbarao, CALTS, University of Hyderabad.

Workshops
1. Relative Clause Constructions in South Asian Languages conducted by Prof. K. V. Subbarao.
2. Experimental Psycholinguistics conducted by Dr. Joby George, Abhijit Debnath and Kiran Kishore.

Also, the **International Mother Tongue Day Celebration,** an **Exhibition of Tirhuta Scriptures** and the **Cultural Programmes** embellished the event. A photo tour of SCONI-5 event is available in the archives section of the conference website (www.sconli.org) and may be accessed with the following link: http://www.sconli.org/SCONLI5/index.htm

Editing this book was a joyous affair. Having observed the papers presented at the conference as well their modified versions considered for publication, we realize that this volume could have become even more interesting and relevant. Some of the authors, who didn't resubmit their work for publication in this volume, also had presented interesting work during the conference. We wished they could be part of this publication but ultimately we had to resist this temptation in order to respect their decision and freedom of choice. We are sure the researchers in linguistics will find this book interesting and get enough leads in their work. We are prepared to receive praise as well as criticism arising from the experimental aspects of Coalescence. With this publication, we pass the baton to the next SCONLI organizers.

Happy Reading!
The Editors

Volume Introduction

Right since its inception, SCONLI acquired an international character and has attracted participation from various countries in the subsequent editions. With the publication of proceedings of its JNU meet this conference added another feather to its cap. Carrying forward this zealous initiative we are extremely delighted to present, before the wider audience **'Coalescence'** – the post conference publication cum resource book for linguistics students. Coalescence is an outcome of the UoH SCONLI meet. The contents of this book are spread across five heterogeneous sections, each being a purposeful collage of lecture notes, conference papers and resources for linguistic research. Notably, the distinctive elements of this publication include;

1. *Conference Papers*: This includes keynote address, a select number of double reviewed papers and special lecture notes.
2. *Resource Materials for Linguistics Students*: Keeping in view the dearth of published information and essential need for it, this volume embodies well researched collection of international journals & conferences on linguistics, linguistics centers at Indian Universities, IITs and other institutions and active linguists serving in India, listing of essential readings for Linguistics & its sub-disciplines besides other related information.

This novel synthesis addresses the contemporary issues related to research in language and linguistics by meeting the needs of students beginning linguistics, students from adjacent and cooperating disciplines, teaching fraternity as well as anyone interested in doing linguistics.

Selection of the papers – We are proud to admit that inclusiveness (not restriction), quality and variety were the motivating factors behind the selection of papers for presentation during the conference as well as their publication in this volume. In all 83 papers were submitted and underwent evaluation by a pool of reviewers (comprising of faculty and students) spread across various institutions. A scheme for evaluation and comments was designed to achieve objectivity and consistency in reviewing task. We believe it also proved to be useful to the contributing authors in improving their work. The conference presenters who wished to work further on their paper or publish it elsewhere were free to do so. The others resubmitted their (modified) paper for

presentation before a wider audience through this platform. The editors have relied totally on the reviewers' wisdom and no attempt has been laid to condense or elaborate the selected work. Since it was our resolve to make the papers public as early as possible, we are happy to see that it's ready in time and feel that there cannot be a better occasion than SCONLI-6, to inaugurate it.

Contents' map – As mentioned above, the papers included in this volume are spread across six heterogeneous sections. That is to say that we have presented them neither theme-wise nor session-wise. Rather, we have attempted to give a holistic look to each section by arranging the volume in such a way that all sections contain all kinds of papers. The proposed Workshop on Signed Language could not be held during the conference. So, in order to compensate for this loss, we find it apt to begin this volume with the paper, titled "*Facets of Sign Language*" by Nisha and Amalesh.

What all educational centers in India are engaged with teaching or research in linguistics? Where are they located? What courses are taught there? These are some of the questions that flummox the students (and sometimes even teachers) while doing linguistics in India. These questions acquire significance with the fact that, irrespective of their present status, these centers are not only repositories of tasks already accomplished but also that they are better equipped to study the languages of their regions. When we attempted to document the centers engaging with linguistics in India, we came across renowned as well as lesser known centers, centers teaching full-fledged linguistics as well as centers teaching part linguistics. In this quest a published work that came handy to us was the 1982 report on the Status of Linguistics in Indian Universities. It was prepared by the Panel on Linguistics, University Grants Commission (UGC) and they studied about 24 centers. Keeping in mind the changes, in the sense that some new linguistics centers have emerged while some old centers have discontinued courses in linguistics, it is pertinent to conduct a fresh stock taking. It appears important to us that the research community gets acquainted with the ones available at present. Thus, an entry on 'Linguistics centers in India' has been presented in the very first section of this book.

In a similar vein a (non-exhaustive) list of active linguists of India has been provided for general utility in the section II. The names making to this list include only those linguists who are of Indian origin and whose laboratory, too, is India. In the next section the students' utility resource includes a collection of Weblinks dedicated to

linguistics and its sub-disciplines. Some of them link to general linguistics, while others link to specialized tasks like translation, glossary etc. We must admit here that these Weblinks might change or appear with new names. As a special entry the handout of the workshop conducted by Prof. K. V. Subbarao, has been included in this section. The notable feature of section IV is the list of specialized Journals in Linguistics and its sub-disciplines. We have tried to make it amply big in order to accommodate the relevant journals offered by all recognized publishers, like Cambridge, Blackwell, John Benjamins, Mouton de Gruyter, Oxford, MIT Press, Routledge, etc. A similar but modest attempt at listing linguistics related conferences has been made in section III. We would like to underline the fact that the listing of all these resources is non-exhaustive.

A carefully chosen inventory of essential books on General Linguistics and its various sub-disciplines is available in the section V. Most of these books have become synonymous with the discipline(s) they represent and are available at various open sources. This reading list is intended to benefit all students of linguistics. Still, the following set might need it more than others:

- Beginners in Linguistics (BA, MA, IMA, students)
- Interested students from adjacent and cooperating disciplines.
- Research students who intend to take up teaching linguistics as profession.
- Research students of linguistics who wish to rebuild their foundation in the subject.

The editors are not responsible for any conflict regarding the propriety of the materials used in the papers included here. The responsibility for the accuracy in explanation and consistency of data, too, rests with the published authors. Also, the beliefs and viewpoints expressed in the papers published in this volume belong to the concerned authors. The editors and the publisher are in no way responsible for them.

Best Wishes
The Editors

Words of Gratitude

Support and encouragement from a number of people have kept us in enormous debt of gratitude and in this respect deserve a mention. It's apt to begin with Dr. Tanmoy Bhattacharya (University of Delhi) and Dr. Ayesha Kidwai (Jawaharlal Nehru University) who envisioned a commendable platform for linguistics students and realized it in the form of SCONLI. Three cheers for both of them!

It's our privilege to acknowledge our thanks to Emeritus Professor K. A. Jayaseelan, EFL University, Hyderabad, for an amicable and illuminating keynote address on the theme 'The Case of Possessors and Experiencers in Indian Languages.'

The special lectures and a workshop conducted by the oft-inspiring Prof. K. V. Subbarao, Prof. Radhakrishna Chair, University of Hyderabad, were received by participants with a scholarly thrill. The editors would like to acknowledge his welcoming attitude and share a deep sense of appreciation for it, for all he is – resourceful and approachable.

We must honestly express our intellectual debt to Prof. Lakshmi Bai, LTRC, IIIT-Hyderabad for the perceptive and enlightening talk on Bilingual Acquisition. We would also like to thank Prof. Joby George, Center for NCS, University of Hyderabad, for his interactive discussion on the working of neuro-imaging techniques like fMRI and EEG.

We would like to take this opportunity to place on record our hearty thanks to all the paper contributors, the participants (presenters as well as non-presenters) and specially the authors who resubmitted their work for this volume. Their esteemed participation scripted the success story of the event.

We are grateful to the paper reviewers from various Indian universities who very rigorously evaluated the merits of the papers and offered their precious remarks on them. This eased our task on one hand while on the other helped the authors to improve their presentations and later resubmission. Besides a sizable number of students, faculty reviewers like Prof. B. R. Bapuji, Prof. Shivarama Padikkal, Hari Madhab Ray, Prof. Hemlatha Nagarajan, Dr. Anil Thakur, Dr. Sanjukta Ghosh, Dr. Aditi Ghosh and Dr. Tanmoy Bhatacharya are acknowledged with deep respect and reverence.

Congratulatory Message

G. Uma Maheshwara Rao

It is my pleasure to welcome the release of *Coalescence* - a Post Conference Publication of SCONLI -5 held in 2011 at CALTS, University of Hyderabad, India. The mission of SCONLI is to serve as a forum for students from India and abroad, with an opportunity to organize, present, publish and synthesize their nascent thoughts in Linguistics.

A number of developments over the past several years have brought partitioned student voice to a united forum in the name of SCONLI. It has attracted increasing interest in the student-linguist community over the past several years. I am happy to go on record that the value of the conference is held high by including the preconference tutorials, keynote addresses, panels and specially invited speeches besides the presentation of peer screened papers for contributing the intellectual content of the program.

I thank the dedicated Members of the Editorial Committee as well as others whose efforts have been vital to making the conference a success and the *Coalescence* a reality. I take this opportunity to thank the concerned authorities of the University of Hyderabad and the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, for providing the financial support for students to attend the conference.

Head,
Centre for ALTS.

Congratulatory Message

Probal Dasgupta

Coalescence, an innovative volume emerging from the SCONLI that took place at the University of Hyderabad and reflecting the fruits of this initiative kickstarted by Tanmoy Bhattacharya and Ayesha Kidwai, whose careers reflect the partnership of the two major cities of contemporary Indian linguistics – Hyderabad and Delhi – is going to be of service to students and faculty in our linguistics institutions for some time to come. The volume's keynote text by K.A. Jayaseelan, a nurturing figure who has successfully bridged the gulf between generations, ensures that it will also be of great symbolic value. It will help pass the torch on to generations for whom none of us will be more than names associated with a journal article or two. Writing this short text which is half-way between a letter and a durable text, I find myself greeting not only those present, but also, less empirically and more symbolically, those past and those who will inhabit a future that has the strength to not feel anxious (as so many of us in this barely 'post'-colonial land still do) about the possible lexical or ceremonial incongruity of, for example, collocating 'wishing' with 'empirically'.

Head,
Linguistics Research Unit,
ISI Kolkata (formerly of UoH).

Key Note Address
THE CASE OF POSSESSORS AND EXPERIENCERS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

K. A. Jayaseelan
kajayaseelan11@gmail.com

1. The Possessive (Genitive) Marker as Relator

1.1. Consider (1):

(1)　　a.　　John's sister　　　　(possessive noun phrase)
　　　　b.　　John has a sister.　　(possessive clause)

Are the two syntactically related, i.e. can we start from the noun phrase and derive the clause?

Abney's (1987) analysis of the possessive noun phrase:

(2)
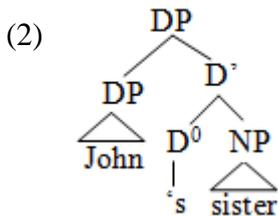
We shall call *'s* a possessive marker, Poss^0; so the phrase is PossP:

(3)
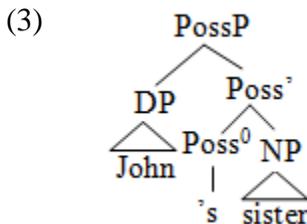
N.B.: Possessor DP and theme NP are not put together in a 'bare small clause'. There is a mediator.

Den Dikken (2006):

- In a predication structure, the relation of the predicate to its 'subject' needs to be mediated by a RELATOR.

1.2. The possessive marker across languages:

1.2.1. In English it cliticizes to the possessor (*John's brother*); also in Dravidian and eastern Indian languages:

(4) (Malayalam)   (5) (Bangla)
     John-**inte** ceTTan   John-**er** bhai
     John-gen. brother   John-gen. brother

1.2.2. In Hindi it is a separate word; has an agreement matrix; agrees "downward" with the theme NP:

(6) a. John **kaa**   laDkaa   'John's boy'
         John poss.msg boy

     b. John **kii**   laDkii   'John's girl'
         John poss.fsg   girl

     a. John **ke**   bacche   'John's children'
         John poss.pl.   children

1.2.3. In Hungarian, the Relator function of the possessive marker is nontransparent.

- The possessive marker has an agreement matrix, which agrees with the possessor.
- It "pulls up" the theme NP to its left, shows up as a suffix of the theme NP.

Cf. (7a), where **-e** is the possessive marker:

(7) a. az én-ø   vendég-**e**-m
         the I-nom   guest-poss-1sg
         'my guest'

     b.
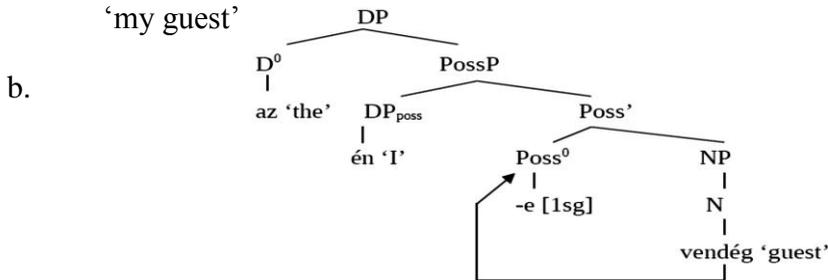
2. The Case of Possessor / Experiencer

2.1. The Hungarian possessive NP exhibits an interesting Case alternation (Szabolcsi 1983):

(8) a. az én-**ø** vendég-e-m   b. én-**nek**-em a vendég-e-m
         the I-nom guest-poss-1sg   I-dat-1sg the guest-poss-1sg
           'my guest'   'my guest'

(9) a. a te-**ø**   vendég-e-d   b. te-**nek**-ed a vendég-e-d
         the thou-nom guest-poss-2sg   thou-dat-2sg the guest-poss-2sg
           'thy guest'   'thy guest'

(10) a. (a) Mari-**ø** vendég-e-ø   b. Mari-**nak** a vendég-e-ø
          the Mary-nom guest-poss-3sg   Mary-dat the guest-poss-3sg
            'Mary's guest'   'Mary's guest'

'Possessive NPs in Hungarian come in two varieties' (Szabolcsi 1983:91).

- The possessor DP is **nominative** to the right of a definite determiner.
- It is **dative** to the left of the determiner

Szabolcsi's proposal:

(i)   When in-situ, it is marked nominative by the AGR element inside the theme NP.

(ii) But if it moves into the Spec of DP, it gets dative Case. [Why?!]

(11) $[_{DP}$ D^0 $[DP_{poss}$ N+I $]]$

Our analysis:

(i)   There is a Case Phrase (KP) generated above the possessive noun phrase (and above

the D^0 which takes the possessive noun phrase as its complement).

(ii) If DP_{poss} moves into SpecKP, it picks up its dative Case:

(12) $[_{KP}$ $K^0{}_{dat}$ $[_{DP}$ D^0 $[_{PossP}$ DP_{poss} $Poss^0$ NP_{theme} $]]]$

2.2. Generating the possessive clause from the possessive NP:

- The Hungarian possessive clause has a copula (*van* 'be'), which takes the possessive NP structure, (12), as its complement.
- DP$_{poss}$ moves into a position above this copula, possibly SpecIP.
- But it retains its dative Case (acquired in Spec,KP).

(13)   [$_{KP}$ K$^0_{dat}$ [$_{DP}$ D^0 [$_{PossP}$ DP$_{poss}$ Poss^0 NP$_{theme}$]]]

The possessive clause of Hungarian:

(14)   a. mi-**nak**-ūnk   van   bor-unk
           we-dat-1pl   is   wine-poss.1pl(nom)
          'We have wine.' (Lit. 'To us is wine.')

        b. Peter-**nak**   van   kar-ja-ø-ø
           Peter-dat   is   arm-poss-3sg-nom
           'Peter has an arm.' (Lit. 'To Peter is an arm.')

2.3. Cf. the 'dative construction' of Indian languages:

Possessive

(15)   (Malayalam)

            John-**inA** oru naaya uNDA
            John-dat   one dog   is
            'John has a dog.' (Lit. 'To John is a dog.')

Experiencer

(16)   (Malayalam)

            John-**inA** sukham   uNDA
            John-dat   well being is
            'John is well.'

(17)   (Hindi)

              John-**ko**   bukhar   hai
              John-dat   fever   be.Pres
              'John has a fever.'

'Plain' Stative (Predication of Quality)

(18)   (Malayalam)

              John-**inA**   uyaram uNDA
              John-Dat   height   is
              'John is tall.'

3. Does English have a 'dative construction'?

3.1.   A curious alternation of '**have** / **be**' in a certain type of possessive construction in English:

(19)   a.   There is a sequel to this story.
       b.   This story has a sequel (to it).

(20)   a.   There are some advantages to this course of action.
       b.   This course of action has some advantages (to it).

(21)   a.   There is no end to our problems.
       b.   Our problems have no end (to them).

(22)   a.   There is a catch to this.
       b.   This has a catch (to it).

The locative construction also shows this alternation:

(23)   a.   There are toys in that box.
       b.   That box has toys (in it).

(24)   a.   There are some eateries on the waterfront.
       b.   The waterfront has some eateries (on it).

3.2.　Now compare the possessive construction of Dravidian:

(15)　(Malayalam)

> John-*in*A　oru　naaya　uNDA
> John-dat　one　dog　is
> 'John has a dog.' (Lit. 'To John is a dog.')

In the Malayalam sentence:

- the possessor argument has the dative Case; and
- the verb is 'be' (its Malayalam equivalent).

In its English translation, 'John has a dog':

- ➢ the possessor is in the nominative Case; and
- ➢ the verb is 'have'.

The correlations:

Case of Possessor	~	**Verb**	**Language**
Dative	~	be (copula)	Malayalam
Nominative	~	have	English

But we have the same contrasts in the English sentence (19), if we take *to NP* to be a Dative NP. ['Case → Preposition', in historical change from Old English to Early Modern English (12th century)]

> (19)　a.　There **is** a sequel *to this story*. [dative possessor ~ copula]
> 　　　　b.　*This story* **has** a sequel (to it).　[nominative possessor ~ have]

That is, the Dravidian/English contrast is found also *within English*!

3.3.　The **have** / **be** alternation:

It is now a well-accepted idea that *have* (or its equivalent in other European languages) is underlyingly a copula into which a Case element, or a preposition, has incorporated (Benveniste 1966, Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993):

> *have*　=　*be* + Preposition (or Case)

So in English, the possessor argument, when its dative Case has been "eaten up" by the verb *have*, moves into SpecIP and gets nominative Case.

(25) a. $[_{KP}$ K^0_{dat} $[_{DP}$ D^0 $[_{PossP}$ DP_{poss} $Poss^0$ NP_{theme}]]]

b. K^0_{dat} + BE → have

c. $[_{KP}$ K^0_{dat} $[_{DP}$ D^0 $[_{PossP}$ DP_{poss} $Poss^0$ NP_{theme}]]]

The Dravidian-English contrast:

3. Dravidian has no verb 'have'. So it has Dative possessor + copula.
4. English has 'have'. So it has Nominative possessor + have. [English also has a construction with restricted distribution, e.g. (19), which has the Dravidian pattern 'Dative possessor + be'.]

3.4. Old English had the dative construction:

(26)   þam   cynge   licodon   peran
               the   king-dat   liked   pears
               'The king liked pears.' (Lit. 'To the king, pears liked.')

References

Den Dikken, M. 2006. *Relators and Linkers: The Syntax of Predication, Predicate Inversion, and Copulas*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Freeze, R. 1992. Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68(3):553-595.

Kayne, R. 1993. Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. Reprinted in R. Kayne, *Parameters and Universals*, 2000. New York: Oxford University Press.

Szabolcsi, A. 1983. The possessor that ran away from home. *The Linguistic Review* 3: 89-102.

CHAPTER 2

Centers Engaging With Linguistics in India

What all educational centers in India are engaged with teaching or research of linguistics? Where are they located? What courses are taught there? These are some of the questions that flummox the students (and sometimes even teachers) while doing linguistics in India. The educational centers that engage with teaching and research of linguistics remain unknown in terms of their location and courses offered. The above questions acquire significance with the fact that, irrespective of their present status, these centers are not only repositories of linguistics tasks already accomplished but also that they are equipped to study the languages of their regions. When we attempted to document the centers teaching full-fledged or part linguistics in India, we came across the 1982 report on the Status of Linguistics in Indian Universities prepared by the Panel on Linguistics, University Grants Commission (UGC) which studied about 24 centers. Three decades have passed since that report, and lots of changes have occurred, in the sense that new centers have emerged while some old centers have discontinued courses in linguistics. It appears important to us that the research community gets acquainted with the ones available at present. Given below is a vaguely sorted list of linguistics centers:

Department of Linguistics
Osmania University, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.
Courses offered: M.A.,M.Phil,Ph.D in Linguistics
Website: www.osmania.ac.in

Department of Linguistics
Dravidian University, Kuppam, Andhra Pradesh.
Courses offered: M.A.
Website: www.dravidianuniversity.ac.in

Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies
University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.
Courses offered: IMA, MA, M.Phil, Ph.D in Applied Linguistics Linguistics and M.Phil & PhD in Translation Studies.
Website: www.uohyd.ernet.in

Department of Linguistics
Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh

Courses Offered: MA in Applied Linguistics, M.Phil & PhD in Linguistics and PG Diploma in Linguistics and Language Teaching.
Website: http://www.teluguuniversity.ac.in/

Department of Linguistics,
Andhra University, Vishakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh
Courses offered: PG Diploma (English & Linguistics), MA (Distance Mode) PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.andhrauniversity.info/

Language Technology Research Center (LTRC)
International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh
Courses offered: M.Phil & Ph.D in Computational Linguistics
Website: www.iiit.ac.in

Department of Linguistics and Phonetics
Courses offered: MA, M.Phil & Ph.D in Linguistics
English and Foreign Language University, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh
Website: www.efluniversity.ac.in
Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages,

Sri Venkateshwara University, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh
Courses Offered: MA, PG Diploma & PhD in Applied Linguistics.
Website: http://www.svuniversity.in/colleges/arts/foreignlanguages.html

Center for Linguistics,
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi
Courses Offered: MA, M. Phil and PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.jnu.ac.in/main.asp?sendval=CLAboutus

Department of Linguistics,
University of Delhi, New Delhi
Courses offered: MA, M. Phil & Ph.D in Linguistics, Post MA Diploma in Linguistics & Advanced Diploma in Applied Linguistics.
Website: http://web1.du.ac.in/show_department.html?department_id=Linguistics

EFL University Lucknow Campus, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh
Courses: M. Phil and PhD in English (Linguistics and Phonetics)
Website: http://www.efluniversity.ac.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article& id=90&Itemid=127

Department of Linguistics,
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh
Courses offered: BA, MA, PG Diploma, PhD in Linguistics, PG Diploma in language of Advertising, Media and Marketing,
Website: http://www.amu.ac.in/department.jsp?did=17

Department of Linguistics,
Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh
Courses offered: BA, MA & PhD in Linguistics. M. Phil in Applied Linguistics and Diploma in Language Technology (to be launched shortly).
Website: http://www.bhu.ac.in/linguistic/index.html

Department of linguistics,
Lucknow University, Uttar Pradesh
Courses offered: MA and PG Diploma in Linguistics
Website: http://www.lkouniv.ac.in/dept_lingu.htm

Kanhaiyalal Institute of Hindi Studies and Linguistics
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University, Agra, Uttar Pradesh
Courses Offered: MA, M. Phil & PhD.
Website: http://www.dbrau.ac.in/department_%20of_KMI.html

Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics
Sampurnanand Sanskrit Visva Vidhyalaya, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh.
Website: http://ssvv.up.nic.in/Faculties%20and%20Departments.htm

Linguistics Department
Decan College of Post Graduate Research Institute, Pune, Maharashtra
Courses offered: MA & PhD in Linguistics,
Website: http://www.deccancollegepune.ac.in/dept_linguistics.asp

School of Language
School of Translation and Interpretation
Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishvidhyalaya, Wardha, Maharashtra.
Courses Offered: MILE, MA & PhD in and MA & PhD in Computational Linguistics
Website: http://www.hindivishwa.org/

Department of Linguistics,
University of Mumbai, Mumbai, Maharashtra
Courses offered: MA & PhD in Linguistics, Certificate in Phonetics & Phonology
Website: http://www.mu.ac.in/arts/ling_lang/linguistics/profile.html

Topiwala National Medical College & B. Y. L. Nair Charitable Hospital, Bombay, Maharashtra.
Course Offered: BA in Audio-Speech Language Pathology
Website: http://www.tnmcnair.com/index.html

Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University
Formerly known as Nagpur University, Nagpur, Maharashtra
Courses Offered: BA, MA, PhD
Website: http://www.nagpuruniversity.org/links/FacultyofArts.htm

Department of Linguistics
Bharathiar University, Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu
Courses offered: MA in Linguistics
Website: www.b-u.ac.in

Department of Linguistics
Tamil University, Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu
Courses Offered: M.Phil & PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.tamiluniversity.ac.in/tu_english/research.php

School of Tamil Studies, Department of Linguistics
Madurai Kamraj University, Madurai, Tamil Nadu.
Courses Offered: MA in Applied Linguistics, Diploma, M.Phil & PhD in Linguistics.
Website: www.mkuniversity.org

Department of Tamil Language
University of Madras, Chennai, Tamil Nadu
Courses Offered: MA in Applied Linguistics, M.Phil in Computational Linguistics.
Website: http://www.unom.ac.in/

Department of English,
Dr. MGR Educational and Research Institute, Chennai, Tamil Nadu.
Courses Offered: MA in English Literature & Linguistics, M. Litt. in Applied Linguistics
Website: http://www.drmgrdu.ac.in/

Department of Linguistics
Annamalai University, Annamalai, Tamil Nadu.
Courses offered: MA Linguistics
Website: www.annamalaiuniversity.ac.in

Department of Linguistics
Mysore University, Mysore, Karnataka
Courses offered: MA & PG Diploma in Linguistics
Website: www.uni-Mysore.ac.in

Department of Linguistics
University of Kolkata, Kolkata, West Bengal
Courses offered: MA & PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.caluniv.ac.in/academic/academic_frame.htm

Sanskrit College,
University of Calcutta, Kolkata, West Bengal.
Course offered: BA in Linguistics
Website: http://www.sanskritcollege.co.in/

Jadavpur University, Kolkata, West Bengal
Extra Departmental Course - Linguistics
Website: http://www.jaduniv.edu.in/index.php

Linguistic Research Unit
Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, West Bengal
Courses Offered: N. A.
Website: http://www.isical.ac.in/~lru/

Department of Linguistics
University of Kerala, Kerala
Courses offered: MA, M.Phil (General) MPhil (Computational Linguistics) & Ph.D.
Website: www.keralauniversity.edu

Shri Shankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Trivandrum, Kerala
Courses offered: MA in Applied Linguistics
Website: http://www.ssus.ac.in/index.php/academic-programmers/regular-courses/pg-
programmes

University of Sagar, Sagar, Madhya Pradesh
Also, known as Dr. Hari Singh Gaur University
Courses Offered: MA, PhD
Website:http://www.dhsgsu.ac.in/index.php

Department of Tribal Languages and Comparative Linguistics
Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Amarkantak, Madhya Pradesh.
Courses: To be launched shortly.

Website: http://www.igntu.nic.in/department.htm

Department of Comparative Language and Culture,
Barkatullah University, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh
Courses Offered: MA in Applied Linguistics and M.Phil in Comparative Linguistics
Website: http://www.bubhopal.nic.in/comparative.htm

Department of Linguistics,
M. S. University, Baroda, Gujarat
Courses: BA, MA & PG Diploma in Linguistics
Website: http://www.msubaroda.ac.in/departmentinfo.php?ffac_code=1&fdept_code=10

Department of Linguistics,
Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, Gujarat.
Courses offered: MA as a subsidiary paper.
Website: http://www.gujaratuniversity.org.in/web/WebDLingusitics.asp

Department of Kannada,
Karnatak University, Dharwad Karnataka
Courses Offered: MA in Applied Linguistics, Diploma, M.Phil & PhD in Linguistics.
Website: http://www.kud.ac.in/kud_home.aspx

Kuvempu Institute of Kannada,
University of Mysore, Mysore, Karnataka
Courses Offered: MA in Applied Linguistics, PG Diploma in Linguistics
Website: http://www.uni-mysore.ac.in/kuvempu-institute-of-kannada-studies/

EFL University Shillong Campus, Shillong, Meghalaya
Courses Offered: N.A.
Website:
http://www.efluniversity.ac.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=89&Itemid=128

School of Humanities
North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya
Courses Offered: MA and PhD in Linguistics
Website: www.nehu.ac.in

Department of Linguistics
Berhampur University, Berhampur, Odisha
Courses offered: MA & PhD in Linguistics

Website: www.bamu.nic.in
Department of Linguistics and Punjabi Lexicography,
Panjabi University, Patiala, Panjab.
Courses Offered: MA & PG Diploma in Linguistics and M. Phil & PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.punjabiuniversity.ac.in/dlpl/

Department of Linguistics,
University of Kashmir, Srinagar, Jammu & Kashmir.
Courses offered: MA, M.Phil and PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.kashmiruniversity.net/department.aspx?dept=7

Department of Linguistics,
Assam University, Silchar, Assam
Courses: MA, M.Phil & PhD
Website: www.assamuniversity.nic.in/dept/linguistics.pdf

School of Studies in Literature and Language
Pandit Ravishankar Shukla University, Raipur, Chattisgarh
Courses offered: MA, M. Phil & PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.prsu.ac.in/

Department of Linguistics,
Manipur University, Imphal, Manipur.
Courses Offered: MA, PG Diploma & PhD in Linguistics
Website: http://www.uni-mysore.ac.in/courses-offered-22/

All India Institute of Speech and Hearing
Courses Offered: B.Sc, M.Sc & PhD in Speech-Language Pathology, PG Diploma in Clinical Linguistics
Website: www.aiishmysore.com

Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology

Bhubaneshwar [www.iitbbs.ac.in]	Hyderabad [www.iith.ac.in]	Mandi [www.iitmandi.ac.in]
Bombay [www.iitb.ac.in]	Indore [www.iiti.ac.in]	Patna [www.iitp.ac.in]
Delhi [www.iitd.ac.in]	Kanpur [www.iitk.ac.in]	Ropar [www.iitrpr.ac.in]
Gandhinagar [www.iitgn.ac.in]	Kharagpur [www.iitkgp.ernet.in]	Rurkee [www.iitr.ac.in]
Guwahati [www.iitg.ac.in	Madras [www.iitm.ac.in]	

Other Centers

Central Institute of Indian Languages - Mysore
Central Institute of Indian Languages - Lucknow

Facets of Sign Language

Nisha Irene[a] V.S. & Amalesh Gope[b]

[a]nishairene@gmail.com, [b]amaleshgope5sept@gmail.com

The article titled 'Facets of Sign Language' sets out to elucidate the linguistically meaningful constituents of sign language by unveiling its structural properties. Sign language, indispensable to the deaf community is considered unreliable due to its lack of speech. Hence the present work discusses sign language as a natural language and substantiates its various linguistic features to be common to spoken language form.

The various formational elements that structure a meaningful sign in Sign language are discussed in the paper. The information compiled for the study comes along with an empirical data (elicited from Sign language users) which verify the presence of the semantic phenomenon 'Polysemy'.

The work strives towards extending the knowledge about sign communication and thereby motivates minds to implement research works on various aspects of Sign language[*].

"The Indians of Tampa Bay were active in the use of signs", "I questioned and received the answers of the Indians by signs, just as if they spoke our language and we theirs".

– Cabecca de Vaca (1528).

"And the following day, in the morning, there came to the ship three large Indians, and by signs they said that there were travelling in the interior men like us, with beard and clothes and armed like those of ships; and made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and went running in a posture as if riding on a horseback; and made signs that they killed many of the native Indians, and that for this they were afraid. This people are well disposed and advanced; they go covered with skin of animals".

– US Geographic Report (1879)

INTRODUCTION

The word 'Language' is derived from the Latin word 'langua' meaning 'sound'. Hence, the basic form of language is expected to be of its spoken form which involves speech

sounds. But considering the fact that describes a real language or a possible language includes a particular set of laws and rules for it to function as a natural language.

If language is processed in the brain and not in the oral articulators, it is possible for a language to be expressed through a different medium. If language communicates ideas by producing some sets of meaningful sounds, it is also possible to have a particular kind of language which performs the same function except for the difference in the physical act of producing it. Sign language is one such language where the speech sounds are absent and communication is accomplished through signs that are performed manually.

In olden days, a group of people abstained from sign language fearing that it would inhibit the learning of oral languages and hinder deaf people' participation in the society. Still in some countries like Japan, the national government prohibits the use of Sign language. Later, Wallis & Holder made an attempt to teach the deaf and became the first teachers of speech to the deaf. The first public school for the hearing impaired was established in the year 1755 in London by Michal de l'Eppe. In the 1870's there was a mood set up and oral teachers were employed in many deaf schools.

Teaching deaf the oral language freed them from being complacent about Sign language. Though it took a full-fledged form in its days, the growth and development of Sign language had not tapered off. Dalgarno devised the finger spelling method; it sailed through many trials and experiments and finally got its shape and became two-handed 'British Manual alphabets'. American Sign Language uses one-handed alphabet whereas Indian Sign language uses double handed 'Standard Manual alphabet'.

Dalgarno's alphabet
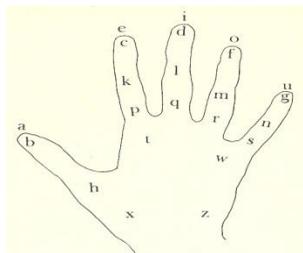
Source: Sandler, W. & Martin, D.L (1985)

American Sign Language (ASL), British Sign language (BSL), Indian Sign language (ISL), French Sign language (SFL) are some of the Sign languages used in America, Britain, India and France respectively. These are standard varieties of Sign language and possess their own set of vocabulary and grammar. Though Britain and America share a common mother tongue, ASL completely stands out in all its aspects of BSL and has much in common with SFL. Let us have a brief introduction to Indian Sign language on which the empirical work was undertaken to explore its semantic side.

Indian sign language:

Indian sign language, the principle language of the Deaf community is being acclaimed for its usage throughout India and in other parts of the world. It's high time people know of its worth, importance and well aware of its features to be considered as a natural language.

Since India hosts people of different cultures belonging to different linguistic backgrounds, having one common sign language may fail to serve the purpose of fulfilling vocabulary related to one's culture. If fulfilled, though it may be intelligible to some, it's sure to leave the others flummoxed. Thus there are variations found in ISL across India, such as: Mumbai- Delhi Sign language, Hyderabad- Madras- Bangalore Sign language and Kolkata Sign language.

There are features in Sign language which runs parallel to spoken language. Baffled by its behaviour, researchers took interest in undertaking research on whether language can exist without speech. As a result, many proven facts about Sign language were put forward.

Primes and Parameters:

While spoken language involves vocal auditory system, sign language involves visual-manual system. In other words, production of speech involves vocal organs such as mouth, lips, teeth, tongue, and other interior organs of the mouth and perception involves the auditory system. Communication through signs involves body parts. They are performed manually and perceived visually. With no sound, sign language rests largely upon hand forms, location, movement and facial expression. The formational elements of Sign language are described as 'articulatory parameters' that constitute Hand form (shape

of the hand), Orientation, (the manner in which the hand is shown), Location (position where the hand is placed) and Movement (the way hand moves).

Hand form:

Hand form plays the central role in the production of signs. It shows the shape that the hand forms using fingers. In this case signers show handedness. They switch to either left or right hand which in no way brings about a meaning change. The number of hand configurations in Sign language varies from one language (sign) to the other as we have different vowel and consonant numbers in spoken language. The number of hand forms in ASL is found to be nineteen; BSL comprises of twenty three and ISL twenty two.

Hand configurations
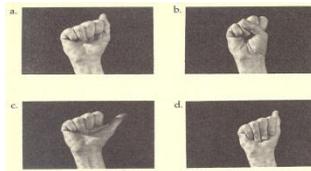
Source: Kyle, J.G & Woll, B. (1985)

Hand orientation: The hand can be oriented in number of ways such as 'flat hand', 'cupped hand', 'palm up', 'palm down' and so on. It shows the manner in which the hand is shown.

Location: It refers to the place where the hand is positioned. It is same as the 'place of articulation' in spoken language. Example: Place of articulation for the sound 't' would be TONGUE TOUCHES THE ALVEOLAR. However, the individual elements are termed as 'primes' in Sign language. "Cupped hand" is a prime in terms of orientation and a particular hand configuration is a prime in terms of hand shape. Primes can be analysed and are helpful in the feature analysis of signs. It's equal to analysing phonological features in spoken language. Together with the moves of hands, form and orientation, the sign is geared towards giving out the intended meaning.

Body posture: The body space for language is highly restricted. One does not need to writhe in order to convey the message. Even though in mimes and dance the meaning is

expressed through a particular form of sign, it uses a wide space. For example, to show someone sweeping the floor, one has to stoop down to show the action. But in the case of sign language, the space is restricted to the upper part of the body and head. The signer cannot afford to place the hand form beyond this location. And the signer's body should be positioned right in front of the observer for a better viewing since the interpretation is achieved visually.

Body posture:

Source: Kyle, J.G & Woll, B. (1985)

Though there are different points such as shoulders, abdomen, chest and neck where hand configurations can be kept, interestingly the head possess more locations than the body. Later Siple came up with a statement which said, "Signers do not look at each others' hands but on each others' faces" (Siple, 1970). His observation clearly says that those who perceive the sign mainly focus on the face than on the body.

Sign language Grammar: Apart from the signs that are performed manually, there are other important features which make a sign meaningful in certain context. Other than signs, the eyebrow moves, head tilt, tensed lips, frowning constitute the grammatical category and are called as NON-MANUAL MARKERS.

In 1977, when Thompson looked for an overt complimentizer in American Sign Language as it is seen in spoken language, Liddell's statement gave a new insight into it. In 1980, he found in his research that these non-manual markers carry the grammatical function. "Relative clauses are indeed grammatically marked in ASL, contrary to Thompson's claims-not by function words such THAT, but by non-manual grammatical markers. It co-occurs with the material of the relative clause." (Liddell1980). With no qualms, Liddell succeeded in his findings and added a new dimension to Sign language grammar.

Gestures: Gestures are not whole signs but a part of it. Non-manual markers constitute gestures and are used not only in the making of signs but also while using spoken language. Gestures include nodding head for YES and moving it side to side for NO, shrugging, nudging etc. There are certain universal gestures for verbs like COME, DRINK, EAT etc. and some gestures are specific to cultural, linguistic and geographical area. For example, the way Srilankans shake their head for YES would be a disagreement sign for the English speakers. Lady moving her hands while hosting a television show; Umpire moving his hands and fingers; all constitute gestures.

Facial expression: Another feature functions as a grammatical marker is the 'Facial expression'. It helps in identifying the tense and the sentence type. It alerts the receiver whether the sentence is declarative or interrogative. Though hands and body take the central position in Sign language, the receiver's eyes focus the face encompassing both hands and the body. The speed of a fluent signer is same as that of a speaker uttering string of words to form a sentence. Thus "it would seem that interaction in sign is as complex as the behaviour of hearing people in speech".

Expression for Interrogation

| Woman | forget | purse |

Source: Liddell, S. K. (1980)

Varieties of Sign language: There are varieties existing within Sign language apart from its standard varieties. Speech based Sign language, Finger spelling the speech, Alternate Sign language and Home sign or Kitchen sign are some of its kind.

In the 'Speech based Sign language', the spoken language is signed in its own order and form. This comes in handy when hearing parents of deaf children attempts to communicate with their children. It also provides the opportunity for the hearing impaired kids to learn English and other spoken languages for easy communication with the society. It involves signing the grammar and other elements of the spoken language

and follows the pattern and structure of it. It is a signed form of the spoken language. "Performing whole signs for every single speech word or its meaningful part (morpheme)".

Example: sign for 'I ran' would be like this,
- Separate sign for 'I'
- Separate sign for 'run' and again
- Separate sign for the 'past tense' to denote the past.

In the 'Finger spelling of speech', the elements of spoken language are spelt using Manual alphabets. It ranges from single word utterances to discourse level.

Example: sign for 'I ATE THE BANANA' would be I –a-t-e –t-h-e –b-a-n-a-n-a.

Alternate Sign languages are developed by a particular group of speakers to be used in a specific context where speech is not possible. For example, monks in the monastery, where complete silence is maintained during worship hours. Sometimes in work place, where a particular code is followed to deal with the clients. The people who use Alternate Sign language always have a first language which would be their primary language.

Sign language equals to Spoken language: Here are some examples to showcase the spoken language counterparts in Sign language. The features are indeed uniform between the two language forms.

Arbitrariness: The linguistic form does not always portray its meaning. Although inextricable, the lack of one-to-one connection between the linguistic form and its meaning explains 'Arbitrariness', a feature exclusively for natural languages. In Sign language, it is termed as 'Iconicity'.

Just as spoken languages which possess both iconic and non-iconic words, Sign language lexicon has also got its iconic and non-iconic versions. Iconic signs have a non-arbitrary relationship with its meaning whereas non-iconic signs do not have a one-to-one connection with its meaning. Signs such as FOOD, GIVE, DRINK are iconic in nature and EASY, ALLOW, FEEL are signs which are non-iconic.
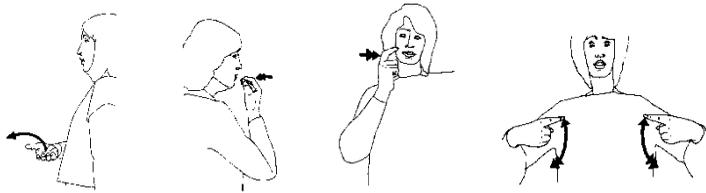
Give   Eat   Easy   Allow

Ref: Kyle, J.G & Woll, B. (1985)

Duality: Duality is another feature which is unique to human communication. It explains the two layers in which language is organised. One level involves realising the individual sounds as it is. For example consider [b], [i], [t]. And the other is combining these individual meaningless units to give it a meaningful form. The above sound units are combined and realised as a meaningful word unit BIN. Thus duality at one level has 'distinct sound' and at the other level, 'distinct meaning'. And the sound units which are meaningless by themselves bring about a meaning change if altered and they form 'Minimal pairs'.

Example:

1. b-i-t   b-i-n
2. p-a-t   m-a-t

In sign language, the elements such as hand form, location and movement are not meaningful by themselves but are realised as meaningful signs when comes in combination. Change of one element would effectively bring about a meaning change.

Example:

Signs for DECIDE and PERSON in ASL.

Decide   Person

22
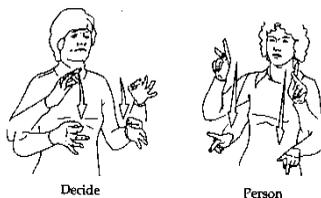
Having same movement and location, the difference in the hand form brings a palpable change in the meaning.

Sign morphology: All languages comprise of simple and complex word forms. In English, the simple word CALL takes up complex forms such as call-S, call-ED and call-ER. These markers agree with the person, number and gender. The very presence of this property in Sign language is shown below.

"I look at you."   "You look at me."   "I look at you (plural)."
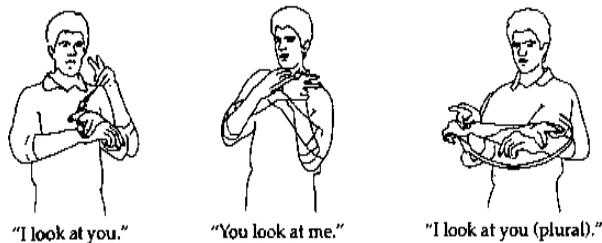
Source: Sandler, W. & Martin, D. L. (1985)

For 'I look at you' the hand first points at the subject and goes towards the object. For 'You look at me', it's pointing towards the subject initially and comes to the object. The movement of the hand agrees with the subject and the object. And when it's plural, the agreement changes. Here the hand movement agrees with the plural marker by moving it sidewise.

Semantics of sign language: The semantic property has been examined in ISL for which an empirical work was undertaken with special respect to 'Polysemy'. The investigations revealed the presence of polysemy in Sign language. Ten subjects were taken and the group constitutes ISL users, learners and interpreters. The subjects were between the age group 23-69. A questionnaire was given to the subjects and it contained pairs of English sentences (Appendix 2 & 3) in which each pair having the same polysemous verb with a distinct meaning.16 pairs of sentences were considerably reduced to 10 after the validation test. The signs for its ISL counterparts were performed by the subjects. Let us look at the behavioral characteristics of ISL verbs.

Verb: 1. LOOK   1. A. "Hi! *Look* at the birds!" 1. B. "The baby *Looks* cute

LOOK-at-the-bird   Baby   LOOKS   cute

Here the verb 'LOOK' in 1.A is directional in nature. The agreement between the subject and the verb is seen and the verb sense is iconic. However, the second verb sense for 'LOOK' in 1.B, the sign is optional. While it is performed, it behaves uniformly with the sign for previous verb sense in 1.A. The data reveals the presence of polysemy in the verb "LOOK".

Verb: 2. HOLD 2.A.   He *HELD* me tightly 2.B. Exam will be *HELD* day after tomorrow.

"HOLD tightly"   HELD   Exam   Day   After   Tomorrow

In case of the first sense in 2.A, merger is seen. The sign for HELD and TIGHTLY are merged into a single sign. Here the sign is regular and obligatory. However, in the case of second sense, arbitrariness is being found and here the sign is optional. Polysemy is absent in the verb "HOLD".

Verb: 3. GIVE 3.A. I will *GIVE* the pen to him 3.B. She *GAVE* me a dirty look

I   pen   GIVE (directional) him   She   GAVE me a look   Dirty

In the case of 3A, the sign for GIVE which moves towards the object, agrees with the subject. Since the subject does the action which is directional, the hand moves away from the subject towards the object. With the verb sense 3B, the verb is found to be directional as 3A, but it is covert. The direction gives a hidden meaning that the action has been received from the subject. Since the verb agrees with the subject, the sign shows an inward direction. However, the single sign (the middle one) is embedded with three different meanings; viz. *'look', 'give' &' me'*. The sign for the verb sense in 3.A is overt whereas in 3.B, it is covert but still both are directional. Since both A & B show direction, we can say to some extent polysemy is present between the verb senses.

Verb: 4. CHARGE 4.A. He *CHARGED* at the crowd with a gun 4 B.I need to *CHARGE* my battery

He　　　crowd　　　CHARGED (with a gun)　I　　　　Mobile　　　CHARGE

In the verb sense 4A, an overt sign has been replaced by a facial expression. In the sense 4B, instead of giving a specific sign, the whole process was enacted. Polysemy is absent.

Verb: 5. DEVELOP 5.A. Please *DEVELOP* this role of film for me 5.B Children must *DEVELOP* good habits

Please　　　roll　　　film　　　DEVELOP　for me　　　Cradling motion　rubbing
fingers

(Other signs made for the verb DEVELOP)

| Children | must | DEVELOP | Habits | good |

Here in the first sense 5.A, three different overt signs are performed to denote the sense DEVELOP. Various signs to denote a specific action just like various words are used to indicate an action. For example, I have completed my work/finished my work/done with my work and so. However, in the sense 5.B, the same sign is done for DEVELOP except for the difference in Hand shape. Since hand shape is majorly responsible in the meaning decision, it can't be said that it is polysemous. We concluded that polysemy is absent in the verb DEVELOP.

FINDINGS: Polysemy does not behave in the same way as it does in the English language. The word order in ISL is found be having a FREE WORD ORDER. Facial expressions not only serve the purpose of grammatical category but also lexical category (Refer 4A). Lexical choice is present (flexibility). (5A) AGREEMENT feature is seen (3A).

A table has been made to show the behavioral characteristics of the given verbs in ISL.

CONCLUSION: The work presented here is an attempt to bring out the cooped up features of Sign language to light. With a vision of unending possibilities in sign research, the work strives to nurture the minds of researchers to explore further areas in Sign language.

The quotes in the beginning give a tacit expression that the origin of Sign language began when the white men started communicating with the Indians. Columbus says that the Indians were communicated through signs. And it's not astonishing to say that spoken languages evolved from signs.

REFERENCES

Addison, W. H. 1899. *Glasgow Society for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb.* Glasgow: Blackie.

Baker, C. 1980. On the Terms verbal and non-verbal. In Ahlgren, I. & Bergman, B. (eds). *Papers from the first international symposium on Sign Language research.* Stockholm: Swedish National Association for the Deaf.

Baker, C. & Cokely, D. 1980. *American Sign Language: A Teacher's Resource Text on Grammar& Culture.* Silver Spring, Md.: T.J Publishers.

Batson, T. W. & Bergman, E. 1976. *The Deaf Experience.* South Waterford: Merriam Eddy.

Kyle, J. G., & Woll, B. (eds). 1983. *Language in Sign: An International Perspective on Sign Language.* London: Croom Helm.

Kyle, J.G.& Woll, B. 1985. *Sign Language: The Study of Deaf People and Their Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liddell, K. S. 1980. *American Sign Language Syntax.* New York: Mouton Publishers, The Hague.

Richard, T. 1998. *The American Sign Language Handshape Dictionary.* Washington DC: Gallaudet College press.

Yule, G. 2006. *The study of Language*. Cambridge University press.

Web References:

Nickens, C. J. 2008. *The History of American Sign Language.* Downloaded from the site <http//www.books.google.co.in>.

Rosen, E. "History of ISL (an undergraduate project)" paper downloaded from the site <http//www.inl.jou.ufl.edu/projects/fall05/rosen/history.html>.

Sandler, W. & Martin, D. 1985. *An Overview of Theoritical Linguistic Research on Sign Lannguage: A Handbook of Linguistics.* Downloaded from <http//www.books.google.co.in>.

Tomkins, W.1969. *Indian Sign Language*. Dover Publications. Downloaded from the site <http//www.books.google.co.in>

www. Inquiry. Net/outdoor/native/sign/history.htm   {a history of native (Indian sign language) 1 may 2005, sign history by wiiiam Tomkins.

Incorporating Tense in Davidsonian and Neo-Davidsonian Event-Semantics Representation

Bidisha Bhattacharjee
dibyasha@gmail.com

Event Semantics: Event-Semantics, which is more often known as Davidsonian Semantics, is a theory of semantics proposed by the British philosopher Donald Davidson (1967). According Davidson this is a theory of truth for a natural language constitutes a theory of meaning for that language. The meaning of any sentence is derivable from axioms which assign semantic properties to its constituents, and sentence structures are linked by valid inferential relations. According to Davidson event semantics works well for verb expressing individual events that have a specific temporal location. After Davidsonian analysis of Event-semantics there‟s another newer approach of Event-semantics which is known as Neo-Davidsonian Event-semantics, proposed by Parson and Dowty (1989).

In this paper I will try to show how we can add tense into the Davidsonian and Neo-Davidsonian event semantics representation in the language Bangla. To serve that purpose I have given both the event semantics representation with tense and without tense.

The representation is like following:

1. ishita rannaghore churi diye piyajTa kuci kuci kore kaTlo
    Ishita kitchen.LOC knife with onion.DET chop chop manner cut.PAST
    "Ishita chopped the onion with a knife in the kitchen."

i) $\Xi|e$ (kaTa (isita,piyajTa,e) $\wedge$ diye (churi,e) $\wedge$ ε (rannaghor, e) $\wedge$ (kore (kucci kucci,e)

ii) $\Xi|e\Xi|t$ {(t< NOW) $\wedge$ (kaTa(isita, piyajTa,e) $\wedge$ diye (churi,e) $\wedge$ ε (rannaghor,e) $\wedge$ kore (kucci kucci,e) $\wedge$ AT (t,e))}

iii) $\Xi|e$ (kaTa(e) $\wedge$ AGENT (isita,e) $\wedge$ THEME (piyajTa,e) $\wedge$ diye.INSTRUMENT (churi,e) $\wedge$ ε.LOCATION (rannaghor,e) $\wedge$ kore.MANNER (kucci kucci,e))

iv)   ΞleΞlt {(t<NOW) ^ (kaTa(e) ^ AGENT (isita,e) ^ THEME (piyajTa,e) ^ diye.INSTRUMENT (churi,e) ^ ε.LOCATION (rannaghor,e) ^ kore.MANNER (kucci kucci,e)) ^ AT (t,e))}

There is an event of chopping onion at a past time and its agent is Ishita and it happened at a specific place and in a specific manner with a specific instrument.

I have tried to show four Bangla sentences which contain both the past tense and the future tense.

Event Semantics: Event-Semantics, which is more often known as Davidsonian Semantics, is a theory of semantics proposed by the British philosopher Donald Davidson (1967). According Davidson this is a theory of truth for a natural language constitutes a theory of meaning for that language. The meaning of any sentence is derivable from axioms which assign semantic properties to its constituents, and sentence structures are linked by valid inferential relations.

Event verbs are represented by relations of a fixed arity; that is the number of syntactic complements+1, have an argument position occupied by an event variable. According to Davidson event semantics works well for verb expressing individual events that have a specific temporal location.

After Davidsonian analysis of Event-semantics there"s another newer approach of Event-semantics which is known as Neo-Davidsonian Event-semantics, proposed by Parson and Dowty (1989). The Neo-Davidsonian analysis of event-semantics it is a particular approach to the analysis of Thematic Roles, in which verbs are regarded as 1-place predicates of events and thematic roles are treated as 2-place relations between individuals and events.

Under a neo-Davidsonian semantic representetaion (Davidson 1967, Higginbotham 1985, Parsons 1990), every verb contains an event position in its theta-grid, available for modification and theta-binding. Thematic roles are represented as separate relations connecting the event to an individual.

mini kal rate dokan theke doS-ta jama kineche
mini yesterday night.LOC shop from ten.CLA dress buy.PAST

"Mini bought 10 new dresses form a shop yesterday".

[kena (e)^ AGENT(mini,e)^THEME(10ta jama,e)^TIME(kal rate,e)^AT(dokan theke,e)]

Here, in the next four sentences I will show the tense representation on Davidsonian and Neo-Davidsonian event semantics in my Language Bangla.

2.   bipasa robibare ekTa notun gaRi kinbe
        Bipasa Sunday one.CLA new car buy.FUT
        "Bipasa will buy a new car on Sunday."

3.   ishita rannaghore churi diye piyajTa kuci kuci kore kaTlo
        Ishita kitchen.LOC knife with onion.DET chop chop manner cut.PAST
        "Ishita chopped the onion with a knife in the kitchen."

4.   bani bujhlo jhor asbe
        Bani feel.PAST storm come.FUT
        "Bani felt the storm would come."

5.   mina pouchobar por brisTi elo
        Mina arrive.PAST after rain come.PAST.PERF
        "The rain started after Mina had arrived."

The representations are given here in following order:

i)   Davidsonian representation without tense
ii)   Davidsonian representation with tense
iii)   Neo-Davidsonian representation without tense
iv)   Neo-Davidsonian representation with tense

The symbol (e) represents event, (t) represents time, (NOW<t) represents future tense and (t<NOW) represents past tense.

1. i) Ξǀe (kena(bipasa,ekTa notun gaRi,e) ^ ε (robibar,e))
   ii) Ξǀe Ξǀt {(NOW< t) ^ (kena (bipasa,ekTa notun gaRi,e) ^ ε (robibar,e)) ^AT (t,e))}

   iii) Ξǀe (kena(e) ^ AGENT (bipasa, e) ^ THEME (ekTa notun gaRi, e) ^ TIME (robibar, e))

31

iv) Ξ|e Ξ|t{(NOW< t) ^ (kena(e) ^ AGENT (bipasa, e) ^ THEME (ekTa notun gaRi, e) ^ ε TIME (robibar, e)) ^ AT (t,e))}

There is an event of buying a car which will take place in future and its agent is *Bipasa*.

2. i)   Ξ|e (kaTa (isita,piyajTa,e) ^ diye (churi,e) ^ ε (rannaghor, e) ^ (kore (kucci kucci,e)

    ii)   Ξ|eΞ|t {(t< NOW) ^ (kaTa(isita, piyajTa,e) ^ diye (churi,e) ^ ε (rannaghor,e) ^ kore (kucci kucci,e) ^ AT (t,e))}

    iii)   Ξ|e (kaTa(e) ^ AGENT (isita,e) ^ THEME (piyajTa,e) ^ diye.INSTRUMENT (churi,e) ^ ε.LOCATION (rannaghor,e) ^ kore.MANNER (kucci kucci,e))

    iv)   Ξ|eΞ|t {(t<NOW) ^ (kaTa(e) ^ AGENT (isita,e) ^ THEME (piyajTa,e) ^ diye.INSTRUMENT (churi,e) ^ ε.LOCATION (rannaghor,e) ^ kore.MANNER (kucci kucci,e)) ^ AT (t,e))}

There is an event of chopping onion at a past time and its agent is Ishita and it happened at a specific place and in a specific manner with a specific instrument.

3. i)   Ξ|e Ξ|e'' (bojha(bani,e) ^ (e<eu) ^ asa (jhoR,e'') ^ (e,e''))
    ii) Ξ|eΞ|e''(bojha(e)^ EXPERIENCER (bani,e) ^ (e ε eu) ^asa (jhoR,e'') ^ (e'' ε eu) ^ (e<e'') ^ AT (E,T))}

    [Where, E= e<eu, e<e'', T=t<t'',t<NOW,t''<NOW]

    iii) Ξ|e Ξ|e''(bojha(e) ^ EXPERIENCER (bani,e) ^ STIMULUS (e,e'') ^ asa (e'') ^ THEME (jhoR,e''))

    iv) Ξ|e Ξ|t {(T< NOW) ^ (bojha(e) ^ EXPERIENCER (bani,e) ^ STIMULUS (e,e'') ^ asa (e'') ^ THEME (jhoR,e''))ε ^ AT (E,T))}

    [Where , E= {e<eu, e<e''} T= {t<t'', t<NOW, t''<NOW}]

    [U= {b,j,e,e''},{e ε eu:e'' ε eu} (universal event set), e<e'']

There was an event e and there was an event e", where e<e" and they were taking place in two different times: e was taking place at the time t and e" was taking places at the time t" and t<t", where e represents the relation between e and e" that is e<e" and T represents the relation between t and t" that is t<t" and e was a feeling and e" was the stimulus of e.

4. i) Ξ|e Ξ|e" (asa (brisTi,e) ^ (e<eu) ^ pouchano (mina,e)^ (e"<e))
   ii) Ξ|EΞ|T {(T<NOW) ^ (asa(brisTi,e) ^ (e ε eu) ^ (pouchano (mina,e) ^ (e" ε eu) ^ (e"<e) ^ AT (E,T))}

   [Where E={e"<e and e eu} and T= {t"<t,t<NOW,t"<NOW}]

   iii) Ξ|eΞ|e" (asa(e) ^ AGENT (brisTi,e) ^ (e<eu) ^ pouchano (e) ^ AGENT (mina,e) ^ (e"<e))

   iv) Ξ|EΞ|T {(T<NOW) (asa(e) ^ AGENT (brisTi,e) ^ (e<eu) ^ pouchano (e) ^ AGENT (mina,e) ^ (e"<e) ^ AT (E,T))}

   [Where E={e"<e and e ε eu}: T= {t"<t, t<NOW,t"<NOW}

   [U={b,e,m,e"} {e ε eu: e" ε eu} (universal event set), e"<e]

There was an event e and an event e" where e"<e and they were taking place at the time t and t" respectively; where E represents the relation between e and e" and that is e"<e and T represents the relation between t and t" and that t"<t and both e and e" are two action verbs.

From these four examples and their Davidsonian and Neo-Davidsonian representation we can see that we can also explicitly show the time of the event or tense by adding the variable t for time and showing its relation with the event.

REFERENCE

Davidson, Donald.1967. The Logical Form of Action Sentences. *The Logic of Decision and Action,*Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Dowty, David R. 1979. *World Meaning and Montague Grammar: The Semantics of Verbs and Times in Generative Semantics and in Montague's PTQ.* Dordrecht: Reidel.

Dowty, David R. 1990. Thematic Proto-Roles and Argument Selection. *Language* 67: 547-619.

Parsons, Terence. 1990. *Events in the Semantics of English: A Study in Subatomic Semantics*. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press.

Partee, Alice ter Maulan, Barbara H. and Wall, Robert, eds. 1990. *Mathematical Methods in Linguistics*. Dordrecht: springer.

Ramchand, Gillian.2007. *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon; A First Phase Syntax*. CASTL, University of Tromso.

Classification of Hindi Phrasal Expressions using Pragmatic Knowledge

Shailendra Kumar[a] & Nilu[b]

[a]shail.linguistics@gmail.com, [b]nilu@iitp.ac.in

Phrasal Expressions are attested in all the natural languages, however, their forms may vary from language to language. They have attracted attention both from theoretical and applied linguistic points of view. In recent years, the complexities involved in the processing of these expressions have become an important area of research in the field of natural language processing. The phrasal expressions are complex expressions as they have a number of functional roles and their distribution range across grammatical categories and create problem for machine translation (MT) practitioners as well second language learners. Including MT in the natural language processing applications, they pose additional complexities as how to identify and list all of them. The classification (Classification of Hindi Phrasal Expressions using Pragmatic Knowledge) suggested in this short paper is intended to be an important step in this regard.

Keywords: Phrasal Expressions, Natural Language Processing, Multiword Expressions, Machine   Translation, Pragmatic Knowledge.

1. INTRODUCTION

Phrasal Expressions (PEs) are common to all the natural languages but their internal buildup and distributional properties differ from one language to another. Phrasal expressions made up of binary words or more words are known by several other names. In natural language processing (NLP) or computational linguistics literature, they are commonly studied under the topic of multi-words-expressions (MWEs). In this paper, we are dealing with Hindi Phrasal Expressions (PEs/Lexicalized Phrases/MWEs) that have some idiosyncratic syntax and semantics. As these names obviously show these linguistic items are made up of more than a single word but have a single semantic content. Some of the illustrative examples may include elements like, *world view*, *give up*, *good morning* in English and *bhagavaan ke liye* 'for God sake', *yah nirbhar kartaa hE* 'it depends' etc. They may occur, for instance, as polywords in the shape of short phrases or in the form of a clause that functions very much like individual lexical items. They are associated with a wide variety of functions, such as expressing speaker qualification of

the topic at hand, relating one topic to another, summarizing topics, and so on. They carry out a wide range of discourse functions in verbal communication. Such as:

i.   Qualifier

(1) a. **It depends** (how things go there). [English]
    b. ***yah nirbhar kartaa hE*** (*vahaaN kEse kyaa hotaa hE*). [Hindi]
     {it depends there how what happens}

ii.   Summarizer

(2) a. **In short**, (this is what we have to say).
    b. ***saNkshep meN***, (*hameN jo kuch kahanaa hE, vo yah hE*).
     {brief/short in   we   what some to say is that this is}

In both the examples, the phrasal forms (presented in bold) are phrasal expressions and we clearly see that they are used to carry out a definite function in discourse. Such elements exist in natural languages in a large number and have not been exhaustively either identified or listed or categorized. There have been some attempts in this regards in the context of English (Nattinger and DeCarrico's 1992). In the context of Hindi and other Indian languages, the tradition grammars (Sharma, 1958) and (Shapiro, 1989) present mere listing of some of these elements but there is hardly any attempt at their proper classification. And the point, why pragmatic knowledge is being used here as a base for the classification of PEs? The simple observation of the PEs' nature tell us that pragmatics is playing important role in determining the meaning of the PEs and the claim can be supported with the two scholarly definitions of pragmatics; Pragmatics is one of those words (societal and cognitive are others) that give the impression that something quite specific and technical is being talked about when often in fact it has no clear meaning (Searle, Kiefer & Bierwisch, 1980). The area of linguistics that accounts for how we attribute meaning to utterances in context, or "meaning in interaction"(Thomas, 1995).

In this paper, our aim is to extend Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) work to Hindi data from computational perspective and proposed a preliminary classification of the phrasal expressions in Hindi. The second section discusses the few definitions and related works that have been done in this area. The Third section describes the theoretical background

of the present work. All the relevant data related to it is presented in the fourth section. The fifth section is of a classification of the data of phrasal expressions which is based on their semantic and pragmatic functions. Finally, the sixth section provides the concluding remarks of the work and gives directions for further research.

2. PHRASAL EXPRESSIONS AND RELATED WORKS

Linguistically and non-linguistically (statistically), several works have been done to analyze the nature of PEs/MWEs from their formation to composition of the meaning. In one of the important papers on MWEs Sag et al. (2002) define; a multiword expression (-MWE) as: (a.) decomposable into multiple simplex words, and (b.) lexically, syntactically, semantically, pragmatically and/or statistically idiosyncratic in some way. They raise MWEs processing as an open issue in the field of Natural Language Processing. The paper describes MWEs and the approaches being used to tackle the issue step by step. From the very beginning of the research these MWEs have been taken on the basis of their word structure with space but it creates the problem of flexibility. In later stages, when MWEs were simply taken as straight forward linguistic issue than the problem of overgeneralization block the road and the syntactically-idiomatic MWEs have parsing issues with them. Besides this, they also mention and describe the types of MWEs; two main classes lexicalized phrases and institutionalized phrases are further sub-categorized into fixed expressions, semi-fixed expressions and syntactically-flexible expressions. Sag et al (2002) also sketch a picture of the analytical techniques those are being used to approach MWEs in better fashion with a remark that MWEs which constitute a key problem must be resolved in order to linguistically precise NLP. Their observation regarding idiosyncratic property of MWEs at every level of language analysis while defining the MWEs provides a new dimension to MWEs research.

Other scholars have done some significant work and define it as; a sequence of words which for one reason or another is more sensibly treated as a single lexical item, rather than as individual words, is known as multiword expression. In other words, an MWE is a sequence of words which together behave as though they were a single word (Hore et al 2005). And in the latest development towards understanding MWEs it has been found that these complex constructions are part of human lexicon rather than just a complex formation/construction at the point of production of speech (Babych and Hartley 2008). Calzolari et al. (2002) have done microscopic study and try to form some generalize

pattern of MWEs on the basis of their behaviors; more or less frozen or fixed status, reduced syntactic and semantic transparency, lack of compositionality, few violation in general syntactic pattern, a degree of conventionality and a high degree of lexicalization. Apart from other relevant behaviors of MWEs, the noticeable points are lack of compositionality and a high degree of lexicalization which depending on pragmatic factors. The importance has been given to the MWEs due to the fact that the number of MWEs in a speaker's vocabulary is nearly of the same as the number of single words with the same intensity (Jackendoff 1997) and the functional usage makes it more complex for Natural Language Processing tasks esp. machine translation.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) work on English Lexical Phrases for the purpose of language teaching is taken as a theoretical background for the present work with its extension to the development of a sort of knowledge base for NLP tasks, where Hindi is being treated as a source language (SL) or target language (TL). However, the existing works on English can be a good theoretical source to carry out a similar classification for Hindi phrasal expressions.

This has also been shown in various researches, while describing the concept and acquisition of Phrases/lexical phrases at the time of language acquisition in a child, the acquisition of unanalyzed chunks unconsciously treated as a simple lexical entry at the time of building mental lexicon of particular language because they have certain kinds of functional role associated with them. These (PEs) are well mapped with their functional roles in the mental lexicon of a child. However, the process of acquisition goes through several patterning phases and the phrases get associated with and form syntactic rules as generalization process takes place. In this evolution of the rule formation and process of building of a grammatical competence, the conventionalized mapping between the lexical phrase as a chunk and its function in particular context does not change, it remains the same and later on, plays a particular functional role in language. This phenomenon of language acquisition and functional role mapping is the logical base for the present work as Nattinger and DeCarrico's work on English lexical phrases for language teaching.

The pragmatic relation of the MWEs with the human lexicon before and after (during the process of language acquisition and at practical usage) their listing as a separate entity

based on their functional meaning shows a new way of classification based on their peculiar pragmatic function, which they typically serve in a particular natural language at performance level. The point is directly related with the Natural Language Processing as modeling issues is related with computing. At the time of computational modeling most of the modern approaches try to frame the model as a human brain acquires natural language or on the basis of the behavior of the human brain at the time of actual language use.

Here, in this paper we are adopting the same way, as PEs listing with their associated functional/pragmatic meaning during the process of acquisition and on that basis, trying to make the NLP friendly classification of Hindi (because Hindi has free word order) PEs which has more PEs variations with more ambiguous characteristics than English.

4. PHRASAL EXPRESSIONS IN HINDI

In Hindi, phrasal expressions occur with interesting distributional properties. Consider some examples as presented below;

(3) a. *kisi bhii kiimat par* ……….. 'at any cost ………'

   b. *ham to kaheNge* ………… 'I will say ……….'

   c. *yEsaa to nahii (ki)* …………. 'Is it the case (that) ………..'

   d. *meraa apanaa maananaa hE (ki)* ……….. 'I think ……..'

   e. *jaraa soc kar dekhiye (ki)* …………… 'if you can think a bit …………'

(4) a. *sab milaakar (dekhaa jaaye to)* …………… 'in summary ………'

   b. *saNkshep meN,* …………….. 'in brief ……………'

   c. *in shabdoN ke sath* ………. 'in these words …….'

(5) a. *(sahii meN) dekhaa jaaye to* ………………. 'if we see (really) ………..'

   b. *aapakaa maanaa jaaye to* …………….. 'if people agree with you ……….'

   c. *apakii baat alag hE* …………… 'this is your own opinion ………….'

39

(6) a. *are choRiye* …………. 'ok leave ………..'

    b. *jahaaN tak* …………… 'as far as …………….'

    c. *aisaa thaa ki*………… 'as it were ………..'

Putting these expressions in a sentence can very easily demonstrate the subtle meaning/function that these elements (3 to 6) are related with at pragmatic level. For instance, the example in (3a) is used in a situation where the speaker intends to assert his or her stand. In (3b), on the other hand, the speaker intends to disagree with the points raised by the other participant in the conversation. The examples (4.a,b,c) are using as summary marker while example set (5. a,b,c) have different projection all together. In the same way, we can see that a word like *are choRiye* 'ok leave' (in 6a) is used as exemplifier during conversation.

5. CLASSIFICATION

The idiosyncratic interpretation property of phrasal expression provides it a separate class within language understanding and processing. Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) present an exhaustive classification of the English counterparts of these elements. We present the classification below and suggest that a similar classification with some modifications (addition and deletion) can be made to accommodate Hindi examples.

    (i)   Qualifier (e.g. *adhikaaNsh bhaag ke liye* 'for the most part')

    (ii)   Summarizer (e.g. *saNkshep meN* 'in a nutshell')

    (iii)   Topic shifter (e.g. *vese to* 'by the way')

    (iv)   Agreement marker (e.g. *mEN kahuNgaa..* 'I will say..')

    (v)   Disagreement marker (e.g. *vah bhinna hai* 'that is different')

    (vi)   Fluency device (e.g. *kisii bhii kimat pe* 'at an rate')

    (vii)   Marker of surprise (e.g. *kyaa baat hE!* 'What a point!')

    (viii) Parting (e.g. *bahut dino baad* 'so long')

(ix) Relator (e.g. *us maamle ke liye* 'for that matter')

(x) Evaluator (e.g. *isse alag* 'beside the point')

(xi) Clarifier (e.g. *aap jaante haiN...* 'you know..')

(xii) Exemplifier (e.g. *aisaa thaa ki* 'as it were')

(xiii) Approval marker (e.g. *abtak to achaa hE* 'so far as good')

Following the same theoretical roadmap, Hindi phrasal expressions may also be classified on the basis of their forms, for instance, some of them are of sentence-length. Another class of these items has been mentioned as institutionalized expression. They include greeting expressions such as in Hindi *kya haal chaal hai.* 'how are you.', etc. ?, closing expressions or parting expressions such as *aap se mil ke accha laga* 'it was nice to see you', narrative framer such as *ek samay ki baat hai...aur ve khushi se rahane lage* 'once upon a time ....', objection indicator such as *thoraa saaNsa bhii lene diijiye* ' let me breathe a bit.', etc.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, we have made an initial attempt to bring semantic and pragmatic knowledge by using Nattinger and DeCarrico's (1992) work to Hindi data (extendable to other Indic languages). The classification of phrasal expressions (having functional role) using pragmatic knowledge is useful in the field of language teaching as well as in NLP. The work is also supposed to have significant application in the area of developing some sort of knowledge base for machine translation systems involving Hindi as source language (SL) or target language (TL).

In addition to this, sometimes, PEs raise typical divergence issues when no exact mapping is available on the target level side during the multilingual text processing and generation. At that point of time, this pragmatic classification which reflects functional role of the MWEs will be useful to get the related mapping/the suitable solution.

Since the work presented here is part of a bigger work in progress, we can only say that the phrasal expressions of Hindi need to be exhaustively identified and classified by

adopting the existing theoretical framework. So that with the help of this knowledge base the accuracy of NLP systems (related to the Hindi) can be increased up to higher extent.

REFERENCES

Babych, Bogdan, Anthony Hartley. 2008. 'Automated error analysis for multiword expressions: using BLEV-type scores for automatic discovery of potential translation error'. In Sonia Vandepitte (ed.) *Looking for Meaning: Methodological Issues in Translation Studies.* UK:Serge Sharoff Publication

Calzolari, Nicoletta et al. 2002. Towards Best Practice for Multiword Expressions in Computational Lexicons in: *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation.(LREC 2002)*, 1934–40

Hore, Campbell, Masayuki Asahara,and Yuji Matsumoto. 2005. 'Automatic Extraction of Fixed Multiword Expression'. In Robert Dale, Kam Fai Wong, Jian Su, Oi Yee Kwong (Eds). *Natural Language Processing. (IJCNLP 2005)*. Germany: Springer Verlag, 565-574

Jackendoff, Ray. 1997. *The Architecture of the Language Faculty*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Nattinger, James R. & DeCarrico, Jeanette S. 1992. *Lexical Phrases and Language Teaching. Oxford*: Oxford University Press.

Sag, Ivan A. et al. 2002. Multiword expressions: A pain in the neck for NLP. In *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Intelligent Text Processing and Computational Linguistics (CICLing-2002)*, 1–15, Mexico City, Mexico.

Searle, J.R., Kiefer, F., Bierwisch, M. 1980. Introduction. In Searle, J.R., Kiefer, F., Bierwisch, M. (eds.) (1980). Speech act theory and pragmatics. Dordrecht: Reidel: vii-xii.

Sharma, Ayendra. 1958. *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi*. Central Hindi Directorate, Govt. of India.

Shapiro, Michael, C. 1989. *A Primer of Modern Standard Hindi*. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi.

Thomas, J. 1995. Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics. London: Longman

Ablative and Instrumental Marker in Some of the EIA Languages

Bornini Lahiri

lahiri.bornini@gmail.com

In this paper I have tried to study the ablative and the instrumental case markers of some of the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages (EIA). Languages of Bihar have been taken into account along with Bangla to give a comparative sketch of these case markers. Most of the Bihari languages (and many of the Indo-Aryan languages) have common marker for both ablative and instrumental cases. Moreover their semantic range can be easily seen to overlap into each-other's sphere. In Bangla the case markers for these two cases are different yet the markers cross borders. The present paper compares languages of Bihar, where mostly the case markers for these cases are same, with Bangla where the markers for these cases are different. In both the situations there is a common semantic ground shared by both the cases.

INTRODUCTION

Ablative and instrumental cases are often taken as spatial markers along with the locative case. Several works have been done on the cases as spatial markers in general and also in Indo-Aryan languages in particular. But special attention has never been paid to eastern Indo-Aryan languages which are a bit different in their behavior than the rest of the Indo-Aryan languages in the case marking feature. Miriam Butt and Tafseer Ahmed's (2007), "Non-Canonical Argument Marking: Beyond Volitionality, Specificity and Animacy" gives a brief outlook on the spatial markers and control objects of Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi and Nepali.

Tafseer (2007) describes "Ablative and Instrument Markers in Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi". He identifies source and accompaniment as the core meaning of ablative and sociative-instrument case markers respectively. He explains the adverbial usages as the metaphorical extension of the core meaning of the markers. Tafseer (2008) in his paper "Instrument as Path: Reconciling the semantic usages of Urdu se and Pashto pa" introduces a feature-based system for spatial markers.

Cases and its markers are used for various purposes so it can be studied from different perspectives. Here, semantics of the cases and their markers have been studied. Blake (2004), while dividing cases into two broad categories, makes distinction between grammatical case and semantic case. He puts ablative and instrumental case (along with others) under semantic case. He explains this by saying that grammatical cases encode syntactic relations while semantic cases show semantic relations like source, instrument etc.

The ablative case in broader sense is taken as a case which through its marker point out the source of an object while instrumental case shows the instrument used to perform certain action. While describing these two cases Blake (2004), keeps instrumental case under ablative case. "The ablative expresses the semantic roles of source, location and instrument" (Blake, 2004).

In this paper I present a study of these two case markers of the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages like Angika, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili and Bangla. Except Bangla, all these languages use /se/ or /-sɔ/ for marking both the ablative and the instrumental cases. Bangla uses /t̪ʰeke/ (inanimate) and /-er/ (genitive) + /t̪ʰeke/ (animate) for ablative and /d̪ije/ (inanimate) and /-ke/ (accusative) + /d̪ije/ (animate) for instrumental case. Angika, Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili are mainly the languages of Bihar and in this paper, for the convenience, all these languages together will be referred as the Bihari languages.

ABLATIVE CASE

The word 'ablative' has come from Latin 'ablativus' where 'abla' means 'from', so ablative (ABL) case talks about the source or the separation from the source. It is a local case according to Blake who says, "local cases express notions of location ('at'), destination ('to'), source ('from') and path ('through')" (Blake, 2004). Some of the functions that ablative case performs in the Eastern Indo-Aryan languages (being studied in this paper) could be summarised as follows.

(1) u   baɟarɔ   sɔ   aile (Angika)
    he   market   ABL   came
    He came from the market.

It can be seen that (e.g.1) /sɔ/ is used to mark the ablative case in Angika. Similarly /se/ is used in Bhojpuri and Magahi for this purpose. In Maithili the marker is /sə/. Here, the man "/u/" gets separated from the market so it is taken under ablative case.

In Bangla /t̪ʰeke/ is used with inanimate to show the separation from a particular point. The Bangla form of (1) will be,

(2) o   baɟar   t̪ʰeke   elo   (Bangla)
    he   market   ABL   came
    He came from the market.

If something gets separated from an animate object unlike (2) where the subject gets separated from an inanimate object "the market", then the ablative marker /t̪ʰeke/ needs to follow genitive marker /-er/ or /-r/.

(3) o   tecer-er   t̪ʰeke   boi   nilo   (Bangla)
    he   teacher-GEN   ABL   book   took
    He took a book from the teacher.

The primary usage of ablative is to mark the location from which an object/person starts its motion. So, in Bangla, the case marker changes depending on the animacy of the object from which the act of separation starts. When the separation takes place from an animate object then the separated object is seen as being possessed by the animate object from which it is being separated. Thus in this case the genitive case precedes the ablative case (3).

Ablative markers are used to mark the argument (of the verb) from which an object (physical or abstract) moves or is transferred to the other argument as in (3) where the book moves from the teacher to the man "he".

Ablative marker is also used to mark the argument that will or can be the source of an action in the near future. For example, when asking a question to someone, it is assumed that the source of the answer will be the one to whom the question has been asked. So, in the sentences where something is asked, begged or expected to be taken from there also the ablative case is used in all the languages under observation. In Bangla the ablative marker follows the genitive marker (GEN).

(4) o   raʄa-r   t̪ʰeke   bʰikʰe cailo   (Bangla)
   he   king-GEN   ABL   alms   asked
   He begged from the king.

(5) u   raʄa   se   bʰikʰ   mangilɔs   (Bhojpuri)
   he   king   ABL   alms   asked
   He begged from the king.

(6) u   kit̪ab   sɔ   nai   pɔrlke   (Angika)
   he   book   ABL   not   read
   He did not read from the book.

Another usage of the ablative case marker is to mark the source of experience in the dative subject constructions (Ahmed, 2007). It is assumed that the object due to which the experience is created is the source of the experience.

(7) həmra   ser   sə   dər   lagaije   (Maithili)
   I-DAT   lion   ABL   fear   feel
   I am afraid of lions.

(8) u   həmra   se   gussa ba   (Bhojpuri)
   he   I-Dat   ABL   angry aux
   He is angry on me.

In (8) it can be said that the reason of anger is "I/me", so ablative marker is being used here. Similar usage can be found in the other Bihari languages as well but not in Bangla.

All the four Bihari languages use same construction for such type of sentences but Bangla does not use ablative for the source of experience. The so called dative subjects of Bangla are not marked by dative but by the genitive and the source of experience is marked by the accusative case marker.

Being a local case the ablative marker is also used with the deixis. It is used to mark start time of any event. If time is seen as a scale, here the start time becomes the source of the event because from that point of time the action starts.

(9) həm bʰor sə sanjʰ ʈək puɟa kelɔm   (Maithili)
    I morning ABL evening till worship did
    I worshipped from morning to evening.

Along with Bhojpuri, Magahi, Angika, in Bangla too similar structure can be seen.

(10) ami səkal ʈʰeke bikel obɖi puɟo korlam   (Bangla)
    I morning ABL evening till worship did
    I worshipped from morning to evening.

Along with temporal deixis, it can also be used with spatial deixies where the dectic element indicates a distance. It is also used when distance between two objects is compared.

(11) amar bari ekʰan ʈʰeke ənek ɖuːr   (Bangla)
    my house here ABL far away
    My house is far away from here.

(12) həmar ghɔr kʰet se ɖur ba   (Bhojpuri)
    my house field ABL far AUX
    My house is far away from the field.

The above usage of ablative case tells us that the use of the ablative case can be divided into various sub-divisions. Five sub parts have been made which is shared by all the languages except for one which is not shared by Bangla.

Semantics	Examples	Languages
Separation	From the market (1 and 2)	In all 5
Direct source	Something taken directly from someone (3)	In all 5
With expected source	Asking, begging (4 to 6)	In all 5
With the source of experience	Fear, anger (7 and 8)	Not in Bangla
With the deictic elements	time or place as the source of the action, starting point (9 to 12)	In all 5

Table 1: Uses of ablative case marker

INSTRUMENTAL CASE

An instrumental case (INST) encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out. It is sometimes used to mark the agent of the passive sentence. As mentioned earlier, in all these Bihari languages the marker for the instrumental case is similar to that of the ablative case.

(13)   həm   cəmca sɔ   kʰana   pɔkeilie   (Angika)
         I   spoon INST food   cook
         I cooked food with the spoon.

(14)   aɖmi   latʰi   se   sãp   ke   marɖeilke   (Maithili)
         man   stick   INST snake ACC   killed
         He killed the snake with the stick.

(15)   ami   kɔlɔm ɖie   likʰlam   (Bangla)
         I   pen   INST write
         I wrote with the pen.

In Bangla when the object is inanimate then the postposition /dije/ is used. But when the object is animate then accusative marking /-ke/ is used before /dije/.

(16)   jharu dije   jhat   deao   (Bangla)
         broom INST   sweep give
         Get it swept by the broom.

(17)   dai-ke   dije   jhat   deao   (Bangla)
         maid-ACC   INST   sweep give
         Get it swept by the maidservant.

For the causatives too the similar case marker is used. It can be said that in the causative structures the doer acts like an instrument.

(18)   u   mɔɻɖur se   gʰɔr   banwailɔs   (Bhojpuri)
         he   labourer INST house made
         He made the laborer make the house.

48

In the Bihari languages the instrumental case is used with the agent of the passive construction while it is not so in Bangla. The instrumental case in such instances follows the dative case.

(19)   kʰirki   həmra se   tuitgel   (Maithili)
              window   I-Dat INST broke
              The window was broken by me.

(20)   həmra   se   ɟənla   tutle   (Angika)
              I-Dat   INST   window   broke
              The window was broken by me.

Three uses of the instrumental case for the five of the Bihari languages are marked out while only two of that for Bangla has been observed. The following table shows the usage of the instrumental case which has been examined here.

Semantics	Examples	Languages
With some instrument	Spoon, stick (13 to 15)	In all 5
In the causatives	Labourer (17 and 18)	In all 5
With the agent of the passive	By me (19 and 20)	Not in Bangla

Table 2: Uses of instrumental case marker

DISCUSSION

It can be said that the instances where the languages use the same case marker for both the ablative and the instrumental case there the languages perceive both cases as one. It can be proved through the fact that the instances of the use of instrumental case in the Bihari languages can also be taken as instances of the ablative case.

Three instances of instrumental cases were marked here. Firstly it was seen to be used with an instrument with which a work is done like the spoon or the stick in (13) and (14). Here we can say that the instrument is also the source of the work. It is through the instrument that the work is taking place. We have seen while examining the ablative case that the ablative case deals with the source so we can say that the instrumental case used for the Bihari languages are indeed instances of ablative case.

Secondly, we have seen that the instrumental case is used with the doer in passives and causatives, here too we can say that the doer is the source of the action hence again this is an instance of ablative case. But we do not say that the instances of the ablative case are the instances of the instrumental case. This is so because the usage of the ablative cases like the source cannot be justified by the instrumental case. It can be said that the instrument like "the spoon" is the source of the action as it performs the action but it cannot be said that when something is getting separated from a source like "a leaf falling down from a tree" can be an instance of an instrumental case as in this example tree cannot be taken as an instrument. So it can be seen that the instances of instrumental cases can be taken as ablatives but the vice versa cannot be done.

CONCLUSION

The semantics of the case markers show the perception of the world through the language so it differs from language to language. Some languages differentiate between animates and inanimates through certain cases while others don't. Similarly certain languages differentiate between certain cases while others don't. If we study case markers from form to function we can easily locate different forms for different cases in certain languages while in other languages the different forms for those cases may not be visible.

It leads to another fact that the cases are language specific to some extend; instrumental case of one language may be the ablative case for the other language. So certain cases cannot be locked in a box with certain functions. A common semantic function of cases for every language is hard to draw but cases according to their occurrence in the specific language can be semantically mapped and compared with the other languages.

Here too we see the same phenomenon where we find different case markers for ablative and instrumental case in Bangla while not so in the Bihari languages. Moreover the scope of the ablative case in Bangla and Bihari languages differ. Bangla like Bihari languages do not use ablative marker with the source of experience. Moreover as stated above it is clear that for Bangla ablative and instrumental cases are two different things while for the Bihari languages instrumental cases are the instances of the ablative case.

REFERENCES

Abbi, Anvita (1994). *Semantic universals in Indian languages*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.

Ahmed, Tafseer (2007). *Ablative, Sociative and Instrumental Case Markers*. Proceedings of Conference of Language and Technology, Peshawar.

Ahmed, Tafseer (2009). *Spatial Expressions and Case in South Asian Language.* Konstanzer Online-Publication-System (KOPS).

Blake, B. J (2004).*Case.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Butt, Miriam and Ahmed, Tafseer (2007). *Non-Canonical Argument Marking: Beyond Volitionality, Specificity and Animacy.* Presented at Workshop on Case, Word Order and Prominence, Nijmegen.

Comrie, Bernard (1989). *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Oxford:Blackwell.

Cardona G & Jain D (eds) (2003). *The Indo-Aryan languages.* London: Routledge Publication.

Masica, C.P (1991). *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Masica, C.P (1976). *Defining a Linguistic Area*: *South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Naess, Ashild (2007). *Prototypical Transitivity.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Typologies of Equivalence as Exemplified in Bible Translations

Petar Božović
petar.montenegro@gmail.com

This paper analyses one of the key concepts in translation theory, the concept of equivalence, in the light of two different typologies of equivalence as they are outlined in the theories of Friedrich Schleiermacher (foreignization vs. domestication) and Eugene A. Nida (formal correspondence vs. functional equivalence) with special reference to the translation of certain biblical passages. Schleiermacher advocated a literal approach focused primarily on the author, source text and culture, whereas Nida advocated the idiomatic approach to the translation process with primary focus on the target language, culture and audience. Since the biblical texts are one of the best examples of the act of translating, and possibly one of the biggest undertakings in the interlingual communication in the history of translation, they illustrate well the numerous issues that translators face and highlights the advantages and drawbacks of both orientations. The passages are taken from the Middle English and Early Modern English versions (The Wycliffite, Tyndale and King James Version) as well as from the contemporary English versions (New Living Translation, English Standard Version, New World Translation, etc.) and provide an insight into the shift in the translation norm that occured in different periods.

There have been many debates about the most appropriate theoretical approach to Bible translating which has been "arguably the greatest undertaking in interlingual communication in the history".[1] The text contains portions of law, poetry and historical narratives and it illustrates well the complexities and decisions that a translator faces especially when dealing with highly-sensitive texts such are the religious ones. All the theoretical approaches to the translation of the Bible can roughly be grouped between the two opposing poles that have been labeled by many terms, but are generally known as

---

[1] Nida, Eugene, *Bible Translation*, published in: Baker, Mona (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, London - New York: Routledge, USA, 2001, p.23.

literal and free or idiomatic translation.[2] It should be noted here, however, that most of the translations are not *completely* literal or idiomatic, since every translation is usually a mixture of these approaches as different parts of the text require a different approach. Nevertheless, one of these orientations is predominant, and, hence, we can talk about *essentially* literal or *essentially* idiomatic approach.

One of the key concepts in the translation theory, but also a controversial one, is equivalence which is generally seen as the extent to which texts in different languages have the same meaning or effect.[3] This paper will give a brief overview of two different typologies of equivalence with special reference to Bible translating as these are outlined in the theories of Friedrich Schleiermacher (foreignizing vs. domesticating) and Eugene A. Nida (formal correspondence vs. functional equivalence). Schleiermacher advocated the literal author-oriented approach, whereas Nida advocated the idiomatic target-oriented approach. The quoted Bible passages are taken from the Middle English and Early Middle English translations such as: the Wycliffite Bible (14th century), the Tyndale New Testament (16th century), and the King James Version (KJV, 17th century), as well as from some contemporary versions: New Living Translation (NLT), English Standard Version (ESV), New World Translation (NWT), Contemporary English Version (CEV), J. B. Phillips New Testament Translation (Phillips), and The Message (MSG) as they illustrate well these different translation philosophies at work highlighting some of their advantages and drawbacks which are to be taken into consideration when opting for a preferred approach when translating or re-translating the texts of this type. They may well also shed the light on the fluctuations of the predominant theoretical approach in different periods of the translation history.

1. Schleiermacher: *foreignizing* vs. *domesticating*

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768 – 1834) was a German theologian and translator who wrote in 1813 a highly influential paper on translation *Über die verschiedenen Methoden*

---

[2] For instance, some of the terms used during the history of the western translation tradition for literal translation were *word-for-word transaltion* (starting from Cicero and Horace and by many thereafter)and *metaphrase* by John Dryden.

[3] Scholars discuss translation theory around different types of equivalence, such as at the levels of the word, phrase, grammar, text, pragmatics, etc. On the other hand, some scholars have been critical of this notion since they hold that translation involves far more than replacement of lexical and grammatical items between languages. For further discussion see: House, Juliane, *Translation*, Oxford: OUP, UK, 2009, p.33.

des Übersetzens ("On the different methods of translating"). The question that he addressed in his work was how to bring the source text (ST) writer and the target text (TT) reader together and proposed two approaches for the translator: "[e]ither the translator leaves the writer alone as much as possible and moves the reader toward the writer, or he leaves the reader alone as much as possible and moves the writer towards the reader".[4]

The first approach, the foreignization, preferred by Schleiermacher, aimed at "giving the reader the same impression that he as a German would receive reading the work in the original language".[5] This means that the translator tries to "send the reader abroad" and confront him or her with the foreignness of the author and the author's culture. In order to achieve this, the translator has to use the 'alienating' method of translation, orient himself or herself by the language and content of the ST, and, thus, "valorize the foreign and transfer that into the TL."[6] Applying this principle to Bible translation, the translation preserves a sense of cultural and historical distance and takes the reader back into the 'alien' world of the ancient Middle-East and Mediterranean where the Bible was originally written.

The second approach, the domestication, aimed at "bringing the author home", i.e. putting the author into the world of reader and transforming it into the reader's contemporary. Applying it to Bible translation, it aims at rendering the Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek idioms, metaphors, and ancient customs, into a modern equivalent.

We will take a look at two examples to illustrate the above discussed issues. For instance, apostle Paul encourages in several passages to greet one another with a "holy kiss"[7], a practice that prevailed in the New Testament world as a form of greeting. The translation following the first translation principle would preserve this cultural "otherness" and a sense of historical and cultural distance and, thus, render Romans 16:16 in the following way:

---

[4] As quoted in: Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies – Theories and Applications*, New York/London: Routledge, 2001, p.28.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] The Greek word *philema* used in this phrase means "kiss" and the word *hagios* means "holy". See: J. I. Packer (ed.), *Translating Truth*, Wheaton: Crossway Books, USA, p. 43.

Grete ye wel togidere in hooli coss. (Wycliffite)

Salute one another with an holy kysse. (Tyndale)

Salute one another with an holy kiss. (KJV, 1611)

Greet one another with a holy kiss. (ESV, NWT)

On the other hand, the translation following the principle of domestication would try to find a contemporary equivalent of the phrase and, thus, render it in the following way:

Give each other a warm greeting. (CEV)

Shake hands all around as a sign of Christian love. (Phillips)

Greet each other in Christian love. (NLT)

Holy embraces all around! (MSG)

It can be noted here that the domestication seems to be obscuring the practices from the ancient times and remove original world from sight by the process of dehistorization and deculturalization. This could have interpretative effects since the world of the text and the world in the text are important for understanding.

Another example that illustrates this typology of equivalence is the rendition of the metaphor used in Romans 12:20 where the advice is given to treat enemies kindly "for by doing this you will heap fiery coals upon his head". This metaphor is drawn from an ancient process of smelting, where coals were heaped on the top and underneath the ore melting the metal from it. Likewise, exercising kindness will tend to soften the person and melt his hardness, and bring out the good in him.[8] Translations following the first principle render this verse in the following way:

But if thin enemy hungrith, fede thou hym; if he thirstith, yyue thou drynke to hym; for thou doynge this thing schalt gidere togidere colis on his heed. (Wycliffite)

---

[8] For further discussion see: *Insight on the Scriptures – vol. 1,* New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, USA, 1988, p.1051.

Terfore yf thyn enemy honger fede him: yf he thurst geve him drinke. For in so doynge thou shalt heape coles of fyre on his heed. (Tyndale)

Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. (KJV, 1611)

But, "if your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him something to drink; for by doing this you will heap fiery coals upon his head" (NWT)

On the other hand, the translation following the principle of domestication would render it in the following way:

Instead, do what the Scriptures say: "If your enemies are hungry, feed them. If they are thirsty, give them something to drink, and they will be ashamed of what they have done to you." (NLT)

Our Scriptures tell us that if you see your enemy hungry, go buy that person lunch, or if he's thirsty, get him a drink. Your generosity will surprise him with goodness. (MSG)

Here the domestication leaves out the ancient metaphor and provides the interpretation for the readers. However, it could be argued that the translator used a lot of reading into the text thus providing a commentary rather than a translation and taking the role of the Bible teacher rather than the translator and hence immerging himself into the world of exposition rather than translation.

Schleiermacher's typology had a great influence on translation theorists. Some scholars even claim that "practically every modern translation theory – at least in the German-language area – responds, in one way or another, to Schleiermacher's hypothesis. There appear to have been no fundamentally new approaches".[9] His opposites were later taken up by Lawrence Venuti, a translation theorist and historian, in his work *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* in 1995. Venuti sees foreignization, of which he was an advocate, as a process of making visible the presence of a translator by highlighting the foreign identity of the ST and domestication as

---

[9] Jeremy Munday, *op.cit.,*p. 28.

translating in a transparent, "invisible", style in order to minimize the foreignness of the TT.

2. Nida: *formal correspondence* vs. *functional equivalence*

Eugene A. Nida (1914 -) has been one of the most influential Bible translating theorists whose typology of equivalence has been influencing modern Bible translations. Nida proposed two basic theoretical orientations to translation: *formal equivalence* (later called *correspondence*), and *dynamic* (later called *functional*) *equivalence*.

> Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content […] One is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means, for example, that the message in the receptor culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness […] and translator attempts to reproduce as literally and meaningfully as possible the form and content of the original.[10]

Formal equivalence is, thus, oriented towards the SL structure, and bringing the TT reader to the foreign text and then providing the necessary annotation with cultural and linguistic information that will ensure understanding on the part of the reader.

Dynamic equivalence, however, is based on "the principle of the equivalent effect"[11] which can be a controversial issue since who is to decide which effect the text is supposed to have. Nida describes this approach in the following way:

> In such a translation one is not so concerned with matching the receptor-language message with the source-language message, but with the dynamic relationship […] that the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message.

> A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behavior relevant within the context of

---

[10] Eugene Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, Leiden: E.J.Brill, Netherlands, 1964, p.159.
[11] *Ibid.*

his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message.[12]

This approach is, thus, receptor-oriented and aims at tailoring the message to the receptor's linguistic needs and cultural expectations as it aims at "complete naturalness of expression" and seeking "the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message". This would include adaptations of grammar, lexicon and cultural references and, thus, minimizing the foreigness of the ST. Nida himself was an advocate of this approach.

Although the examples given in the previous section could well be used to illustrate these two fundamentally different types of equivalence, one which we will use here is the rendition of 1 Kings 2:10 in which the Hebrew idiom "slept with his fathers" is used. This verse is discussed in the introduction of the New Living Translation (1996), a translation following the latter principle, with the aim of showing "the value of a thought-for-thought translation".[13] The formal equivalence translations render this verse in the following way:

> Sotheli Dauid slepte with hise fadris, and was biriede in the citee of Dauid. (Wycliffite)

> So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David. (KJV, 1611)

> Then David lay down with his forefathers and was buried in the City of David. (NWT)

The dynamic equivalence translation renders it in the following way:

> Then David died and was buried in the City of David. (NLT)

The translators of the NLT see this rendition as an advantage since the main idea is expressed in a way that modern speakers would express the same idea today. As it is pointed out in the introduction, "[o]nly the New Living Translation clearly translates the real meaning of the Hebrew idiom 'slept with his fathers' into contemporary

---

[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Holy Bible - New Living Translation,* Wheaton: Tyndale House Publishers, USA, p.xxi

English".[14] This, however, could be a controversial issue since it could be argued that this kind of change was not really necessary and is possibly underestimating the readers. Furthermore, this approach obscures some of the biblical concepts such as the concept of death seen as the state of being asleep. This concept can be seen in other parts of the Bible as well. For instance, at the news of Lazarus' death we read the following in John 11:11, 12:

> He said these things, and after this he said to them: "Laz′a·rus our friend has gone to rest, but I am journeying there to awaken him from sleep." Therefore the disciples said to him: "Lord, if he has gone to rest, he will get well." Jesus had spoken, however, about his death. (NWT)

Thus, the whole concept encapsulated in the ancient idiom is hidden with the above mentioned rendition.

It can be concluded from the above discussed examples that the domestication/dynamic equivalence approach, while trying to bridge the gap between the biblical and contemporary world, seems to obscure the world of the ST, cultural otherness and sense of historical and cultural distance and takes the ST out of its cultural and historical milieu. This can have an impact on the interpretation of the ST since it doesn't aim at retaining as much as possible the exegetical potential of the ST and it doesn't expose the readers to the biblical universe of discourse. Furthermore, it is clear that the translation strategy of some of the 14th, 16th and 17th century translations was essentially literal, whereas some of the 20th c. translations used essentially idiomatic approach under the influence of Nida's theories. Although Schleiermacher's typology of foreignizing/domesticating and Nida's typology of formal correspondence/dynamic equivalence are similar, the two reveal different perspectives on the task of a translator and goal of the translating process: the former translator's responsibility to the original author, and the latter the responsibility to the target-text receptor.

---

[14] *Ibid.*

REFERENCES

Mona Baker (ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, London - New York: Routledge, USA,` 2001.

Juliane House, *Translation*, Oxford: OUP, UK, 2009.

Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies – Theories and Applications*, New York/London: Routledge, 2001.

J.I.Packer, (ed.), *Translating Truth*, Wheaton: Crossway Books, USA, 2005.

Insight on the Scriptures – vol. 1, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, USA, 1988.

Eugene Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, Leiden: E.J.Brill, Netherlands, 1964.

Leland Ryken, *The Word of God in English – Criteria for Excellence in Bible Translation*, Wheaton: Crossway Books, USA, 2002.

Bible versions

Holy Bible - New Living Translation, Wheaton: Tyndale House Publishers, USA, 1997.

Wycliffe New Testament, online edition at: http://www.bibledbdata.org/onlinebibles/wycliffe_nt/   accessed on: Tuesday, October 12, 2010 at 12.31 pm

English Standard Version Bible, online edition at: http://www.esv.org/ accessed on: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 at 3.20 pm

Contemporary English Version, online edition at: http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Contemporary-English-Version-CEV-Bible/ accessed on: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 at 3.30 pm

King James Version, online edition at: http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/King-James-Version-KJV-Bible/ accessed on: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 at 3.25 pm

The Tyndale New Testament, online adition at: http://faithofgod.net/WTNT/ accessed on: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 at 2.10 pm

New World Transaltion of the Holy Scriptures, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, USA, 1961.

J.B.Phillips Translation of the New Testament, online edition at: http://www.ccel.org/bible/phillips/JBPNT.htm accessed on: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 at 3.35pm

The Message Bible, online edition at: http://www.biblestudytools.com/msg/ accessed on: Wednesday, October 13, 2010 at 3.45 pm

The Laugh of Justitia: Reading the Ayodhya Verdict

Samik Malla

samikmalla@gmail.com

This paper argues that legal verdicts are narratives in performance, reached through a puzzle of constructions and deconstructions which are not necessarily grounded in unalloyed evidence. It does not quest to unravel any 'Truths' but to study the ambiguity, the metonymy, the metaphors, et cetera that have attracted attention of the linguists. Through analysis of the Ayodhya verdict, the paper explores the indisputable force of Law. This paper focuses on the September 2010 Ayodhya Verdict as a case study. The analysis is limited to excerpts from the verdict circulated by the official website of the Allahabad High Court. The paper does not, however, look at the trial proceedings that arguably specialize in manipulating linguistic evidence. The very fact that a case is on trial suggests an imbalance, an inequality.

1. Introduction

The inception of the idea of an institution, arguably, is to perpetrate hegemony. As a symbol, it attains a power unmatched by a mortal of flesh-and-blood. As Bruce Wayne says in *Batman Begins (2005)*, "*as a symbol I could be incorruptible, I could be everlasting*". The institutions of society then become such symbols - appear to be everlasting, but arguably not incorruptible. The love-affair that language has had with the discourse of law has arguably been one of the most precarious ones. Centuries of legal history has depended upon the manner of manipulation of language to sway judgements in one's favour. It is one of the worst kept secrets of our civilisation that the blindfolded lady of justice tilts her scales for the most persuasive argument that comes her way. As the school of Neo-Historicism would argue, the beads of facts are weaved into a story by the posterity. Nothing, ironically, could second it more than the Institution of 'justice'. Truth, hence, becomes a construct. Justice is his (or, with changing trends, 'hers') who sells his/her story better.

This essay focuses on the September 2010 Ayodhya Verdict as a case study. The analysis is limited to excerpts from the verdict circulated by the official website of the Allahabad

High Court. The paper does not, however, look at the trial proceedings that arguably specialize in manipulating linguistic evidence. The very fact that a case is on trial suggests an imbalance, an inequality**.**

2.1 Tales from History

"Here is a small piece of land (1500 square yards) where angels fear to tread. It is full of innumerable land mines. We are required to clear it. Some very sane elements advised us not to attempt that. We do not propose to rush in like fools lest we are blown. However we have to take risk. It is said that the greatest risk in life is not daring to take risk when occasion for the same arises.

Once angels were made to bow before Man. Sometimes he has to justify the said honour. This is one of those occasions. We have succeeded or failed? No one can be a judge in his own cause.

Accordingly, herein follows the judgment for which the entire country is waiting with bated breath."[15]

-**Hon'ble S.U. Khan, J.**

In Ayodhya, district Faizabad, there is a premise comprising a constructed portion with adjoining land used for worshipping purposes both by the Hindus and the Muslims. The latter claim the entire premises was a mosque, namely Babari Mosque (sic), while the Hindus argue that the site was originally home to temple and hence lay what then appears to be a legitimate claim on it. In 1992 communal tension climaxed with a section of fanatic Hindus razing the mosque to dust, sparking a chain of consequences across the country as well as in neighbouring Pakiatan and Bangladesh[16]. On 30 Sept 2010, the Hon'ble Allahabad High Court declared its verdict on the long-pending dispute; a rather daring act- given the sensitivity of the case. The intension of the present essay is to read between the lines of this very act: the verdict. The issue of analysis is not the moral righteousness, which is a social construct, but the logical coherence, which is a linguistic construct.

---

[15] From the 'prelude'' to Justice Khan's verdict(pp. 4)
[16] Reports state some incidents where the minority Hindu populace was attacked in communal rage as a spin-off, arguably for 'revenge'.

2.2 Liaison amoureuse[17]: Law and Language

"The law is a profession of words"- David Mellinkoff

As noted earlier[18], the love-affair of these two disciplines has a long past. As argued by Sanford Schane, rules become law *after* being drafted in writing with a considerable attention to the implicature of the language. In court rooms, spoken language commands equal importance in leading a case to a conclusion[19]. The 'truth' being *unattainable*, is approximated via linguistic constructs. The 'facts' are re-recreated during the proceedings in an attempt to simulate the 'reality'. The hypothesis (read: lawsuit) usually finds acceptance or rejection based on the skill of the defendant's attorney in spinning favourable yarns from the facts – a (logical) feat that draws heavily upon one's oratory.

 Note that the verdict is usually based on the *posterior construct* of the 'truth' which may or may not be a faithful re-creation. But even if the pieces of evidence leading to a verdict are doctored, the verdict itself is expected to be logically sound and linguistically coherent. Failing to do so, would render the judiciary polarised and raise questions regarding its consistency. It would threaten to engender what Howard Zimm argues as the 'conspiracy of law':

"The 'rule of law' in modern society is no less authoritarian than the rule of men in premodern society; it enforces the maldistribution of wealth and power as of old, but it does this in such complicated and indirect ways as to leave the observer bewildered" (Zimm 1971:18).

So what stance should a linguist take in analysing a legal case? How far can a linguist be objective and avoid making value-judgements? Does it matter after all?

The linguists' job is to unfold what they believe to be the 'truth'. Influencing the judgement either way or pledging allegiance to a side can be best left to lawyers who are trained to deal with the legal nuances. As Janet Cotterill argues:

"It is crucial for the linguist to remain outside the advocacy that attorneys are, by definition, required to have. Linguists must carry out their analyses in such a way that the

---

[17] French: 'love-affair'
[18] See 'abstract', Pp. 1
[19] See Schane 2006. *Language and the law.* Web. 4 Nov. 2010<http://www.books.google.co.in>

same results would occur if they were working for the other side in that case. If linguistic experts join attorneys and their clients in the role of advocate, their credibility is seriously eroded." (Cotterill 2002)

3. Case Studies: excerpts[20] from the verdicts

The disputed land was shared between the Nirmohi Akhara, the Sunni Wakf board and-hold your breath-*Bhagwan Sri Rama Virajman*- Lord Rama himself! How did a court of law that arguably budges not an inch without evidence *restore* a third of the land to a person currently of no corporeal existence? The reasons forwarded for this curious statement are equally interesting. The ensuing extracts deal precisely with this issue.

3.1 Case Study I: Reading Hon'ble D.V. Sharma, J.

"The Court is of the view that place of birth that is Ram Janm Bhumi is a juristic person… (and is a) deity….Spirit of divine ever remains present every where at all times for anyone to invoke at any shape or form in accordance with his own aspirations and it can be shapeless and formless also."

Analysis:

- The court *seems* to believe in the literary term of personification where a piece of land is treated as not only a juristic person but a deity. The argument of spirit of divine being omnipresent contradicts itself by the fact that the spirit *took birth,* and hence spawned the aforesaid metaphor, logically leading to the fact that it could not have pre-existed prior to its birth. And *if* it did, then the question of its birth and hence, its birthplace becomes inconsequential. Identification of the place of birth **entails** that the spirit was *born*, which then logically **implies** that the deity is part of the mortal world and shall one day *die.*

- The Court of Law, by 'delivering' justice to Bhagwan Sri Rama Virajman, has affirmed the status of Lord Rama as both a *plaintiff* and a *defendant* whose divinity has to be protected by mortals. Justice Sharma's words seem to indulge in the **presupposition** that the spirit of divine, on account of its *divinity*, is shapeless and formless but the ironical **implicature** is that it also is that the rest of the land

---

[20] Sourced from web<http://www.allahabadhighcourt.in/indexhigh.html>

is illegitimate. The verdict claims to identify Lord Rama as a spirit of divine, but actually proceeds to strip him of it. Linguistically, this implicature renders the verdict self-contradictory.

- The **deixis** here, that is, the reference to an external context, is the concept of a specific religious belief that advocates the omnipresence of the Hindu gods, arguing that their mortal connections are merely as 'avatars' which are ephemeral forms assumed to address the concerns of the 'martya', the earth. Thus they are, supposedly, beyond the cycle of mortality.

3.2 Case Study II: Reading Hon'ble S. Agarwal, J.

"The area covered under the central dome of the disputed structure is the birthplace of Lord Rama as per faith and belief of Hindus."

Analysis:

- The statement, though apparently a mere summarisation, accepts and **foregrounds** the mythological Lord Rama as a real person without furnishing any evidence. The **implicature** is obvious: the court is prioritising myths over material reality, and is, hence, attributing characteristics of legitimacy *ex nihilo*[21].

- The **implicature** is that the basis of the legal verdict as faith and belief is legitimised. But what this statement also **entails** is that the beliefs of only *one* specific party can be furnished as juridical evidence; the other is ignored. With a veneer of subjectivity and of course, relativity, faith *still* blinds the Lady of Law.

- The **deixis** here again is the Hindu belief that explains the concept of a god's *birth.* [see section 2.1]

3.3 Case Study III: Reading Hon'ble S.U. Khan, J.

"*No temple was demolished for constructing the mosque… Mosque was constructed over the ruins of temples which were lying in utter ruins since a very long time before the*

---

[21] Latin: 'out of nothing'

construction of mosque and some material thereof was used in construction of the mosque."

Analysis:

- The statement creates a linguistic ambiguity. "*No temple was demolished for constructing the mosque*" could **imply** either that (i) the temple *was* demolished but not for constructing the mosque, thus suggesting an agency or that (ii) the temple was not *demolished,* but fell into a state of dilapidation in a *natural* course of time, thus denying the existence of any external agency. The **deixis** here**,** by *denial*[22]**,** is the series of Islamic invasions that marked the history of medieval India and ultimately resulted in a change of regime[23]. Both discourses **imply** that the construction of the mosque was legitimate, even justifying the use of some material from the temple in constructing the mosque. The **entailment** of course, is the tacit agreement that (i) the site of the mosque is most probably the same as that of the erstwhile temple and that (ii) the mosque contained material taken from the temple, irrespective of whether the temple was in ruins or not.

- By referring to the previous structure as 'ruins' as opposed to the 'construction' of the mosque, the notion of a decadent civilization is linguistically posited as opposed to one that is fresh in its youth and capable of development. The pre-supposition of the structure as ruins even though the nature of its existence was dubious, allowed him to **foreground** the successive period of medieval India as 'constructive'.

4.1 The Verdict and its Narratives

Crucial to this verdict for which 'the entire country [waited]... with bated Breath'[24] is the question of narratives. As noted earlier, Trials are contests of narratives. Events are reconstructed and meanings elucidated. Most importantly, the Law *legitimises* particular narratives through the verdicts. What are the narratives this trial had at its disposal? What narratives did the verdict spawn? Primarily, the narrative of 'might is right' is

---

[22] Although the statement refutes the possibility of the condition, by *denying* it makes reference to the medieval history of India.

[23] Foundation of the Delhi sultanate, ultimately culminating into the rise of the Mughal Empire in 1526 with the invasion of Babur.

[24] See footnote 2

legitimised as the verdict was actually a *consensus* reached by the three judges who seemed to believe in three different stories. Sponsoring faith as legal evidence was the dominant discourse that overruled that of Justice Khan who differed. By prevailing upon logic through the 2:1 'consensus', the bench has affirmed the narrative of 'majority rule' being just- ironically, even in the case of justice. In other words, if the majority were to sanction 'illegal' activity, the court would perhaps deem it legitimate.

Even as the archaeological Survey of India failed to locate the exact birthplace of *Sri Rama Virajman,* the verdict has *performed* the narrative of *situating* it under the central dome.[25] Even as the court examined the English translation of the Babur-Nama[26] to encertain the validity of the claims of the Wakf Board, no such document could be forwarded to establish sans the slightest doubt the claim of eternal *Sri Rama Virajman* over his birth place. Curiously, the verdict then also engenders the narrative that your claim over your birthplace could be valid, subject of course to your *divinity.* Whether it entails the permit to claim the nursing-home rooms, where you were born, as your rightful property in today's context is a different question that stays unanswered. The story continues to tell that the usual evidence of mortality -death- can be overlooked while according *divinity* to the chosen ones. On the risk of scandalising a few conservative feathers, I would say that this legitimises elitism in the name of 'justice'.

As already noted[27], tales about the existence of a temple at the site of the mosque exist in competing versions. The verdict, however, has discursively accorded legality to the temple *as per faith and belief of Hindus* [28]. It thus accords *illegality* to the subsequent structure that could not 'have the character of a mosque'[29]. The nature of State of India seems so weakened with the burden of religious and cultural complexities that the power of Law arguably appears to remain virtually uncensored. Let us now explore whose narratives are those and how the identities are performed through these.

---

[25] See section 2.2

[26] Annexure 4. *The Memoirs of Babur. Translated by* Annette Susannah Beveridge.

[27] See section 2.3

[28] Hon'bl Sudhir Agarwal, J

[29] Ibid.

4.2 The Politics of Identities

I would, again, like to draw your attention to the well-known fact that the verdict reflects a *consensus* that the **three** judges reached. But that, by no means, generalises the outcome, nor does it conceal the differences foregrounded by the three verdicts. The question of identity hence appears crucial to our understanding of the discourses and politics of the verdicts. The bench was carefully constructed of three judges, one of whom was a Muslim. Justice Khan then became a representative of the Muslim populace in the country as the verdict now stands legally sanctioned by the 'minority' and, arguably, the dissenting voice. That the politics was exercised with caution is evident from the nature of the trial leading to conflicting conclusions in the three verdicts [read: narratives], indicating subjective, and perhaps representative, rather than objective standings. That identity was central to the 'findings' was seconded by Hon'bl Justice Khan's rhetorical conclusion to his verdict that treaded the sensitive pulse of the country with extreme caution and read:

"'Only those species survived which collaborated and improvised'[30].

...Muslims in India enjoy a unique position. They have been rulers here, they have been ruled and now they are sharers in power (of course junior partners). They are not in majority but they are also not negligible minority…. In other countries either the Muslims are in huge majority which makes them indifferent to the problem in question or in negligible minority which makes them redundant. Indian Muslims have also inherited huge legacy of religious learning and knowledge. They are therefore in the best position to tell the world the correct position. Let them start with their role in the resolution of the conflict at hand."

Relying upon the shared identity of being a Muslim, Justice Khan alludes to the Darwinian theses of 'survival of the fittest' and the 'ability for natural adaptation', metaphorically revealing the identity-crisis of the minorities in India and hints at a threat to their very existence. *"Only those species survived..."* Khan accepts and propagates the identity politics by quoting the word 'species', thus *naturalising* their binary opposition to the Hindus, the dominant majority. By invoking the past glory, he seems to appeal to his brethren to perform *"their role in the resolution of the conflict at hand."* The duty of

---

[30] An observation of Darwin cited in p 279 of Justice Khan's verdict.

Law is neither to anticipate nor consider consequences while reaching a verdict. Clearly this dictum has been compromised. Again mythical identities have been accorded legal status and vice-versa. The next section explores if the Ayodhya Verdict also negotiated the power of the Law.

4.3 Force of Law [31]

That the verdict is linguistically incoherent and self-contradictory has been observed [See Section 3]. Examination of the pieces of evidence, narratives and politics of identities seem to suggest the breaking down of the system of Law. *Quite the contrary, actually.* The rule of Law has always been *enacted and performed* into existence through asserting its partial *liberty* to dictate. If justice were to blindly follow 'reason[32]' then the trial would turn into a predictable journey. Law would continue to deliver 'justice' by merely relying on a set of scripts. Very often, judgements are impacted by emotional issues. But if reason can be tempered with, so can be the evidence. Intelligent improvisations are crucial to the spirit of justice which contains equal chances of delivering *in*justice. The Law is, after all, an inflexible collection of codes whereas justice remains a fluid, abstract, elusive entity that draws from the dominant discourses of 'ethics'. That the Law has been tempered with in the Ayodhya Verdict is undeniable, but whether justice has been delivered can be answered only by the posterity. It is by refusing to take the shape of the jug, that the Law re-invents itself with force. Irrespective of whether the verdict has delivered justice, it has most certainly '*ensured* the law's power over bodies'[33] (Nayar 2007), its *capacity* to legitimise certain modes of jurisprudence and *performed* the authority of the Institution of Law. And hence laughs Justitia in splendid ecstasy.

5. Implications[34]

---

[31] Inspired from Derrida's essay by the same name.

[32] 'Reason': as validated by pre-existing laws and circumstantial 'evidence'.

[33] See 'Rule of Law' in "Introduction"(Nayar 2007)

[34] As on 25 May 2011, by the time this revised draft goes to the press, the Hon'bl Supreme Court of India, comprising a bench of Justices Aftab Alam and R.M. Lodha, has stayed the High Court verdict on 9 May 2011. This opens up new possibilities to the case that has haunted the Indian landscape for over six decades and crucially promises to be refreshingly different from the incoherent verdict of 30 Sept, 2010.
[*The Hindu* quoted Justice Lodha telling the counsel: "The High Court's judgment is something strange. A new dimension has been given by the High Court as the decree of partition was not sought by the parties. It was not prayed for by anyone. It has to be stayed. It's a strange order. How can a decree for partition be passed when none of the parties had prayed for it? It's strange. Such kind of decrees cannot be allowed to

If the concept of Law is framed in time, the sense of Justice is timeless. Ironically, however, Law is codified and hence is possible to agree upon but justice is always vague and relative. For a discipline whose foundation is in scepticism, Law should not, ideally, indulge in the luxury of self-contradiction; not even in rhetoric because words are all there is to it. Nevertheless, if the Ayodhya verdict fails the linguistic analysis of consistency, then it pleads guilty of *reductio ad absurdum*[35]. It has created an instance of preferring myth and lore to rock-solid evidence as a single determining criterion for jurisdical relevance - that not only legitimises a hypothetical discourse but also bears the potential of sustaining it, should it be cited as a precedent in subsequent cases of similar character. The force of Law may not end with delivering a verdict, but justice may yet be a utopia[36].

PRIMARY SOURCE:

web- http://www.allahabadhighcourt.in/indexhigh.html

REFERENCES

Cotterill, Janet. *Language in the Legal Process.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Derrida, Jacques. "Force of Law": The 'Mystical Foundation of Authority'. In Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice, Ed. Drucilla Cornell et al. 3-67. London: Roultedge, 1992.

---

be in operation. It is a difficult situation now. The position is that the High Court verdict has created a litany of litigation." The news report further adds that the bench said the status quo at the disputed site would remain as directed by the 1994 Constitution Bench and the order passed on March 13-14, 2002. Accessed online. url < http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/article2003448.ece>]

[35] Self-negation of the validity of one's existence. Used by Berkeley in his attempt to refute the Descartesian Scepticism.(Litch 2010)

[36] See 'Force of Law' by Jacques Derrida

Nayar, Pramod K. "Introduction". In *The Trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar.* Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007.

Posner, Richard. "Narrative and Narratology in Classroom and Courtroom". *Philosophy and Literature* 21.2 (1997) 292-305. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Web. 25 Nov 2010. PROJECT MUSE.

Zimm, Howard. "The Conspiracy of Law". *The Rule of Law*. Ed. Robert Paul Wolff. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.

CHAPTER 9

Reduplication in Kumauni

Maansi Sharma

maansi16@gmail.com

This paper puts forth the phenomena of Reduplication in Kumauni. Thus, it begins with a brief introduction to the language and the region which is followed by a study of theoretical aspects of reduplication delving its types and role. I study its scope with the help of semantic, pragmatic and syntactic correlates in the following section. In addition to this the dynamics of the morphological and phonological processes of reduplication in Kumauni are largely noted. Though, the process has been excavated at length in several languages and marked its areality in South Asia. Nevertheless, the paper extends the regular study further by observing this linguistic phenomenon in the Explicator Compound verbs too. The last section deals with data and its analysis which is summarized with a brief conclusion on the multifunctional morphemes.

1. KUMAUNI & KUMAUN: INTRODUCTION

Kumauni is an Aryan language spoken in the sub-Himalayan tract known as Kumaun. The Khasas, who were the original inhabitants, assimilated their tribal customs and languages to those of their conquerors. One result of this has been the complete disappearance of the old Khasa language as an independent form of speech, and as Greirson puts it in Linguistic Survey of India, "language of Kumaun is now a form of Rajasthani."

This language is highly inflecting and gender is both syntactic and morphological. Nouns and pronouns change to oblique before taking any cases. The word order is SOV where modifiers precede modified and adjuncts precede verbs. Negation is preverbal and Language showed the presence of evidential particle which is very rare. The particalisation, -wala costruction, relativization is also present.

2. REDUPLICATION: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Reduplication can be either partial such as *khana vana* in Hindi or complete reduplication as *subah-subah.* It can be better understood in following quotes; "Words formed either by duplicating syllables or by duplicating a single word, partially or completely are known as the cases of reduplication." (Abbi 1991).

Before moving we must understand the structural make-up of reduplicated structure

Reduplication	Minimal units that reduplicate	Resultant unit and its nature	Types of reduplicated structure
Morphological	Syllable	Indivisible morpheme = word	Expressives
Lexical	Costituent of a word or entire word	Divisible into morphemes = reduplicated word	Echo formation, Complete word reduplication

Data & Analysis

Morphological reduplication: In Kumauni we have different types of expressive which carry various semantic functions. These can be seen as follows:

a. Acoustic noises can be **Animal noises** – (hu hu - dogs barking), Noises of **natural phenomenon** – (siũ siũ - wind blowing), Noise **made by humans** – (r̃ɩ̃ʈ r̃ɩ̃ʈ - getting irritated), Noises made by **inanimate** – (bʰəm bʰəm - drums sound)

b. Senses can be, Sense of sight – (čil mil - shiny), Sense of touch – (ǰɩʈ ǰɩʈ - sticky), Sense of smell – could not find, Sense of taste – (kɔr kɔr - crunchy), Bodily sensations – (jʰər jʰər - numbness of foot)

c. Kinship terminology can be such as, bubu - maternal/paternal grandfather or dada - brother (elder)

d. Manner adverbs can be such as hɛtu hutu - very quickly.

Thus, it is clear that Diffloth is correct in stating for expressives that 'these are generally onomatopoeic in nature and derives its status of a word or a lexeme by and only after it is duplicated as the non-reduplicated syllable does not exist as a word.' (Diffloth, 1976)

Findings:

1. Expressives work as finite verbs by taking different markings based on gender, number and tense which can be seen as follows:

Phi-Feature	Past	Present	Future
3.M.SG	kʰən- kʰən- a	kʰən- kʰən- əɪ	kʰən- kʰən- al
3.F.SG	kʰən- kʰən- ɛ	kʰən- kʰən- əɪ	kʰən- kʰən- al
3.M.PL	kʰən- kʰən- əi	kʰən- kʰən- a-nɪ	kʰən- kʰən- al
3.F.PL	kʰən- kʰən- əi	kʰən- kʰən- a-nɪ	kʰən- kʰən- al

2. It also takes Conjunctive participle -ber to make complex predicate.

3. I did find the manner expressives as *hɛtu hutu* 'very quickly' which did look like echo formation through vowel alternation. But neither *hɛtu* nor *hutu* have an independent meaning so this argument can easily be confronted.

4. Interestingly, apart from manner adverbs reduplication in Kumauni result in forming Noun and adjectival lexemes too *dəl dəl* - 'mattress' *ʈiɽibiɽi* - 'snob'.

5. Not all the expressives are reduplicated as discussed by Abbi 1985. I saw this happening with noise produced by cow such as, *rəmʰɛŋ* - sound produced by cow **rəmʰɛŋ rəmʰɛŋ*

Phonological findings:

1. The expressives have a common structure of CVC or CV. Hence, the structure is monosyllabic. It goes with what Abbi remarked that expressives are monosyllabic and have a common template of CVC structure.

Lexical Reduplication

- Echo Formation: Echo words are additive in nature and should by no means be considered a case of an empty morpheme. They add meaning of the kinds such as, 'and the like', et cetra', such and such, associated with that' to the word they are attached to. We can see as follows:

1) ʊ   čɛla dʰiṭ dʰaṭ   čʰʊ.
   3.SG boy simple EW   AUX.PRS
   That boy is very simple and all.

Here the EW *dʰaṭ* doesn't have the meaning of its own but when it is placed as an EW it extends the meaning of simple to inexperienced. Hence, it is the case of semantic extension.

- Complete Reduplication: In this category I have collected Adjectives, Nouns, Verbs, Adverbs, Question Words, Quantifiers and reflexives. But here we will only be discussing a few with their semantic functions:

  o Noun (Exclusiveness)
  2) šɛɳi šɛɳi   mɛl dekʰ- un ǰɛ roi   čʰʊ
  Ladies ladies fair   see INF go stay.PROG AUX.PRS
  (Only ladies are going to see the fair)

  o Noun (Distributiveness)
  3) ʊ   gʰər ʊ   gʰər ǰɛ be bʰɪk maŋgʊ
  3.SG house DIST house go CP beg   ask
  (He went house to house to beg)

  o Adjectives
  4) mi gɛ piŋgɔ piŋgɔ šaṭ   čɛ (+ Approximation)

I.DAT yellow yellow sari want
I want a yellowish sari.

5) mi gɛ tat ɔ   tat šag   kʰa čʰʊ (+ Emphasis)
I.DAT hot EMPH hot vegetable eat AUX.PRS
I want to eat very hot vegetables/curry.

6) tum miʈʰ u   miʈʰ ãm   le a ɪ   (distributive)
2SG sweet DIST sweet mango bring come.PERF
You get sweet mangoes.

   o   Quantifiers

7) ʊ   par   dʊɪ   dʊɪ   nɪl čɔt   čʰʊ (emphasis)
3SG possess QUANT QUANT blue umbrella AUX.PRS
He possesses two blue umbrellas.

8) ʊ ɪl   dʊɪ   e   dʊɪ   kam kɔr djo
3SG ERG QUANT AGGR QUANT job do GIVE.PERF
He has done both the jobs.

I could not find any instances for Reciprocals as used in Methei.

Syntactic functions
Verbs derived as adverbs (RVADV) indicates simultaneous and continuous aspects
wherein there are different situations in these two aspects too, such as

- **Simultaneity**, it identifies synchronization of two events or action (non-
  states) at a particular point of time, which in turn may signal:

  - o The completion of both event and actions together.

The arrow marked x represents RVADV and y represents MV. Both x and y represent two events or actions. This diagram represents the simultaneity of two punctual verbs those occurring only once.

9) ʊ   šag   bečəɳ bečəɳ   e kʰʊ bʰɛʈ a.
3SG   vegetable sell   sell.SIMLT   say SIT.M.SG.PERF
He said while selling vegetables.

o Protraction of one of the events/actions. It identifies those situations where RVADV is non-punctual and MV is punctual as shown below.
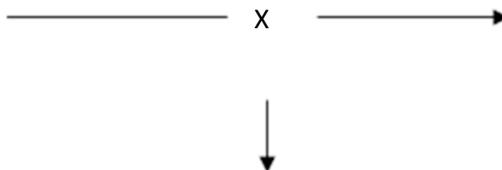
10) čɛlɪ   gɪt   šuɳ-əɳšuɳ- əɳ - e   še go.
Girl   song   listen listen.SIMLT sleep GO.PERF
The girl slept while listening to the song.

This shows the continuation of one of the events/actions after being simultaneous with the other for some time.

o Non-identical agents in simultaneous activity.

11) ʊ   mɛr   dekʰəɳ dekʰəɳ e ḍʊb go.
3.SG   1.SG see.see.SIMLT drown GO.PERF
He drowned in my presence.

The broken line of x signifies that x was about to set in operation but somehow did not.

- Continuation/duration indicates continuation or duration of an event/action for a short or a long period of time. The continuity of an action may be

sub-ordinate to the main action or may constitute the main action. If it is the former, the continuity is exhibited in Reduplicated verbs accompanied by a non-reduplicated main verb. If it is the latter i.e. the main verb is continuous, then the main verb of a sentence is reduplicated. The continuity of an action may or may not have a resultant effect reflected in the MV of the sentence (Abbi pp 44). If there is no resultant effect the reduplicated adverb indicates 'manner'. The semantic nature of the final verb determines whether it is manner or cause.

12) čɛla ǰə-n ǰə- n-e tʰək go. (Cause)
Boy walk walk.SIMLT   tired GO.PERF
The boy got tired of walking.

13) ǐj kʰan pək əɳ   pək əɳ   e kʰʊ. (Manner)
 Mother food cook   cook.   SIMLT say.
Mother said while cooking.

It is important to note here that continuity of action/event might not be achieved without a RVADV. But I could not find any instances of reduplicated verbs. Though, I did find iteration in reduplicated verbs in the adverbial position in conjunction with Conjunctive Participle marker -ber as -kər in Hindi.

14) čela git šun šun ber tʰək go
Boy song listen listen CP tired GO.PERF
The boy got tired of listening music.

Discontinuous Reduplication
The post-positioning or intervention of any empty syllable between two reduplicated words forms discontinuous reduplication such as *ko na ko* 'someone or the other'. Different infixes suggest different meanings.

Semantic Reduplication is used to form those compounds where two words entering into compounds are either **Polar synonyms** like *cʰəʈ bəɽ* 'all age groups', *buɽ ǰəwan* 'all age groups' and *itʰã utʰã* 'here and there' **or Related words** like hišɛb kitɛb 'to keep accounts', *rupia ʈəka* 'money and property (assets)' which are Semantically related. I

also found a case of two words coming together to put forth a suggested meaning. The meaning is symbolic. It works as an **Exocentric Compounds** or Bahuvrihi samasa where none of the constituents act as head but form an equational compound for e.g.

ʤɔ   ɖaɪ   - 'to obstruct or hurdle.'

Tree   plant

Explicator Compound Verb

An ECV is a combination which refers to a sequence of two verbs V1 and V2 in which the main verb of the sentence generally V1 in SOV languages is followed by another verb i.e. V2 which is delexicalised in the construction. While exploring ECVs I found some positive results as follows:

15) mɛr   bənɛni   buɳ e buɳ   do
1.SG   shirt   stitch stitch GIVE.IMPR
Stitch my shirt quickly.

Here, the reduplication of V1 suggests the manner of quickness. But, reduplication in ECVs is selectional to only transitive verbs.

Phonology of lexical Reduplication

Complete reduplication

In the phonological process of reduplication Thomas Stolz and Andrea Sanso stand for 'right-ward branching' only. But I came across both right and left-ward branching in Kumauni. In Apothsis there is word final addition of the vowel which can be studied as follows:

1. Leftward movement

$X_i \longrightarrow X_o \ X_i$ where $X_o \longrightarrow X_i + [\ y]$
morpheme
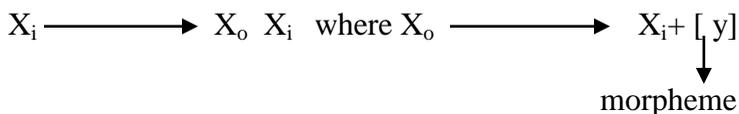
The above rule applies to gʰər -ʊ gʰər 'each house,' where stands for marking distributiveness. Similarly, mitʰ-ʊ miʈ 'sweet sweet'. bɔhɔt -e bɔhɔt where -e is to emphasize. Similarly, baʈ -e baʈ where -e stands for emphasizing exactness.

2. Rightward movement

$$X_i \longrightarrow X_i\ X_o \quad \text{where}\ X_o \longrightarrow X_i + [y]$$

Morpheme

X_i is the identity particle i.e. the base word such as in *ǰən ǰən e* 'while walking' *bʰɛʈ bʰɛʈ e* 'while sitting'. Hence, the -e marking suggests the simultaneity of the action.

Partial reduplication

Echo formations give three functions operating in their functions (Abbi 1991). These are:

1. Initial sound replacement by a fixed sound, such a Hindi v-

2. Initial sound replacement by fixed phonological syllable.

3. Vowel alternation by a qualitatively fixed vowel.

In Kumauni I found the first and the third working as in *bəld həld rɔʈ raʈ*. The rules in Kumauni are of Replaciveness and Vowel alternation. We can represent as follows:

[b ə l d] $\longrightarrow$ [b ə l d   h ə l d]

C V_0 C_0 C_0 C V_0 C_0 C_0 C V_0 C_0 C_0

1 2 3 4   1 2 3 4 **[5]** 2 3 4

Replaced

C $\longrightarrow$ [h] / # $\underline{\hspace{2cm}}$ (V_0 C_0)

Both the above rules of Replaciveness suggest that a consonantal melody can be seen in bʰɔl hɔl bal hal etc. Thus the initial consonant followed by minimum vowel and consonants is replaced by /h/ always.

Vowel Alternation/melody

$$\left/ \begin{matrix} \text{ɔ} \\ \text{ʊ} \\ \text{ɪ} \end{matrix} \right/ \longrightarrow \text{[a]} \quad \underline{\qquad} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{ṭ} \\ \# \end{matrix}$$

/ɛ/ $\longrightarrow$ [u] / _____ +Alveolar

+Nasal
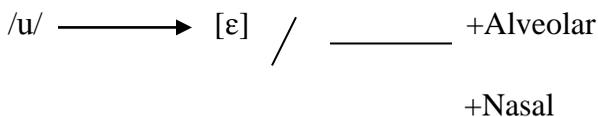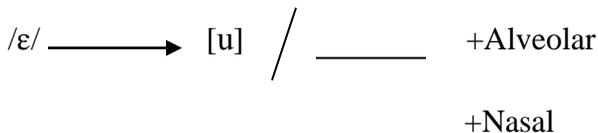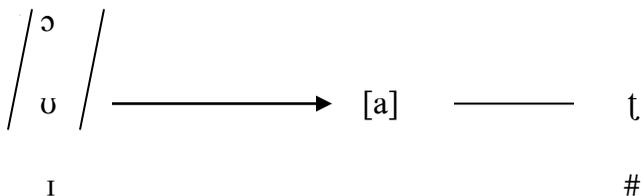
/u/ $\longrightarrow$ [ɛ] / _____ +Alveolar

+Nasal

Hence, the front vowel alters to back vowel when followed by alveolar nasal and vice-versa as in bund bɛnd 'drizzle' mɛnǰ munǰ 'washing'. The EWs are maximum disyllabic.

CONCLUSION

A very interesting feature which is captivating is the homophonous morpheme for denoting several aspects such as simultaneity, emphasis, distributiveness and aggregation in quantifiers. This morpheme is employed using rule of Apothsis by both leftward and rightward movement. I feel that on account of common ethno-cultural and emotional purposes linguistic patterns come in contact and thus shared by all. This is how areal features develop and reduplication in South Asia is no less one of those outcomes.

REFERENCES

Abbi, Anvita. 2001. A manual of fieldwork and linguistic structures. Lincoln. Europe.

Abbi Anvita. 1994.Semantic Universals in Idian languages. Indian Institue of Advanced Studies. Shimla.

Abbi Anvita. 1985. Reduplication in South Asian languages – An areal, typological and historical study. Allied Publishers. Delhi.

Abbi Anvita. 1980. Semantic Grammar of Hindi. A study in reduplication. Bahri Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Diffloth, G. 1976. Expressive phonology and prosaic phonology in Mon-Khmer. University of Chicago.

Diffloth, G. 1972. Expressives in Semai. University of Chicago.

Emeneau, Muray B. 1969 Onomatopoeics in the Indian Linguistic Area. Language 45-2, pp. 294-99.

Greirson, George. A. 1903-1928.Linguistic Survey of India. Motilal Banarsidas. Delhi.

Hurch, Bernard (ed.) 2005 *Studies in Reduplication*, Berli/Newyork: Mouton de Gruyter.

Montaut, Annie. 2004. Hindi Grammar, Munchen: Lincom-Europa.

Stolz, Thomas & Sanso, Andrea. The Mediterranean area revisited.

CHAPTER 10

Active Linguists of India

This section presents a list of active linguists of India and the institution they affiliated to. The names making to this non-exhaustive list include only those linguists who are of Indian origin and whose laboratory, too, is India. With deliberate reasons the listing has been kept alphabetical without conforming to the citation formats.

A
A. M. Marykutty [Kerala University]
A. R. Fatihi [Aligarh Muslim University]
A. Rose Mary [Kerala University]
Abhijit Majumdar [Kolkata University]
Achla M. Raina [IIT-Kanpur]
Adil Amin Kak [Kashmir University]
Aditi Ghosh [Kolkata University]
Aijaz Mohammad Sheikh [Kashmir University]
Anil Kumar Dubey [Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya]
Anil Kumar Pandey [Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya]
Anil Thakur [Banaras Hindu University]
Anish Koshy [English and Foreign Languages University]
Anuradha Sudarshan [English and Foreign Languages University]
Anvita Abbi [Jawaharlal Nehru University]
Ayesha Kidwai [Jawaharlal Nehru University]

B
B. Mallikarjun [Central Institute of Indian Languages]
B. R. Bapuji [University of Hyderabad]
Barika Khyriem [North-Eastern Hill University]
Bh. Krishnamurthi [N.A.]
Bidisha Som [IIT Guwahati]
Bijoy L. Dhanwar [North-Eastern Hill University]

C
C. Sivakumar [Bharathiar University]
C. Sivashanmugam [Bharathiar University]
Chaithra Puttaswamy [IIT-Kanpur]

D
D. Vasantha [Osmania University]
Daljeet Kaur [Punjabi University]
Debaprasad Bandyopadhyay [Indian Statistical Institute]
Devaki Reddy [IIT-Madras]
Devinder Singh [Punjabi University]
Didla Grace [English and Foreign Languages University]
Dipti M. Sharma [IIIT-Hyderabad]
Dominic Savio [English and Foreign Languages University]

F
Franson D. Manjali [Jawaharlal Nehru University]

G
G. D. P. Sastry [Central Institute of Indian Languages]
G. M. Temsen [University of Hyderabad]
G. Prabhakar [Central Institute of Indian Languages]
G. Uma Maheshwara Rao [University of

Hyderabad]
Gail Coelho [University of Delhi]
Gautam Sengupta [University of Hyderabad]
Govind Swaroop Gupta [Lucknow University]

H

Hari Madhab Ray [Jawaharlal Nehru University]
Hari Prasad [English and Foreign Languages University]
Hemalatha Nagarajan [English and Foreign Languages University]
Hemang Dutta [English and Foreign Languages University]

I

Indranil Dutta [English and Foreign Languages University]

J

J. Prabhakara Rao [University of Hyderabad]
Jagjit Singh [Punjabi University]
Joga Singh [Punjabi University]
Juanita War [North-Eastern Hill University]

K

K. A. Jayaseelan [English and Foreign Languages University]
K. Rajyarama [University of Hyderabad]
K. S. Nagaraja [Deccan College]
K. Srikumar [Lucknow University]
K. Srinivasacharya [Central Institute of Indian Languages]
K. V. Subbarao [University of Hyderabad]
Kalyanamalini Sahoo [English and Foreign Languages University]
Kavita Rastogi [Lucknow University]
Komali Prakash [English and Foreign Languages University]
Korada Subrahmanyam [University of Hyderabad]

Krishna Bhattacharyya [Kolkata University]

M

M. K. Koul [Central Institute of Indian Languages]
Malhar A. Kulkarni [IIT-Bombay]
Mamta [University of Delhi]
Masood Ali Beg [Aligarh Muslim University]
Meena Debasish [English and Foreign Languages University]
Milind Malshe [IIT-Bombay]
Mimi Kevichusa [University of Hyderabad]
Mina Dan [Kolkata University]
Mohd. Ansari [Osmania University]
Musavir Ahmad [Kashmir University]

N

N. Krupanandam [University of Hyderabad]
Nazir Ahmad Dhar [Kashmir University]
Niladri Sekhar Das [Indian Statistical Institute]
Nisar Hussain [Central Institute of Indian Languages]

O

O. N. Koul [Indian Institute of Language Studies]

P

Peri Bhaskar Rao [IIIT-Hyderabad]
P. Madhavan [English and Foreign Languages University]
P. P. Gridhar [Central Institute of Indian Languages]
P. Selvakumar [Bharathiar University]
Panchanan Mohanty [University of Hyderabad]
Parameshwari Krishnamurthi [University of Hyderabad]
Pradeep Kumar Das [University of Delhi]

Pramod Kumar Pandey [Jawaharlal Nehru University]

Pritha Chandra [IIT-Delhi]

Probal Dasgupta [Indian Statistical Institute]

Pushpak Bhattacharya [IIT-Bombay]

R

R. Amritavalli [English and Foreign Languages University]

R. M. K. Sinha [IIT-Kanpur]

Rahul Balusu [English and Foreign Languages University]

Rahul N. Mahaiskar [Deccan College]

Raj Nath Bhat [Banaras Hindu University]

Rajesh Kumar [IIT-Patna]

Rajesh Sachdeva [Central Institute of Indian Languages]

Rama Kant Agnihotri [University of Delhi]

Ramesh Chand Sharma [University of Delhi]

Ravinder gargesh [University of Delhi]

Rukmini B. Nair [IIT-Delhi]

S

S. A. Shanavas [Kerala University]

S. Kunjamma [Kerala University]

S. S. Sundarabalu [Bharathiar University]

Samina A. [Aligarh Muslim University

Sanjukta Ghosh [Banaras Hindu University]

Sarahlyn Lyngdoh [North-Eastern Hill University]

Sayed Imtiaz Hasnain [Aligarh Muslim University]

Selvyn Jussy [Kolkata University]

Shailendra K. Singh [North-Eastern Hill University]

Shailendra Mohan [Deccan College]

Shakuntala Mahanta [IIT-Guwahati]

Shivarama Padikkal [University of Hyderabad]

Shobha Lata [Anna Malai University]

Shobha Satyanath [University of Delhi]

Shruti Sarkar [English and Foreign Languages University]

Shubhangi Kardile [Deccan College]

Smitha Joseph [English and Foreign Languages University]

Soma Paul [IIIT-Hyderabad]

Somsukla Banerjee [University of Hyderabad]

Sonal Kulkarni Joshi [Deccan College]

Sudheer Bhan [University of Hyderabad]

Suman Preet [Punjabi University]

Sumandan Kumar Sen [Kolkata University]

Sumita Bhattacharya [Kolkata University]

T

T. Muthukrishnan [Bharathiar University]

Tanmoy Bhattacharya [University of Delhi]

Tista Bagchi [University of Delhi]

U

Uday Narayan Singh [Visva Bharati]

Umarani Pappuswamy [North-Eastern Hill University]

Umashankar Upadhyay [Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya]

Usha Rani [Osmania University]

Usha Sinha [Lucknow University]

Utpal Lahiri [Jawahar Lal Nehru University]

V

V. M. Subramanian [Bharathiar University]

V. Thayalan [Bharathiar University]

Vaishna Narang [Jawaharlal Nehru University]

Vijay Krishnan [English and Foreign Languages University]

Vijayshanti Sarma [IIT-Bombay]

Y

Yankee Modi [Jawaharlal Nehru University]

Lexical Anaphors in South Asian Languages

Kārumūri V. Subbārāo
kvs2811@gmail.com

Introduction:

There are four major language families in the South Asian subcontinent: Austro-Asiatic (Mon-Khmer and Munda), Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, and (iv) Tibeto-Burman.

The classification of nominal expressions:

 (i) anaphors (reflexives and reciprocals),

 (ii) pronouns, and

(iii) referential expressions

 Anaphora in simple terms means **'backward reference.'** All South Asian languages obey Principle A, B and C of the Binding Theory.

AIM: To demonstrate that (i) an anaphor may have a nominative or non-nominative subject as its c-commanding/subcommanding antecedent, (ii) the verbal reflexive (VR, hereafter), which is monomorphemic, performs a variety of functions and is invariably 'subject-oriented', (iii) long-distance binding is permitted only in **non-finite clauses** and, is prohibited when the **VR** is present in the embedded clause or or a **complex form of the anaphor** occurs except in Marathi, (iv) the predicate in the dative/genitive subject constructions is [-tansitive] and hence, the VR does not occur, and only monomorphemic anaphors are permitted, (v) there is Case Copying in polymorphemic reciprocals, and (vi) Swapping of the constituents of the bipartite reciprocals permitted in Dravidian optionally   with oject as antecedent but obligatorily with cognitive predicates with subject as antecedent

Binding is expressed in terms of:

(i)   a nominal anaphor (reflexive or reciprocal),   or
(ii)   a verbal anaphor (a verbal clitic for the reflexive or reciprocal), or
(iii)   both nominal and verbal .
Nominal device:

German: Nominal anaphor

1   Max   hasst   sich

.   *Max   hates   SICH*

   'Max hates himself.'

- **Verbal device**

French: Verbal anaphor

2   Jean$_i$ se$_i$ lave

.   *Jean   SE   washes*

   'Jean washes himself.'

Binding Principles:

Principle A: An anaphor is bound in a local domain.

Principle B: A pronominal is free in a local domain.

Principle C: An r-expression is free.

(Chomsky 1986: 166)

1.   Languages that only have a nominal device
The nominal device consists of either a simplex or a complex anaphor: Most of Indo-Aryan languages.

Dravidian: Malayalam, Toda

Austro-Asiatic: Korku

Tibeto-Burman: Kokborok

Languages that have a nominal as well as a verbal anaphor

Indo-Aryan (IA): Marathi, Gujarati and Sinhala

Dravidian (DR): Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and all others except Malayalam and Toda

Tibeto-Burman (TB):   Hmar, Mizo, Manipuri, Rabha, Aimol, Angami (no verbal reflexive, only a verbal reciprocal), Ao and Boro

Austro-Asiatic (Mon-Khmer): Khasi

Munda: Kharia, Juang (Only VREC)

Languages that have an indigenous verbal anaphor alone

Austro-Asiatic (Munda): Ho, Kharia, Mundari, Santali etc.
Note: Ho, Kharia and Juang have a nominal anaphor borrowed from Hindi, Sadani and Oriya respectively.
Form of the anaphor
Indo-Aryan

Hindi-Urdu (IA):
There is a simplex form of the anaphor too and it is *apne* + postposition.There are other forms such as *khud* 'self' and *swayam* 'self' followed by a postposition.

The simplex anaphors *swayam* + pp /*khud*+ pp 'self + pp'may also occur in place of *apne-āp* + 'self' + pp' where pp stands for a postposition.

The reciprocal anaphor: *ek dūsre se/mẽ/par* 'with/amongst/at each other.'

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

4.

	rādhā$_i$	ne	apne	(āp)$_{i,*j}$-	ko/	use	šīše
	Radha	*erg*	*self's*	*self*	*dat*	*her$_{*i,j}$*	*mirror*
mẽ	dekhā						
in	*saw*						

'Radha$_i$ saw/looked at herself$_{i,*j}$/ her$_{*i,j}$ in the mirror.'

(Davison 2000:408)

Dravidian

Telugu (DR)

5.	rādha	**(tana-**	**ni**	**(tanu)**	poguDu-	**kon**-	di
	Radha	self-	acc	self	praise-	vr-	agr

'Radha praised herself.'

(Subbarao & Lalitha Murthy 2000:233)

Munda languages
In most Munda languages it is only the verbal device that is available as anaphor.

In Ho the intransitive marker, the verbal reflexive and the passive marker are identical in form and it is –*n*.

Ho (Munda)

8.	pro$_i$	aṛsi-	re-	m	nel-	ke-	**n**$_i$-	a
	you	*mirror*	*in*	*2s*	*see*	*pst*	*vr*	*fin*

'You saw yourself in the mirror.'

(Koh & Subbarao ms.)
Mizo (TB)

Tibeto- Burman: Anaphor in **direct object** position: ergative not permitted – for a majority of speakers

Mizo (TB)

10.	zova$_i$		(a-	māh	leh	a-	māh)

	he	self	and	he-	self
Zova					
a-	in-	huā			
3s-	*vr-*	*hate*			

'Zova_i hates himslf_{i.}'

'Zova$_i$ hates himslf$_{i.}$'

(Lalitha Murthy & Subbarao 2000:790)

In contrast, When the anaphor in **indirect object** position, the occurrence of the ergative marker is obligatory.

Functions of the verbal reflexive/reciprocal

The verbal reflexive/reciprocal is **morphologically simpler** device than the nominal anaphor which may be simplexor complex.

1. As a detransitivizer/anticausative

The ergative marker does not occur when the DO is coindexed. (cf. (12)).

The VR functions as **detransitivizer/anti-causative.**

Telugu (DR)

teruc 'open' [+ transitive] *terucu-konu* 'open-vr' [- transitive].

9.

talupu	terucu-	kon-	di
door	*open-*	*inchoative-*	*3s,nm*

'The door opened.'

(Subbarao & Lalitha Murthy 2000:227)
In the verbal anaphor is Russian suffix −*sj(a).*

Russian

11.   mat'   odela-   s'
.

	mother	dressed-	suffix

'Mother dressed herself.' (reflexive)

As a self-benefactive

Telugu (DR)

12.

mālati	annam	vanDu-	kon-	di
Malati	*food*	*cook-*	*self ben-*	*3s,nm*

'Malati cooked food for herself.'

(Subbarao & Lalitha Murthy 2000:227)

2. As a marker of passive

Juang (Munda)

14.

aiɲ	ma'd-	jim-	sɛkɛ
I	*beat*	*eat*	*perfect.present.T*

'I am beaten.'

(Pinnow 1960-ms:115)

3. As an emphatic marker

Kharia (Munda)

15.

Do?-	jom-	ta
eat-	*vr--*	*present.indicative*

'He eats by himself.'

(Malhotra 1982:178)

Based on the fact that languages which belong to genetically different language families have a similar lexical item, a verbal anaphor, performing almost identical functions, Subbarao (2000) points out that it is not fortuitous that such a phenomenon is found in human language. This phenomenon reflects the mental organization of language that reflects cognitive capabilities of the human mind. Though functions such as inchoative, verbal reflexive/reciprocal or self-benefactive or passive appear outwardly to be unrelated, they share a ***common cognitive link***. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesize that such grammatical facts are grouped together under a single lexical head in the mental lexicon. It is the cognitive capability of the human mind that enables it to mentally classify phenomena that share cognitive/semantic commonalities and to assign a single lexical category for such seemingly unrelated phenomena across languages transcending genetic boundaries and barriers.

(cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980, Kemmer 1993 for similar views).

The Verbal Reflexive and Long-Distance binding

The presence of the Verbal Reflexive **blocks** Long-Distance binding in Dravidian, Munda and Tibeto-Burman.

Non-nominative Subjects as antecedents to a lexical anaphor

The dative/genitive subject as antecedent

Antecedent to a possessive anaphor

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

16.	bacco N	k o	**ap nī**	billī	dikh āī	dī	(hai)
	children	*dat*	*self's*	*cat f,s nom*	*sight*	*give.perf.f,s*	*be.pres.3s*

'The children$_i$ (have) caught the sight of self's$_{i/*j}$ cat.'

(Davison 2004:145)

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

17. | saritā | ko | **apne** | **(āp)** | **par** | bharosā | thā |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Sarita f,s* | *dat* | *self's* | *self* | *upon* | *confidence* | *was m,s* |

'Sarita had confidence in herself.'

Reduplicted anaphor is obligatory in Telug (DR) with a dative subject: Telugu (DR)

18.. | supriya | ki | **tana-** | **miida** | **tana-** | **ki** | jāli | puṭṭindi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Supriya* | *dat* | *self-* | *on* | *self-* | *dat* | *pity* | *was born* |

'Supriya felt pity for herself.'

Passive subject as antecedent

Indo-Aryan

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

21. | āj | mujh$_i$ | se | apnī$_i$ | kitāb | paṛhī | nahī~ | gayī |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *today* | *me* | *by* | *self's* | *book (f)* | *read+perf(f)* | *not* | *go+pst(f)* |

'I couldn't read my book today.'

(Lust et al 2000:487)

The verbal reflexive anaphor is not permitted with the dative subject .

Telugu (DR)

22. | karuṇa$_i$ | **ki** | tana | mīda | tana$_i$ | **ki** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Karuna* | *dat* | *self* | *on* | *self* | *dat* |

kōpam	vacc-	**(*kon)-**	in-		di

anger	come	vr	pst	3snm

'Karuna$_i$ got mad at herself$_i$.'

Long-Distance binding (LD) and the simplex anaphor

Major features of Long-Distance (LD) binding binding in SA languages are:

➢ All Long-Distance binding anaphors are subject-oriented.
➢ LD binding is not permitted from a finite clause.
(iii) Only the monomorphemic form that permits LD binding binding.
Cole & Sung (1994): The anaphor moves to INFL of the lower clause and then to the higher clause where it is coindexed with an LD antecedent.
Subbarao (1971) is the first study that discussed LD binding in any SA language.
Hindi-Urdu (IA)

23.

ašok	ne	lalitā	se	[$_{S2}$PRO$_j$	apne	liye
Ashok *(m)*	erg	Lalita *(f)*	with		*self*	for

cāy	banāne	ko $_{S2}$]	kahā
tea	*make to*	*in order*	said

'Ashok asked Lalita to make some tea for himself/herself.'

(Subbarao 1971:191)

Long-Distance binding and the verbal anaphor: VR as a locality instigator

Telugu (DR)

VR occurring in S$_2$

25.

ašōk$_i$	lalita$_j$	ni	[$_{S2}$PRO$_{*i,,j}$	tana	kōsam	Tī	cēsu-	**kō-**
Ashok (m)	*Lalita (f)*	*acc*		*self*	*for*	*tea*	*make*	***vr***

m-	ani $_{S2}$]	annāDu
imp	*comp*	*said*

'Ashok$_i$ told Lalita$_j$ to make some tea for *himself/ herself.'

95

If coreference is intended with the matrix subject, the VR *cannot* occur.

26. ašōk_i   lalita_j   ni [_{S2}PRO_{i, *,j} tana kōsam ṭī ceyya-

   Ashok   *Lalita*   *acc*   *self*   *for*   *tea*   *make*

m- ani_{S2}]   annāḍu

imp *comp*   *said*

'Ashok told Lalita to make some tea for himself/ *herself.'

Small Clauses

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

29.   pramod_i   [apne   (āp)/   khud/   swayam   ko

   Pramod   *self's*   *self*   *self*   *self*   *dat*

      'Pramod_i does not consider [himself_i a nerd].

 paṛhākū   nahī~   samajhtā   (hai)

  nerd   *not*   *understand*   *is*

(Davison 2000:420)

A dative case marked subject does not permit a nominative case-marked anaphor in Hindi, and a reduplicated anaphor in Dravidian.

Bangla (IA) a genitive case marked subject can be the antecedent of the subject of the Small Clause.

30.   ram-   er   nija-   ke   bhalo   mone hɔy

   Ram   *gen*   *self*   *acc*   *good*   *considers*

'Ram considers himself good.'

Possessive reflexive in a locative

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

3 2 .	rā m$_i$	n e	[apne $_i$/	us$_{*i-}$ ke k]	nazdī k	e	sar p	dekh- ā
	Ram	*erg*	*self's*	*his*	*near*	*one*	*snake*	*saw*

'Ram$_i$ saw a snake [near self$_i$].'

(Davison 2000:409)
Locative PP in a subcategorized position

In Kannada and Telugu the verbal anaphor is required when the anaphor occurs in a **subcategorized position.** (Lust et al 2000:30).

34.	rāma$_i$	tanna$_i$-	mēle	tappu	hāki-	koNDa-	nu
	Rama	*self.gen*	*on*	*blame*	*put*	*vr*	*agr*

'Rama put the blame on himself$_i$.'

(Amritavalli 2000:63)

According to Tang (1989), if an antecedent is a subpart of a phrase that c-commands a form, it is said to subcommand that form. Thus, "(a) reflexive may have an antecedent which does not strictly c-command it, but is a specifier of a subject NP (sub-command)" (Davison 2000:66-67).

In (35) *rām* 'Ram' is a possessor occurring in the Spec position of the head DP *man* 'mind' that c-commands the anaphor *apne āp* 'self'.

35.	[rām$_i$-	ke	man]$_j$-	mẽ	apne (āp)$_{i/*k-}$

Ram-	gen	mind-	in	self's self'-
se	ghriṇā	thī		
from	hatred	was		

'Ram_i hated himself_i.'

(Davison 2000:417) (Sentence (51C) of Davison (ibid) is slightly modified).

Other SALs too have such examples.

Reduplication and Case Copying in complex anaphors

The nominative case marker (in bold) of the antecedent in (36) is copied on to the second part of the anaphor in Draviidian languages .

Telugu (DR)

36.	*vāḷḷu*	okaḷḷa	tō	*okaḷḷu*	debba lāḍu-	kon-	ṭunnā	ru
			-					-
	*they (**nom**)*	one	with	*one (**nom**)*	fight-	vrec-	progr	m.p -

'They are fighting with each other.'

DATIVE SUBJECT AS ANTECEDENT. A verbal reciprocal is not permitted.

37.	vāḷḷa ki -	**ki**	okaḷḷa-	tō	okaḷḷa-	**ki**	sarigga	paḍadu

| | they- | dat | one.gen- | with | one.gen- | dat | well | get along |

'They do not get along with each other.'

(Subbarao in press)

In (37) the subject antecedent *vāḷḷu* 'they' is dative case marked. The first part of the nominal reciprocal carries the *structural case marker mīda* 'on' assigned by the predicate and the second part of the nominal anaphor carries a dative case marker which is a *Case Copy* of the subject.

Case Swapping:

While the Case Copying strategy[37] is interesting, though rather rare, Swapping of the constituents of the bipartite reflexives/reciprocals is unique and not found anywhere else universally. Case (both morphological and structural) plays a very important role in **Swapping** (and that Case is intrinsically linked to Subject-Object Antecedence in *Dravidian*. Swapping is optional when a *non-subjet* is an *antecedent of a reciprocal* while it is *not* permitted with *subject as antecedent* except with *cognitive predicates* (Subbarao & Everaert 2011).

With Indirect Object as antecedent: Unmarked – No swapping

38 abbāyi-lu$_i$ *ammāyili-$_j$* ***ki*** okaḷḷa- ***ni*** okaḷḷa- ***ki*** $_j$ paricayam

    boy-pl *girls* ***dat*** *one* ***acc*** *one-* ***dat*** *introduce*

    cēs- ē- ru/ *paricayam cēsu- konn.ā- ru

    do- *pst-* *pl* *introduce* *do* *vrec.pst-* *pl*

'The boys$_i$ introduced the girls $_j$ to each other $_j$ (the girls themselves, and not to the boys).'

---

[37] See Subbarao & Saxena 1989, Subbarao & Lalitha Murty 2000 for Telugu , Amritavalli 2000 for Kannada, Sarju Devi & Subbarao 2000 for Manipuri.

Swapping - (XY → YX) – permitted - marked

39.	abbāyi-l	ammāyili	ki	okaḷḷa·	ki	okaḷḷa·	ni ·j
	boy-pl	*girls*	*dat*	*one*	*dat*	*one-*	*acc*
	paricayam		cēs-	ā-	ru		
	Introduce		*do*	*pst-*	*pl*		

'The boys_i introduced the girls_j to each other_j.'

With cognitive predicates: NOM-DAT **Unmarked** order in the Reciprocal- **not permitted**

With a limited set of dative predicates such as *telusu* 'known', *gurtu* 'remembrance',
iṣṭam 'liking', *paricayam.ee* 'familiarity. emphatic', *jnāpakam* 'remembrance' , *tagu*
'match' in Telugu, the theme takes the nominative case marker. Accusative case marker
on the theme is not permitted as dative predicates are intransitive and hence, cannot
assign accusative Case. (For evidence, see Subbarao, in press).
The ungrammaticality of (40) is due to the constraint in Dravidian reciprocals that the
first part of the reciprocal cannot be in the nominative case.

40	[*vāḷḷa·	**ki**]	**[okaḷḷu-**	okaḷḷa-	**ki]**	telusu
	they-	**da·**	***one.nom***	*one.obl-*	***dat***	*known*

'They know each other.' (ungrammatical in the intended sense)

To circumvent this constraint   in Kannada, Tamil and Telugu   the first part of the
nominative case-marked reciprocal has to move to the second position of the reciprocal
obligatorily. When **Obligatory Swapping** takes place, the sentence is grammatical as in
(41).

Obligatory Swapping - DAT-NOM order in the Reciproc permitted

41.	[vāḷḷa-	**ki]**	[okaḷḷa-	**ki**	**okaḷḷu]**	telusu

they-	***dat***	*one.obl-*	***dat***	*one.non*	*known*

'They know each other.'

This constraint also provides an explanation as to why Swapping is not permitted in reciprocals with Subject as antecedent as the second part of the reciprocal is invariably nominative case-marked and Swapping would generate an ungrammatical structure. (See Subbarao & Everaert 2011 for details).

Abbreviations: acc-accusative, dat-dative, erg-ergative, f-feminine, gen-genitivenom-nominative, pl-plural,m-masculine,nm-non-masculine, perf-perfect, pres-present, pst-past,obl-oblique, vr-verbal reciprocal, vrec- verbal reciprocal.

References

Bhaskararao, P. and Subbarao, K. V. (eds.) 2004. *Non-nominative Subjects,* I & II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Davison, A. 2000. Lexical Anaphors and Pronouns in Hindi-Urdu. In: Lust *et al* (2000).

Davison, A. 2001. Long-distance anaphors in Hindi/Urdu: Syntactic and semantic issues. In: P. Cole, G. Hermon and C-T James Huang (eds. Syntax and semantics vol. 33, *Long-distance reflexives.* San Diego, Academic Press. 47-82.

Davison, A. 2004. Non-nominative subjects in Hindi-Urdu. In: Bhaskararao & Subbarao (eds.). 141-168.

Dayal, V. 1994. Binding facts in Hindiand the scrambling phenomenon. In: Theoretical Perspectives on word order. (Eds.). Butt, M., T.H.King & G. Ramchand. Stanford, CA. CSLI Publication.

Jayaseelan, K. 2000. Lexical Anaphors and Pronouns in Malayalam. In: Lust et al (eds.) 113-168.

Koh, T.J. & K.V. Subbarao. *A typological grammar of Ho.* ms

Lalitha Murthy, B. & Subbarao, K.V. 2000. Pronouns and Lexical Anaphors in Mizo. In: Lust *et al* (2000). 777-840.

Lust, B. J. Gair, K. Wali and K.V. Subbarao (eds.). 2000. *Lexical anaphors and pronouns in selected South Asian languages.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pinnow, H-J. 1960-ms. Beiträge zur Kenntnis Juang-Sprache.

Sarju Devi, T & K.V. Subbarao. 2003. Reduplication and case copying: The case of lexical anaphors in Manipuri and Telugu In: *Perspectives in Honor of P.J. Mistry*. (eds.) R. Laury, G. McMenamin, S. Okamoto, V. Samiian & K.V. Subbarao. New Delhi: Indian Institute of Language Studies.

Subbarao, K.V. 1971. A note on reflexivization and pronominalization in Hindi. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences.* 3.2. University of Illinois.

Subbarao, K.V., & B. Lalitha Murthy, 2000. Lexical Anaphors and Pronouns in Telugu. In: Lust *et al* (2000).

Subbarao, K.V. (in press) *South Asian languages: A Syntactic Typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge Unvisity Press.

Subbarao, K.V. & M. Everaert (2011). Verbal and Nominal Anaphors in South Asian Languages (SALs): some observations on case copying, antecedent restrictions and long distance binding. Paper presented at the workshop on *World of Reflexives* at the University of Utrecht, Utrecht.

CHAPTER 12

Dedicated Websites

Welcome to links of infinite links, all dedicated to serving your research and academic needs in language and linguistics. These links provide the researchers with information, tools and digital infrastructures necessary for research.

The link of infinite links begins right here.
http://www.academic-genealogy.com/foreignlanguagestranslations.htm

Indo-European Resources
http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/links.html

Glottopedia - The Free Encylopedia of Linguistics
http://www.glottopedia.de/index.php/Main_Page

Lexicon of Linguistics:
www2.let.uu.nl/uil-ots/lexicon

The Linguist List
http://linguistlist.org/

The Lingu Forum
http://www.lingforum.com/linguistics-websites.html

Department of Linguistics and Philosophy - MIT
http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/7829

Lectures & Hand-Outs of Chomsky and Others at MIT
http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/linguistics-and-philosophy/

The Noam Chomsky Website
http://www.chomsky.info/

Learn Esperanto
http://en.lernu.net/

Phonetics & Phonology

International Phonetic Association (IPA) Chart
http://weston.ruter.net/projects/ipa-chart/view/keyboard/

Software in Speech, Hearing and Phonetic Sciences
http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/resource/software.php

Link for Software 'PRAAT'
http://www.praat.org

Following is a list of Translation and Translation Studies related websites:

WebLinks for Translation Studies Scholars
http://www.monabaker.com/tsresources/links.htm

Links to Translation Studies Resources
http://www.tau.ac.il/~toury/links.html

Key Electronic Resources for Translation Studies
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/main/tealea/arts/transcompcultstudies/electronicresources/

The list given below contains Weblinks on Lexicography, Dictionaries and Glossaries of various kinds.

Linguistic terms Glossary
http://www.sil.org/LINGUISTICS/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/contents.htm

Language Science Key Terms
http://www.orbilat.com/General_References/Linguistic_Terms.html

Terms Used in Language Science

http://www.sfb441.uni-tuebingen.de/~sam/teach/IntroGenLing/terms.html
A glossary of linguistics terms
http://www.cs.bham.ac.uk/~pxc/nlp/nlpgloss.html

Glossary of terms in Linguistics.
http://webspace.qmul.ac.uk/cjpountain/linggloss.htm

Language Wise Glossaries
http://www.lai.com/glossaries.html

Alpha Dictionary Language Directory
http://www.alphadictionary.com/langdir.html

Oxford Language Dictionaries Online (OLDO)
http://www.wordreference.com/english/oldo.aspx

Languages -- Ethnologue language name index
http://www.ethnologue.com/language_index.asp

This list contains links on basic to advanced resources for students, educators and language specialists:translators, translations, languages, foreign language tutorials.
http://www.academic-genealogy.com/foreignlanguagestranslations.htm

Foreign Language Online Dictionaries and Free Translation Links
http://www.yourdictionary.com/languages.html

Learning Statistics for Linguistics
http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/

The following links take you to sites providing free E-Books.
www.library.nu
http://www.onlinebookbank.com
http://www.freee-books.com
http://www.pdfxp.com

The Indo-European Family of Languages
http://krysstal.com/langfams_indoeuro.html
An encyclopedic reference work cataloging all of the world's 6,909 known living languages
http://www.ethnologue.com/

UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger
http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/

Major Indian Languages
http://theory.tifr.res.in/bombay/history/people/language/index.html

Top 30 languages of the world
http://www.vistawide.com/languages/top_30_languages.htm

Foundation for Endangered Languages
http://www.ogmios.org

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_spoken_languages

Note: The responsibility for ethical use of these resources and avoidance of misuse rests with the users. Perhaps, only by acceding to acceptable norms we can provide continuation to these infinite and invaluable resources. It's likely that some of the Weblinks don't work at a given point of time or some sites return with no result in case the address has been changed by the site administrators.

An online speaking practice/assessment platform.
http://speak-everywhere.com

IPA English Keyboard
http://www.i2speak.com

IPA Keyboard
http://weston.ruter.net/projects/ipa-chart/view/keyboard/

CHAPTER 13

Conferences in Linguistics

Given below is a list of some of the highly potential and productive, national and international conferences in linguistics. It first presents the conferences area wise and then in general. It also contains some conferences that have been popular in India. At the end there is also an inventory of various Societies/Associations Group dedicated to serving the discipline of linguistics.

Phonetics and Phonology

Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS) Conference

Generative Linguistics in Old World (GLOW)

Laboratory Phonology (LabPhon)

Linguistic Society of America (LSA) Annual Meeting

Manchester Phonology Meeting (MFM)

Old World Conference in Phonology (OCP)

Morphology

Chicago Linguistics Society (CLS) Conference

City University of New York (CUNY)

International Morphology Meeting (IMM)

The International Morphology Conference

Syntax

Berkley Linguistics Society (BLS) Conference

Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS) Conference

Generative Linguistics in Old World (GLOW)

North East Linguistic Society (NELS)

Penn Linguistics Colloquim (PLC)

West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL)

Semantics:

Amsterdam Colloquium

CSSParis

North East Linguistic Society (NELS)

Penn Linguistics Colloquium (PLC)

Semantics and Linguistics Theory Conference (SALT)

West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL)

Pragmatics

Experimental Pragmatics Conference

International Conference Intercultural Pragmatics

International Pragmatics Conference

Discourse

Language in the Realm of Social Dynamics

Intercultural Rhetoric and Discourse Conference

Language Acquisition:

American Anthropological Linguistics Association (AAAL)

Boston University Conference on Language development (BUCLD)

European Second Language Acquisition (Eurosla)

Generative Approaches to Language Acquisition (GALANA)

Generative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition (GASLA)

Greek Applied Linguistics Association (GALA)

Second Language Research Forum (SLRF)

Sociolinguistics

Linguistic Society of America (LSA)

NWAVE Meeting

Southeastern Conference on Linguistics (SECOL)

Symposium About Language and Society - Austin (SALSA)

Corpus and Computational Linguistics

Asia Pacific Corpus Linguistics Conference (APCLC)

Association of Computational Linguistics (ACL) Conference

Corpus Linguistics Conferences

International Conference on Computational Linguistics (Coling)

International Conference on Natural Language Processing (ICON)

Applied Linguistics

All India English Teachers' Conference

AltLA

ICTATLL International Conference

International Conference on Language Teaching (ICELT)

General Linguistics

All-India Conference of Linguists (AICL)

Festival/Seminar of SAARC Folklore

Gender and Language in the Public Space (BAAL SIG event)

GLOW in Asia

International Conference of the North East Indian Linguistics Society (NEILS)

International Conference on Linguistics (ICL)

International Conference on Recent Advances in Linguistics (ICRAL)

International Conference on Socio-Cultural Approaches to Translation

International Conference on South Asian Languages and Literatures (ICOSALL)

International Congress of Bengal Studies

Language and Linguistics Student Conference

Literary Transactions in a Globalized Context

Societas Linguistica Europaea (SLE)

South Asian Language Analysis (SALA) Roundtable

Students' Conference of Linguistics in India (SCONLI)

Toronto Undergraduate Linguistics Conference (TULCON)

Translating Bharat Conference

Linguistics Societies/Associations/Group in India

Linguistics Society of India (LSI)

Dravidian Linguistics Association (DLA)

Bastigiri Samajik Sansthan

Northeast Indian Linguistic Society

Zo Cultural-cum-Literature Society India (ZOCULSIN)

Linguistics Peer Group

Reduplication in Noakhali Bangla: An Optimality Account

Uttam Chakraborty
dhanitattauc@rediffmail.com

Reduplication, a process of morphological doubling, is attempted here to be proved as an extreme prevalence in Noakhali Bangla. The applications and approaches assigned to Reduplication in this paper, in fact, are to support the assumption of extreme prevalence of Reduplication in this dialect. Additionally, how Correspondence Theory supports the B-R Identity in Reduplication, though not in detail, are briefly used in reference, to create a better linguistic credibility of the paper.

Introduction

Current linguistic research across languages is very much enriched by Prosodic Morphological study (McCarthy and Prince 1986). Even dialectal variations are being studied under the focus of Prosodic Morphology. Following the emergence of interest in the study of language typology, seeking the application of some recent Prosodic Morphological theories, the present paper tries to investigate the application of one of the commonly practiced basic stand points of Prosodic Morphology i.e. Reduplication in the Noakhali Bangla (henceforth, NKB) - one of the dialectal variations of Standard Colloquial Bangla (henceforth, SCB). This paper shows various kinds of uses of Reduplication in NKB, processes and procedures, correspondence between the base and reduplicants and the like.

1. Reduplication

To modify the semantic load of a word, repetition of a part of a word or the whole word itself, is known as Reduplication. Making plurality of the context, Reduplication is commonly used in many languages. Although, some languages have specific plural suffixes for nouns, others do not have any special affixes for indicating plurality of nouns. For example, in the Japanese language a noun like 'hon' may be used to refer what is in English both 'book' and 'books'. Reduplication is quite common in the Tohono O'odham language where the first consonant and vowel sequence is reduplicated as in 'daikud'(chair) → 'dadaikud'(chairs). However, in NKB, the usual reduplications are like following representative data in 2.1.

2.1. Data: Reduplication

The reduplicative forms in NKB are the regular practices copying a part of the root or the whole root to convey relatively an approximate sense of plurality.

(1)	Base (SCB)	Partial Reduplication (NKB)	Gloss
	poriʃkar	ɸɔɛ̯ɸoriʃkar	"cleanliness"
	mɔʃla	mɔɛ̯moʃɔla	"spices"
	ḍaiṭṭo	ḍaɛ̯ḍaiṭṭɔ	"responsibilities"
	murubbi	mɔɛ̯murubbi	"elderly persons"
(2)	Base (NKB)	Partial Reduplication (NKB)	Gloss
	noguna	nɔɛ̯noguna	"styles"
	naiuri	naɛ̯naiuri	"female guests"
	loiɔṭa	lɔɛ̯loiɔṭa	"invitations"
(3)	Base (SCB)	Total Reduplication (NKB)	Gloss
	asṭe	asṭe asṭe	"slowly"
	gae	gae gae	"in whole body"
	miʃṭi	miʃṭi miʃṭi	"sweetish"
	ṭilae	ṭilae ṭilae	"on the hills"
(4)	Base (NKB)	Total Reduplication (NKB)	Gloss
	haṭre	haṭre haṭre	"all over the field"
	gɔre	gɔre gɔre	"each and every home"
	suka	suka suka	"sourly"
	hõsa	hõsa hõsa	"rotten"

2.2. Analysis of Reduplication in NKB

Reduplications are of two types: one partial copying process, another total coping process (McCarthy and Prince 1986). Data set 1 and 2 show the partial reduplication of the root where the initial syllables of the roots being accompanied with a pair of morae, are reduplicated forming a heavy-light (HL) type syllable sequence. From the semantic points of view, the reduplicants + base forms supply plural meanings regardless of the meanings of the first parts of the reduplicated words. They also do not claim to have any reasonable meanings. In fact, Bangla has its plural suffix as -guli, ra, ʃomuhɔ etc. But in some special cases the plural suffixing system is totally substituted through reduplication. Sometimes the suffixing system and the reduplicative system are

replaceable with each other, as mɔʃlaguli and mɔɛmoʃɔla both are same thing i.e. the plurality of "spice". But the forms with -guli suffix are totally prohibited in NKB. They are substituted by reduplication or otherwise, as mɔʃlaguli → moʃɔlagin. SCB allows both the forms for special uses.

It is more interestingly to be observed in NKB that a kind of templatic requirement in the cases of reduplicants of partial reduplication is in function commonly, as Ladril assigned it in many Australian languages also. The requirement is to make a foot with at least a heavy initial syllable having any of the structures as CVC or CVV, where both the middle and final sounds are equally considered as morae(μ) to make the syllable heavy. So the reduplicants in NKB may be analyzed as having either of the structures as CVV or CVC. In both the cases the templatic requirement is the same i.e. to be a heavy syllable, while the CVC structure can be analyzed as with an emergence of glide (/j/) formation being treated as equal to a mora, forming · · ·-ɸoriʃkar, for an example. In CVV structure, a kind of vowel assimilation is to be found between the vowel of the reduplicated first CV type syllable and the vowel / · /, especially when the vowel is a non-low one in CV structure. For example-

(5) Assimilation	NKB Reduplication
ɸo̞ e̞ɸoriʃkar →	ɸɔe̞ɸoriʃkar
mo̞ e̞moʃɔla →	mɔe̞moʃɔla
mu̞ e̞murubbi →	mɔe̞murubbi
but no assimilation in-	
d̪a̞ e̞d̪ait̪t̪o →	d̪ae̞d̪ait̪t̪o

So, the reduplicated material, to sum up, falls under the expression CV(C) or CVV. But nowhere, so long my inquiry ranges, lies any example of a reduplicated form having the structure as VC(V) or CCCC or any other imaginable substring. Such a natural phonological grouping ensures in fact, the formation of an initial syllable in the reduplication, and where the syllable is a heavy one. The Ilokano Reduplication also displays the same thing, i.e. copying the first syllable of the base (Kenstowicz 1994). Moreover, the concept of foot binarity of Prosodic Morphology can clearly be observed in the figure below:

(6) (´ɸɔe.ɸõ`riʃ.kar) → (HL)(HL)

PRWD

```
                        PRWD
                         /\
                        /  \
                       /    \
                      F      F
                     /\      /\
                    /  \    /  \
                   σ    σ  σ    σ
                  /\   /\ /\   /\
                 C μ μC μC μ μC μ  μ
                 | | || || || | |  |
                 ɸ ɔ eɸ o r i ʃ k  a  r
```
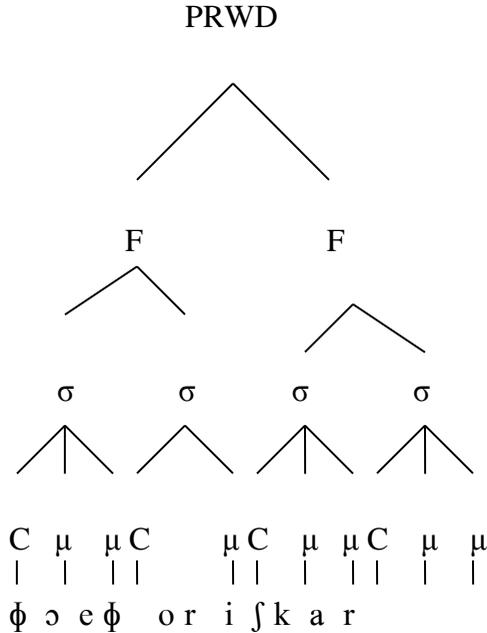
One question, why every reduplicant in 1 and 2 is accompanied with at least two morae as ɔe in ɸɔeɸoriʃkar and ae in zaẹziniʃ, is that to make every reduplicant a heavy syllable. This heavy syllable contributes in forming an initial bimoraic foot as in 6. Being a stressed syllable with two morae, this prosodic reduplicant forms the trochaic foot what is typical in NKB; for example, (´ɸɔeɸo.)(`riʃ.kar), (´zaẹzi). ・ ・ ・ etc. So it is for the domination of the high ranked constraints R=PRWD, TROCHEE, ALL-FT-LEFT and WSP that the reduplicants in NKB accompany at least two morae.

Additionally, there may lay a question about the CVV or CVC structure of the reduplicant as in ɸɔeɸoriʃkar or ɸɔjɸoriʃkar. The reduplicated material is in fact, the CV type first syllable of the base. But why the initial CV type reduplicated syllable of the base should be supplied with an extra segment in the reduplicant? This is only because of the initial syllable requirement for a trochee. Beside the concept of foot-binarity [Fσ] at the foot level; a reduplicating template may fix on two morae at the syllable level [σμμ], as in NKB ḍaẹḍaiṭṭɔ, naẹnaiuri, lɔẹloiɔṭa etc. with a kind of little phonological modification which may have any concrete reason or not. Because there lie not much difference between and ・ ・ ・ ・ , ・ ・ ・ and ・ ・ ・ , ・ ・ ・ and

・ ・ ・ ; but the second candidate in each case above gets priority in application. It is in fact, the vowel assimilation or height lowering between the first vowels and second vowels in the CVV structure. Moreover, to say of CVC structure as in ḍajḍaiṭṭɔ, the glide ʔjʔ almost resembles the vowel / ・ /. So the reduplicant may optionally be analyzed as being CVV structured or CVC structured. Thus, the di-moraic concept is balanced in either case to form an initial heavy syllable [σμμ] in HL type trochaic foot. Reduplicants lacking the enough vowel segments to fill out the heavy syllable are then expanded either by / ・ / or / ・ / in NKB, as in 2.1 (1 and 2), each of the CV structured reduplicant is provided an / ・ / segment so that it becomes CVV or CVC. The multiple NKB examples, observing the equal occurrence of / ・ / or / ・ / in partial reduplication, ensures / ・ / or / ・ / to be prespecified, demanding the structure CV + eʔj - Base. In Yuroba, verb nominalizations are formed by a CV reduplicating prefix, where the V position is fixed as being [i]ˡlo 'to go' → lílo, dū 'to be tasty' → ・ ・ ・ ・ ・ ・ ・ . Thus the prespecified V position blocks the entry of other vowel segment. So in NKB, the second V-slot in CVV structured reduplicant is prespecified as [+mid] and not otherwise.

    In this case, sometimes the whole base is also expanded by an extra phoneme, if the base does not have enough phonemes to fill up the heavy syllabic template. It is best exemplified in the Micronesian language Mokilese (Harrison 1976):

(7)   pa   paạpa   "weave"
         di.ar   diịdi.ar "find"

Steriade's (1988b) natural solution of the transfer problem is in fact, well acclaimable in the analysis of Mokilese reduplication. The coping of the entire base morpheme with its prosodic quality, gets some further modification either through an abridgement or through an extra addition:

(8)
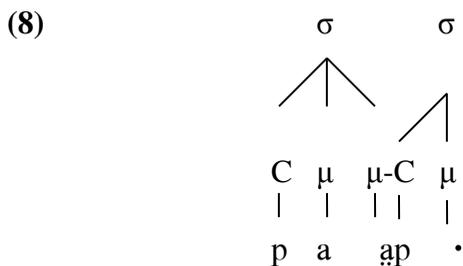
Data set 3 and 4 show the reduplication of the whole root. These are also used to mean a concept of plurality of the context like data 1 and 2. The templatic satisfaction of the total reduplicated forms can be supported by the application of some recent evaluating constraints of McCarthy and Prince (1993b, 1994, 1995a, 1999). MAX-BR is a constraint supporting to copy more.

Reduplications are present in many of the world languages as, Ilokano Reduplication (McCarthy and Prince 1986, Hayes and Abad 1989), Arabic Productive Plural and Diminutive, Diyari Min Wd Circumscriptional Reduplication, Suffixing Reduplication in Manam (Lichtenberk 1983, McCarthy and Prince 1986, 1991b), Quantitative Complimentarity in Ponapean Reduplication, Kinande Noun Reduplication etc. can be cited incidentally. Like Ilokano Reduplication and Arabic Productive Plural, NKB also reduplicates forms to mean a sense of plurality.

3.0 Echo Word Formation

Another recent development in the study of Prosodic Morphology is a special melody/template relation (McCarthy and Prince 1979 and Marantz 1982). Some languages have a special kind of total word reduplication in which some rhythm maintaining changes in reduplicated forms take place. Echo Word Formation is almost universal as we also find it in English, such as 'table shmable'. In Dravidian language Kolami, it is a common practice as:

(9)	Base	Echo Word Forms	Gloss
	pal	paḷgil	"tooth"
	kota	kot̪agita	"bring it"
	iir	iir̪giir	"water"
	maaʃur	maaʃur̪giiʃur	"men"
	saa	saa̱gii	"go" (cont. ger.)

3.1 Data: Echo Word Formation

The point is to show the presence of the Echo Word Formation as the most common case in NKB (not only NKB, almost all dialects of Bangla). Let us, have a close look on NKB echo words:

(10)	Base (SCB)	Echo Words (NKB)	Gloss
	gal	gaḻṭal	"cheeks"
	pagol	hagɔḻṭagɔl	"mads"
	bici	biṣiṭisi	"seeds"
	cal	saḻṭal	"rice"

(11)	Base (SCB)	Echo Words (NKB)	Gloss
	ḍim	ḍimṃḍum	"eggs"
	muɽa	muɽạmara	"groves"
	cula	sulạsala	"cookers"

(12)	Base (SCB)	Echo Words (NKB)	Gloss
	ol	oḻṭol	"types of arum"
	ukun	ukuṇṭukun	"lice"
	oʃuḍ	oʃuḍṭoʃuḍ	"medicines"
	odʒɔn	ozɔṇṭozɔn	"measures"

(13)	Base (SCB)	Echo Words (NKB)	Gloss
	kona	onạkona	"corners"
	gola	olạgola	"storehouses"
	bɔḍol	ɔḍɔlbɔḍɔl	"changes"
	kʰõc	õṣkʰõs	"obstacles"
	baʃi	aʃibaʃi	"stale"

3.2 Analysis of Echo Word Formation

These are the four special kinds of NKB Echo Word Formations – first with the changed consonantal segments in the reduplicated echo forms, second with the changed vowel segments in the reduplicated echo forms and third with an imposed onset formation with the null onset echo forms as ol → oḻṭol, as also exemplified in Kolami iir → iiɽgiir (Emeneau 1955). This onset formation process is supported by further prediction that prosodically null positions like the onset may be supplied by melodic overwriting (McCarthy and Prince 1994). Moreover, the concept of maximality is here to ensure the complete identity between the base and the reduplicant. Thus, the echo compounds of NKB, form an exact reduplication in perfect obedience to maximality

and melodic echo sequence between bases and the reduplicants. Data set 13 shows another kind of reduplication, where the reduplicants come first with an onset deletion from the first syllable in each of the forms. Thus, here the melody-to-template mapping seems to be satisfied. Of course, here the optimal outputs do not satisfy the evaluating constraint MAX-IO. Yet, these are in accordance to the maximality between the base and the reduplicants.

To say of the meaning Echo Compound forms, it is better to say of uncertainty, because the reduplicants may have some exact meanings or not. For example, gal has a meaning, while ʈal does not have any meaning relation with gal. Although, Echo Compounds also convey a sense of plurality of the base, yet there remains certain difference between the plurality conveying echo compounds and the plurality conveying base + guli suffix forms. For example, if the form is bʰaʈguli, it denotes an exclusive meaning of "rice"; but if the form is bʰaʈʈaʈ, it means not only "rice", some more rice-like edible things too. So the Echo Compounds firstly mean the content in itself and then its possible accessories.

4.0 Reduplication and Correspondence Theory: An Overview

It is however, to observe more deeply that may the reduplication in NKB be partial or total, there lies always a relation between the reduplicant and the base. In the partial reduplication, it is the phonological correspondence between the input base and the output reduplicant, while in the total reduplication, maximum correspondence between the input and output is witnessed. Segmental and prosodic identity between the reduplicant and the base is an obvious occurrence in case of total reduplication, which involves copying of a complete word (Kager 1999)

In partial reduplication, the bimoraic segments of the reduplicants as ɔe in ɸɔeɸoriʃkar or ae in ɖaeɖaiʈʈɔ are actually the phonetic correspondence of the second vowel segment in the base. For example, /ɔ/ sound is more phonetically approximate to /o/ sound than that of /a/ sound. So the reduplicant takes the morae ɔ and e in ɸɔeɸoriʃkar, but not a and e forming °ɸaeɸoriʃkar. ɪn naeɴaiuri, the reduplicant copies the identical second vowel segment of the base. Thus, correspondence constraints are satisfied in these reduplications. It is also interestingly

observable that whenever partial reduplication takes place the reduplicants takes either of the moraic combinations as ɔe or ae, satisfying the base-reduplicant correspondence. So, while partial reduplication is segmental identity, the total reduplication and additionally Echo Word Compound, both of them carries both segmental and prosodic identity between the input base and output reduplicant.

4.1 Nasal Harmony in NKB Reduplication

Nasalization of the vowel segments seems a regular occurrence in NKB phonetics. Consequently, NKB phonology and NKB morphology also inherit the nasality to their respective segments in particular cases. Analogous instances are commonly observable in the nasal harmony occurred in NKB reduplicants. Otherwise instances without nasal harmony (as in column four of data below) are almost unexpected to the native NKB speakers. The representative data of NKB nasal harmony in reduplicants are as,

(14)

SCB	NKB	Reduplicated	Expected	Gloss
ca	sã	sã̤t̤ã	˚sã̤t̤a	"tea, and the like"
ʈaka	ʈæ̃ã	ʈæ̃ã̤ʈũã	˚ʈæ̃ã̤ʈua	"money"
bãka	bæ̃ã	bæ̃ã̤bũã	˚bæ̃ã̤bua	"unparallel"
ɖeka	ɖæ̃ã	ɖæ̃ã̤ɖũã	˚ɖæ̃ã̤ɖua	"calves"
ɖã̤ʈ	ɖã̤ʈ	ɖã̤ʈɖṳ̃ʈ	˚ɖã̤ʈɖuʈ	"teeth"
bãʃ	bãʃ	bãʃbũʃ	˚bãʃbuʃ	"bamboos"
tʰõʈ	tʰõʈ	tʰõʈʈõʈ	˚tʰõʈʈoʈ	"lips"
ãʃ	ãʃ	ãʃtãʃ	˚ãʃtaʃ	"fibers"

According to Correspondence Theory, nasality of any vowel segment in the base is also reduplicated in NKB reduplicants. Nasalization sometimes occurs along with a concrete segment change as the u segment in ʈæ̃ã → ʈæ̃ã̤ʈũã and sometimes without any concrete segment change as in ãʃtãʃ. The overapplying approaches to reduplication in NKB are being exhibited in these data through the copying of the nasality. It is no matter that the SCB original bases do have nasality or not, but once they are nasalized in NKB base forms, they also retain the nasality in their corresponding reduplicants.

The last example ãʃ → ãʃtãʃ ensures that nasality may in either position (base initially or otherwise) in the base, it is retained to be correspondingly reduplicated in its following output. It is however, the dominance of the correspondence constraint IDENT-IO (nasal) that a segment in input and output has identical values for nasality. Correspondence Theory can also be observed here through the application of some constraints as MAX-BR, DEP-BR, DEP-IO or MAX-IO, BASE-DEPENDENCE etc. (Kager 1999).

Incidentally, in Madurese (Stevens 1968, 1985; Mester 1986) nasality extends rightwards from a primary nasal segment until it encounters an oral obstruent. It spreads to vowels, semi-vowels, also passes unimpeded through /ɤ/ and /ⱥ/. Such nasal spans are only environmental occurrences:

(15)

Stem	Simple	Reduplicated	Expected	Gloss
neat	nẽỹãt	ỹãt̪nẽỹãt	˚yãt̪nẽỹãt	"intentions"
moa	mõw̃ã	w̃ãmõw̃ã	˚w̃ãmõw̃ã	"faces"

This kind of Overapplication of nasality is commonly practiced in NKB corresponding reduplicants.

4.2 Back Copying in NKB Reduplication

The base-reduplicant identity (McCarthy and Prince 1999) again can well be observed in the process of Back Copying of the base or its part, present in some languages as in Tagalog /PaN + RED + putul/ → pa-mu-mu:tul, where the process of nasal substitution affects the reduplicant and through high ranking B-R Identity, the base is altered to match the nasal in the reduplicant. Back Copying is however, a process of copying a part of the base input just before the base in the output reduplicating form. NKB reduplication witnesses the Back Copying process in certain reduplicants as below:

(16)

Base	Reduplication	Gloss
kona	onạkona	"corners"

gola	ola̧gola	"Storehouses"	
bɔḏɔl	ɔḏɔlbɔḏɔl	"changes"	
kʰõc	õṣkʰõs	"obstacles"	
tʰõ̧ṭ	õ̧ṭtʰõ̧ṭ	"lips"	
goḏi	oḏigoḏi	"seats"	

The correspondence of copying here is transmitted back to the base, where reduplicant copies the base and not vice-versa. The only exception is that of the deletion of the initial consonantal segment in the reduplicant. Both phonology and morphology here are applied normally without any modification or deletion in the retaining part. This type of back correspondence of the reduplicants can also be observed in Axininca Campa, Kihehe and Klamath (McCarthy and Prince 1994).

4.3 Optionality in NKB Reduplication

Reduplication in NKB is highly productive. Often the reduplicants are being heard to be used optionally by different speakers in different forms. Particularly, the Echo Word Compounds are found in at least more than one form for each base. Partial reduplication and total reduplication are not optionally substituted in this way. The optional uses of some of the echo compounds are as below:

(17)

Base	Red-1	Red-2	Red-3	Gloss
gal	ga̧ḷṭal	ga̧ḷmal	ga̧ḷgul	"cheeks"
rɔʃ	rɔʃtɔʃ	rɔʃmɔʃ	rɔʃḏɔʃ	"juices"
ol	o̧ḷṭol	o̧ḷmol	o̧ḷgol	"arum-like vegetables"
bã̧ʃ	bã̧ʃṭã̧ʃ	bã̧ʃmã̧ʃ	bã̧ʃbũ̧ʃ	"bamboos"
mac	ma̧ṣṭas	ma̧ṣmus	ma̧ṣlas	"fishes"

All these reduplicants are acceptable in every condition by every native speaker. The semantic information for each of the options remains the same, i.e. the plurality of the context with a special inclusion of possible accessories of the contents. Difference

is only a relative popularity of the options; some are accepted more commonly than the others.

5.0 Conclusion

The theorization of NKB reduplication and various approaches to it ensures an extreme prevalence of the reduplicating process in this dialect. The additional study with this in the second half of the paper enriches linguistic credibility of the paper, especially through the application of Correspondence Theory in NKB reduplication. It is however, an initiative to relate NKB reduplications with Correspondence Theory. It needs some further study to theorize NKB reduplication in the light of constraint-based grammar.

REFERENCES

Kager, Rene. 1999. *Optimalitty Theory*. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kenstowicz, Michael. 1994. *Phonology in Generative Grammar*. UK. Blackwell Publishers.

McCarthy, John. 1982. Nonlinear Phonology: An Overview. MS. Amherst, USA: University of Massachusetts.

McCarthy, John. and Alan Prince. 1986. Prosodic Morphology. MS. Amherst, USA: University of Massachusetts.

McCarthy, John. and Alan Prince. 1994. Prosodic Morphology I: Constraint Interaction and Satisfaction. MS. Amherst. USA: University of Massachusetts.

McCarthy, John. and Alan Prince. 1999. Faithfulness and Identity in Prosodic Morphology. MS. Amherst. USA: University of Massachusetts.

McCarthy, John. 2006. Prosodic Morphology. MS. Amherst, USA: University of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER 15

Transferring Telugu adverbial marker 'gA' into Hindi with Transfer Grammar approach

B. Bindu Madhavi

madhavihcu@gmail.com

In terms of MT systems, often a small linguistic unit exhibits great variation. It is intriguing to see how a small adverbial particle in one language (here Telugu) has a great variation and more than one equivalent in another language (read Hindi). This phenomenon has been explained as two or three types of divergent phenomena proposed by Dorr (1994). Telugu adverbial marker '*gA*' has more than eight equivalents in Hindi. Ambiguous situations and appropriate equivalents with the help of morphology and syntax has been discussed in this paper. Unlike Telugu, Hindi does not have particular adverbial suffix that specifies manner adverbs and to represent Telugu '*gA*' in Hindi. Thus, multiple context dependent forms are utilized to fill the gap. To represent Telugu '*gA*' in Hindi post positional phrase or a couple of suffixes based on syntax is required. This paper gives a detailed description of a divergence found between Telugu and Hindi.

"A grammatical category is a class of expressions which share a common set of grammatical properties"[38]. Every language has its own grammatical category system and the word categories vary from source language to target language in the process of translation. The present paper deals with the same kind of divergence that I found between Telugu-Hindi languages while developing a machine translation system to the mentioned language pair.

Telugu adverbs are two types: adverbial nouns that denote space and time and manner adverbs that denote manner of a verb. Manner adverbs form by adding suffix '*gA*' to the adjectival root. '*gA*' is an adverbial suffix in Telugu which represents manner adverbs. Almost every manner adverb will take '*gA*' suffix. Apart from the adjectival root, '*gA*' will also occur with various roots, for example concrete nouns will also take '*gA*' suffix and occur in the same position like manner adverbs but syntactically they will be in a predicate position and they does not modify verbs. Unlike Telugu, Hindi doesn't

---

38   Radford, A., Minimalist Program

have particular adverbial suffix that specify manner adverbs and to represent Telugu '*gA*' in Hindi, we have to use multiple forms depend on the context to fill the gap. To represent Telugu '*gA*' in Hindi, sometimes we have to take help of a post positional phrase or a couple of suffixes based on syntax.

This kind of divergence comes under categorical, conflational and structural divergence proposed by Dorr (1994). In categorical divergence the word category may change from source language to target language, for example adverb in Telugu will become a predicate adjective in Hindi.

- When it comes in a predicate adjective position while translating into Hindi it will become null '0'.

(i)   '*gA*' → 0

- '*gA*' before 'uMdu' (be form in Telugu) will always occur in a predicate position then it always '0' in Hindi.

Ex: Tel: ammAyi aMxaM-*gA*   uMxi
            girl   beautifule-like is
    Hin: ladakI suMxara-0   hE
          girl   beautiful   is

➢ In conflational a lexical expression in the source will be replaced by a compound in the target, for example '*gA*' in Telugu will be expressed by a PP (Post positional phrase) in Hindi.

(v) '*gA*' → *kI ora*

1. With the directorial nouns like 'south, east, west, etc… '*gA*' will become 'kI ora'.

Ex: Tel: ikkadnuMcI xakRiNaM*gA* pravahiMci ixi samuxraMlo kaluswuMxi.

Here-from   south-side   flowing this ocaean-in mix-present-3rd pers sg.
    Hin: yahA se xakRiNa *kI ora* baha kara yaha samunxara meM milawA hE.
          Here from south side flow this ocean in   mix-present-3rd pers sg.

➢ The third, structural divergence takes place during the structural change of the sentence from source to the target language, for example an RBP (adverbial

phrase) in Telugu will become an NP (noun phrase) and sometimes a PP (post positional phrase) in Hindi.

(ii) 'gA' → *ke rUpa meM/kI waraha*

- 'gA' before a speech verb or in a statement and with a concrete noun will become 'ke rUpa meM/kI waraha'.

Giving this information and retrieving the proper equivalent from a machine is a strenuous task. The structure has to be in machine-readable format. So we adopt the transfer grammar approach in our IL-IL MT (Indian Language to Indian Language Machine Translation) system. Transferring source language structure to target language is called transfer grammar approach. The transfer grammar will be done in the form of a set of linguistic rules.

The structure of the transfer grammar rule is as follows.

TG rule:

Phrase<parent node>(({<child node>})) => Phrase<parent node>(({<child node "changes with @ symbol">}))

Ex: R22:   RBP<root="svayaM",lcat="n",cm="*gA*">   =>
RBP<root="svayaM",lcat="n",cm="**^@hI**">

The phrase, root word, morph analysis and the POS tag have to be specified in a format. Specified sentence structure and the preceding and following forms also help us to make more generalized rules. The transferring form should be with '^@' so that it cannot be modified further with any other module.

Flow chart explaining the distribution pattern of '*gA*' in Hindi: Telugu to Hindi
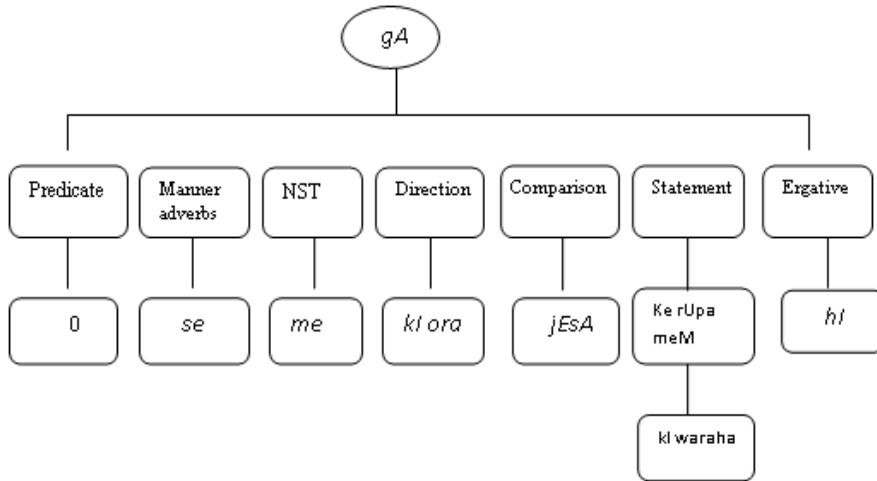
Other forms:

(iii) '*gA*' → *jEsA*

- In an adjectival position that represents 'like' in English it becomes 'jEsA' in Hindi. Often it occurs with a verb.

TG rule: XP<X>(({X<*gA*>})) => XP<X>(({X<@*jEsA*>}))

(iv)   '*gA*' → *se*

2. '*gA*' with an manner adverb and preceding with an intensifier becomes 'sI' in Hindi.

TG-Rule: XP<X$_{INTF}$+Y$_{RB}$>(({X$_{INTF}$+Y$_{RB}$<*gA*>}{Z}))   => XP<X$_{INTF}$+Y$_{RB}$>(({X$_{INTF}$+Y$_{RB}$<@*sI*>}{Z}))

3. With an NST noun like 'vEpu, xikku, etc…' it will become 'se'

TG Rule: XP<X$_{NST}$>(({X$_{NST}$<*gA*>})) => XP<X$_{NST}$>(({X$_{NST}$<@*se*>}))

(vi) '*gA*' → *meM*

4. Whenever '*gA*' occurs with NST's preceding with a directorial noun then it will become meM.

TG Rule: $XP<X_{(+direction)} +Y_{NST}>((\{X_{(+direction)}+Y_{NST}<\boldsymbol{gA}>\})) \Rightarrow XP<X_{(+direction)} +Y_{NST}>((\{X_{(+direction)}+Y_{NST}<@\boldsymbol{meM}>\}))$

(vii) $gA \rightarrow hI$

- '*gA*' with reciprocal pronoun then it will be '*hI*' in Hindi.

TG Rule: $XP<X_{(reciprocal)}>(((\{X_{(reciprocal)}<\boldsymbol{gA}>\})) \Rightarrow XP<X_{(reciprocal)}>(((\{X_{(reciprocal)}<@\boldsymbol{hI}>\}))$

Conclusions:

Telugu adverbial marker '*gA*' has various morpho-syntactic functions. There is no mere equivalent for '*gA*' in Hindi. The context specific rules help in filling the gap between the two languages but they need not be word specific. Apart from corpus study the ontological classification of Telugu verbs will help us to frame more generalized rules than word specific rules. At present most of the rules are word specific. To find the difference we need to incorporate ontological classification.

References:

Dorr, Bonnie J. (1994) "Machine translation Divergences: A formal Description and proposed solution", Computational Linguistics.

___ (1994) "Solving Thematic Divergences in Machine Transaltion", In. Proceedings, 28th Annual Conference of the. Association for Computational Linguistics.

Dave, S., Parikh J. & Bhattacharyya P. (2003) "Interlingua-based English–Hindi Machine Translation and Language Divergence", *Machine Translation* 16. pp.251–304, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Focus Particles and Ambiguity Resolution in Bangla and Hindi-Urdu

Abhijit Debnath[a], Amalesh Gope[b] & Tariq Khan[c]

[a]discoveryabhijit@gmail.com, [b]amaleshgope5sept, [c]safertariq@gmail.com

Focus particles (FP) have mostly been discussed as particles which highlight and relate information, give prominence to a constituent and signal attitudes. In this paper we have attempted to study what other roles do they engage in. Thus, it discusses the roles of focus particles in the perspective of ambiguity resolution in Bangla and Hindi-Urdu. Focus particles in the two Indo-Aryan languages seem to be exhibiting interesting as well as conflicting behaviors. Our discussion and analysis, here, are restricted to the focus sensitive operators like particles *'o'* and *'i'* in Bangla and *'hi', 'bhii',* and *'tak'* in Hindi-Urdu. Further, we also intend to study their combinatorial properties and behavior with respect to alterations in the word order. This paper is organized in the following way; at first there is an introduction to the focus particles and the unexplored issues related to them. Next, the focus particles and their types have been discussed with special reference to Bangla and Hindi-Urdu. This follows an account of focus particles in disambiguation roles. For the same, we have examined on how the focus particles from both these languages deal with sentential ambiguities.

Keywords: Particles, Focus Particles, Disambiguation, Bangla, Hindi-Urdu.

Introduction

Focussing is an intrinsic property of the natural languages, as it serves the need to make a certain constituent of an expression more significant than the rest. However, the device employed may vary as; in some languages focussing may take place through stress or tone, while in others, it may be expressed as particles. Konig (1991) highlights two interesting facts about the focus particles; the first is that focus particles play an important role in the development and formal make-up of a variety of constructions and are related to various semantic domains. There are, in other words, various synchronic and diachronic connections between focus particles and other central semantic processes. And the second is that, these particles present a challenge to current syntactic and semantic theories (Konig, 1991). The focus particles in Hindi-Urdu include the exclusive or contrastive focus '*hi*' (comparable with 'only' in English), additive or inclusive focus '*bhii*'

(comparable with 'also' in English) and additive scalar focus '*tak*' (comparable with 'even' in English). Do focus particles serve as highlighting devices only? What other unaccounted roles do they perform? What roles do they play in making an expression contextually relevant? What combinatorial rules and constraints are observed when they perform such roles? These are some of the questions that fascinated us to take up this study on focus particles. The objective of this paper is to understand the focus particles beyond their conventional roles in prosody and syntax. To be precise and exact, we intend to study the roles focus particles play in disambiguation tasks. We have discussed the restrictive and additive focus particles in Bangla and Hindi-Urdu and studied their behavior at the semantic and discourse levels.

Focus particles

Focus particles (FP) form a small inventory of words which are assumed to serve as highlighting devices. The natural language users have always needed to make a certain part of their articulation more prominent than the others. Subsequently, the experience of highlighting a part of an expression is not alien to them. In some languages it's realized through stress and tone while in others it's realized through particles known as focus particles. Although, focus particles are relatively under-researched topics, numerous discussions and debates seem to be arising due to the interesting behaviors these particles exhibit. A detailed analysis of the syntax, semantics and use of focus particles may be found in Konig's 1991 '*The Meaning of Focus Particles*' which presents, descriptively as well as theoretically, a comparative study of focus particles of English, German and other languages from cross-linguistic perspectives.

- a focus expresses 'new information' (e.g. Halliday, 1966; Selkirk, 1984);
- a focus expresses highlighting and informativeness (e.g. Bolinger, 1985);
- a focus identifies a presupposition or a presuppositional set (e.g. Jackendoff, 1972);
- a focus expresses information that is not c-construable, i.e. the phrase in question has no semantic antecedent and has not been brought to the hearer's attention (e.g. Rochemont, 1986);
- a focus establishes a relation between the value of a focused expression and a set of alternatives (e.g. Jacobs, 1983; 1988; Rooth, 1985).

It is with these insights and observations that Konig intends to interpret the focus particles. He maintains "whenever it is associated with a focus particle: the focus of a particle relates the value of the focused expression to a set of alternatives" (Konig, 1991). The location of the focus particles usually decides the relative importance of the phrases.

However, their location may affect the total interpretation of the expressions in which they are used. Consider these sentences containing the focus particles '*hii*' 'only' and '*bhii*' 'also' located at various positions.

anuj hii aam khaaegaa   (1a)
'Only Anuj will eat mango'

anuj bhii aam khaaegaa   (1b)
'Anuj will also eat mango'

anuj aam khaa kar hii rahegaa   (1c)
'Anuj will definitely eat mango'

anuj aam khaa kar bhii rahegaa   (1d)
'Anuj will live even on mango'

anuj aam hii khaa kar rahegaa   (1e)
'Anuj will survive only on mango'

anuj aam bhii khaa kar rahegaa   (1f)
'Anuj will survive even on mango'

The difference in the interpretation of the above sentences arises primarily due to the location of the focus particles *'hii' and 'bhii.'* It is important to note that these particles cannot occur in initial position of Hindi-urdu and Bangla sentence, except when they combine with pronominal forms. However, in English these particles can appear at the sentence initial position. To sum up we can say that focus particles form a small inventory, are polyfunctional and vary in their frequency of occurrence.

Types of focus particles

Several types of focus particles have been documented in research literature. Such as contrastive focus (Rochemont, 1986), identificational focus (Kiss, 1998), additive focus, restrictive focus and scalar focus (Konig, 1991). The three sets of focus particles that are important from the point of view of the main discussion of this paper include; Exclusive (Restrictive) focus; such as, 'only' *'sirf'* '*hii*' (in Hindi-Urdu)

anuj hii cricket khelegaa   (2a)
'Only Anuj will play cricket'

Additive focus particles which show inclusion and participation and thereby exhibit an identity and relatedness; For instance, 'also', and 'as well as' in English and '*bhii*' in Hindi-Urdu.

anuj bhii cricket khelegaa   (2b)
'Anuj will also play cricket'

Scalar additive focus; focus particles which involves the degree of possible and impossible events such as, 'even' in English and *'tak'* in Hindi-Urdu. The role of focus particles is seen from the fact that in a scalar interpretation, they assign the size of the named constituents a certain place or degree of fixed scale (Hartmann, 1999).

anuj tak cricket khelegaa   (2c)
'Even Anuj will play cricket'

     Among these particles, the exclusive focus particle *'hii'* involves in morphological incorporations when it comes with pronominal forms. Consider the following examples;

ham (we) + *hii* (FP) = *hamiin*   'we only'   (3a)
mujh (me) + *hii* (FP) = *mujhii*   'me only'   (3b)
tum (you) + *hii* (FP) = *tumhii*   'you only'   (3c)
wah (s/he) + *hii* (FP) = *wahii*   's/he only' (3d)
sab (all) + *hii* (FP) = *sabhii*   'all inclusive' (3e)

Non incorporated forms
ab (now)/ *abhii* + *hii* (FP) = *abhii hii*   'now only'   (3f)
tab (then)/ *tabhii* + *hii* (FP) = *tabhii*   'then only'   (3g)

     Since our primary objective is to explore their newer roles in ambiguity resolution we prefer to keep this paper theory neutral.

Focus particles and ambiguity resolution

We would like to begin with the repetition of Konig's remark on focus, that focus particles pose challenge to syntactic and semantic theories. That is to say that a given sentence may be well-formed at the syntactic and semantic levels. Still, it's not immune to ambiguous and infelicitous contexts. A tentative solution to this phenomenon is the employment of discourse tools such as focus particles. Undoubtedly, they contribute to the complete interpretation of utterances. However, focus particles do also participate in ambiguity resolution tasks. With respect to disambiguation tasks focus particles have been observed as both causing disambiguation in an otherwise ambiguous expression as well as creating ambiguity in an unambiguous expression. Consider the examples given below;

Hindi-Urdu

anuj aam khaakar rah-e-gaa (4a)
anuj mango having eaten live/stay -3future.
'Anuj will eat mango and live/stay' or alternatively,
Anuj will definitely (at any cost) eat mango.

The sentence is ambiguous and it can be interpreted as either of the above two. However, the addition of focus particles '*hii*' and '*bhii*' meaning 'only' and 'also' respectively sufficiently disambiguate sentence. Consider the following examples;

anuj aam khaa kar hii rahegaa (4b)
'Anuj will definitely eat mango'

anuj aam khaa kar bhii rahegaa (4c)
'Anuj will live even on mango'

Bangla

anuj   kaaj   kar-e   kha-be (4d)
work   do-pft   eat-3fut
Anuj will eat after work.

anuj   kaaj   kar-e-i   kha-be (4e)
          -emp

Here, sentence (4e) may be interpreted as:
  a.   Anuj will eat only after finishing the work or alternatively
  b.   Anuj will earn his livelihood through (manual) labour

In (4.d), there is a possibility of interpretation (a) and interpretation (b) seems to be least probable interpretation for (4.d). But in (4.e) due to the usage of an emphasis marker, *-i*, interpretation (b) also seems possible. Interpretation (b) however is also probable in case of a context where there is a preceding statement about a situation where e.g., the hardworking nature of Anuj has been described. The very introduction of a focus particle makes the second interpretation independent of any context to some extent.

Considering the sentences in the two sets we come to an understanding that while on one hand the presence of focus particles are resolving ambiguity for Hindi-Urdu sentences. However, on the other hand, their presence itself is contributing to a probable ambiguity in Bangla sentences; to be exact, in case of Bangla, where the focus particle can appear as inflected form at various sentential positions, their presence only after verb gives rise to ambiguity.

Bosch (1999) identifies three ingredients that are of significance; the particle itself, its focus and its scope. Drawing from this, the disambiguation task can be carried out in the following one or more ways mentioned below.
- ➢ Comparison and contrast of focused and unfocused constituents.
- ➢ Scrambling and observing the focus shift.
- ➢ By examining the highlighted constituents.

Drawing from Otoguru (2003), we distinguish between topic and focus in the following way; topic of a proposition is a referent that is relevant to and increases information about it, whereas focus is the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition.

The meaning with respect to focus particles can be ascertained by factors like;
- • What is being highlighted, enhanced, emphasized or included?
- • What is being reduced, excluded or restricted? and
- • What parameter has been adopted while rating it?

These factors contribute, alone or together, a great deal in deciphering the meaning in constructions containing focus particles. As Konig (1991) puts it, "the contribution made by a focus particle to the meaning of a sentence also depends on its scope". The scope of focus particles can roughly be described as the semantic counterpart of that part of a sentence that is relevant for spelling out the contribution.

Unresolved issues

Focus particles are often reported to be in complementary distribution with wh-

elements and in general have been reported as emphasis markers and lately as disambiguation devices. Let's see how these claims fare with the following data.

> *kyaa anuj bhii cricket kheltaa hai* (5a)
> wh-   FP
> Does Anuj also play cricket?

> *kyaa anuj hii cricket kheltaa hai* (5b)
> wh-   FP
> Does Anuj only play cricket?

> *kyaa anuj tak cricket kheltaa hai* (5c)
> wh-   FP
> Does even Anuj play cricket?

We see that in 5a, 5b and 5c the wh- element as well as FP is present in the same sentences. Now let's consider the FP '*hii*' with respect to ambiguous interpretations.

> *anuj aagraa jaakar rahegaa* (5d)
> a. 'Anuj will go to Agra and live'
> b. 'Anuj will definitely go to Agra'

> *anuj aagraa jaakar hii rahegaa* (5e)
> a. 'Anuj will definitely go to Agra'
> b. 'Anuj will go to Agra and live there only'

It can be guessed that in these expressions the ambiguity is resolved by identifying the lexical item or phrase in the sentence that has been emphasized through prosodic knowledge.

Conclusions

In our analysis we have found that the presence of focus particles in discussed above helps in resolving ambiguity in Hindi-Urdu, whereas their presence contributes to ambiguity in Bangla. These languages are members of the same family (Indo-Aryan), share same word-order and are spoken in (roughly) same linguistic (sub)area. Still there is plurality of behaviour with respect to focus particles. If focus particles were mere discourse markers this discrepancy would not have existed. This typical behavior of the

focus particles allows us to recognize the unexplored aspects. In this paper we have in a way revisited the focus particles in order to underline the unexplored themes related to them.

References

Bosch, P (1999). *Presupposition, Focus and Lexical Semantics* in Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teoretica ed. Applicata, anno XXVIII numero 2, pp. 249-64

Debnath, A. et al (2009). *Focussing Devices and Disambiguation*. Paper presented at the 31 All India conference of Linguistics in India. 14-17 Dec, 2009. Hyderabad.

Hartmann, D. (1999). Particles. In Brown & Miller (eds) Concise Encylopedia of Grammatical Categories. New York: Elsevier

Konig, E. (1991). *The Meaning of Focus Particles*. London: Routledge.

Otoguro, R. (2003). *Focus Clitics and Discourse Information Spreading*. In Proceedings of the LFG03. Miriam Butt & T. H. King (eds.) Manchester. CSLI Publications.

Sharma, D. (1999). *Nominal Clitics and Constructive Morphology in Hindi*. In Proceedings of the LFG99. Miriam Butt & T. H. King (eds.) Manchester. CSLI Publications.

Singh, R. (1998). *Yearbook of South Asian Linguistics*. Delhi. Sage Publications.

Language as a Command

Sanjay Kaushal[a], Nimmi Nalika[b]
[a]snjy9522@gmail.com

The intended idea of this paper is to understand language as a command or the most powerful ideology through which the mechanism of power and subordination is put into practice. Therefore, language cannot be seen something that can be used by people to 'share' or 'communicate' their thoughts coherently to another, as the very idea of 'sharing' and 'communication' does not bring out the politics of two identical terms – I and you – which are prominent in everyday speech in which 'being' is expected to be identified with the features of imposed categories of 'binary classificatory system'. Consequently, paper goes on to say the very inability to experience 'communication' in everyday speech, except in literature through writing.

Key terms: being, sharing, communication, everyday speech, binary classificatory system

As Saussure points out, linguistic sign is the signification resulted from the bilateral relationship between signifier and signified. The very notion of Saussure on linguistic sign was discarded by Jacques Lacan, a French scholar in the 1950s, rewriting the relation of signifier and signified as an 'algorithm' S/s. In his formulation through which he tried to give a scientific vein to Freudian psychoanalysis, the signifier lies over the signified, and the horizontal bar in the algorithm "'resists' the entry of a signifier into the signified preventing signification". Therefore, the elements of language do not consist of signification. Instead of signification, which is sign in Sassurian view, what we can see is a chain of signifiers. "What occupies the place of the signified, according to Lacan, is the 'symbolization of a law', which is a law of sexual segregation, regarded as universal law, and forming part of the founding law of culture. The chain of signifiers refers, ultimately to an unconscious 'Real' that is characterized by an originary lack of the childhood trauma of forcible sexual segregation. Being inserted in a chain of signifiers, and being run by the engine of a primordial desire, a subject's speech signifies 'something other than what it says'" (Manjali, 2000: 187). It is the unconscious desire that is being

expressed as language in which signified remains in the form of mark never fully manifested. Therefore, in Lacan's view, "all language is desire".

However, psychoanalysis of language brought by Freud and Lacan is limited to the family domain. It is all about a matter of infantile sexual desire for mother's body which is repressed by father. It is a matter of repressed memories of childhood or even of phantasms. Therefore, language uttered by man at any age has to be understood as the very repressed desire of his childhood. Contrary to this notion confined to the family domain, Deleuze and Guattari try to bring language to a much wider frame, which is socio-political and economic domain. They wrote Anti-Oedipus going against the conventional psycho analysis. As Deleuze points out "You don't reproduce childhood memories, you produce blocs of child-becoming with blocs of childhood which are always in the present. A man manufactures or assembles [agence], not with the egg from which he emerged, nor with the progenitors who attach him to it, nor with the images that he draws from it, nor with the structure of germination, but with the scarp of placenta which he has hidden, and which is always contemporary with him, as raw material to experiment with" (Deleuze and Parnet; 1987: 78).

Idea of Deleuze is not about how man is situated in the family under the pressure of his father which prevents his desire for mother's body, but about the way man is situated under the political repression in socio- political and economic domain. As Deleuze explains, it is the very political repression that comes as language through which social institutions practice its power to order, control, and maintain the society. Therefore, Deleuze sees language, not as "the desire for Other", but "a Command" through which world is ordered.

Considering Deleuzian idea, language cannot be understood either as the vehicle of thought or as the way for information. It is a command to which everybody should obey. "It is made not to be believed but to be obeyed, and to compel obedience" (Deleuze and Gauttari, 1987: 76). The order-word, the elementary unit of language, can appear as in the form of "the command, the expression of obedience, the assertion, the question, the affirmation or negation". " When the schoolteacher explains an operation to the children,

or when she teaches them grammar, she does not, strictly speaking, give them information, she communicates orders to them, she transmits 'order-words' to them, necessary conforming to dominant meanings" (Dealeuze and Parnet, 1987: 22).

Our response to language is not just verbal but also physical. It commands us to behave controlling our bodies like a man, woman, child, an adult, a citizen, a subject and so on. But it does not try to explain what type of behaviour is required to behave like a child or adult assuming the fact that there is a "general way" that one should behave according to one's "status". No one should be ignorant of this "general way" or "everyday concepts" which confirms "the dominant meaning" with its "fixed image". There cannot be any other way to define anything beyond the way that has been already defined, because the possibility of having other definitions shows the existence of disagreement which can be a threat to the "order of discourse". According to Deleuze, we are supposed to agree with the everyday concepts "so that we *do not* have to think...Everyday concepts, then, allow life to carry on in an orderly or functional manner" (Colebrook, 2002: 15). "Everyday concepts" that are dominant and fixed, through which the life is structured and to which our body is submitted, reduce differences in to "already known forms". "Because it assumes that there simply *is* a common world, there to be shared through language as information and communication. Opinion not only assumes a present and shared world; it also assumes a common sense whereby thinking takes the same 'upright' form distributed among rational perceivers. Opinion or doxa makes a direct link between affect and concept, between what we see and what we say, or between the sensible and the intelligible" (Colebrook, 2002: 23-24).

The order-words, through which we are reminded the order of life and thoughts to maintain the order of the society, fix us into a 'binary classificatory system', such as man/woman, black/white, left/right, good/evil and so on. According to Deleuze, binary system, which governs the distribution of roles, does not 'exist only for reasons of convenience' as "the base 2' is the easiest'. It is also 'an important component of apparatuses of power' through which some "consistency" can be given to the "chaotic and infinite differences of experience and life". In such a system, we have to be in one category at a time. As an example, one cannot be a man **and** woman at the same time; it

has to be a 'selection' decided in terms of **'either'** otherwise **'or'**. This is a 'forced choice' made by language. One's selection to be in one category is considered as the negation of the other category. This can be understood through an experience, such as filling an application, which we encounter most of the time in the life. The Application forms that we fill up when we apply for an exam, a job, a grant and so on are always loaded with a number of questions to which we should answer by making a choice. Most of the questions are 'Yes'/ 'No' type questions to which we do not have to say many things except using the 'given symbols', '√' / '×'. According to the choices we make filling the application, we are put into the category of 'female' or 'male', 'married' or 'unmarried' and so on. We cannot make a choice to be in "in-between", as the word **'either'** and **'or'** are so 'common and dominant' making a choice.

The category which we are clubbed into has 'features' that are common to every member of the particular category. We are recognized or identified according to this classification with its own features. Concerning the features of classification, 'face' is very important, and 'all types of face is determined on the basis of this model'. In that sense, 'even the madman must have a faces corresponding to some type which we expect of him' (Deleuze and Parnet; 1987:21).It is the very recognition that constitutes our 'identity' reducing us into 'some common features'. 'Identities' such as identity of men, women, citizens, communities, nations and etc. on which modern world is so much concerned and bothered are results of 'binary classificatory system'.

As Althusser points out, 'mechanism of recognition' is the way in which every ideology calls individuals into place and confers on them 'their' identity. In that sense, language is the most powerful ideology which can practice its power over bodies. It constitutes anyone as its subject through hailing.

Thus, once our identity is recognized, we are labelled with that 'identity' and arranged in the rack of the society just as the way books are numbered and arranged in racks in a library according to the disciplines that they belong. This is such an easy way of maintaining a library; it is easy for both the sides i.e., library authority and the user. The only thing that they should do is to maintain a clear catalogue system through which one

can have easy access to find the location and position of the books. Here, number and book should correspond to each other so that the number becomes the identity of the book and book becomes the identity of the number, even the number, location, and the title cannot say many things about the book. Similarly, the 'identity' that labels us cannot say much about individuals except their location in the society in terms of gender, nationality, religion, race, cast, class and so on. Census reports, passports, identity cards, birth certificates, death certificates and so on are some examples for catalogues that are usable for searching the exact location of an individual in the rack of the society. However, no one can be away from this system. That is how the society is ordered. Therefore, we are supposed to continue with our 'given identity' with first person narration 'I' or 'we'.

In above sense, it is possible to understand that the two terms "I" and "you" available in everyday concepts and speech do not bring the idea of 'sharing thoughts' or 'communication'. Because, when we use "I" and "you" in a sentence that 'I' utter, one has to necessarily be the agent or the doer of the action, while the other has to be the patient or the goal. Here, we cannot see any kind of sharing. It creates the environment of giving and receiving. In such a context, there has to be a decision maker who is going to decide what is to be given, how to be given and whom to be given. Thus, wherever decision making exists, the practice of power and discrimination happens. In that sense, **either** I **or** you becomes powerful and dominant, therefore, one of us inevitably becomes subject.

But, if our intention is to consider language as a way of sharing thoughts, then we need to understand the very idea of 'sharing'. In the context of "sharing", no one remains static. Also, no "body" is completed. Both of us – "I" and "You" - are transformed through "sharing" and that transformation which occurs within us due to the relationship that exists between us and, also the transformation that happens in the 'in-betweenness' are unpredictable and undecidable. In this continuous transformation, neither "I" nor "you" remain in our own absolute positions. The two of us become other in response to the other, which comes out from both of us. Therefore, each moment, we find novelties in our relationship. These novelties do not renew the already existing relationship, but it

creates or constructs a new relationship. The relationships that appear and disappear in the space 'between us' cannot be reduced to a particular definition or any kind of category. Not only relationship, but also the "sharing", which causes for infinite relationships, happens without having any particular thing to share. Due to these two reasons, we can no longer use "I" and "you" in communication. Communication never happens, when there is "I" and "You". In that sense, we can no longer consider our everyday speech or language as communication. As Deleuze explains, it is the very political repression that comes as language through which social institutions practice its power to order, control, and maintain the society. "It is made not to be believed but to be obeyed, and to compel obedience" (Deleuze and Gauttari, 1987: 76).

Communication through which man experiences its inherent nature of "becoming" can appear in literature through writing. Literature is nothing but "communication itself". "It is the passage from one to another, the sharing of one by the other" (Nancy, 1991: 65) literature designates the "being" itself, since literature does not come to an end. This can be understood in two ways. One way is to say that "literature does not come to an end at the very place where it comes to an end: on its border, right on the dividing line – a line sometimes straight (the edge, the border of the book), sometimes incredibly twisted and broken (the writing, reading). It does not come to an end at the place where the work passes from an author to a reader, and from this reader to another reader or to another author. It does not come to an end at the place where its narrative passes into other narratives, its poems into other poems, its thought into other thoughts, or into the inevitable suspension of the thought or the poem. It is untended and unending – in the active sense – in that it is literature. And it is literature.... that puts into play nothing other than being *in* common" (Nancy, 1991: 65).

Considering above ideas, that have inevitably immersed in certain amount of imagination, the common fact for each kind of thought irrespective of whatever the theoretical approach one would employ, language that is used in everyday life and concepts can be understood as the most powerful ideology through which the mechanism of power and subordination is put into practice to maintain the very order of the order of things in the world or things in the things. It is this very order or the structure, which

appears in and through everyday language, that can be overcome in and through literature, through writing.

References:

Blanchot, M. (1982) *The Space of Literature* . (tr.) Ann Smock. London: University of Nebraska Press.

Colebrook, C. (2002) *Gilles Deleuze* . London: Routledge

Colebrook, C. (1999) *Philosophy and post-structuralist theory : From Kant to Deleuze*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press

Coward, R. and Ellis, J. (1977) *Language and materialism: Developments in semiology and the theory of the subject*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Deleuze, G. and Claire P. (1987)   *Dialogues* (tr.) Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam. London : Anthlone Press

Deleuze, G. and Felix G. (1987) *A Thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Minnepolis: Minnesota Press

Foucault, M. (1971) *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. New York: Pantheon Books

Manjali, F. (2000) *Meaning, culture and cognition*, New Delhi: Bahri Publications

Nancy, J. L. (1991) *The inoperative community*, (ed.) Peter Connor, London: University of Minnesota Press

Nietzsche, F. (1996) *On the genealogy of morals: A polemic* (tr.) Douglas Smith . New York: Oxford University Press

Vice, S. (1996)   *Psychoanalytic Criticism : A reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Wittgenstein's Concept of Language Game: The Case of A Manipuri Play

Lourembam Surjit Singh

lsurjit24@yahoo.com

The aim of this presentation is to examine Moirangthem Inao's (Manipuri) drama in the framework of Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations*. The extension of the game theory from applied mathematics to language provides an alternative way of analyzing the flexible, subtle and multiform nature which is found in drama. Wittgensteinian nature of *Art* and *Language* is similar to that of the nature of game. This nature of game constitutes a 'form of life' *(Lebensform)* and is also practiced in human ways of living and acting. Every character in a drama takes a position as in a game and tries to score a point at the cost of others. The data for this work will be provided by one of Inao's play "Nongallabasu Thaballei Manam" (The lingering fragrance).

1. Introduction

Game theory is a branch of Applied Mathematics that has been extended to social sciences, philosophy and computer science. When, say in an economic competition, a player wins a certain battle at the cost of some other person, it is called a zero plus game. Similar situations may be obtained in drama. The theory was first propounded by Von Neumann and Morgenstem in 1944. Since starting of the mid-twentieth century it has developed into a standard tool in economics and also widely used in various academic disciplines particularly in Philosophy, Political Science and Biology. Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1972) is the first philosopher who used the concept of 'language game' in the discipline of linguistics. However, it came in the field of linguistics rather late. Lewis (1969) and Spence (1973) worked on this theory with a strategic aspect of communication. After their theory was introduced, there was considerable amount of literature in this field. But hardly any work has been done on the application of this theory to the analysis of drama. It was not even mentioned in the Lewis and Spence theories of communication. However, Wittgenstein used the term "*language game*" to mean the process of using words and sentences in language are analogous to a game. It means that the nature of *Art* and *Language* is similar to that of the nature of game, this nature of game constitutes a 'form of life' (*Lebensform*).

Wittgenstein further elaborates that people play 'word game' in the sense of word tricks and also use sentences in language as 'language game'. Such games which are played all the time by people is one of the most frequent activities that human beings engage in. It is intrinsically linked with or somehow grounded in our use of language.

This work is organized as in the following. In section 2, the theory and methods of the concept of language-game which I have applied in the proposed play, is discussed. The detail applications and possibilities are presented in section 3. Finally, few conclusions are drawn based on the results that we analyzed.

2. Theory and Methods

The primary focus of Wittgenstein's (1972) *Language Game* is towards words and sentences which are uttered in the form of a game. These words and sentences which are used in the form of a game have flexibility, multiform and are subtle in nature that is to express wishes, greetings, cursing, acting out smaller games such as singing, telling stories, doing mono acting, giving commands and describing things etc. Thus, this theory proposes a common goal of understanding which is something in common to all the games in the use of language, particularly in the aspect of a voice play. The properties of this common goal and understanding of the use of language, in terms of game, will justify with the possibility of the use of game in general. From these various aspects, the concept of language game that is explored here in this Manipuri play spaces a rigorous analysis in research.

Though Wittgenstein's (1972) Philosophical Investigation has some limitations in linguistics, the uniqueness of the thinking of game is far better for the use of language. Making use of language in the form of a game spaced to think of language in a form of life. This form of life brings various social contexts in the use of language. The social contexts which are stated in the use of language, make various forms of possibilities and the functions of words and sentences are diverse in use. So it has a multiplicity of uses. Thus the nature of use of a language is same to the nature of game which constitutes *Lebensform*. *Lebensform* or *A form of Life* is something formalized and standardized in our life as well as in the use of language. For this reason, every character of every play takes at least a position as in a game and tries to score a point at the cost of others without caring for winning or loosing. For example, Munteanu (2002), in a Wittgensteinian Analysis of Samuel Beckett's 'Waiting for Godot' shows how the dialogues in the play

constitute an endless game of waiting which is constantly articulated through language games. In fact the whole play is a kind of 'waiting language game'. In between this meta-game, Estragon and Vladimir play smaller games such as singing, telling stories, acting out small plays etc. but they cannot go anywhere because they are caught in this meta-game of waiting. Munteanu quotes the following dialogues:

ESTRAGON: Lets' go.
VLADIMIR: We can't.
ESTRAGON: Why not?
VLADIMIR: We are waiting for Godot.
OR
POZZO: …Adieu.
Long silence.
VLADIMIR: That passed time.
ESTRAGON: It would have passed it in any case.
VLADIMIR: Yes, but not so rapidly.
Pause.
ESTRAGON: What do we do now?
VLADIMIR: I don't know.
ESTRAGON: Let's go.
VLADIMIR: We can't.
ESTRAGON: Why not?
VLADIMIR: We're waiting for Godot.

As I mentioned above I would try to analyze the whole dialogues of the Manipuri voice play in a possible manner within the framework of Wittgenstein's Language Game which had been stated in his work "*Philosophical Investigation*".

3.The Language-games in Inao's Play

The play 'Nongallabasu Thaballei Manam' (The Lingering Fragrance) is a One Act voice play. The romantic plot of the play is given life by classic script dialogues of Inao and it is fully rendered by the sweet voices of the radio artists to show a suburban peaceful locality. The meaningful dialogues maintain a harmony of human feelings which shuttle between reality and dream, love and hatred, society and family, social turmoil and cultural value. This cultural ethos which is extinct nowadays is portrayed with a sense of

145

nostalgia. All these scenes are shown through radio dialogues by Inao in his writing. The reasons why I work with this play in particular, in the framework of language-games, is that the approach of language-game is capable of interpreting internal theme of the play within the certain realms of *dialogic system,* differentiating from a normal dialogue. To subvert rationalism of a particular message, systems are dialogic in player's language forces, in opposing centrifugal (deviation-expanding) and centripetal (deviation-counteracting) forces, called *heteroglossic* by Bakhtin (1981:7). However this kind of analysis can't claim that it exhausts the complete meaning of Inao's play but it may have a reason for his dramatic works to show the potentiality of dialogues in the context of language-games by using word tricks or by utterances which are used to interpret symbolically by various characters in the play as a whole.

Surbala: noŋməy məkʰol mɑllibo həwɟikkido.
               (That seems the sound of a gunshot.)

R. K: bombəlɑ oyrɑmgənidɑ.
               (Might be of cracker.)

Surbala: həwɟikpu kədaidəy bombəlano? kənanə tʰadoyno? noŋməynidɑ.
               (Now, where the sound of cracker would come from? Who will shoot (the
                cracker)? It is (the Sound of) Gunshot.)

R.K. :   məpʰəm kʰəɲɟatnətteda. əydi bombəlɑ mɑllinehe.
               (Might be anything. For me, it seems the sound of cracker.)

Surbala: ədo əswɑypʰao tʰokpirugero?
                (If so, would you be ready to go (there)?)

R.K. :   hɑ! doŋ-daŋ doŋ-daŋ mərəksidə?
               (What! Should I be (going) there at the sounds?)

Surbala: həwɟiktə bombəlɑ oyrəmgəni hɑybətaine.
               (Just now you told me that it is of cracker.)

R.K.:   hoyne bombəlɑ oyrəmmədi pʰəyne. ədə nəŋnə noŋməyni kʰəlləgə

əy čətluso hairisibu əybu sibə jarəbəbaʔ

(It's ok if it is of cracker. You thought that as gunshot but you insist that I
should go (there); are you agreed me to die?)

While waiting for their son who didn't come till late night of winter they heard some
suspected sounds that were very confusing, either the sound is of cracker or it was of
gunshot. But they could not go outside their home to confirm the situation of what
exactly it was. In this typical exchange of dialogic arguments, R.K. is trying to implicate
that it might be the sound of cracker without being fully assured. However he indirectly
meant that is not the sound of gunshot. It violates the quality maxims by quantities of
information and again violates the quantity maxims by qualities of information. We can
consider it as the violation of conversational maxims (Grice, 1975). So as to say that
enormous numbers of implications are caused in the play interpreting various themes.
Besides, in this implication both the characters uttered words or sentences to ask
questions, curse one another, wish something that is for true or false and aspects of a high
point of possibility in the case of losing or winning. This is obviously a basic kind of
word-game which is symbolically used as dialogues for waiting for their son in this play.
In these word-games each utterance for both the characters scored remarkable points
without any care of losing. They play comfortably, competitively and encouragingly
within this limit, they never tried to transgress or disrupt them. This

Indeed, there are many other examples in the play:

1Phajabi: ....jambuŋ kəynomə həŋgeneʔ lairikto

2Phajabi: jeŋnubə ⌈   -se. ⌉

3R.K. :   ⌊ə... kəy kəynobəʔ⌋ ə.. ədum tai haiju kəydəwge.

      (Phajabi1&2: Let me ask you one thing, don't look towards the book.
R.K.3: What is it? Say it, I am still listening.)

Phajabi: ado minə hainəbə, nupidunə nupadu pʰabire nupidunə nəmdunə
ləysinbənika hainərise kərəmmainə təwrijatno?

(People's saying that the woman caught the man and lived forcibly with him; how they did it?)

R.K.: ə ə... kʰəŋdedə! nəŋ nupa pʰage hairiro?

[I, I… don't know! Are you going to elope forcibly with the man?]

Phajabi: əm, pʰarəgəne nəmdunə ləysinge kʰəllibə, məsána kəya yaniŋbə mande, kʰəŋnə kʰəŋnəsu kʰəŋsinnədebə.

(Yes, I am and thinking to elope forcibly, he thinks he disagrees with himself, knowingly (knowingly) about my love he pretends not to be.)

R.K.: əy čətkʰrəge?

(Let me go.)

Phajabi: ŋaikʰobə.

(Wait.)

R.K.: a.. čətləge wani, əy kisəllək-ebo.

(Let me go, I become afraid.)

Phajabi: ŋaikʰobə, əh.. ŋəsi həjeŋ pʰadəw nəttebə.

(Wait, I am not going to catch right now.)

In the above dialogue between Phajabi and R.K. one notices RK's intention to neglect Phajabi and also her intention to declare her love. It appears like a fun game that is to show the potential of 'Subtle', the possibility of words and its meanings. Here one may mention that the nature of language-games is not only in the seriousness of the games. It may also have the characteristics of joking, loving, caring, enjoying and doing some extracurricular activities in the groups of players. Actors can also play a comfortable and interesting game.

Phajabi:

jambuŋ, jambuŋ, həwɟikpʰao həwgətribo............................. jambuŋ? əsh...! əjuksidəbu tʰabəlləy mənəm ləyhəwrine. ɪta tʰabəlləy, nəŋdi noŋ ŋalhən-bənə halləboy? ləynəmdo tasin kʰomɟinbə ŋamhəwdrəboy? ɪta nəŋnə

148

əyse ŋaohəndore. heima! ŋəhanməkʰəy ude həynəwsidi məpal sarəm-

ledənə, ɟam pambisisu jeniŋ hulləmledənə. oh! bəsəntə nəŋ lakləboyr

eʔ

bəsəntə lak-

e. ɪsʰ! sinə kəriʔ kurak nəndi əhiŋ cʰuppə ətorkulap ləyrolnuŋdə

jareklurəboyʔ hmm! kəjadə pəkcʰəkʰrəbə, əŋaŋbə ətorkulap mərəktə n

apu

məcʰugi kurak nəŋnə tʰuptunə ləybəsidi. əsh! ətorkulapki ləynaləktə p

ək-

libə likla nəkʰoydə tʰokləkpdə ŋairibə korəw məŋannə pʰubədə tʰor

əklibə

cʰumtʰaŋgi məcʰu təret. hm....m! jambuŋ jambuŋ.................. tʰor

ək o.

(11:29 – 12:31minutes from the play)

(Oh! The fragrance of the Thaballei still lingers till dawn; Dear friend
Thaballei (Cestrumnoclurnum), as if the dawn has arrived earlier before
you recollect your fragrance, you are going to make me mad by your
smell. Oh! I didn't see the mangoes and Jam (fruit) have bloom, oh!
Spring season you have come? Spring is coming. Oh! What is this?
Butterfly; you look as if you have spend the whole night under the petals
of the rose. How matching it is when the yellow butterfly takes shelter in
the red rose. Oh! Dew drops in the leaves of the rose look attractive like
the seven colours of the rainbow when the radius of the sun refracted
them.)

Phajabi: nəŋnə tʰəwanmičakne manə təndən, nəŋnə numitni...

(You are the star and he is the glow worm, you are the sun…)

149

R.K.: pumnaməksʰida nəŋna kəri?

(In these all, What about you?)

Phajabi: ….,nəŋnə məyrine əynə məyčak kʰaŋbini, əmuksu nəŋnə laiɟəni əynə ikʰəw laŋɟəbini, nəŋnə hiŋɟəbəni əynə kələkcʰəbəni, nəŋnə pʰəəbəni əynə təksʰisonɟəbəni.

(31:10 -- 31:38 minutes from the play)

(…… you are the heat and I am the bearer of the heat, you are the water and I am the thirst, you are the beings and I am the admirer, you are the beautiful and I am the envious.)

Inao writes some distinctive dialogues with a beautiful style of figurative language in his play. By such dialogues of the play convey something other than the literal meaning of their words. This may include litotes or understatement, hyperbole or exaggeration, simile and metaphor, which employ comparison, and synecdoche and metonymy, in which a part of a thing stands for the whole. For example, Inao makes the simile of the characters in the dialogues of this play; *a butterfly* with a man and a *rose* with *a* woman in an erotic mood; voiced by Phajabi.

This is one of the flexible and multiform natures of words and utterances. Such words and utterances which are being with the dialogues in the play have aesthetic natures of 'Arts' and 'Abilities' in our use of language and the functions of words are diverse in use so it has a multiplicity of uses. For this reason people admire 'open-texture' of language affirming that a word has variety of meanings and new word forms live in alter. Such uses of 'Art of words' is like that of the nature of game. These natures of games constitute a general and typical form of life which they are living in ways of something formalized or standardized. This is one of the forms of life that the writer wants to show in his play. Lastly, all the dialogues are arranged systematically under a complete sequence of the utterances in understandable manner with a complete form. Such forms which are going to use in the play can also be considered as a *multiform of a dialogic language-system*. Only by such dialogic-language systems one could explore the maximum characteristics of language-games.

Conclusion

In this study, I have focused upon the dialogues of a very popular Manipuri Radio play "Nongaalabasu Thaaballei Manam" (The Lingering Fragrance) which was broadcasted at All India Radio, Imphal, (Manipur) about 16 years ago, within the framework of Wittgenstein's concept of Language Game.

With regards to the approach of game theory in linguistics, I have proposed that the analysis of dialogues in such voice play is more relevant to the context of the use of language game. Through this theoretical approach of language game we could examine the words and sentences which are being in the form of dialogue i.e. sometimes *heteroglossic* in nature to its dialogic system in various social contexts. This nature of using words and sentences could be considered as an Art and Nature of language i.e. same to the nature of game. Finally, this study showed the possibilities of analyzing a play in various dialogic situations using language game.

NOTES
Sil Doulos/Sophia IPA symbols have been used for Manipuri Language Pronunciation. The overlap onset of the turn-taking is marked in the transcripts by the use of left-hand square bracket (for starting point) and right-hand square bracket (for end point).

References

Ara, Roshan. 2006. Wittgenstein's Concept of Language Games, *Al-Hikmat*, vol. 26, pp.47-62.

Bakhtin, M. 1981. 'Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the study of the Novel.' In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 3-40. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Boje, David. 2005. *Toward a Dialogic System Theory,* (http://www.peaceaware.com/scmoi/abstracts_2005/Boje_Khidija_Dialogic_System_Theory.doc.)

Carston, Robyn. 2002. *Thought and Utterances: The Pragmatics of Explicit*

Communication, Blackwell Publishing, Berlin: Germany.

Grice, H.P. 1975a. Logic and Conversation, *Syntax and Semantics,* Cole, P. and Morgan, J.L. (Eds). Speech Acts**,** New York: Academic, No. 3, pp. 41-58.

Grice, H.P. 1975b. Logic and Conversation, *The Logic of Grammar*, (Eds). Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman (Encino, Cal.: Dickenson), pp. 6475.

Lewis, David. 1969. *Convention.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Spence, Michael. 1973. Job market signaling, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 87.355-74

Von Neumann, John, and Morgenstern, Oskar. 1944. *Theory of games and behavior*, Princeton, NJ: John Willey & Sons.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1972. *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

(www.uab.ro/reviste_recunoscute/philologica/philologica_2002/42_a_muntean.doc.)

'Musahar' Speech Community: A Sociolinguistic Study

Krishna Kumar Paswan

krishnasoni.bhu@gmail.com

Any given language has a deep relationship with (its) society and culture. Consequently, it's often observed that the affluence of socio-cultural group is estimated by its language. Thus, the inter-relationship of any language with society and culture cannot be contested. This fact becomes even more significant when a speech community is rendered discarded and isolated from the main stream. The *'musahar community'* of Bihar is a living example of such a community.

It's usual that speech groups develop certain styles for carrying out the communicative tasks. These specialized styles become their group markers and thus separate them from other groups of the same speech community. These differences are not so obvious unless the various levels and sub levels of the language in use is observed. If observed carefully these differences communicate about the information about the speakers like his/ her region, religion, caste, *varna*, social status, economic situation etc. These differences are often reflected on the language uses including the pronunciation, vocabulary selection as well as sentence constructions of the speakers. This paper deals with the impact of socio-cultural, economic and geo-political influence on their language use. It further explores how the speakers of this community are named and how their language varies when they are carrying out the linguistic tasks with the main stream society.

1. Geographical location of Musahars

Musahars are found in various parts of India like Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Tripura, Chandigarh and Andaman & Nicobar Islands. But they are mostly available in Bihar and its bordering states. Bihar has the largest population of Musahars. They are generally known by the names of manjhi, sada, das, bhuiyan, banwasi, rishi, rishidev etc.

2. Nomenclature of Musahars

There are no written records pertaining to the history of the Musahars. Various inferences and guesses about their origin and nomenclature are available. One such statement is that "Mussahars are an offshoot of the Bhuiya tribe of Chhota Nagpur". Some trace the

lineage of mussars to Sabari, the famous character in Ramayana. The general understanding of the meaning of the word Musahar is said to be derived in the following manner.

The word Musahar is said to be a exocentric word which is a combination of the meanings of rat and diet. They were landless and also do not have any traditional occupation. The mainstream society regards them as untouchables. As a result, for their livelihood they have been collecting the remains of corns after the harvesting is over as well as other crops left on the way side. They collect the crops from the burrows of rats as well, besides also living on rats. Some times they also hunt wild animals. These were their main sources of livelihood. For these reasons, they are called Musahars.

The name of a person signifies and reveals his personality traits, tradition and culture and richness of knowledge. This can sometimes be applicable for all individuals. It may be said that every name of a person has its own meaning and importance. In Hindu religion, there are sixteen s̃askar-s (complex rituals) among which nomenclature is also one. It is believed that every naming practice has a psychological or philosophical interpretation. The family ancestry and tradition is generally kept in mind while naming the children in most societies. It shows that the representation of past and future are very important in mainstream society. For example, in the mainstream society, abhiˇsek, aiˇswariya, abhijit, ne:ta, bhargavi, shikha etc., are the names carrying a good sense. Such names are not found in Musahar society. In their society, mostly the existing present is kept in mind and represented while naming. Their naming system is concerned basically for identification purposes and not to trace any past ancestry, tradition etc. Also as this is a illiterate and unsophisticated society, a standard naming system does not exist here. Their naming system is very primitive and close to nature. Names of the day, month, body colour, personality, physical structure, names of birds as well as superstitions are the governing factors for individual names in Musahar. These names are mostly degenerative and dishonourable. The following data of names was taken from Manjhaul Subdivision of Begusarai district.

1. Day of Birth: aitbari (Sunday-born), mangla (Tuesday), bud^{h}o (Wednesday), Saniara (Saturday)
2. Month/Season of Birth: p^{h}ago, ˇcaitu, bhadaiya, baisak^{h}i.
3. Incident: nakaTTa (cut nose), suj^{h}an (vision problem), marna
4. Body Colour: kariya (black), lalku(red), b^{h}ulla (white)

5. Nature of Person: b^hajjan (devotional song), bamba (heavy voice), k^helo (playing games)
6. Physical Structure: lola (fat lips), j^h ˜oTi (un-kept long hair), luk^hiya (lean)
7. Bird's Names: kabutri (nature of pigeon), maini (Mayna), sugwa (parrot), koyeli (Koyel)
8. Superstitions: gandowri (from disposal ditch), tetri (3rd child breaking the gender continuity)

It has been observed that the new born child is named by the day, month of birth. The child born on Saturday is named saniˇcara and so on. phagun, ˇcait, baisak^h etc., are names of month in Hindi and accordingly the names. Sometimes due to some incident related to a person, that person is called by the name of the incident and gradually the latter entirely replaces the person's original name (3). There are beliefs that if a woman is giving birth to children who die instantly, she is suggested to throw the child to a garbage disposal ditch so that the child will live. If a child (mostly a boy) has undergone such an incident, he is known by the names like *gandowri, p^hekna* etc. (8). These new names are even enrolled in the Government records. These kinds of names are insulting and dishonourable but due to their downtrodden social status, the Mussahars accept such existing names without retort. Current media and communication exposure like CD - DVD players, Cinema etc., has an effect on the new generation of Musahars' names. The period of Bollywood cinema from 70's to 80's has influenced the Musahar names such that the actors' names like *vinod, dharmendar, jitender, rekha, hema, mithun* etc., are used. Due to illiteracy and difference in their phonological aspects, they add suffixes like /a/ or /ba/ and create names like dharmendara, hemiya etc. These names reflect the poor and lowly condition of the Musahars in society. Honorificity is not a matter of concern and therefore people are always addressed by their first name and sometimes add /bhai/ after the names.

The sense of humility, uncleanliness and humour in their names is due to the *c^hatuˇsvarna vyavast^ha* (Varna System, that classifies the society into four sections of people).

"मंगल्यमं ब्राह्मणस्य स्यात्क्षत्रियस्य बलन्वितम्।

वैश्यस्य धनसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य तु जुगुप्सितम्॥

"… names of Brahmins should be blessed, Kshatriyas powerful, Vaishyas rich and prosperous and Shudras dishonourable and humiliating."

Musahar community is marginalised even within the Shudras. The present fieldwork is located in a Hindu dominated society. As such it can be said that the downtrodden sense observed in their names is a result of the ideology of Manu's philosophy. A major distinction between Musahars and mainstream society is clearly visible in the phonological properties of their spoken sentences as well as words. According to emperical survey and analysis, the Musahars are found to take more time in uttering a sentence compared to a non-Musahar. Difference also exists in the intonation pattern in words and phrases of a meaningful sentence observed in a proper context. The pitch rise and fall is more rough and unsteady within phrases in non-Musahars compared to Musahars. There is a steady and smooth falling pattern in the pitch curves in Musahars. A distinct differentiating feature found in the pitch pattern is that words begin with a high pitch in Musahars and start falling towards its end. The fall shows a smooth contour and is sometimes stepwise if one falling pitch line continues across a phrase containing more than one word. This however does not hold for non-Musahar speakers where such a systematic falling pitch is not observable. The pitch seems to be rising and falling in words inconsistently. Moreover, the sentences uttered by Musahars are shorter and simple compared to non-Musahars whose sentences are longish and have more probability of containing complex clauses and embeddings. Following is a representation of a phonetic analysis of words spoken by Musahars.
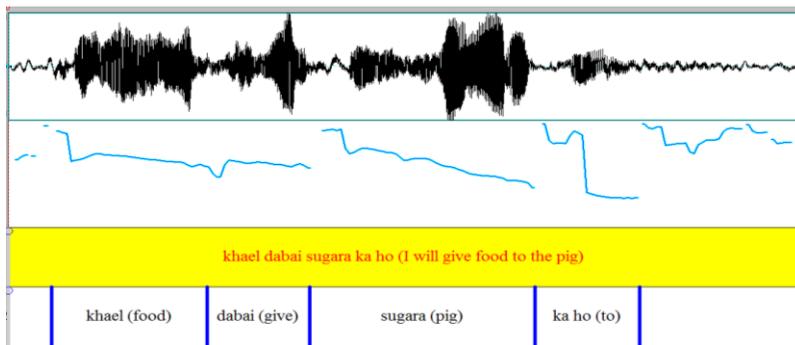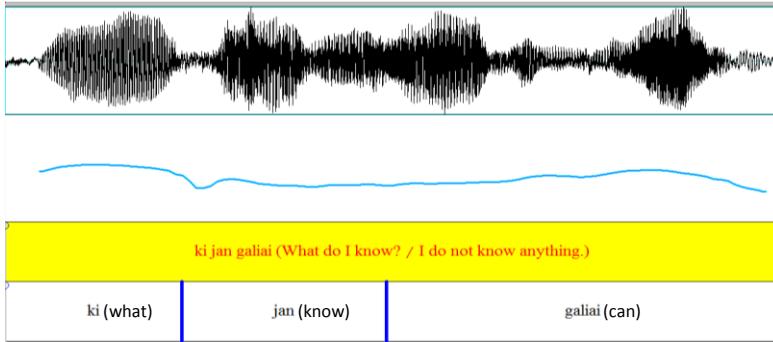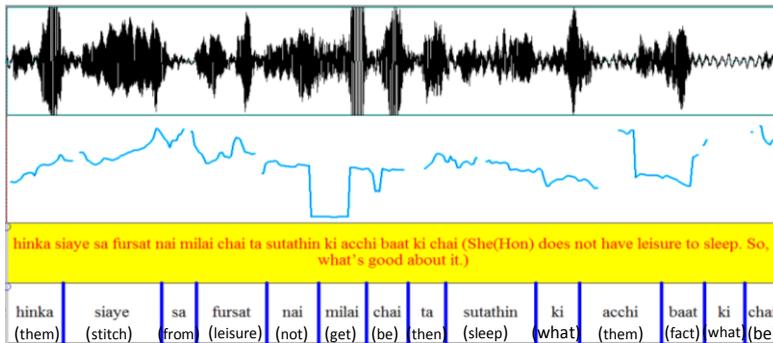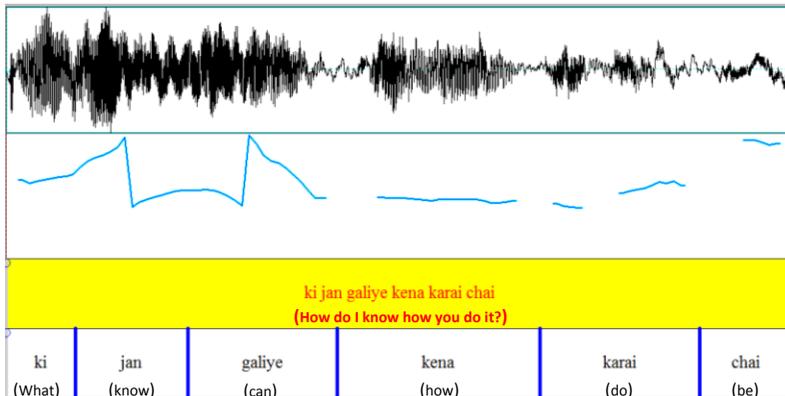

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

One more feature of distinction visible from the analysis of intonation is that the Musahars are smoother compared to their non-Musahar counterparts. Vowels in

Musahars are more smooth, well pronounced and elongated than non- Musahars who have shortened vowels and are not smoothly pronounced. This property is more prominent in the female Musahars. These females are also noted to use more exclamatory words in the beginning of a sentence eg.,

   a. baNpre ke-na karai chai
       Oh-my-God! wh-how do 3pstpp
       Oh-my-God! How is it done.

baNpre is used in Hindi to express astonishment or fear. In the speech of female Musahars, these expressions are mostly inherent, and therefore various words expressing such feelings are mostly visible in their speech. The lexicon of the Musahar speakers seem to be very limited and usage of Sanskrit words and English borrowings etc., are very limited or rarely found. In the last couple of decades, some development seems to have come up in the life of the Musahars and this is also reflected in their language. In their language, especially males, usage of English words are slowly picking up and there is also an increase in code mixing in the people who travel between Delhi and Haryana.

2. Socio-cultural Satus of Musahars

In Bihar, Musahars come under Scheduled Caste. They are the most oppressed, deprived, poor and illiterate community in the society. Literacy of this community is only 2%. They have no land or any such property due to which they do not have any permanent arrangement of home, clothing or food. Their chief source of earning livelihood is daily labour. They are mainly farming labourers whose source of money is cultivation and making baskets and mats. Some of them who are educated are in government service. They follow Hinduism but their gods and godesses are not identical to the mainstream practice and beliefs. The place of their residence is called Musahari. It is notable that the mainstream society in that area use this word to mean mosquito net. The musahari settlement is always situated far from the mainstream settlements.

The males musahars are called musahara-s and the female musahars are called musaharniya-s. They also have many sub castes. But the level of social status in these sub castes are almost the same. In the mainstream society, they are regarded as a symbol of uncleanliness and dirtiness. Whenever any child or any person looks dirty or has unclean habits then they are called musahars with a derogatory sense.

They have dance (Nach) as the main means of entertainment. The advent of new medium of recreation and entertainment like Televisions and CD players are also entering in their society.

During the British rule, many castes were notified as Criminal Caste under Denotified Criminal Act of 1911, Section 3 and that of 1924, Section 4 and Musahar was also one of them . According to this Act, the people belonging to this caste were tortured in inhuman ways. Even just a few years ago, whenever any theft was committed in a village, the musahars were always suspected, caught and flogged. These situations affected their life and culture. These historical, social, political, economic and cultural situations also affected their language.

3. Magahaiya Musahar and their language
In the Hindu society the concept of various sub-castes within a caste is quite prevalent. Magahaiya is one of the sub-castes of Musahars. In the social hierarchy, this caste is regarded as the lowest. The total population of Musahars in Bihar is 2% of the total in the state. 5% of the Musahar population is Magahaiya. It seems that the name Magahaiya is related to Magadh, which was a famous kingdom in ancient India with Pataliputra as its capital. It is estimated that the links of Magahaiya Musahars can be traced from this ancient kingdom. Due to scarcity of employment and occupation, they spread across various parts of Bihar and India.

The language of Magahaiya Musahars is called Magahaiya language. We know that language is also a social construct. The society plays a very important role in the evolution, development and destruction. The population and social status of the Magahaiya Musahars are already discussed previously. One can imagine the status of this language in the society. As the major population of this society is illiterate, there is no written records or literature about their culture. Folk songs are the only sources of information about their culture, present and past. But even their folk songs are disappearing slowly due to the effect of modernity.

The structure of general Musahar language is similar to their mainstream language. But Magahaiya language is different from the mainstream variety. This difference can be seen in their choice of words and pronunciation. Most or all of the words are local and unsophisticated. The sentences are short and simple where the usage of Sanskrit and English words is very rare. The vocabulary of their language is very limited.

In the recent situation, the speakers of this language are decreasing. The main reasons of this decrease are that the social status of the speakers is low and the mainstream society looks down upon this community. Migration in search of employment is also causing the disappearance of local and rural words of this language. The government is not showing any interest or taking any steps towards the upliftment of this society. In recent years, some research and documentation of the social status of this community is being done by the NGOs. But still their language is neglected. If the situation remains the same, then the Magahaiya language and culture will perish.

CONCLUSION:

According to the above facts and analysis of available data, it can be said that the language of the Musahars is different from the mainstream society in pronunciation, lexicon, intonation etc., One of the main reasons for this is the social situation of the Musahars in the society. The limitations visible in the language usage is mainly due to the seclusion of this community from the mainstream community.

REFERENCES:

Grierson G. A., (ed.) 2005. *Indo-Aryan Family: Eastern Group*. Linguistic Survey of India,. Vol. 5, Part 2. 79-88, Low Price Publications.

Sharma A. D. & Sharma D. 2004. "Bhashavigyan Ki Bhumika". Radhakrishna Publications

Sharma M. 2002. *Every Day Life of the Musahars in North Bihar*. In "Asserting Voices" Joshi H. & Kumar S. (eds) Delhi: Deshkal Publication.

Mahadalit Ayog Report, Government of Bihar

Bhatt Pt. Rameshwar, 1985. "Manusmriti" Delhi, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan.

Chapter 20

Comprehension of Body Part Idioms in Children

Sheerin Hena

sheerinfalak@gmail.com

This paper talks about the comprehension of Hindi-Urdu body part idioms in children. The children chosen for the study are the native speakers of Hindi-Urdu. According to the current compositional models of language comprehension, idioms form the heterogeneous set comprising of both decomposable and non decomposable linguistic units. Looking into the empirical data of body part idioms in Hindi- Urdu, it was found that there are idioms which fall in between these extremities of the classification. Therefore I felt the need to classify the idioms of Hindi – Urdu into three categories. The idioms which fall in between these extremities were termed as 'partial decomposable idioms'. As the name itself suggest these idioms are partly transparent and did not fit both for the transparent and opaque idioms. An experiment was conducted to study the idiomatic comprehension of these categories. The idiomatic comprehension was studied in three groups each age nine, ten and eleven years. The students were third, fourth and fifth graders. The comprehension was judged by seeing the percentage of correct responses of each category of the body part idioms. The result shows that children understood opaque idioms much better than the transparent idioms. Even the younger children (age nine and third grader), in the presence of supporting context comprehended the opaque idiom (non decomposable) better than the other categories. The results also indicated that the incorrect responses were mostly literal meaning of the idiomatic phrases regardless of the subject's age.

INTRODUCTION

Acquiring conversational competence in language requires an understanding of the use and meanings of idiomatic expressions. The idioms or idiomatic usage are ambiguous structures for a child. These structures usually have two distinct semantic representations, literal and idiomatic. Katz and Postal (1963) defined idioms in the following manner: "The essential feature of an idiom is that its full meaning, and more generally the meaning of any sentence containing an idiomatic stretch, is not a compositional function of the meaning of the idiom's elementary grammatical parts". Similarly, Fraser (1970.p.22) defined idiom as, "a constituent or series of constituents for which the semantic interpretation is not a compositional function of the formatives of which it is composed". Chafe (1970) states that literal meanings are acquired first in a language preceding idiomatic meaning acquisition. That is, a child learns "He kicked the

bucket" means something like "He struck the pail with his foot" before he is aware it can also mean "He died". It is believed that non-decomposable idioms are stored as lexical items, grouped with other memorized strings like lyrics, poems etc, while decomposable ones are processed as sequences of words having distributed representation (Gibbs, 1994).

The study investigates the comprehension of the three different categories of body part idioms of Hindi-Urdu. The main focus of study was also to find out whether the intermediate category (partially decomposable) is comprehended better than the other two categories. The categorization is made on intuitive knowledge of the researcher. The criterion for dividing the idioms into three different categories was the decomposability of the idioms. For example, the non-decomposable body part idioms of Hindi- Urdu *"ankhein chaar honaa"* (literal translation: to have four eyes) figuratively, means 'to fall in love'. It is non-decomposable because the individual constituents in this expression do not contribute to the figurative meaning of the expression. The body part idioms of Hindi – Urdu which can be kept under the category of decomposable idioms includes idioms like "*ankhein bhar aanaa*" (literal translation: eyes that has got filled with water) figuratively the expression means "to cry" out of sadness or joy. The expression is decomposable because a part of this idiom is used literally. It's transparent as the sense is derived compositionally. The partially decomposable body part idioms include expressions like *"naak par gussaa"* (literal translation: keep anger at nose) figuratively it means 'short tempered'. The expression is partially decomposable because anger (literal translation "gussa") is polysemous in this expression. It makes the expression partly transparent due to the transfer in meaning.

. The children were presented the Idioms from these different categories in a sentential context and they were asked to select the most appropriate meaning from the multiple choice option. The percentage of correct responses in each category determined that out of the three which one was acquired first and comprehended better.

METHOD

Subjects:

The subjects in this study included a total of 30 students with in the age group of 9-11. Out of the 30 students one subject was the outlier. So, the response of 29 subjects was taken into account. The students were selected from three different classes. They belong to the third grade, fourth grade and fifth grade. The participants did not have the problem in understanding Hindi- Urdu and they were multilingual. This evidence has

been gathered from the language history which was given to them during the study. From each standard 10 students were selected and for each group approximately half were males and half were females. The students in third grade were 9 years old, the students in fourth grade were 10 years old whereas students in fifth grade were 11 years old.

Stimuli and Design:

A total of 88 idioms were selected from the book of grammar titled " *Adhunik Hindi Vyakarna Aur Rachna*" by Dr. Vasudev Prasad and " *Nalanda Samanay Hindi"* by Dr. Pritvi Nath Panday and also on the best of researcher's memory .

Out of 88 idioms, 18 common idiomatic phrases were selected and presented to the students in a sentential context. Out of this 18 idiomatic phrase 6 idioms falls under Category "A" (Decomposable), 6 idioms fall under Category "B" (Partially Decomposable), and 6 idioms fall in Category "C" (Non Decomposable). The experiment was based on multiple choice tests. Idioms from all the three categories were embedded in a sentential context and children were asked to choose the answer which they found more appropriate. The multiple choices contained four conditions. It contained the sentences which were semantically related to the provided idiomatic sentence, not semantically related to the idiomatic sentences, literal meaning of the idiomatic sentences and the figurative meaning of the idiomatic sentences. The choices (conditions) were randomised so as to avoid the guess. That is all the conditions did not appear in the fixed order. Even the idiomatic sentences did not contain idioms of the same categories in an order. Sentences within each category were also randomised.

The questionnaire consisted of the instructions as well as the idiomatic sentences along with the multiple choices were distributed to each subject.

Presented below is an example of the idiomatic phrase *haath khare karna* used in a sentential context with its multiple choices as used in the experiment.

1. ram ne pariksha ki taiyaari thik se nahin ki thi. pariksha ke sawalon ko dekhkar

   ram erg. exam p.p preparation well p.p not did pst. exam p.p question p.p see

2. usne apne haath khare kar diye.

   he his hand lift do. pst.

Literal Meaning: Ram did not prepare for his exam well. After seeing the question paper he lifted his hand.

Figurative meaning: Ram did not prepare for his exam well. After seeing the question paper he gave up.

The options were given as follows:

1. ram apne haath utha kar baith gaya. (LM).[39]
   ram his hand lift p.p sit go.pst.
   Ram raised his hand and sat down.

2. ram ne ye maan liyaa usko sawaalon ke jawab nahin aate hain. (IM)[40]
   ram erg. this accept take.pst him question p.p answer not come.pst is
   Ram accepted that he does not know the answer of the questions.

3. ram kaksha mein kasrat karne lagaa. (SRM)[41]
   ram class in exercise do start.
   Ram started doing exercise in the class.

4. ram kaksha se nikal gayaa. (SUM)[42]
   ram class p.p out go.pst
   Ram went out of the class.

Following table shows the idioms used for the category A (D) ,category B (P.D), category C (N.D).

DECOMPOSABLE (D)	PARTIALLY DECOMPOSABLE (PD)	NON DECOMPOSABLE (ND)
1.haath khare karnaa [43]LM: to lift the hand [44]FM: to give up	1.pairon mein beriyaan dalnaa LM: to chain someone's feet. FM: to restrict somebody / to stop somebody forcefully	1.kaan bharnaa LM: to fill the ear. FM: to backbite
2.aankh mund lenaa	2. naak par gussa	2.pairon tale zameen

---

[39] LM= Literal meaning
[40] IM= Idiomatic meaning
[41] SRM= Semantically related meaning.
[42] SUM= Semantically unrelated meaning.
      pst = past tense
      p.p =post position
      erg. = ergativity
[43] LM =Literal meaning

[44] FM = Figurative meaning
      p.p = post position

LM: to close eye FM: to die	LM: to keep anger at nose FM: short tempered	ghisak jaanaa LM: the displacement of earth beneath the feet. FM: to get extremely shock
3. anguthaa dikhaanaa LM: to show the thumb FM : to deny to give things	3.daant khatte karnaa LM: to make someone's teeth sour. FM: to defeat somebody badly	3.pet mein chuhe daurnaa LM: the mouse running in the stomach. FM: very hungry
4. pet par laat maarnaa LM: to hit on the stomach FM : to kick from the job	4. munh mein dahi jamaanaa LM: to store curd in the mouth FM: do not speak anything.	4. aankhon kaa taaraa LM: the star of the eye FM: very dear 5.palkein bhichaanaa LM: to spread the eyelid FM: to wait for somebody eagerly.
5. kaan pakarnaa LM: to hold ones ear FM: not to repeat the mistake.	5.gaal bajaana LM: to hit (make noise from the) cheeks. FM: the unnecessary argument	6. haath tang karnaa LM: the disturbance created by hand. FM: running short of things.
6.aankhon mein dhul jhonknaa LM : to throw sand in the eye FM: to cheat	6. naak katnaa LM: the cutting of nose FM : the loss of prestige	

Results :

Total correct response = 92.17 %

The following tables show the total number of correct responses in percentage:

The percentage correct response along the categories:

Category A (Decomposable)	88.77 %
Category B (Partially Decomposable)	88.69%
Category C(Non Decomposable)	95.63%

The percentage correct response along the standard:

Standard three	86.90%
Standard four	93.80%
Standard five	94.76%

The percentage correct response along the standard and condition (i.e Category A, Category B, Category C)

STANDARD	CATEGORY	% OF CORRECT RESPONSE
3	A(D)	83.92%
3	B(PD)	79.16%
3	C(ND)	95.31%
4	A(D)	94.28%
4	B(PD)	86.66%
4	C(ND)	98.75%
5	A(D)	87.14%
5	B(PD)	98.33%
5	C(ND)	98.75%

DISCUSSION:

Our results indicate that the idiomatic meaning is very well comprehended by the children and it is more significant in the later age. The explanation for comprehending the idiomatic meaning over literal meaning may be offered. The idioms were represented in a context and therefore even the abstract concepts were comprehended by the children. The presence of context guides the comprehension process and therefore figurative interpretation is determined. The results also verify that by the age of nine children acquire idioms. The children comprehended Category C (Non decomposable) idioms better than the other two categories. One could also argue about the preference of comprehension of Category C over others. The reason could be given as the non decomposable idioms are processed as single string and therefore they are processed faster. There are no internal semantic constraints for such idioms. Since the study concentrates on body part idioms, physical experience was also taken into consideration. It was found that most of the decomposable idioms had a direct physical experience like "*aankh mund lenaa*" literal translation 'to close the eye' and figuratively it means 'to die'. Here the possibility is of comprehending it literally because a part of the string is used literally. Also the activity of sleeping is generally exercised by closing the eyes so the physical experience of sleeping can be conceptualized as closing ones eye. But the children have comprehended the abstract concept of death in the idiom used in the context.

The comprehension of all the three categories of idioms along with the class can be seen as :

Grade 3&4 : C→A→B

Grade 5 : C→B→A

The incorrect responses in all the categories involved literal meaning of the idiomatic phrase used. The explanation for choosing literal meaning as incorrect responses can be given as, before the acquisition of idiomatic meaning child acquires a dual semantic capability where he or she literalize nearly all inputs. The age group of 9-11 was preferred for the study because it has been suggested in literature that proportion of literal meaning choices remain constant for the age of 9 and 12. The results also show a pattern. The grade third and fourth has comprehended Category A over Category B but the grade fifth students have comprehended Category B better than A.

REFERENCE

Fraser, B., 1970. Idioms within a transformation grammar. *Fdn. Lang.,* 6, 122-142.

Cacciari, C. and Glucksberg, S., 1994. "Understanding figurative language". In *Handbook of Psycholinguistics ,* M.A.Gernasbacher (ed.), 447-447, New York: Academic Press.

Chafe, W., 1970. Idiomaticity as an anomaly in the choskyan paradigm. *Fdn. Lang.,*4, 109-127

Debra A. Titone and Cynthia M. Connie., 1999. On the compositional and noncompositional nature of idiomatic expressions. *Journal of pragmatics*, 31, 1655-1674.

Katz, J., and Postal., P., 1963. Semantic interpretation of idioms and sentence containing them. *Quart. Progr. Rep*., MIT Research Laboratory Of Electronics.

Nicole L. Wilson, Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr., 2007. Real and Imagined Body movement Prime Metaphor Comprehension. *Cognitive Science*, 31*,* 721-731.

Raymond W. Gibbs, Jr., (1994). *The poetics of mind: Figurative thought, language, and understanding ,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swinney,D. and Cutler, A., (1979). The access and processing of idiomatic expression, *Journal of Verbal learning and Behaviour* 18, 523-534.

CHAPTER 21

Firiwālār Dāk
A linguistic enquiry on the peddler's trade-cry in and around Kolkata

Arnab Dutta

bonjourarnab@gmail.com

Kolkata, as a city thriving on various sounds and activities, is incomplete without its street-sound and trade-cry. Peddlers move here and there with their presentable commodities and their attractive trade-cry. A number of 'literary' and audio-visual texts skilfully accommodate this cultural phenomenon with its 'extra literariness' and sound-distortion intact. This diachronic approach to the peddler's trade-cry would try to locate the etymological roots and philological changes incorporated with various sound examples and various usages. This analysis would be structured around the framework of external-linguistics in its pure Sassurian sense of the term.

I

Śrīmān Prithvīrāj, a 1973 film directed by Tarun Majumder starts with a unique title track. Music Director and Singer Hemanta Mukherjee put his voice on a visual where actor Rabi Ghosh, in the role of a street-peddler, publicises and sells another unique product: Haridāser Bulbulbhājā. The complete selling package with joyous dancing and enthralling singing reminds us of an interesting cultural phenomenon in the fields of both language and literature: that is the trade-cry of street vendors. This diachronic phenomenon is the major concern for us here to scrutinise those remarkable street-sounds in the light of philology and language – if not linguistics in a pure sense. Coming back again to the film, we observe, in the later part of that film the teenage hero Prithvīrāj, around whose loves and deeds the film revolves about, dreams of a princely court having him as the Emperor. Amidst these teenage dreams and fantacies he portrays that very street peddler again as his court musician and that very trade cry – "*Haridāser Bulbulbhājā*" – became the National Anthem of his kingdom. This time, that song was sung in a little different manner and in a little serious tone. The makeover – although keeping the words and the descriptions on his product unaltered – makes us rethink the relationship between the language and the specific public 'space' to make use of that language. In this paper we primarily focus on these socio-lingual issues in the geographic

location of urban Bengal, or to be more precise, the urbanscape centred around colonial Calcutta (and today's Kolkata) and its suburb[45].

The specific song-text we were discussing is as follows[46]: "*Haridāser Bulbulbhājā Tātkā Tājā Khete Majā/ E Bhājā Khele Pare Rucbe Nā Ar Khājā-Gajā/ Mahārāni Victoria E Bhājā Khān Roj Kiniyā/ Bhājā Kheye Bojhe Nā Se Kei Bā Rāni Kei Bā Prajā...*" We can seriously take this in account that a reasonable abundance of onomatopoeic words present within the two ends of this complete song. From this case in point one thing becomes very comprehensible. First of all, across all the presentable objects meant for street-hawking, food-items constitute the most – not always foods for main course, but the ones that can quickly rouse the appetite with their crispness required for any snacks and quick refreshment product. Any Bengali snacks suffixed with *Bhājā*, somehow or the other, has that much of attraction among a large cross-section of society irrespective of its urban-rural division. *Haridāser Bulbulbhājā* is just one of them. This specific term can no longer be a sole invention of the lyricist of this specific song. Because since 19th century, as Rādhaprasād Gupta reports[47], *Haridāser Sāre Batriś Bhājā*[48] (Thirty-two and a half Bhājā of Haridās) was quite present and also popular in urban Bengal, especially in Calcutta. Here comes the whole long notion of this *Bhājā*[49] (almost every product that is fried and has favourable quality of crisp and munch) in our daily and literary usage. This

---

[45] The examples cited here are largely from public memory. I persuaded a fair number of people, from both my own generation and the earlier from a large part of Kolkata. The examples from rural Bengal are excluded, majorly due to keep the presentation coherent and concentrated within the stipulated range. The recent examples are collected from my daily experiences on a suburban train journey to the university. I am bound to include those illustrations as valid examples, as Kolkata is, now a days, lacking the street-sounds of moving street-peddlers. This specific tendency and its implication on the linguistic features of the trade cry would be discussed later. Examples from colonial Calcutta are largely from Gupta, Rādhaprasād. *Kolkātār Firiwālār Dāk Ār Rāstār Āwāj* (*Peddler's cry and street sound of Kolkata* in literal English translation), Kolkata: Ānanda Publishers, 1984.

[46] Lyrics by Gouriprasanna Majumder. It can be roughly translated as "Haridās's BulbulBhājā, fresh and fried, munch-delight/ If you taste it, no Khājā-Gajā can rouse your appetite. / Victoria, the Great Empress, pays for it to have it daily on her feast./Having it consumed she gets perplexed, who's the Empress and who's her subject..."

[47] Gupta, *Kolkātār Firiwālār Dāk Ār Rāstār Āwāj*, p. 92

[48] But the presence of '*Bulbul*' in the aforesaid song is quite interesting. It means a typical bird. It is loaned from Arabic, as other Bānglā onomatopoeic words are often not. A large number of Bānglā indigenous onomatopoeic words actually imitate the crunching and munching sound of these *Bhājā*s inside the mouth (like *macmace*, *mucmuce*, *karmare* etc.). *Bulbul* is not of that kind but the repetitive use of *Bul* and its acceptability as an exciting coinage among the peddlers makes us stick to this point.

[49] Bānglā verb *Bhājā* means 'to fry'. The noun *Bhājā* corresponds to both 'fried' and 'roasted'. Chosen kinds of rice and pulses are also roasted without any oil and called *CālBhājā*, *DālBhājā*. The *Pakorā*s, commonly known all over the India, are also called *TeleBhājā* (fried in oil).

Sāre Batriś Bhājā was actually 'a mixture of fried chick-pea, monkey-nuts and other things with salt and spices' (commonly known as *Cānācur*) with especially half a red chilli adding the half to the Thirty-two. But it was thought to be an inferior one than the well-deserved *Śhakher Jalpān* (fancy snacks)[50]. Keeping the same legacy, Gupta suggests even an alternative title for his book: 'Fancy snacks mixed with sour-salty-sweet-pungent-bitter *Rasa*'. He also fears for his effort not to be marked as *Sāre Batriś Bhājā* instead of that well-deserved product[51]. Even starting from a funny periodical from Sukumar Ray's Monday Club a large number of cultural texts are often named as *Sāre Batriś Bhājā*. But the inferiority of *Khājā-Gajā* both as products and mere nouns, as mentioned in the film-song, is more pathetic. Anything inferior or trash related mostly to literary product can be prefixed with a single *Khājā* (like *Khājā -Bai* or trash book, *Khājā -Lekhā* or any work of writing that is not up to the mark). Therefore this frequent movement through and forth the literary and extra-literary Bānglā is quite an appealing phenomenon that would be taken later as a serious pathway in our discourse.

II

Street-vendors and their trade-sounds are nothing new in our daily existence. There were several references to this profession in the Buddhist Jātaka tales. They were called *Kacchapuṭabānijo* in Pali. In pre-colonial Bengal we find quite a few instances of their presence both in literature[52] and in popular art forms[53]. Even Fullarā from Mukundarām's 16th century text *Candimangal* does offer her name as a striking etymological root for this very profession[54]. With the gradual introduction of colonial rule, a large number of words

---

[50] Actually Amritalāl Basu, in his 'Purātan Pañjikā' serialised in *Māsik Basumatī* (Bengali year 1330-31), draws this distinction. Here it is quoted from Gupta, *Kolkātār Firiwālār Dāk Ār Rāstār Āwāj*, introduction (without page-number)

[51] Gupta, *Kolkātār Firiwālār Dāk Ār Rāstār Āwāj*, introduction

[52] "*Māṃser Paśarā Laiyā Firi Ghare Ghare*" from Mukudaram's *Candimangal*. *Firi* as a verb means 'to return'. It came to Bānglā at least from Hindustāni, if not Persian in an authentic way. Here, '*Firi Ghare Ghare*' means 'return from door to door' which actually relates to the professional compulsion of a peddler. *Firiwālā* therefore stands for a person who returns 'from door to door'. *Wālā*, coming from Persian through Hindustāni, can evidently be affixed to any commodity to make the person a vendor of that one (*Mācwālā*: Fish-vendor, *Sabjiwālā*: Vegetable-seller etc.).

[53] Even early European descriptive paintings in India did not leave their intriguing professional characteristics neglected. For example, the printed paintings of Balthuser Solvins (1799), Madame Belanos (1832).

[54] *Fullara* can be split into *Fulla* and *Rā*, which directly imply to a person shouting with her mouth strangely opened. It is indeed the same thing what a peddler has to do. Gupta, *Kolkātār Firiwālār Dāk Ār Rāstār Āwāj*, p. 4

in Bānglā were getting loaned directly from Portuguese, French and of course English at its prime. We can note a striking prominence of commodity names loaned, over the others. It can perhaps be a fruitful field to enquire the presence of a large number of commodities new to Bengal in relation to the change of usage and semantics. But we are not actually delving deep into that matter. Our recent proposition is presently directed towards a scheme of documentation and a possible etymological and philological enquiry of that same. To contemplate that scheme a reasonable number of trade-cries would be numerically arranged – but only the 'creative' ones to fit them within the constricted shape of the present attempt. So those usages, which are in our 'standard colloquial language' and in the undistorted voice, are deliberately excluded. Thus we can start from where Gupta starts his journey through the amazing peddler's sounds. Calcutta, being a flourishing metropolis and the first city of the Empire in India, was introduced to many an imported and home-grown products[55] in that era. But the essential stuffs, used for religious and social activities[56] even in pre-colonial era still constituted a large part of this daily transaction. A few familiar products among the widespread variety for hawking were readily eatable snacks, cheap jewelleries, clothes, ropes, flowers, ice, bread, butter, fish, paper, potato, onion, yogurt, eggs etc – in fact every single object that can be carried in a portable wicker basket (Jhuḍi in Bānglā) and that has a considerable demand among the local dwellers. They did not even neglect the activities like "*Ripukarma*", "*Bāt Bhālo Kori*", "*Dnāter Pokā Bār Kori*"[57] etc. Now let us come to the sounds and speeches built on the corpus of these presentables and these unique activities.

   i.   Both Amritalāl Basu and Shashichandra Dutta, in their 'Purātan Pañjikā' and 'The street music of Calcutta' respectively, recollected a unique cry from mid 19th century Calcutta. That is '*K-u-u-u-u-o-o-or-Ghoṭi-T-o-o-o-la*' (simply meaning fetching a pitcher 'of' well). It seems very abrupt to our ears, as it is not to lift a dropped pitcher 'from' a well. From late 19th century this very cry was getting

---

[55] Swadeshi movement marks a major change in those trade-sounds. Many 'middle-class' 'literary' persons constructed and defined various trade-cries in rhyming couplets and quartets. The usage was obviously in 'standard colloquial' Bānglā, rich with frequent use of the *Bandemātaram* word. However the presence of these sounds and the 'urban middle class' as moving peddlers of Swadeshi goods got minimized within few years.

[56] Like *Gaṅgāmāṭi*: Mud from the bank of river Ganges, without which a Hindu Bengali ritual was almost incomplete in those days. Street-vendors used to utter "*Cāi Gaṅgāmāṭi*" even in a same tone like "*Cāi Kācer Churi* (i.e. Do you need glass-made bangles?)". The appeal of "*Churi Libi Go*" is more warm than the former one, as it contains an expletive term *Go* present in it.

[57] "Darning is done", "Can cure rheumatic pain", "Can extract worms out of carious teeth" in literal translation.

reduced with gradual presence of tap-water supplied by a standard municipal body. But this utterance reminds us of a time when Calcutta was mostly dependant on wells and Ganges for the daily use of water.

ii. Another matchless one can be "*Muśkil Āsān Karābe Go*" (Would you let troubles or difficulties solve?). Generally Hindu women could not dare to resist themselves from this cry. In fact, each and every household had something or the other to have trouble (*Muśkil*) with.

iii. "*Jutā Silāi, Jutā* Brush" (literally meaning stitching and brushing the shoe). This particular speech has lot to do with our recent proposition. Before coming to its detailed role in the semantics of trade-sound later in our discussion, we can note, it usually changes to mere "*Bruś*", then to "*Buruś*"[58] and ultimately to "*Bu-u-u-r-u-u-ś*" led by a 'Spirantization'[59].

iv. A modest number of *Kābāḍiwālā*s[60] now constitute a big percentage of today's peddlers. We often come across their cry: "*Śiśi, Botol*" with natural elongation in a notable 'non-Bengali' voice. Gupta amusingly confesses, he cannot swear that *Kābāḍiwālā*s buy only rosewater's *Śiśi* from his household, as it was in case of Shashichandra Dutta. He has more *Botol*s instead, which marks a gradual change in Bengali mindset towards alcoholism. But peddlers used to get bottles of Champagne, Bordeaux, Burgundy, and Cognac during Shashichandra's time. Now those are of merely Rum which, according to Gupta, matches the taste of a *Muddafarās* (creamator)!

v. "*Cāi Baraf!*" was another very common call. It has been replaced by "ā-ā-Ice-cream", as urban Bengali middle-class households have made refrigeration so easy, that they do not even need simple *Baraf* (ice).

vi. Now we come to a pretty appealing one: "*Burir Māthār Pākā Cul*" (literally meaning Grey hair from old woman's head). It is in fact a kind of ancestor of Candy-floss. The visual similarity is no doubt responsible for this naming, although it is culture-specific to an extreme end. This would also come to our later argument.

---

[58] It is very common change from *Bruś* to *Buruś* in Bāṅglā. It is called 'Anaptyxis'. Sen, Sukumār. *Bhāṣār Itibṛtta,* Kolkata: Ānanda Publishers, 1993, p. 45

[59] Ibid, p. 46

[60] It comes from Sanskrit *Karbbaṭ* through Hindi *Kābāḍiyā*. It refers both to fisherman and the one who sells the products brought in an auction. Here it signifies a class of peddlers, mostly of ethnographic origin in Bihar province, buying rejected household products to resell them. They also ask for old and used newspapers and utter *Kāga-a-a-j*, again an example of 'spirantization'. Ibid, p. 46

vii.   Now comes the long-awaited trade-cry of the cotton-cleaner armed with a harp-shaped bow or cotton-gin. A very common Bengali idiom is originated from their very activity i.e. to intricately clean and shred the lump cotton; and that is "*Tulo Dhune Debo*" ('Would shred the lump cotton' in literal meaning). But it has essentially little more to fear with. Uttering the phrase "*Tulo Dhune Debo*" without a cotton-gin in the hand has definitely a threat to the person addressed. This idiom has however a slight equivalence with 'dressing-down' (an occasion when somebody speaks angrily to a person because they have done something wrong) but not in a complete sense. Thus this lingual and semantic exchange between the trade-cry and our daily usage is worthy of consideration.

viii.   "*Śil Kkāṭāo*" (Cut or carve the grinding stone), "*Kulfi-mālāi*", "*Alu-kābli*" and many others need no further introduction to any eager ear during a scorching summer noon or a tranquil spring dusk, albeit a lot more etymological enquiry beyond this present scope is of course well deserved.

Amidst having his reminiscences well knitted Gupta laments on a trivial, yet attentive occurrence in the field of street-peddling. Street-vendors, now days, are gradually disappearing from the cityscape, especially from the posh locality of south Kolkata. The peace-loving residents often threat the peddlers to move them to police. This very disappearance has compelled our present attempt to move towards alternative public 'spaces' in search for recent developments and trends in this diachronic phenomenon. Buses, Trams and Trains became a usual location to situate the hawkers and their sounds[61]. In the midst of this slow transformation one thing has been so silently inverted, keeping its strong implication notwithstanding. This hawking targets the moving subjects on the way to their destination, while being present in a same train or a bus instead for a certain time. The loudness and the tonal distortion of the cry have got reduced and 'creative' coinage and signs to draw the attention have become more relevant. With this specific case in memory and a statutory warning on the walls of trains (i.e. "Unauthorised hawkering is punishable offence") in mind, we can enter the whole new world of recent trade-cries with their novel developments in signifiers and signifieds and the arbitrariness between them. These examples are from trains, buses, trams, streets, fairs, gatherings etc.

---

[61] Although 'peddler' and 'hawker' have almost same to signify in English, 'Hawker' became severely different from Bāṅglā term *Firiwālā*. 'Hawker', as a term, entered into the vocabulary of Bāṅglā daily usage in such full-grown manner only after the partition of Bengal took place and an extremely large number of refugees had to settle themselves with this kind of alternative profession. 'Hawking' in trains, buses, and obviously at the places like Gariyāhāṭ and Hātibāgān in Kolkata, cannot really surpass this prolonged socio-historical background.

ix. Suppose, a hawker is selling pineapple-flavoured lozenges[62]. First of all, the Bānglā counterpart of pineapple (*Ānāras*) is loaned from Portuguese *Ananas*. Again it can rhyme well with the *Ras*[63] (from Sanskrit *Rasa*), 'Benaras' and even English 'Boss'. Therefore his specific cry became: "*Dādā, Ānāras/ Cuṣle Pare Khub Ras/ Cuṣte Cuṣte Benāras/ Āṭ Ānātei Āpni* Boss".

x. "*Dicche* Pension[64]/ *Thākbe Nā Kono* Tension" (Given the pension/ There won't be any tension) while selling an edible product.

xi. While selling pens of Red-Blue-Black ink (*Lāl*, *Nīl*, *Kālo* respectively in Bānglā) one utters "*Lālu-Bhulu-Kālu*[65]/ All time *Cālu*".

xii. "*Bartamānāndabājkāl*" as a compound term to use the name of three Bānglā newspapers i.e. *Bartamān*, *Ānandabājār Patrikā*, *Ājkāl* simultaneously. This compound forms as *Bartām(Ān)nandab(Āj)kāl*, during a very fast trade-speech.

xiii. "*Ādā Āche, Ānāras Āche, Golmaric Āche...*" (Ginger is there! Pineapple is there! Blackpepper is there!). How can a single person carrying a simple container with him have so many varied products? Actually he is not selling those products in their rigid sense of the terms. His product is lozenges with ginger-flavour, and that with the latter ones.

xiv. I have seen a person selling 'miraculous medicine' along with his own explanation of the word *Byāyrām* (ailment). According to his words, *Byāyrām* contains both *Byay* (expenditure) and *Ārām* (relief) – thereby making *Byāyrām* curable only when you *Byay* (spend) the money in his medicine to have the *Ārām* (relief).

---

[62] Bānglā *Lajañjuṣ* from 'lozenges'. But its last syllable is clearly influenced by the Bānglā verb-root *cuṣ* (to suck i.e. the act of consuming a lozenge). Chatterji, Suniti Kumar. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1926 (repr. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1979), p. 648

[63] Portuguese *Ananas* became *Ānāras* probably due to the influence of *Ras,* as pineapple is unimaginable without its *Rasālo* (juicy) nature. It is a well-known example of 'Contamination'. Sen, Sukumār. p.49

[64] 'Pension', in English, is obviously related to a monetary connotation; it has nothing to deal directly with edibles, as this Bānglā phrase here deliberately does. But in German, *vollpension* and *halbpension* can be related to fooding scheme in Hotels.

[65] *Lālu* and *Kālu* can be easily derived from *Lāl* and *Kālo*. 'Sound Symbolism'. Sen, Sukumār. p. 54. But the transformation of *Nīl* > Blue (code-shifting from Bānglā to English) > *Bulu* (Anaptyxis or perhaps metathesis) > *Bhulu* is very interesting to note. Moreover these three *Lālu*, *Bhulu* and *Kālu* are very common household names for pet dogs; therefore very near to Bengali mindset. That is why it is used to attract the customers. The change from *Bulu* to *Bhulu* is even against the rules of Bānglā phonemic change; the transformation to an aspirated first letter is not quite prevailing in Bānglā.

xv. "*Ṭunir Mā*! *Ṭunir Mā*! *Ṭunir Mā Kheye Jān*!" (Come and eat Ṭuni's mother!). Many a human being eats many a strange thing. But how can one consume the mother of Ṭuni? There is certainly something else to offer as an eatable - not anything at all in flesh and blood. It is because '*Ṭunir Mā*' became an obvious pick among various vendors, as the very song titled '*Ṭunir Mā*' became an immensely popular 'phenomenon' in various urban and semi-urban parts of Bengal.

xvi. "*Parāṇ Jāy Joliyā Re Āpel*". The apple-vendor purposely adds a name of a popular Bengali movie; although the apple has nothing to do with 'Parāṇ Jāy Joliyā Re' (Life is getting extremely blazed).

xvii. While selling his *Dālmuṭ* (a kind of fried snacks we have talked earlier about) the vendor cries out: *"Bhejāl! Bhejāl! Bhejāl Cekhe Jān!"* (Adulteration! Adulteration! Come and have a taste of the Adulterated!).

xviii. The last but perhaps the most noteworthy one to have the present linguistic approach contemplated is this one. When a person refuses to buy a packet of potato-chips even after calling that hawker for that same, he says: "*MissCall[66] Diye Dilen*?" (You have executed *MissCall*?). Moreover he illustrates his demonstration on his product a 'SMS' before executing a similar *misscall* on his part. He says: "*Phone-Balance Furiye Geche*" (Money-balance in my mobile phone has been exhausted.), when he has no more stuff to sell.

This last example almost strikes our attention to an extreme scope of our study. At present the daily usage of Bāṅglā language is really impossible to think without 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing' of. But it really becomes a serious concern to ponder about; at least in this aforementioned one. With this amazement roused, now we can finally note a possible outcome from this considerable corpus of findings.

III

Through our gradual progress towards an integrated and diachronic documentation of selected trade-cries we have evidently noted few demarcating trends prevailing in it, while simultaneously being conscious of the etymological roots and philological changes. From this we can assume a few features that characterise this socio-cultural phenomenon from a number of critical paradigms. First, the trade-cries are 'oral'. They may be

---

[66] Bāṅglā *misscall* is derived from and equivalent of 'Missed Call'.

everything else in their own right to the variation; but those are 'oral'. Hence there is certainly a large scope for personal improvisation of both the phonetic tendencies and semantic range of a language. We can now talk about the former one. Whilst selling the commodity, this 'oral' 'text' is 'hawked as a commodity in its own right'[67]; and it is intrinsic to this very fact of 'hawking the words'[68] for the further trade of the commodity. To sell the abstract word itself along with using it to sell other concrete materials is bound to be explored. Here comes the notion of 'creativity' in the improvisation. I am using the word 'creativity' out of a sheer encounter with one of my friends (whom I am indebted to for few examples). During our conversation over the trade-cries of some other suburban train route, he expressed that theirs are actually more 'creative' than ours. A peddler has to constrict himself within an ongoing 'tradition' or framework of oblique expressions with distorted phonetic character of the language. But he has every right to improvise his cry simultaneously with the changing faces of newer products and changing semantic range of that very language. We have come across the cry consisting frequent references to the activities relating to mobile phone (i.e. Misscall, SMS, Card-balance etc.). It was definitely impossible even ten years earlier; and is indeed impossible in a spatial dimension that does not even have a considerable amount of digital literacy in those words. Our intention of excluding rural Bengal from the present purview is perhaps due to this reason; and possibly to open up the scope for a further comparative method in dealing the language usage of trade-cry across the urbanscape and ruralscape.

Our present endeavour, if we honestly confess, is restricted to the purview of external linguistics[69]. There is very little scope to include the findings (barring a few examples like the introduction of aspirated consonant in the first letter of *Bhulu*) within the demarcated space of theoretical linguistics, unless we ponder into the field of socio-linguistic enquiry. We can seriously take it into note that the Signified we imagine out of a trade-cry is often different from that of a daily household usage. To illustrate this tendency we can again return to the "*Burir Māthār Pākā Cul*". It is merely 'the grey hair of an old woman'. But in case of the aforesaid trade-cry (numbered vi) it completely

---

[67] Wilson, Eric. 'Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries: Sounding out Society and Space in Early Modern London', *Modern Language Studies*, 25, iii, 1995, p. 36

[68] In Bānglā, *Kathā Becā* does mean to 'sell the words' which is same as anyone's activity to make people buy his commodity after influencing with the words.

[69] Sassure ,Ferdinande de. *Course in General Linguistics* (trans. Baskin, Wade. & ed. Bally, Charles and Sechehaye, Alber), New York: Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 20-22

changes by making a fluffy sweetened edible product as its Signified. I can memorise another recent trade-cry of my own acquaintance. That is precisely "*Māthār Cul*" shedding the extra *Burir Māthār* (of an old woman's head) and *Pākā* (grey). This time it is the human-hair, but not for selling. That vendor is rather interested in purchasing the assembled hairs from women's head (that fall in natural course) in exchange of useful stainless-steel utensils. Another case in point can be elaborated further. We have mentioned the gradual change from *Jutā* Brush to mere *Buruś* through *Bruś*. This changed expression has enough to act as a 'signifier' to both the act of shoe-polishing and shoe-stitching. Polishing can be derived from the *Buruś*. But how can we so easily infer the act of stitching from a mere utterance of *Buruś*. It is in fact the so called 'convention' within the frame of the agreement of a same language group. A large-scale enquiry on the 'arbitrariness' and the 'convention' can be introduced within the complex matrix of 'signifiers' and obviously their 'denotata' from this very point. Again, in a same way, we can refer back to a trade-cry (numbered xvii) where a single among the large community of *Dālmuṭ* sellers on suburban trains doesn't even try to utter the long-perceived commodity name (i.e. *Dālmuṭ* or something akin to it). He deliberately offers an amusing alternative, and that is precisely *Bhejāl* (Adulterated one). Adding much more to our astonishment, the consumers, mostly daily commuters on that suburban train journey, never even attempt to reduce its charm by naming it merely *Dālmuṭ*. They also ask for *Bhejāl* (Adulterated one) when they need it; but that is too for this specific vendor, not for all those who are at their ease to call it and sell it in its proper name. The socially-conceived convention of the semantic registers for both the word *Dālmuṭ* and *Bhejāl* is at the threshold of creating a fresh new semantic boundary, yet within a very small group consisting of a single vendor and a handful of his consumers.

Language, as we have seen it as 'both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty'[70], may vary within a normative pattern guided by 'standard colloquilaity'. But here we observe a noteworthy subversion of that same i.e. *la langue* of the urbanscape in and around Kolkata. I have seen so many peddlers who do not even try to use their oblique signifiers and phonetic-distortion[71], while they are in

---

[70] Ibid. p. 9
[71] Although in their cries the general rules of sound-change (both 'Phonemic change' and 'Morphophonemic change') can be easily derived. That is because of their fast pronunciation. Sen, Sukumār. p. 43

conversing in their households. Nevertheless we observe an intriguing mobility between these specific usages and 'literary Bānglā'[72]. Thus keeping the peddler's cry in the pivotal focus a whole new discourse on the use of 'space' in linguistic discourses can be introduced from this juncture.

The urbanscape of Colonial Calcutta and today's Kolkata along with its suburbs, is incomplete without the complex milieu of these unique sounds, as in case of London Eric Wilson writes, "Certainly, street cries, market pitches, death groans, coffin ham-mers, and Pancake bells hold significant capacities (delinquencies in reserve?) in shaping collective soundscapes and aesthetic politics[73]". From this 'construction' or 'shaping' our next argument can be crafted. The street-hawkers create a whole novel world of words as well as semantic references for expressing their own off-beat and surprising 'creative exploits' to attract the consumers. This 'construction' cannot confine constricting itself within the semantic barriers of that very peddler. They become an integral, albeit a little hesitant, part of the vast 'literary idioms' of that 'standard colloquial language'. The class, caste, gender identities and ethno-lingual origin plays a significant role in that process[74]. Taking this subversive character in consideration we can conclude our discussion with another, yet interpolative trade-cry. That is of the cry "*Bikriwālā*!" *Bikri* means 'to sell', But they have nothing to sell. They come to buy Gramophone records, transistors, tape-recorders, and harmonium etc. – all that can add a whole long variety of sounds into the soundscape of the city, for further reselling. People summon them calling "*Bikriwālā*", while being completely unaware of subversively making themselves (affluent urban residents) the true *Bikriwālā* (who sells)!

---

[72] The development of 'literary Bānglā' since 19th century from the large corpus of this kind of extra-literary usage can be noted. See Ghosh, Anindita. 'An Uncertain "Coming of the Book": Early Print Cultures in Colonial India' in *Book History*, Vol. 6, 2003. pp. 23-55; 'Identities Made in Print: Literary Bengali and Its 'Others', c.1800-1905', in Crispin Bates (ed.), *Beyond Representation: Constructions of Colonial and Postcolonial Indian Identity*(OUP, 2006) and 'Revisiting the "Bengal Renaissance": Literary Bengali and Low-Life Print in Colonial Calcutta', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 37 no. 42, October 2002, pp. 19-25

[73] Wilson, Eric. 'Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries', p. 25

[74] The peddlers of stainless-steel utensils are usually females of ethnographic origin in Bihar, whereas those of brass-utensils are Bengali males. These two kinds of peddlers use "*Bāsan Libe Go-o-o*" and a mere sound of a brass-made-bell respectively as their distinguishing trade-sound. Key-makers are largely Sikh people.

Our major intention, as I have already said, is not to have a final inference on the proposed topic and resolve all the possible riddles we have come across. Numerous academic and casual approaches have been documenting and analysing the peddler's cry and many other sort of street-sounds in the West European cities like London and Paris. We have not even acknowledged situating these *paroles* as applicable pathway towards a linguistic study. This present advent is a sheer approach to that one; and obviously keeping a range of diverse tools, propositions and approaches open for further arguments.

REFERENCES:

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar. *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1926 (repr. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1979)

Dās, Jñanedramohan. *Bāṅgālā Bhāṣār Abhidhān* (in 2 vols.), Kolkata: Sahitya Saṃsad, 1986

Ghosh, Anindita. 'An Uncertain "Coming of the Book": Early Print Cultures in Colonial India' in *Book History*, Vol. 6, 2003

'Identities Made in Print: Literary Bengali and Its 'Others', c.1800-1905', in Crispin Bates (ed.), *Beyond Representation: Constructions of Colonial and Postcolonial Indian Identity,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005

'Revisiting the "Bengal Renaissance": Literary Bengali and Low-Life Print in Colonial Calcutta', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 37 no. 42, October 2002

Gupta, Rādhaprasād. *Kolkātār Firiwālār Dāk Ār Rāstār Āwāj*, Kolkata: Ānanda Publishers, 1984

Sassure, Ferdinande de. *Course in General Linguistics* (trans. Baskin, Wade. & ed. Bally, Charles and Sechehaye, Alber), New York: Philosophical Library, 1959

Sen, Sukumār. *Bhāṣār Itibṛtta,* Kolkata: Ānanda Publishers, 1993

Wilson, Eric. 'Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries: Sounding out Society and Space in Early Modern London', *Modern Language Studies*, 25, iii, 1995

Specialized Journals

The students utility resource in this section presents lists of specialized journals in linguistics and its sub-disciplines. We have tried to make it amply big in order to accommodate the relevant journals offered by all the recognized publishers, like Cambridge, Elsevier, John Benjamins, MIT Press, Mouton de Gruyter, Oxford University Press, Sage, Springer, Tylor & Francis, Wiley & Sons and more. The journals offered by various publishing houses have been listed in the following manner; Name of the Journal [No. of Issues Per Year].

Cambridge University Press
Annual Review of Applied Linguistics [1]
Applied Psycholinguistics [4]
Bilingualism: Language and Cognition [4]
English Language and Linguistics [3]
Journal of Child Language [5]
Journal of International Phonetic Association [3]
Journal of Linguistics [3]
Language in Society [5]
Language Teaching [4]
Language Variation and Change [3]
Natural Language Engineering [4]
Phonology [3]
ReCALL [3]
Studies in Second Language Acquisition [4]

Elsevier Publication
Assessing Writing [6]
Brain and Language [12]
Cognition [3]
Cognitive Systems Research [4]
Computer Speech and Language [4]
Discourse Context and Media [4]
Language and Communication [4]

Language and Education [4]
Language Sciences [6]
Lingua [15]
Journal of Communication Disorders [6]
Journal of Fluency Disorders [4]
Journal of King Saud University- Language and Translation [2]
Journal of Memory and Language [8]
Journal of Neurolinguistics [6]
Journal of Phonetics [6]
Journal of Pragmatics [15]
Journal of Second Language Writing [4]
Journal of Web Semantics [8]
Thinking Skills and Creativity [3]

John Benjamins Publishing Company

AILA Review [1]
Babel [4]
Constructions and Frames [2]
Dichronica - International Journal of Historical Linguistics [3]
Functions of Language [2]
Historgraphia Linguistics [3]
International Journal of Corpus Studies [4]
Interpreting - International Journal of Research and Practice in Interpreting [2]
Journal of Historical Linguistics [2]
Journal of Historical Pragmatics [2]
Journal of Language and Politics [4]
Journal of Language and sexuality [2]
Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages [2]
Language and Dialogue [2]
Language Problems and Language Planning [3]
Language Variation [2]
Language, Interaction and Acquisition [2]
Languages in Contrast [2]
Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism [4]
Linguistic Investigations [2]

Mental Lexicon [3]
Metaphor and the Social World [2]
Pragmatics & Cognition [3]
Pragmatics and Society [2]
Review of Cognitive Linguistics [2]
Sign Language & Linguistics [2]
Studies in Language [4]
Target - International Journal of Translation Studies [2]
Translation and Interpreting Studies [2]
Translation Spaces [2]
Translation Studies [3]
Written Language & Literacy [2]

MIT Press
Computational Linguistics [4]
Linguistic Inquiry [4]
Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience [12]

Mouton de Gruyter
Applied Linguistics Review [4]
Cognitive Linguistics [4]
Communication [4]
Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory [2]
Dilectologia et Geolinguistica [1]
Folia Linguistica [2]
Folia Linguistica Historica [1]
Humor [4]
IBERIA [2]
Intercultural Pragmatics [4]
International Journal of Sociology of Language [6]
International Review of Applied lInguistics in Language Teaching [4]
Journal of Literary Semantics [2]
Journal of Politeness Research [2]
Laboratory Phonology [2]
Language and Cognition [2]

Language Learning in Higher Education [4]
Lexicographia [1]
Linguistic Typology [3]
Linguistics [6]
Multilingua [4]
Semiotica [5]
Sociolinguistica [1]
Text & Talk [6]
The Linguistic Review [4]
Theoretical Linguistics [3]

Oxford University Press

Applied Linguistics [5]
Forum For Modern Language Studies [4]
Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education [4]
Literary and Linguistic Computing [4]
Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience [5]
Journal of Semantics [4]
ELT Journal [4]
International Journal of Lexicography [4]

Sage Publications

Child Language Teaching and Therapy [3]
Discourse & Communication [3]
Discourse Studies [6]
Discourse & Society [6]
First Language [3]
International Journal of Bilingualism [3]
Journal of English Linguistics [3]
Journal of Language and Social Psychology [4]
Language Teaching Research [3]
Language Testing [3]
Language and Literature [3]
Language and Speech [3]
RELC Journal - A Journal of Language Teaching and Research [3]

Second Language Research [3]

Springer
Annals of Dyslexia [2]
Journal of Logic, Language and Information [4]
Journal of Psycholinguistic Research [6]
Language Policy [4]
Language Resources and Evaluation [4]
Linguistics and Philosophy [3]
Machine Translation [4]
Morphology [4]
Multilingual Education [NA]
Natural Language & Linguistic Theory [4]
Neohelicon [2]

Taylor and Francis Group
Aphasiology [12]
Bilingual Research Journal [3]
Classroom Discourse [2]
Cognitive Neuropsychology [8]
Cognitive Neuroscience [4]
Critical Discourse Studies [4]
Discourse Processes [8]
Journal of Quantitative Linguistics [4]
Language Acquisition [4]
Language and Cognitive Processes [10]
Language and Education [6]
Language and Intercultural Communication [4]
Language Assessment Quarterly [4]
Language Awareness [4]
Language Culture and Curriculum [3]
Language Learning and Development [4]
Language Learning Journal [3]
Language Matters [2]
Metaphor and Symbol [4]

Research on Language & Social Interaction [4]
Social Semiotics [5]
Writing Systems Research [2]

Wiley and Sons
Journal of Linguistic Anthropology [2]
The Modern Language Journal [1]
Journal of Historical Synatax [1]
Journal of Sociolinguistics [5]
Journal of Research in Reading [4]
International Journal of Applied Linguistics [3]
International Journal of Language and Communication Disorders [6]
Linguistics Abstracts [N.A.]
Language and Linguistics Compass [12]
Studia Linguistica [3]
Human Communication Research [4]
Mind & Language [5]
Language Learning [5]
Syntax [4]

Linguistic Society of America
Language [3]

American Speech-Language-Hearing Association
Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing Research [6]
American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology [4]

International Linguistic Society
Word [3]

The Cooperative Pursuits of Linguistics and Humor

Tariq Khan

safertariq@gmail.com

As an axiomatic fact, our everyday interaction is filled with instances of creative language use called humor[1]. Despite this, humor has been out of the mainstream linguistic research or received very little attention from the linguistic arena. Verbal humor is basically a linguistic phenomenon; wherein a creative manipulation of language use, word plays, violation of maxims, ambiguities and errors result in the experience of funniness. The theoretical explorations on verbal humor or jokes, however, mainly exhibit the sociological, philosophical or psychological bearings. This paper explores the phenomenon of verbal humor and the linguistic aspects of it. It focuses on how such instances of creative language use achieve success. The theoretical propositions on humor have been evaluated and their shortcomings, from a linguistic point of view, have been highlighted in this paper. The primary objective of this paper is to impress upon the need for studying verbal humor as an instance of humor-linguistics cooperation. It also explicates how such an investigation would initiate and progress.

Introduction

Though it seems philosophical to say that life is full of humor, in the purview of language it remains an axiomatic fact – that our verbal life is full of humor. Humor use, which includes producing and processing humor by comprehending and reacting to humorous stimuli, is an unavoidable and integral aspect of our communicative behavior. Humor, being a socio-cultural as well as a linguistic phenomenon, is more prevalent than generally assumed. A significant proportion of the *e*-mails and SMS we do involves forwarding the forwarded ones. Why do we do that? An introspective search into the why of it would reveal that we do so because we find them humorous or funny and attempt to extend that experience of funniness by forwarding them to others. Putting *e*-mails and SMSs aside even our 'everyday' inter-personal interaction involves a great amount of humor or language use that causes the experience of funniness. Nevertheless, humor rests on the sidelines of the mainstream research in linguistics. Again, humor researchers focus on various socio-cultural and evolutionary aspects but not the linguistic aspect of humor. The language use, which is an essential ingredient in any successful humor, remains an

almost ignored aspect of humor research. Serious attention on language use within humor did not begin till Raskin's (1985) *Semantic Mechanism of Humor* and Attardo's (1994) *Linguistic Theories of Humor*. Vaid (2002, 2005 & 2006) extends it further and attempts to provide this research a contemporary outlook. Still, much is left unexplored and that justifies the proposed study on humor-linguistics cooperation. What is known and what is unexplored with regards to verbal humor? What's there in language that makes a joke tick? How does study on verbal humor provide information about the language use? In this paper we shall try to address these and related questions. Let's begin with humor and its sub-types.

Humor and its types

Humor has been defined by scholars of various disciplines in variegated ways. Something that binds them all together is the fact that humor involves an incongruity between the assumed and the intended meanings, causes the experience of funniness and evokes laughter. Holmes defines humor in terms of its basic social function – humor serves to create and maintain solidarity, a sense of belonging to a group. Shared humor is an important in-group versus out-group boundary marker (Holmes, 2000). However, Raskin who pioneered the linguistic (semantic) research on humor holds a different view. Humor has been regarded as an important element of social interaction which creates laughter, strengthens inter-personal bonds and affects mental health. There is nothing unusual or rare about the phenomenon. Somebody hears or sees something and laughs. In most cases, this means that the person finds the audial or visual stimulus funny. Funny situations, funny stories, even funny thoughts occur every day to virtually everybody (Raskin, 1985). Traditionally humor is divided into four categories: (a) Figural: Comic books, cartoons etc. (b) Verbal: Jokes, puns, riddles, irony, wits, anecdotes etc. (c) Visual: Impression, mime, slapsticks, practical jokes etc., and (d) Auditory: Noises, sounds, impersonations etc.

These categories may be compressed into two broader categories, visual and verbal humor. In visual humor (which involves cartoons, caricature, mime, plays, comics etc.) the stimulus comes from physical shapes and movements. Language may even be absent. However, in Verbal humor (which involves jokes, wit, riddles, puns etc.) the stimulus comes primarily from the language use.

Verbal humors, such as jokes, have their humorous content in the language use. Thus, language is regarded as the essential raw material in the analysis of verbal humor. Verbal humor is a particular form of skilled language use in which at least two disparate meanings are interwoven into a text by making use of ambiguity, polysemy, inter-

textuality, or inconsistency in such a way that the listener is led to expect one meaning but actually experiences the other. The pleasure of humor is thought to arise upon the sudden recognition of the mismatch between the expected and the experienced meaning (Vaid, 2002). However, this analysis cannot just rely on the formal syntactic notions, or even non-contextual semantics. Humor is a contextual communication and an analysis of it may require pragmatic considerations as well. Linguistic humor does not form a very strict category despite the fact that most of the humor categories are in a way or the other linked to language distortion, accent, ambiguity of meanings, miscue, mispronunciation, ungrammaticality, catchphrase etc. In an exemplary instance of linguistic humor the humorous content is not based on ethnicity, nationality, ideological beliefs etc. A significant proportion of academic and child humor predominantly involves language manipulations like puns, riddles etc.

Facets of verbal humor

Humor is present everywhere, embellishing every interaction. That's to emphasize, humor is more widespread than generally thought. One might assume that humor is characterized only by non-literal and informal language use. However, a closer scrutiny would vindicate a contrasting claim. If *e*-mails, tweets, buzz and short message service (SMS) have emerged as trends for quick communication, jokes (though all textual here) have also adapted themselves well to permit such mediums carry them. With the advent of facilities like online sharing and storage there are attempts to prepare not only generators and analyzers but also search engines for jokes. Full size jokes which may range from a couple of lines to a paragraph in oral tradition can be compressed to into 100-200 letters of state of the art texting systems (as in 160 letters' SMS). Thus, rendering jokes as the most extensive forms of humor. So pervasive that often humor and jokes are treated as one and the same. As far as the ownership is concerned it can be said that jokes are not owned by any individual. We don't own them (nobody does), rather we only exploit them (by reading, telling, storing, manipulating and retelling). So, for the time being it can be said that there are jokes about copyright laws but no copyright laws for jokes. Humor is a fascinating cognitive function. The relative ease with which we use it belies its considerable complexity.

Contemplations on verbal humor

The research involving humor has also grown from writings about theatrical plays to writings on 'laughing machines'. Since humor has attracted scholars from a wide range of disciplines, the theoretical findings on humor are abundant and diverse in nature. The

Western tradition on humor research goes back to Plato's *Philebus* and Aristotle's *Poetics* where humor was considered irrational and irresponsible. Early Western humorists believed that people laugh at the misfortunes of others. The development of humor theories in India differs from that of the West in that since Bharata's *Natyasastra*, relatively few new theoretical advances have been made. The idea of humor, its origin, its significance to humans etc., depends on the discipline the researchers are affiliated to. For some the genetics is important, while for others the psychology, some try to develop computational models of it while the linguists zero in on the linguistic elements and their placement in the jokes. Just as there are many definitions of humor, there are many theories that cover the different aspects of humor (Taylor, 2004). Let's see some of the proposed theories of humor.

Script - based Semantic Theory of Humor

Raskin (1985) proposes humor as a function of certain factors the presence or absence would determine the funniness of a joke. Raskin identifies and codifies seven factors namely: the speaker as S, the hearer as H, the stimulus as ST, the experience as E, the psychology as P, the situation as SI and the society as SO. The humor act then be defines as the function **HU (S, H, ST, E, P SI, SO) = X.** Here, **X = F** (Funny) or **U** (Unfunny). In a successful humor act, **X = F**; when a joke falls flat and in similar unfortunate situations **X = U.** This formulation does not tell whose experience, psychology and society are involved. So, Raskin modifies humor function as; **HU (S, H, ST, E^h, P^h, SI, SO^h) = X.** Here the super script 'h' in E^h, P^h, and SO^h refers to hearer. Again, there is a possibility that the speaker's experience, psychology and society might play a role in the success of a joke. Now, Raskin reformulates the humor function as; **HU (S, H, ST, E^s, E^h, E^{sh}, P^s, P^h, SI, SO^{sh}) = F;** where the super script 'h' in E^h P^h, and SO^h refers to the hearer. And the super script 'S' in E^s, E^{sh}, P^s and SO^h refers to the speaker.

General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH)

General Theory of Verbal Humor (Attardo, 1994) describes each joke in terms of the following six Knowledge Resources (KRs):

Script Opposition (SO): It deals with script opposition presented in SSTH.

Logical Mechanism (LM): It accounts for the way in which the two senses (scripts, etc.) in the joke are brought together, correspond to the resolution phase of the incongruity/resolution model.

Situation (SI): It's the "props" of the joke, the textual materials by the scripts of the jokes that need not be necessarily funny.

Target (TA): It can refer to any individual or group from whom humorous behavior is expected. Target is the only optional parameter among the six knowledge resources (KRs).

Narrative Strategy (NS): The "genre" of the joke, such as riddle, 1-2-3 structure, question and answer, etc., it is rhetorical structure of the text.

Language (LA): The actual lexical, syntactic, phonological, etc., choices at the linguistic level that instantiate all the other choices. LA is responsible for the position of the punchline.

Having all six Knowledge Resources defined, a joke, according to Attardo (1994: 226), can be looked at as a "6-tuple, specifying the instantiation of each parameter."

Joke: {SO, LM, SI, TA, NS, LA}. "Two jokes are different if at least one parameter of the six above is different in the jokes" (Attardo, 1994)**.**

Sul's Two-stage Model

1. The punchline creates incongruity and
2. A cognitive rule must be found which enables the content of the punchline to allow naturally from the information established in the set-up.

Veatch's Theory of Humor

Veatch's Theory of Humor is based on the concept that humor is a form of pain that does not hurt. The fundamental idea of this theory is that humor is really a form of pain (it even has repeated, loud exhalations similar at some level to gasping in pain or crying). But it is a cognitively complex form of pain where you don't really feel it as pain, but you really believe that things are truly just fine. It requires three conditions that are, individually, necessary and, jointly, sufficient for humor to occur.

Surprise Disambiguation (SD) Model

The set-up has two different interpretations, but one is much more obvious to the audience, who does not become aware of the other meaning. The meaning of the punchline conflicts with this obvious interpretation, but is compatible with, and even evokes, the other, hitherto hidden, meaning.

There are various entities centrally involved in the SD account:

M1: the first (more obvious) interpretation of the set-up.

M2: the second (hidden) interpretation of the set-up.

M3: the meaning of the punchline.

There are also various relationships and properties that are of interest, based on various observations made informally in the literature:

OBVIOUSNESS: M1 is more likely than M2 to be noticed by the reader.

CONFLICT: M3 does not make sense with M1

COMPATIBILITY: M3 does make sense with M2

COMPARISON: there is some contrastive relationship between M1 and M2.

INAPPROPRIATENESS: M2 is inherently odd, eccentric or preposterous, or is taboo, in that it deals with matters not conventionally talked of openly, such as sexual or lavatory matters, or forbidden political sentiments. These differ in terms of which norms are being flouted: those of everyday logic – leading to ABSURDITY – or those of socially acceptable discourse – leading to TABOO effects.

The theories have kept growing in number and it's beyond the scope of this paper to discuss them all here. Having seen the dominant humor theories above we find that a theory that accounts for all and only the linguistic aspects of the verbal humor or jokes is still a distant dream. Thus, a committed involvement is sought in order to capture the intricacies of the humor-linguistics cooperation proposed in this paper.

Linguistic engagements with verbal humor

Linguists in the first place need to construct a database of verbal humor which is grossly missing in the research arena. This in itself is an enormous task as humor is an ever evolving phenomenon. The collected jokes of all kinds may be treated at various levels. Although all jokes are contextual, the ones strictly requiring context may be placed separate from the ones not requiring the context so strictly. The groups thus arrived may be analyzed linguistically. That is to see how language has been used to generate the humorous effect. Such an analysis might observe whether the incongruity is arising due to substitution or approximation of a sound or word, homonymy/ polysemy of a lexical item available in the humor or due the ambiguous structure of the clause/ sentence. In case of linguistic humor the analysis may go further deep so as to capture the exact cause behind the funniness; accent, pronunciation, word play, grammatical errors or mismatch at the pragmatic and discourse level. There have been attempts from the researchers of Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence to model the jokes in order to create humor analyzers and humor generators. Linguists' involvement in these tasks will definitely escalate these possibilities.

Scope of humor – linguistics cooperation

The linguistic study of humor may result in multifaceted findings. These findings may be of use to various strands of linguistic research, for instance, Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics, Cognition, Pragmatics, Pedagogy, Language Contact, Translation and Discourse studies.

As issues like power relations, gender bias, (im)politeness etc., are involved in most of the humor acts, studies on humor-linguistics cooperation would illuminate how language reflects them. Not all jokes cause the experience of funniness and our response to a given humorous stimuli varies considerably. For various sociological and psychological reasons our response to humor varies in time, content and form. The psycholinguistic interest in humor emanates from the fact that humor involves a fine manipulation of literal and non- literal language use and demands the ability to deal with the incongruences of meaning, correlation between possible and known worlds and analytic observation of similarity or differences between the things involved. Most humor is meant for communicative purposes. It's of relevance to pragmatics how violations like flouting of conversational maxims renders the humorous effects. Translation, too, renders humor a very rich area of humor-linguistics cooperation. The phenomenon of code mixed humor is quite prevalent. Thus, an empirical study on bilingual humor can lend useful insights on the functioning of bilingual minds. An optimal use of humor in educational settings can result in the creation of efficient and inviting (language) classrooms. That is to say the learners will be able to experience fun, learn faster and enjoy the lessons. The humor used in the classroom situation may belong to any of these categories or may even emanate from a careful blending of the categories. The availability of computers and multi-media has made this sort of cross-fertilization easy to administer and maintain. The incorporation of humor in educational settings helps integrate fun with learning. Thus, it has behavioral as well cognitive implications. The study on humor-linguistics cooperation is of immense significance from discoursal point of view, for humor in domains like work place and sports is a common phenomenon. The use of language with humorous content has proved to enhance the performance of employees and sports persons besides keeping them joyful.

The list may go long but this itself might give an idea that humor is not as simple as one might assume to be. Humor is a complex phenomenon, however, humans (all over the world) in course of acquisition of pragmatic knowledge, acquire it, use it and respond to it. All these make the proposed study highly intriguing.

Conclusion

It's hard to imagine how life would be without humor. So wide spread is the phenomenon 'humor' in our everyday life. This is perhaps one of the reasons why some television shows, movies, theater plays, comics, cartoon shows, animations books, etc., attract an enormous audience. In this paper we have seen how the under-explored phenomenon of verbal humor can be explored from a linguistic perspective, the lacuna within humor theories and what cooperation humor and linguistics have for each other in the realm of research. A rigorous and sustained work is required to realize the scope of the proposed study.

Note 1: On most counts the generic term 'humor' has been used to refer to verbal humor.

References:

Attardo, Salvatore. 1994. *Linguistic Theories of Humor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Holmes, Janet. 2000. *Politeness, Power and Provocation: How Humor Functions in the Workplace*. In Discourse Studies vol. 3. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Khan, Tariq. 2010. *Interpreting Jokes: An Analysis of Bilingual Humor Processing*. Unpublished dissertation. M. Phil., University of Hyderabad. Hyderabad.

Khan, Tariq. 2010. Verbal Humor As New Vistas of Sciencing Language. In Shivashanmugam & Thayalan (eds.), *Greater Heights in Linguistics* pp. 272-79. Coimbatore. Bharathiar University.

Raskin, Victor. 1985. *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Pub. Co.

Vaid, Jyotsana. 2002. *Humor and Laughter*. Encyclopedia of Human Brain. New York: Elsevier Science pp. 505-15.

Appendix

1. Can a Kangaroo jump higher than Effiel tower?
   Yes! The Eiffel tower cannot jump.

2. Change cannot be given to you always.
   You must bring change on your own.
   Great lines said by the bus conductors.

5. Biology teacher: There are 8 sexually transmitted diseases. You will get at least one in the practical exam.

6. Boy to girl's father: *Mai aapki beti kaa haath maangne aaya hun*. (I want to marry your daughter).
   Father: *Kamine main kya apni beti ke spare parts bechta hun*. (Rascal! Do I sell spare parts of my daughter?).

7. Teacher: *Batao A ke baad kya aata hai*? (What comes after A?).
   Student: After thinking a lot said "*kya bolti tu*" (Lines from a Bollywood number).

8. Husband: You know our son got his brain from me!
   Wife: Seems you are right, because mine is still with me.

Case Marking in Assamese: Morpho-Syntactic & Semantic Analysis

Manmee Bhattacharjya
manmeebc@gmail.com

Assamese, an Indo-Aryan language of the North-East India, possesses a rich and complex case system. The present paper aims to explore different issues, both empirical and conceptual, in the study of case marking in Assamese. It mainly undertakes an analysis of case as a nominal inflectional category in Assamese and accounts for the morphological and syntactic features of case and case marking with special emphasis on their semantic significance. The paper focuses on the mixed nominative-ergative case system in Assamese and investigates the existence of case markers like benefactive, semblative, comitative etc. It includes the animacy hierarchy in accusative marking, case marking in non-finite clauses, difference of case marking in noun and pronoun systems, and genitive case assignment in certain subject positions in Assamese.

1. Introduction

Case is a grammatical category that identifies the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence. Blake (1994:1) defines case as a "system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads". In most cases, case typically marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clausal level, or of a noun to a pre/post position or another noun at the phrasal level. Assamese, an Indo- Aryan language of the North Eastern India, possesses a rich and complex case system. Case, in Assamese, is described as a nominal inflectional category where certain suffixes act as case markers. Besides the most frequent cases, Assamese exhibits joined case markers (genitive suffix followed by specific postpositions) for cases like benefactive, semblative, comitative etc. and also exhibits difference of marking cases in noun and pronoun systems. The present paper accounts for the morphological and syntactic features of case and case marking in Assamese with special emphasis on their semantic significance. The main focus is the mixed nominative-ergative case system and the existence of case markers like benefactive, semblative, comitative etc in Assamese. The paper includes the animacy hierarchy in accusative marking, case marking in non-finite clauses, and genitive case assignment in certain subject positions in Assamese.

Case Marking in Assamese: the Usage

The primary usage of case is to mark grammatical relations. e.g.

Lora-to-e	sowali –jəni-k	mat-ise
Boy-cl-nom	girl-cl-acc	call-3rd,present,perfective
Subject	object	verb
The boy	the girl	is calling

Case marking indicates semantic/thematic roles. e.g.

Ləra-h ət-e	kam-to	kar-ile
Boy-pl-nom	work-cl	do-3rd p.present.perfective
Agent/doer	patient	action
The boys	the work	have done

Case can be used to mark topic hood. In Assamese focus is specified through the use of case markers where the implied meaning is somewhat like the expletive construction in English. e.g

Ram	ja-bə
Ram	go-3rd p.future
Ram	will go

But,

Ram-e	ja-bə
Ram-focus marker	go-3rdp.future
It is Ram who will go	

Case in Assamese: Short History

The traditional classification of case, such as what is found in Latin grammars, is based on variations in the morphological forms of the word. Each form is analyzed in terms of a specific range of meaning, e.g. nominative is primarily the case of the grammatical subject of the sentence, genitive refers to notions as possession, origin etc. Abstract case and case marking are not distinguished in the traditional analysis. Case grammar, as devised by the American linguist Charles Fillmore in the late 1960s,

illustrates several stable semantic roles, despite the varying surface grammatical structures. Case grammar formalizes this insight using a model which shows the influence of the predicate calculus of formal logic: the deep structure of a sentence has two constituents, Modality (features of Tense, Mood, Aspect and Negation, relating to the sentence as a whole) and Proposition (within which the verb is considered central, and the various semantic roles that elements of structure can have are listed with reference to it, and categorized as cases). Actually, the deep structure cases recognized by case grammar do not systematically correspond to the surface morphology or syntax. The original proposal set up six cases- agentive, instrumental, dative, factitive, locative and objective. Dixon (1994:24, 29-30) classifies the case marking system in world languages broadly into two categories: the syntactically based system which mark the NPs according to function and the semantically based system which mark the NPs as per the semantic function (agent, patient etc). In recent generative grammar, a distinction is drawn between two types of case assignment. "Structural" case is assigned to NPs at S-structure; "inherent" case is assigned to NPs in D-structure. "Case marking rules" assign case to certain NP positions and a set of case filters restricts the range of sentences which can be generated in this way.

In traditional Assamese grammars the description of case is influenced by Sanskrit grammars. In such grammars Assamese case system is described as a nominative-accusative system. Satyanath Bora (1960) distinguishes between case (karaka) and case marker (vibhakti) and speaks of six types of "Karaka" (Karta, karma, karan, sampradan, apadan and adhikaran) and seven types of "vibhakti" in Assamese. "karta" is the doer, and the grammatical subject of the sentence. "prathama vibhakti" is assigned to "karta" karak. "Karma" is usually the grammatical object of the sentence that is affected by the verb (action). Karta and karma correspond to agentive and objective case respectively. "Karana" corresponds to the instrumental case whereas "Sampradan" corresponds to dative. "Apadan" refers to the origin, root or source of things. Adhikaran corresponds to locative. Adhikaran can be of two types- "kalbodhak" (at what time) and "sthanbodhak" (on which place). Kakati (1962) states two case marking devices in Assamese: independent postpositions and agglutinative case-ending. Upenrdanath Goswami (1981) also speaks of six cases in Assamese. He substitutes the term "nimitta karak" for "sampradana karak" and states that Assamese lacks ablative marker. Golokchandra Goswami (1982) describes seven types of cases with the case markers. The most

remarkable thing about Goswami's account is that he postulates "absolute" case in Assamese.

Proposed Types and Morpho-Syntax of Case in Assamese

In Assamese case inflection always follows the personal inflection. The order is "Noun/Pronoun + Personal Inflection + Classifiers + Case". Assamese has a morphologically rich case system where most of the cases are overtly marked on nouns and pronouns. Case marking may take the form of a suffix/prefix or the form of a preposition/postposition or a mixed form. In Assamese we find a mixed system where the usual case marker is a suffix but in cases like ablative a postposition is placed after a suffix.

Gakhir-ər   pəra   doi   hə-i.
Milk – poss marker   abl marker   curd   be – 3rd p present.
Curd is made from milk.

Assamese offers different case forms for the same case relation. Eg re, di and dwara mark the instrumental case in Assamese. Again, the same case form is used for different case relation. Eg k is used for both accusative and dative. In Assamese subjects of transitive verbs and a small group of intransitive verbs are assigned the **nominative** case marker "e" or "i" whereas subjects of most of the intransitive verbs lack overt markers. Again the direct objects of transitive verbs are assigned the **accusative** marker "k" provided the object is [+human] or it has a specific semantic significance. Otherwise, direct objects are not overtly marked. We can term these two unmarked cases as **absolute** case as absolute is used for both subjects of intransitive verbs and direct object of transitive verbs. We can also interpret the two groups of intransitive verbs in terms of unurgative and unaccusative distinction (discussed in later sections). Some specific examples from Assamese that support the above discussion are given below:

a) Manuh-jən-e   khəbor-to   kəle
   Man-cl-nom   news-cl-abs   tell-3rdp.present.perfective
   The man has given the news

b) Manuh-jən-e   sowali-jəni-k   mat-ise
   Man-cl-nom   girl-cl-acc   call-3rd p present perf
The man is calling the girl

c) Cərai   ure
   Bird-abs   fly-3rdp.present
   Bird flies

d) Ram-e   kahe
   Ram-nom   cough-3rdp.present
   Ram   coughs

If there is one transitive infinite and one intransitive finite verb in a sentence then the subject may or may not be assigned the nominative marker.

    a) Gopal-e   tar path   pədhi   bidyaləyəloi   jai
       Gopal-nom   pədh- transitive infinite   go- intransitive finite
    b) Gopal   tar path   pədhi   bidyaləyəloi   jai
       Gopal goes to school after reading his lesson.

Dative marks indirect objects as well as nouns interpreted as recipients and beneficiaries. The term 'dative' can be changed in order to get rid of the ambiguities regarding the accusative and dative markers. 'loi' is the frequently used dative marker whereas 'k' can also be used to mark the same e.g.

    a) Purohit(ə)loi   dan
      Purohit(ə)k   dan
      Offering to the priest

    b) Tai bapek-əloi sithi likhise
      Tai bapek-ək sithi likhise
      She is writing a letter to her father.

Instrumental case marks the noun as the means of accomplishment of the action expressed by the clause. 're', 'di', and postpositions like 'dwara', 'dwarai' (used after +human) added after the genitive marker 'r' act as instrumental markers.

      moi   suri-re   apel-to   kat-ilo
      I   Knife-Instrument   apple- cl   cut- 1st person present perfect
      I cut the apple with knife.

Genitive expresses the fact that the noun it marks is the possessor. It may also mark the noun as bearing other associative relations, such as source, whole/part, kinship, doer/activity, and creator/created etc. The allomorphs of the genitive suffix 'r' are phonologically conditioned.

a) Mor   gaon-r
   I+gen   village+gen
   Of my village

Ablative expresses meanings including instrument, time, cause, location and source. In Assamese, ablative is marked with 'r' + pəra (refer to section 2).

a) Xi   London-ər   pəra   ah-ise
   He   London-gen   abl   come.3rdppresent.perfective
   He   has come from London

Locative expresses location at the noun it marks. 't ' is the locative marker in Assamese.

a) Mati –t--------------------- On ground   b) Pukhuri-t -------------------In the Pond

Benefactive expresses that the nominal it marks receives the benefit of the situation (expressed by the clause). 'Karane', 'babe' and 'həke' are benefactive markers.

a) Moi   Nisa-r- karəne   kam-to   kəriso
   I   nisa-gen-Benef   work-cl   do   1st person.perf
   I do the work for Nisha.

Semblative marks a standard of comparison. Postpositions like 'dəre', 'nisina' mark this case.

a) Bhekuli-r   dəre   bhəri
   Frog-gen   samb   legs
   Legs like frog

Comitative expresses accompaniment with. 'Səte', 'soite' and 'ləgət' are comitative markers.

a) Hiya-r   səte
   Hiya- gen   com
   With Hiya

Abessive expresses the absence of the nominal it marks.

a) Tomar   əbihəne
    You-gen   abs
    Without you

2. Semantic Explanation

Assamese case and case marking have ample semantic significance. As discussed above the subjects of only a small group of intransitive verbs are assigned nominative case. These verbs denote either spontaneous action or action that is inherent in the subject.

1) Rame Kande ------------- Ram cries
2) Xixue oməle ------------- Kids toddles

The nominative marker 'e' is assigned to subjects of intransitive verbs to specify focus.

a) Ram jabə   b)Rame   jabə (explained under 'Usage')

It seems that there is some need or compulsion behind the action in b). Again, the direct objects of transitive verbs are assigned the accusative marker 'k' even if the object is non human when we have to mark topic hood by emphasizing something.

a) Rame   Bhat   Khale
    Ram-e   bhat   kha-le
    Ram- nom   eat-3rd person perfective
    Ram has eaten rice

b) Rame   Bhat-əke   Khale
    Ram-e   bhat-ək-e   kha-le
    Ram-nom   rice-acc-only   eat-3rd person perfective
    Ram has eaten rice only

In b) the implied meaning is that Ram may not want to eat rice, but since he had few choices he had to eat rice only.

Sampradan is giving something to someone forever. In other words, the authority is transferred from the one who donates to the receiver. So, lending money to someone, paying tax, giving clothes to the washer man are not sampradan whereas offering goods

to the priest, giving alms to the beggar are instances of sampradan. Semantic, pragmatic and stylistic aspects effect the assignment of instrumental case. In fact, we can observe animacy hierarchy in the instrumental case markers. Suffixes like 're' and 'di' are used as markers when the N is [-animate] or [-human] and strictly [- honorific]. Postpositions are used to mark [+ honorific] and [+human] nouns. The choice of marker may vary according to the context of situation reflecting the social identity of the speaker.

3. Ergative-Absolutive or Nominative-Accusative?

In traditional grammars Assamese case system is described as a nominative-accusative system. Goswami's (1982) postulation of "absolute" case gives rise to the proposal of ergative case in Assamese. Amritavalli and Sarma (2002) argue that Assamese is an ergative-absolutive language. Various data indicate that "e" is actually linked to agentivity, and is consistent with its incompatibility with unaccusative subjects. So, "e" can be considered as an ergative marker. In such case Assamese will lack nominative marker.

As we know, case systems are classified into various types. In a nominative-accusative system, nominative is the case form used for both subjects of intransitive verbs and subjects of transitive verbs. Accusative is the objective case, the case form used for the direct object of a transitive verb. But in Assamese, subjects of most of the intransitive verbs lack overt markers. Direct objects are overtly marked if the object is [+human] or it has any specific semantic significance. In an ergative-absolutive system, ergative is the case form used for the subject of a transitive verb. Absolutive is the case form used for both subjects of intransitive verbs and direct object of transitive verbs. The absolutive is usually unmarked. This is not thoroughly applicable to Assamese. Some languages possess a mixed system of split ergativity and Assamese can be listed amongst them. Passives are a form of forcing ergativity in a nominative/accusative language. The idea here is that Assamese on the surface shows nom/acc case marking, but has an underlying distribution consistent with ergative/absolutive.eg

Bətah	cəku-re	ne-dekhi
Air	eyes-inst	neg-see.passive

Air is not seen by eyes

Here "air" is actually the patient and "eyes" is the agent. In certain traditional grammars also nominative is described as the case of the subject or the agent. The case markers for pronouns slightly differ from that of nouns in Assamese. While singular pronouns are usually unmarked as subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs, plural pronouns are marked with 'e' in the subject position of transitive verbs. In Assamese Nominative case is reserved for the NP in the subject position of both finite and infinite clauses.

Ram-e   kə-le   moi   kər-im
Ram   say+infinite I   do+future
I will do if Ram says.

The accusative case is used both for the object NP of a transitive verb and for the subject NP of an infinitival subordinate clause.

Tar   karəne   tak(sub NP of infinite marato)   marato   asərit
kətha
For him to attack him is a matter of surprise

Assamese appears to distinguish subjects of unaccusative and unergative verbs via case marking. The nominal inflection 'e' occurs only on unergative subjects. Intransitive verbs can be distinguished as unaccusative and unergative. In an unaccusative verb the only argument behaves like an internal argument (as the complement of the verb) whereas in a uneragative verb the only argument behaves like the external argument of transitive verbs (as the specifier of the verb).

a) Ram-e kand-e ------------------Ram cries

b) Ram ah-e -----------------------Ram comes

In a) Ram behaves like the specifiers of the verb 'kand' whereas in b) Ram behaves like the complement of the verb 'ah'.

Again, there is a similarity between the notions of subject, agent, and topic in Assamese. (Discussed under Usage and Semantic Explanation)

4. Conclusion & future perspective

This paper is an effort to analyze various aspects of Assamese case system. The complex case system of Assamese can even be enriched by investigating the existence of cases like benefactive, semblative, comitative etc. This demands further research. Again the phonological aspect of the case markers too demands research. There are a good many dialects in Assamese with a great deal of variations. Methodological survey is required to account for the difference in case marking amongst these dialects. In this paper I have tried to explain the "mixed" nominative-ergative case system in Assamese. This issue will be the focus of my further investigation.

References

Amritavalli, R and Sarma, P.P. 2002. 'A Case Distinction Between Unaccusative and Unergative Subjects in Assamese', Snippets.5.2002

 Blake, Barry J. 1994.Case. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bora, Satyanath. 1960. Bahal Vjakaran, 17th edition, Guwahati.

Chomsky, N. 1981. Lecture on Government and Binding. Foris. Dordrech.

Dixon, RMW. 1994. Ergativity. Cambridge:CUP

Goswami, Golak C. 1982. Structure of Assamese. Guwahati University.

Goswami, Upendra Nath. 1981. Asomiya Bhasar Vyakaran. Mani Manik Prakash. Guwahati.

Kakati, Banikanta. 1962. Assamese, Its Formation and development (2nd edition). Gauhati.

A Semantic Study of Hindi Case Markers 'se', 'me' and 'par'

Neelu[a], Suman Meena[b] & Kumari Neelu[c]

[a]*2225neel@gmail.com* [b]*Mastimantra.suman@gmail.com* [c]*neelutiwari@gmail.com*

This paper talks about instrumental and ablative marker "se" and locative markers "me" and "par" in Hindi. We know that in Hindi both instrumental as well as ablative cases are marked by "se". This raises a question that why a particular marker uses two different usages. Not only this, but later on we shall see that "se" covers many more usages which neither appear to be instrumental nor ablative. Similarly, the locative case markers "me" and "par" also cover different usages. The problem that follows is, can we propose a single lexical entry of these case markers that cover different usages (for example, there is just one marker "se" that marks all the different usages) or say that we actually have separate lexical entries for different case markers covering different usages but they are homophones(for example , if there are five different usages of "se" then we have five different markers "se1","se2","se3"....) . We therefore, probe into the semantics of these case markers to provide an answer to this problem.

1. Instrumental/Ablative marker "se"

In Hindi we use "se" to mark either the ablative case or instrumental case.

1.1 main ghar **se** nikla.
 mɛ̃   gʰər se-ABL nikla.
 I-NOM home from   come out.
 I came out from home.

1.2 maine chaaku **se** aam kata.
 mɛ-ne čakU   se-INST a:m   ka: ṭa.
 I-ERG   knife   with   mango cut-pst
 I cut the mango with a knife.

But in the following sentences we neither have an instrument(to mark instrumental case) nor do we get any sense of separation(to mark ablative case), yet "se" marker is used.

Problem areas of the usage of 'se'

1.3 ram   gali   **se** guzra.
 Ram(name) lane through-INS pass-pst
 Ram walked through the lane.

1.4   main darwaze **se**   andar   gayi.
        mɛ̃   d̪ərwa:ze se   ənd̪ər gəyI.
        I   door   through inside go-pst
        I went inside through the door.

1.5   mujhe saanp **se** dar lagta hai.
        mujʰe sã:p se d̪ər ləgt̪a hɛ
        me-DAT snake from fear feel be-prst
        I am scared of snakes.

1.6   apki   twacha **se** apki   umra ka   pata   hi   nahi   chalta.
        a:pkI   t̪wəca   se a:pkI   umrə ka   pət̪a hI   nəhI   cəlt̪a
        your-hon skin   from your-hon age   poss know   EMPH not   get
        Its difficult to guess your age from your skin.

1.7   main   subah   **se** lekar sham   tak   padhti   rahi.
        mɛ̃   subəh   se   lekər ʃa:m   t̪ək   pəɽʰt̪-I   rəhI
        I-NOM   morning to   take (CONT) till   read-imperf,fem stay-pst
        I kept on studying from morning till evening.

1.8   Uski   haalat   bad   **se** badtar hoti   gayi.
        ʊskI   halət̪   bəd̪   se   bəd̪t̪ər hot̪I   gəy-i.
        Pron-3p.SG condition bad   to   worse   happen-imp,fem go-pst,fem
        His condition kept on deteriorating from bad to worse.

In all the above sentences "se" covers different usages. So we need to propose whether all these usages are marked by just one lexical entry of "se" or all of them are actually marked by different "se" (as in se1, se2...) and all of them are homophones. We say that instead of having many "se", we just have one. By looking into the semantics of all these sentences we have been able to derive a common meaning behind each usage of "se" which explains what we propose. We now look at all these sentences one by one :

In sentence 1.1 , in leaving the house, I am separated from the house and while separating I have followed a path.

In 1.2 , when I cut the mango with a knife, the knife follows an abstract path in the process of cutting the mango.

In sentence 1.3 when Ram walked through the lane, lane is neither an instrument nor Ram has yet separated from the lane .But still "se" has been used as the case marker. If we look closely at the usage of "se", we shall see that there is a path which is being followed by Ram.

In 1.4 while entering through the door, I am again following some path.

In 1.5 "snake" is supposed to be the source of fear, I am the experience and fear is the object to be experienced. What happens here is fear travels from the snake (source) to me (experiencer). Hence, in this process also an abstract path is being followed by fear to travel from source to the experiencer.

In 1.6 skin is the source which should give the information about the age of the person whom I am talking to. So, again this information needs to take an abstract path and travel from the source to me who is the observer.

In 1.7 the act of studying is done on a time line that is, from morning till evening. Therefore, here the path is being followed on a time line.

In 1.8 the condition of the person is becoming worse from bad and this is an ongoing process and this process is also taking an abstract path on the time line.

In all the above sentences we have seen that though "se" covers different usages but in all the instances one common thing is its semantics. In each case what we find is "se" marks an abstract path. Even though instrumental case and ablative case are different cases we use the same case marker because the underlined semantics is the same.

We, therefore propose that there is a single lexical entry of "se" which covers a various usages.

2. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER "ME"
Locative case marker "me" marks the location "in", which always gives a sense of container and contained. For eg:

2.1 Ghar **me** koi hai.
g^{h}ər me͂ koI hɛ.
House Loc Anyone Aux
There is someone in the house.

2.2 Khane **me** zahar hai.
k^hane mẽ zəhər hɛ.
Food in poison Aux.
There is poison in the food.

In the above examples we can clearly see the container-contained relationship, where in the sentence 2.1 'house' is like a container in which the 'person' is contained and in example 2.2 'food' is taken as the container and 'poison' is contained within the food. But if we look at the problematic sentences:

2.3 Wo din **me** sota hai.
wo dIn mẽ soṱa hɛ.
He day in sleep Aux.
He sleeps during the day.

2.4 Tumhe yahan aane **me** koi takleef to nahi hui?
ṱum^he yəha˜ a:ne mẽ koI ṱəkli:f ṱo nəhI huI?
You-2p here come in any trouble Emph Neg happen.
Did you face any trouble in reaching here?

2.5 Main neend **me** hun.
Mɛ̃ nind mẽ hu
I sleep in Aux.
I am sleepy.

2.6 Khane **me** maza ayega.
k^hane mẽ məza a:jega.
eat in fun come-Fut.
Eating would be fun.

2.7 sardi **me** twacha rukhi ho jati hai.
sərdi me ṱ̺wəca ruk^hi ho jati hɛ
winter in skin rough become go-prog Aux.
In winter the skin gets rough.

In all the above sentences we can clearly see that the container – contained relationship is not very evident and they appear to be different but still we are using the "me" marker for

all the above. However, if we go into the deeper analysis of these sentences we will see that though they appear to be different at the surface level, at the semantic level they give the same underlined meaning.

Now, let's have a closer look at the problematic sentences:

In the sentence 2.3 we have considered "din" i.e. day to be a virtual container which is on a timeline and the action of "sleeping" is located on that timeline.

In 2.4 coming is a process and difficulty is located within the process of coming to a particular destination and within the process we are marking the location.

In 2.5 sleeping is not an event, it's a process and the person sleeping is located within that process. Here "sleeping" is an abstract container inside which the person who is sleepy is located.

In 2.6 eating again is a process and the fun is located within the process of eating. Here 'eating' is a verb and therefore, we need to look closely at the semantics to get the container – contained relationship unlike example 2.2 where 'khana' i.e food and 'zahar' i.e poison both are noun and hence, the container – contained relationship can be drawn easily.

In sentence 2.7 the action of skin getting rough is located within the timeline i.e season of winter.

Hence, we can say that "me" gives us the container-contained relationship and all the above sentences show different usages of "me" at the surface level but keeping the underlined meaning same i.e. container-contained.

3. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER "PAR"
Locative case marker "par" marks the location "on", which can be conceptualized as an abstract surface on which an object is placed. But look at the following sentences:

3.1 Main kaam **par** ja raha hun.
   mɛ̃ ka:m pər Ja rəha hŨ.
   I-Nom work Loc go Prog Aux.
   I am going on work.

3.2 Mere khane **par** rok mat lagao.

mere kʰane pər rok mət ləgao.

I-Poss eat Loc stop Neg put.

Do not put restrictions on my eating.

3.3 Bhukamp ke jhatke aane **par** log kaanp gaye.

bʰʊkəmp ke jhətke a:ne pər log kã:p gəye.

earthquake Gen come on people tremble-Pst .

People trembled of earthquake tremors.

3.4 gaay **par** lekh likho.

gay pər lekʰ lIkʰo.

cow on essay write.

Write an essay on cow.

3.5 Mera wahan samay **par** pahunchna jaruri hai.

mera wahã səməj pər pəhũcna JərurI hɛ.

My there time on reach necessary Aux.

It's necessary for me to reach there on time.

In 3.1 going on work does not mean that someone is walking on work, but work is a destination, which is termed as "place", I am the "placee" who has to be "placed" at the destination. Hence, we can draw a place and placed relationship to exhibit the location "par".

In 3.2 restriction is imposed on the whole process of eating. Or we can say that the restriction is "placed" on the process of eating which is assumed to be an abstract "place".

In 3.3 trembling of the people is an after effect of the earthquake tremors. But at the semantic level we can say that the first action(earthquake) acts as a base for the second action (trembling of people) which gets placed on the first action.

In 3.4 we do not intend to catch a cow and write an essay on it but "par" here has been used in metaphorical sense.

In 3.5 we assume that there is a destination and I need to reach there in a fixed time. So, the underlined semantics could be that I am placed on the timeline and I travel on it to reach my destination.

Hence, in the above sentences "par" marks the place – placed relationship in a sentence. All the sentences given above show different usages of "par" on the surface level but the underlined meaning in all of them is same, that is place-placed.

After analysing all the above sentences we can conclude that though on the surface level "se", "me" and "par" cover different usages, at the underlined level in all the instances they have a common semantics. Hence we propose that there is a single lexical entry for "se", "me" as well as "par" and not different entries for different usages. This method is also economical.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, Tafseer. Butt, Miriam. (2007) *Non-Canonical Argument Marking: Beyond Volitionality, Specificity and Animacy*, University of Konstanz.

Ahmed, Tafseer. (2007) *Ablative, Sociative and Instrumental Markers in Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi*, University of Konstanz.

Ahmed, Tafseer. 2008. *Instrument as path: reconciling the semantic usages of Urdu 'se' and Pashto 'pa'.*

Blake, Barry. 1994. *Case*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Butt, Miriam. 2006. *Theories of case.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Bybee.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2006, *Handbook of Case*, Oxford University Press.

Spencer, Andrew. *Limits to Case – a critical survey of the notion*, University of Essex.

Acquisition of Noun-Noun Compounds in Kannada: A Semantic View

Swathi P.G.

swathipg@gmail.com

This paper presents certain semantic issues concerning the acquisition of noun-noun compounds and reports the findings of an empirical study undertaken on Kannada speaking children.

It is possible that the semantic transparency of compounds has a role to play in children's acquisition of compounds. It is worth noting that there are compounds in which both the constituents contribute to the meaning of the compound and there are certain other compounds in which one of the constituents contributes to the meaning of the compound. There is a third category of compounds where neither of the constituents contributes to the meaning of the compound. This paper investigates the order of acquisition of these three categories of noun-noun compounds.

An empirical study was conducted on Kannada-speaking children of the age group 7-8 and 9-10 years to test the above mentioned research question. The test items included compound nouns from three categories namely semantically transparent (be:sige ka:la,'summer season'), partially transparent (eNNega:yi, 'an oily dish made of brinjal') and semantically opaque (a:ne ka:lu 'a disease called filaria where the patient's legs swell') depending upon the degree in which the constituents contributed to the meaning of the whole compound. The subjects were asked to write down the meanings of the compounds. The results indicated that children in the age group of 9-10 years comprehend the three categories of noun-noun compounds namely semantically transparent compounds, partially transparent compounds and semantically opaque compounds.

1. INTRODUCTION

In English, compound nouns formed from root + root nouns (eg. "stick bug") can refer to a variety of semantic relations between the two nouns and therefore might pose a challenge to children acquiring the language. A "stick bug" is a bug which looks like a stick (Gottfried, 1997b). In addition to the interaction between whole concrete objects, compound nouns can refer to some property or likeness of one object in modifying another object. English compound nouns are right-headed, meaning that the rightmost noun identifies the category to which the compound as a whole belongs.

For children who learn languages in which compounding is frequent and productive, they learn the sub categorization function very early in development. Compounding is an extremely productive word formation process in Kannada and compound nouns are right-headed in the language. For example, "batte angaDi" is a shop where clothes are being sold. Compound nouns are not always semantically transparent in Kannada. In other words, there are different types of compounds depending upon the degree of their semantic compositionality. This research paper aims to study the sequence of children's acquisition of noun-noun compounds in Kannada.

2. COMPOUNDS IN KANNADA: AN OVERVIEW

Sridhar (1990) gives a detailed account of compound morphology in Kannada. Traditional grammars of Kannada deal extensively with the semantic aspects of compounds but little attention is paid to the formal aspects. Formally, the most important types are discussed below:

Noun- noun compounds

1. Hyponymous compounds: A very large class of noun-noun compounds in Kannada consists of a concrete noun as the first element and a descriptive noun indicating the semantic category (a hyponym) as second element. Sometimes, the first element is in the genitive case. A few representative examples are given below:

   be:sige ka:la   'summer season'
   kiTTaLe haNNu 'orange fruit (tangerine)
   si:be ka:yi   'guava unripe fruit'
   kudure ga:Di   'horse carriage'

2. Dwandwa compounds: This class of additive compounds (also called 'co-compounds') involves two nouns which belong to the same semantic class. Together, they signify a super ordinate semantic class. This is also a highly productive process. A couple of examples are listed below:

   kaNNu mu:gu 'eye nose' (facial features)
   bassu ka:ru   'bus car'   (vehicles)

3. Regular compounds: These are compounds of the more familiar type which are referred to simply as "compounds" or as "sub compounds". They also involve

nouns, but not necessarily of the same semantic class. Furthermore, the relationship between the elements is not one of "quality" (as in the case of dwandwas, where it is not possible to identify a semantic "head"), but one of subordination like in *manegelasa* (mane-kelasa) 'housework'. The two compound types are distinguished from each other by a number of additional formal properties:

a. Dwandwas do not permit optional ellipsis of the enunciative vowel, but regular compounds do.

   kaNNu mu:gu ('eye nose', ie, facial features) vs. kaNsanne ('eye gesture' ie, meaningful wink)

b. The initial consonant of the second member is often voiced in regular compounds, never in dwandwas;

   hosagannaDa ('modern Kannada') vs. kasa kaDDi ('dirt', 'sticks', ie, 'garbage')

c. There is a pause juncture between the elements of dwandwa compounds, but not in regular compounds.

d. Word-final -a: in Sanskrit loans is retained in regular compounds, nativized to -e in dwandwas:

   katha: spardhe (story competition) vs. kathe ka:dambari ('story novel', ie, fiction)

e. The order of elements is fixed in regular compounds, but sometimes permeable in dwandwas: kurci ka:lu 'chair leg', ie, sit in a designated position resembling a chair but without support for the hips; vs. kurci me:ju 'chair desk', ie, furniture, also me:ju kurci.

4. Complex compounds: Complex compounds, in which the components of a compound are themselves compounds, are possible, as in ga:jina baLe angaDi (glass-gen bangle- shop) 'glass bangle shop' which is formed on the genitive compound , ga:jina baL:e ' glass bangle'. Non genitive compounds also can be elements of complex compounds: kallu sakkare ka:rkhane ' rock candy factory' (kallu sakkare 'stone sugar', ie, rock candy); are tale-novu 'half headache'; nere mane suddi 'next-house news' and even kruSi varama:na terige vina:yiti masu:de 'farm income tax exemption bill'.

5. Genitive compounds: There is a fairly substantial number of nominal compounds that take the genitive marker (-a) on the first element. These genitive compounds, despite their morphology, are nevertheless compounds, eg. de:vara mane 'god-gen house', ie, room set aside for prayer and worship in the house, a 'home-shrine'; ettina ga:di (bullock-gen cart) 'bullock cart'; pustakada angaDi (book-gen shop) 'book store'.

6. Reduplicative compounds: Reduplicative compounds, involving repetition of nouns, are used to intensify meanings, as well as to convey an "exhaustive" meaning. eg. bi:di-bi:di (street-street) , ie, every street; attu-attu (cry-pp-cry-pp), ie, crying intensely.

7. Partially reduplicative compounds:

hallu –gillu 'teeth and the like'
si:re-gi:re   'saree and the like'
me:ju-gi:ju   'desk and the like'
sambaLa-gimbaLa 'salary and other income'

The vowel length in the reduplicated syllable corresponds to that of the source syllable and that the number and nature of the consonants in the initial syllable is irrelevant. Even vowel-initial words undergo the transformation as per the rule. For example, a:Ta- gi:Ta 'games and the like'. This process applies to words of all major lexical categories, eg. o:Di-gi:Di:ye! (run-pp redup.cont) 'Don't you run or something!', biddu-giddu-biTTa:nu (fall-pp redup. Aux-cont) 'lest he fall or something'.

3. EXPERIMENT
This study aimed to establish the age at which children understand compound nouns as consisting of two words, namely two nouns. Children of the age group 7-9 years participated in this experiment.

3.1. Subjects
Participants included thirty seven children in total out of which twenty were 9 years old and the rest 17 were of 7-8 years. All the participants were native speakers of Kannada and were students of Kannada-medium primary schools in the Kasaragod district of Kerala.

3.2. Design

The database used for this study was segregated into three categories based on the semantic compositionality of the compounds. The three categories were semantically transparent compound nouns, partially transparent compounds and semantically opaque compounds. All the entries were noun-noun combinations without any inflection whatsoever.

3.3. Procedure

Children of the age group 7-9 years were asked to read the three categories of compounds written on papers and handed over to them. They were also asked to segregate those compounds in whatever way they could.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Children were found to be acquiring semantically transparent compounds early followed by semantically partially transparent compounds and semantically opaque ones. Thus the hypothesis that there might be an order of acquisition of compounds based on their semantic compositionality is justified through this study.

The data obtained showed that more than 70 % of the participants acquired the semantically transparent compounds and around 60 % of them acquired partially transparent compounds and the third category namely opaque compounds were acquired by about 30 % of the participants.

5. CONCLUSION

The results of the empirical study indicated that children follow a particular sequence in acquiring noun-noun compounds in Kannada which is to say that semantically transparent compounds are acquired first, followed by partially transparent compounds and finally semantically opaque compounds. These are the findings of an ongoing research project and future research would be needed to conform these inferences.

6. REFERENCES

Gottfried, Gail M. "Using Metaphors as Modifiers: Children's Prodcution of Metaphoric Compounds".*Journal of Child Language.* Vol.24 (1997),Pg.567-601

Gottfried, Gail M. "Comprehending Compounds: Evidence for Metaphoric Skill?*"*Journal of Child Language*. Vol.24 (1997) Pg.163-186

Libben, Gary; Jarema, Gonia.(Eds)2006. *The Representation and Processing of Compound Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Nicoladis, Elena. "What Compound Nouns mean to Pre School Children". *Brain and Language.* Vol.84 (2003) Pg. 38-49

Sridhar, S.N. 1990. *A Descriptive Grammar of Kannada*. London: Routledge

Some Aspects of the Variation in the Use of Linguistic Politeness among Female Native Speakers of Japanese[75]

Nivedita Kumari and S. Devaki Reddy

rosynivi4@gmail.com

Japanese female speakers are known to use more polite forms than the male speakers. However, as the literature on Japanese woman's language suggest, the use of politeness among females have changed over the time. The present paper describes the variation in the use of Verb forms in a given informal context among female Japanese speakers from two age groups, 24 years and below and 25 years and above. The paper also illustrates the variation in politeness forms on an absolute scale as given in text books used for language teaching and the actual usage, which reflects politeness forms on a relative scale. The results suggest that awareness of the variation in the use of the linguistic politeness would help the foreign language learners to be open to the non-stereotyped notion of the use of politeness among female Japanese speakers.

1. INTRODUCTION

Politeness as a phenomenon reflects the sociopragmatic linguistic practices that have been an area of great interest to linguists. Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) have suggested a model of politeness theory based on the notion of 'face' as a social image[76] and formulated a set of 'maxims of politeness[77]', respectively. However, further studies show that the context[78] of the utterance (Srivastava and Pandit: 1987), notion of 'face' in the culture (Matsumoto: 1988), and the cultural differences between speech

---

[76]   The notion of 'face' has been suggested by Goffman (1967)

[77]   These maxims are inspired by the maxims given by Paul Grice based on his 'cooperative principle'.

[78]   Allan (1986:37) says "….context C consist of any of three things: the settings, or spatio-temporal location of the utterance U (and consequently of S and H); W, the world spoken of in U; and the textual environment of U and of the language expressions within U."

communities (Leech: 2005)[79] affect the use of politeness between and within the communities. The other set of studies that focused on specific speech acts like, request and thank, were shown to be describing the phenomenon, to name a few of them (Goody 1978, Miyagawa 1982, Smith 1992, Ohashi 2008).

The stereotypes in politeness based on gender also have been explored in different languages. Japanese female speech, *onna kotoba*, is believed to be more polite than that of Japanese men. Based on such studies and their assumption, Smith (1992) has shown how women in authority give directives and yet remain polite, as giving directives entails a higher degree of imposition. Suslak (2009) describes age to be more than a sociolinguistic variable and presents the intricacies of inter-generational relations and youth identity. Inoue (2002) interestingly weaves the gradual shift in the belief of Japanese woman's language to be a carrier of authentic culture and tradition of the nation. Hence, the changing attitude towards the use of Japanese woman's language is reflected in female speech so much so that it almost sounds like a man's language and vice-versa. Wetzel (2008) describes the ideology of *keigo* 'polite language' and reflects that "the relationship between language and gender is much more complex than popular imagination and stereotypes may reflect." Kubota (2003, 2008) reemphasizes the aim of critical pedagogies as "…the general field of second language education … essentialized taken-for-granted cultural and linguistic differences need to be seriously scrutinized."

The present study attempts to explore the variation in the use of politeness among the female speakers of Japanese, in two age groups. Based on the notion of relative and absolute politeness Leech (1983,2005)[80], the present study attempts to show how the Verb forms that are considered to be polite based on its structure, like honorificity, question form, etc. function on the politeness scale in a relative manner. The data from two age-groups, 24years and below and 25years and above, are compared and discussed.

---

[79]   Leech (2005) however, concludes that in spite of there being an east-west divide in the culture the Grand Strategy of Politeness (GSP) applies across languages. He states, "In order to be polite, a speaker communicates meanings which (a) place a high value on what relates to the other person (typically the addressee), (MAJOR CONSTRAINT) and (b) place a low value on what relates to the speaker. (MINOR CONSTRAINT)."

[80]   Leech [2005] suggests that there are two scales of politeness – absolute and relative. The absolute scale is the degree of politeness out of context and the relative scale is the one that shows the degree of politeness to vary with the context. For example, "*Thank you very much"* is more polite than "*Thanks"*. However, "*Could I possibly interrupt?" c*ould be understood to be too polite, when used with family members. "The relative politeness scale registers 'over politeness', 'under politeness', as well as 'politeness appropriate to the situation'."

The results suggest that though a text book knowledge of the politeness hierarchy can help the learners in knowing the absolute scale but to learn or practice the actual use only a non-stereotyped and open-minded outlook could be of help.

1.1 Significance of Verbs

Japanese is one of the languages that has a rich Verbal morphology. The different forms of the Verb carry the structural and functional information of sentences such as whether the sentence is interrogative or declarative and plain or polite. Ishiyama (2009) extends the use of Verbs for 'giving' and 'receiving' as auxiliaries, in Japanese, which function as one of the strategies of face-saving as shown in Matsumoto (1988). Smith (1992) uses the Verb hierarchy to show how the female Japanese speakers, who are considered to be more polite than male speakers of the language, give directives. Pandit and Srivastava (1987) use the Verb hierarchy in Hindi, suggested by Pandharipande (1979), to show how the hierarchy changes in different contexts. Pandit and Srivastava (1987) also suggest the relation of form and function by claiming that there is a pragmatic basis to the syntactic structure and the politeness hierarchy.

1.2 Variations in the use of politeness in Japanese

The knowledge of a language includes the knowledge of the context of use of the language. The foreign learners of a language thus, need exposure to the users and use of the language to acquire the knowledge of actual use of polite forms, which vary largely from the standard or textbook teaching of honorific or polite forms. Brown and Levinson (1987) have based this variation of politeness based on the power structure (P), the social distance (D) and the degree of imposition or ranking (R) between the users of the language. Apart from these variations, there have been studies by Smith (1992) showing women to be more consistently formal and polite and Suslak (2009) describing the tendency of younger generation of users of the language to use different forms of politeness (language, in general), to emphasize on their unique identity.

1.3 Speech act and politeness, with respect to request
Requesting as a speech act requires the speaker to be polite. However, because of its perlocutionary nature, the speaker has to be very clear in expressing his or her need and

simultaneously give enough freedom to the listener to respond to it even in the negative[81].

The paper attempts to analyze the variation in the use of politeness among the female speakers of Japanese, in two different age groups. In the process of doing so, this variation is analysed based on the relative and absolute scale of politeness suggested by Leech (1983, 2005).

1.4 VERB FORMS IN JAPANESE

According to O'Neill (2008), in a book which is designed for a foreign language learner of Japanese, the Verb forms of Japanese are divided into the standard forms of 'honorific Verbs', 'depreciatory Verbs' and 'neutral Verbs'. O'Neill (2008:51) suggests that Verb forms like *iru'be', iku 'go', kuru 'come'* are "neutral" in feeling and these forms, when used in 'masu' form like *imasu,ikimasu,kimasu,* show respect[82]. There is a pattern of a different lexical Verb as a depreciatory form of the neutral Verb. For example, *kuru 'come'* has a different lexical item as a depreciatory form, *'mairu'*[83] 'come'.

Ishiyama (2009) also suggests that *kureru* and *morau,* the Verbs of 'giving' and 'receiving', act as auxiliaries and sound more polite than the imperative form of the main Verb[84]. This is illustrated in the examples cited below,

- (a)   Mote
        hold.IMP
        'hold this'

  (b)   Mot-te-kure
        Hold-CONN-give.IMP
        'Give me the favour of (your) holding (this).'

---

[81]   Clark and Schunk (1980) suggest that the response of the request can be polite, impolite or neutral, depending on the literal and indirect meaning conveyed in the request itself.

[82]   Japanese has a set of 'dictionary' forms and 'masu' forms for all the Verbs. Both the forms inflect for past, negative etc.
            E.g. Dictionary form of go is 'iku', go.neg is 'ikanai', go. past is 'itta'.
                'masu' form of go 'ikimasu' has 'ikimasen' for go.neg , 'ikimashita' for go.past.

[83]   However, the notion of 'depreciatory Verb' refers to the speaker undergoing the action and humbling herself/himself. But this distinction of depreciatory and honorific form of Verbs is not very clear as the prefix '-o' as in 'o-machi' meaning 'honf. wait' are shown to be both honorific and depreciatory.

[84]   Ishiyama (2009) suggests that the auxiliaries of 'give' and 'take' make an imperative form more polite because there is some sort of relation-acknowledging through these auxiliaries.

(c)   Mot-te-mora-e-masu-ka
        Hold-CONN-receive-POT-HON-INT
        'Can I receive the favour of (your) holding (this)?'

The above three Verbs are shown to be in the ascending order of politeness.

Smith (1992) classifies the Verbs of *requests used to give directives*[85] into the following types in the ascending order of politeness:

- (a)˷te kure
    - Hayaku it<u>te</u> <u>kure</u>
      quickly go.
      'Please go quickly'

    - Asoko de mat<u>te</u> <u>kure</u>
      there   wait
      'Please wait over there'

    - Enryo naku ippuku si<u>te</u> <u>okure</u>

       Without reserve a rest do
  'Please feel free to take a rest.'

  (b)˷te tyoodai

  i.   Hayaku it<u>te</u> <u>tyoodai</u>.
       'Please go quickly'

  ii. Asoko de mat<u>te</u> <u>tyoodai</u>.
       'Please wait over there'

  (c) ˷te kureru/kurenai, ˷te kuremasu/kuremasenka

  i.   Hayaku itte kureru.
       'Will you please go (lit., will you give me the favour of your going) quickly?'
  ii. Asoko de matte kurenai.
       'Won't you wait (lit., won't you give me the favour of your waiting) over there?'

---

[85]   Smith(1992) gives a separate section for imperatives and desideratives. Possibly, requests can be made in some contexts, at least, using such forms. For example, friends can use the imperative 'motte' among themselves and may not find it impolite.

iii. Hayaku itte kuremasuka.
'Will you please go (will you give me the favour of your going) quickly?'

iv. Asoko de matte kuremasenka.
'Won't you please wait (lit., won't you give me the favour of your waiting) over there?'

(d) ˜ te moraeru/moraenai,˜ te moraemasu/ moraemasenka

i. Hayaku itte moraeru
'Can I have you go (lit., Can I receive the favour of your going) quickly?'

ii. Asoko de matte moraemasenka.
'Can't I have you wait (lit., can't I receive the favour of your waiting) over there?'

(e) ˜ te kudasai

i. Hayaku itte kudasai.
'Please go quickly'

ii. Asoko de matte kudasai.
'Please wait over there.'

(f)˜te kudasaru/kudasaranai,˜te kudasaimasu/kudasaimasenka

i. Hayaku itte kudasaru.
'Will you please go quickly?'

ii. Asoko de matte kudasaimasenka.
'won't you please wait over there?'

(g) ˜ te itadakeru/itadakenai,˜teitadakemasu/masenka

i. Hayaku itte itadakeru.
'Can I have you go quickly?'

ii. Asoko de matte itadakemasenka.
'Can't I have you wait over there?'

Based on these works on Verbs and politeness, on observations of the use of the Verb forms and on the basis of the suggestions from the female native speakers of Japanese about the Verb forms in use in the everyday conversation, 8 Verb forms were selected which represented the hierarchy of the polite forms shown in the Verbs. The context given requires a root Verb 'hold' as, in it, the speaker asks another person of the same age-group to hold her bag.

- Imperative form : motte 'hold.IMP' V1

- Imperative form with an auxiliary: mottekure 'hold. CONN. Give.IMP' V2

- Imperative form with 'kudasai' which was observed to be most prevalent[86] while making any request : mottekudasai 'hold.receive.HON' V3

- Imperative form with the 'give' or 'receive' auxiliary and also a negation, potential form (as 'can' in English) and question are chosen, as negative, potential and interrogative forms are also very prevalent in use to function as request. The auxiliaries kuru 'give', morau 'receive', and itadaku 'receive.Hon' also add to the perlocutionary force of making a request. The Verbs in this category are:

  1. Motte-kure-masen-ka 'hold.give.NEG.INT[87]' V4

  2. Motte-mora-e-masu-ka 'hold.receive.POT.INT' V5

  3. Motte-mora-e-masen-ka 'hold.receive.POT.NEG.INT' V6

  4. Motte-itadak-e-masen-ka 'hold.receive-HON.POT.NEG.INT' V7

- Another imperative form, which seems to be very restricted in use is :

  Mochinasai 'hold.IMP'V8

---

[86]   This form of the Verb 'kudasaru' which means 'receive (a favor)' is so prevalent that the Japanese-English dictionaries treat it as an equivalent of 'please'.

[87]   The interrogative form of the Verb does not function as a request by itself. It is accompanied by negative NEG or potential POT or both inflections.

1.5 Absolute Scale

On the absolute scale, the ranking of the eight Verbs V1 to V8, given above, was based on O'Neill's book and was confirmed by a native speaker who also teaches Japanese to Indian students. The hierarchy of these Verbs on the absolute scale, in the order of the most polite to the least polite, is:

5. Motteitadakemasenka V7

6. Mottemoraemasenka V6

7. Mottemoraemasuka V5

8. Mottekuremasenka V4

9. Mottekudasai V4

10. Mottekure V3

11. Motte V1

12. Mochinasai V8

The relative scale is derived based on the data collection. The following sections describe the methods of data collection and the findings.

METHODOLOGY

A total number of 66 respondents for this study were female native speakers of Japanese from Kobe and Tokyo. The tool used for this study was a questionnaire, and the mode of data collection was by the distribution of questionnaire electronically and manually, on the field. There were 49 respondents in the age group of 24 and below and 17 in the age group of 25 and above.

The questionnaire focused on the usage of the Verb forms in the context of requesting for a favour. The eight Verb forms for the base *mochi* 'to hold' were listed in the questionnaire:

- motte 'hold.IMP' V1

- mottekure 'hold. CONN. give.IMP' V2

- mottekudasai 'hold.receive.HON' V3

- Motte-kure-masen-ka 'hold.give.NEG.INT' V4

- Motte-mora-e-masu-ka 'hold.receive.POT.INT' V5

- Motte-mora-e-masen-ka 'hold.receive.POT.NEG.INT' V6

- Motte-itadak-e-masen-ka 'hold.receive-HON.POT.NEG.INT' V7

- Mochinasai 'hold.IMP'V8

The respondents ordered these Verbs in the order of preference of their usage of these Verbs in the given context:

 "When asking a female of your age to help you by holding a bag, which Verb form will you use? Based on your use, arrange the following Verbs in order, with the form that you are most likely to use at the top of the hierarchy. Please add any other Verb form that you use and is not mentioned below."

FINDINGS

The respondents assigned ranks (1-8) to each of the eight Verb forms. They also added some Verb forms. To study the usage of these Verbs by the respondents, a table was prepared for each Verb, as illustrated below in Table1.

Table 1: Showing the basis for assigning scores to each Verb form, to determine the most preferred form.

Ranks given to the Verb form	No. of respondents that gave this rank to the Verb	Scores
1	n	$n \times 8$
2	n	$n \times 7$
3	n	$n \times 6$
4	n	$n \times 5$
5	n	$n \times 4$
6	n	$n \times 3$

7	n	n×2
8	n	n×1

The numerals 1-8 represent the rank assigned to the Verb and 'n' represents the number of respondents who have given the Verb the particular rank. Each rank was assigned a score with the highest score assigned to the first rank. Likewise, the scores were calculated for each Verb. The total of the scores is the weighted score of the Verb. The table 2 below shows the result of the weighted score for each Verb [V1-V8] in the two age-groups.[88]

Table2: Weighted score of each Verb in the two age-groups and the total weighted score. Ranking based on weighted score is shown in brackets.

Verbs	Weighted score based on the ranks given by the respondents of the age-group 24andbelow	Weighted score based on the ranks given by the respondents of the age-group 25andabove	Total Weighted score of each Verb
Motte V1	268 (1)	79(2)	347(1)
Mottekure V2	82(7)	31(7)	113(7)
Mottekudasai V3	241(2)	51(6)	292(5)
Mottekuremasenka V4	232(3)	73(4)	305(3)
Mottemoraemasuka V5	215(5)	78(3)	320(2)
Mottemoraemasenka V6	223(4)	80(1)	303(4)
Motteitadakemasenka V7	177(6)	62(5)	239(6)

---

[88]   As the number of respondents in the two age-groups is different, we cannot compare the score of the two age-groups and so intend to just see the variation in the hierarchy suggested by the weighted score of each group.

      Also, it is not statistically valid to compare the two ranks. This is why, only the hierarchy is noted and not the difference. We need a further in-depth study to test which Verb forms are much more preferred.

       The context in the questionnaire makes clear to the respondents that the conversation is with the female of the same age-group.

Mochinasai V8	49(8)	14(8)	63(8)

- **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The above table shows the preference of the 8 Verbs by the respondents in the given context. In addition to this, the data indicate two issues:

9. The total weighted score of the Verbs shows that the pattern of usage of the Verbs varies from that of the notion of politeness based on the structure of the Verb form on the absolute scale. It supports the argument (Pandit and Srivastava: 1987) that the usage of the Verb form depends on the context. Though the users have a notion of absolute politeness, the users also have knowledge of the relative politeness in the given context. The comparative hierarchy of the Verbs based on the form and function is illustrated in the figure below.

Politeness hierarchy of the Verb based the Verb usage on the Absolute Scale

Politeness hierarchy of based on the survey

motteitadakemasenka V7

motte V1

mottemoraemasenka V6

mottemoraemasuka V5

mottemoraemasuka V5

mottekuremasenka V4

mottekuremasenka V4

mottemoraemasenka V6

mottekudasai V3

mottekudasai V3

mottekure V2

motteitadakemasenka V7

motte V1

mottekure V2

mochinasai V8

mochinasai V8

Fig 1: Showing variation of politeness hierarchy in the absolute and relative scale (based on the data collected from field work)

The use of the base form 'motte' shows up to be more in use, which is the most noticeable variation with respect to the absolute scale. 'Motteitadakemasenka', which is at least considered to be very polite as it has 'itadaku' honorific form of the Verb 'receive' in the POT (potential form), and also reflects that the interrogative and negative form comes low in the hierarchy. The use is shown to be different and it turns out to be at sixth rank in the relative scale, when compared to its rank one on the absolute scale, 'mottekudasai' has the same ranking on both the scales and 'mochinasai', another imperative, which has a notion of order attached to it, is the lowest in the hierarchy for both the scales. The other Verb forms with auxiliary, negative and interrogative forms 'mottemoraemasuka', 'mottemoraemasenka', and 'mottekuremasenka' are slightly interchanged in the ranking on the relative scale when compared to the absolute scale.

The variation in the relative scale based on the survey with respect to the absolute scale indicates that in the given context of 'asking for a favour' the neutral form ['motte' the base form imperative] is the most preferred form. However, other imperative forms 'motte kure' and 'mochinasai' feature well below on the scale. Similarly, 'motteitadakemasenka', which in the absolute scale ranks one, features just above these imperative forms on the relative scale. A tentative reason for this could be the predominant use of neutral forms of Verbs, which are neither over-polite nor turn out to be impolite forms or 'orders', and thus be impolite. The comparison of the two scales shows that the neutral forms are the most preferred in both the age-groups.

10. The hierarchy of the Verbs in use varies for the two age-groups. The context given for this question mentions that this conversation is between the users of the same age-group as theirs. When the weighted score of each Verb is compared for both the groups separately, the data suggest a variation in the usage of these Verbs.
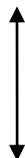
24 and below		**25 and above**
motte V1	↑	
mottemoraemasenkaV6		
mottekudasai V3		motte V1
	↓	
mottekuremasenka V4		
mottemoraemasukaV5		

mottemoraemasenka V6   mottekuremasenka V4

mottemoraemasuka V5   motteitadakemasenka V7

motteitadakemasenka V7   mottekudasai V3

mottekure V2   mottekure V2

mochinasai V8   mochinasai V8

Fig 2: Variation in the hierarchy of Verbs based on the ranking given to each Verb by the respondents in the two age-groups

V2 and V8 continue to occupy the last ranks in the two age-groups. However, the use of the Verb forms in the two age-groups varies from the absolute scale as well as the relative scale for the total number of respondents. The neutral form 'motte' gets the first rank in the younger group but gets the second rank among the older group; instead 'mottemoraemasenka' gets the first rank among the older group. 'mottekudasai' was chosen by a larger number of the younger respondents for rank 2, just after the neutral form, whereas, the older respondents had given it rank 6, below the Verb forms with auxiliary, interrogative and/or negative combination.

CONCLUSION

The data show that the use of Verb forms in the same context can vary depending on the age of the speaker. The data also illustrate that the hierarchy of the politeness forms described in text books for language teaching is usually not the same as the forms and the hierarchy reflected in actual usage by native speakers of Japanese. The choice of 'motte' by the females hints at the shift in the notion of politeness. The preference of plain forms over the polite ones among the females reflects that the Japanese female speech is no more bound to be a carrier of historical or a standard polite Japanese. The notion of absolute and relative scales helps us understand and account for the variation in the use of politeness forms. The foreign language learners though trained in the ideology of *keigo*, need to be introduced to a variant nature of this phenomenon, which though conventional

in nature, varies a lot with the age of the speaker along with other factors already taught like, formality-informality.

One of the limitations of the study is that the sample size for the study is not very large. Therefore, it is difficult to reach any significant conclusions about the pattern in the variation in the use of politeness forms with respect to age. A larger sample can make the results high on credibility. Moreover, in addition to a quantitative study, an in-depth or ethnographic study could also be conducted to describe and explain the variation in the use of politeness forms among the speakers of a language. It could be one of the ways of studying not only language use among two generations of speakers, but also the change in the attitudes of the speakers of the younger generation towards politeness, or a shift in the notion of what is polite, too polite or impolite.

Abbreviations:

CONN: Connective	HON: Honorific	IMP: Imperative
INT: Interrogative	NEG: Negation	POT: Potential

References:

Allan, Keith. 1986. *Linguistic Meaning.*Vol 1. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Brown, Penelope; Levinson Stephen C. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in language usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Clark, Herbert; Dale H. Schunk. 1980. 'Polite response to polite requests.' *Cognition* 8. 111 – 143

Fukushima, Saeko. 1996. 'Request Strategies in British English and Japanese.' *Language Sciences* 18:3-4 671 – 688

Goffman, E. 1967. *Interactional Ritual: Essays on Face-to-face Behaviour.* Anchor Books.

Goody, E. (ed)1978. *Question and Politeness: Strategies in social interaction.*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grice, H.P. 1975. *Logic and Conversation.* Syntax and Semantics (3): Speech Acts 41-58.

Inoue, Miyako. 2002. 'Gender, Language, and Modernity: Toward an Effective History of Japanese Women's Language' *American Ethnologist*. 29:2. 392-422.

Ishiyama, Osamu. 2009. 'A note on Matsumoto regarding Japanese verbs of giving and receiving.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 41. 1061- 1065

Jain, Dhanesh K. 1969. 'Verbalization of respect in Hindi.' *Anthropological Linguistics* 11:3. 79-97

Kubota, Ryuko. 2008. *Japanese Applied Linguistics: Discourse and Social Perspectives*. (eds) Junko Mori, and Amy Snyder Ohta. 327-352. London: Continuum.

Leech, Geoffrey. 2005. *Principles of Pragmatics*. Longman

Leech, Geoffrey. 2005. 'Politeness: Is there an east-west divide?' *Journal of Foreign Languages* 28. 1-30

Matsumoto, Yoshiko. 1988. 'Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness Phenomena in Japanese.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 12. 403 – 426

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1982. 'Requesting in Japanese.' *The Journal of Association of Teachers of Japanese* 17. 123 – 142

O'Neill, P.G. 2008 Japanese *Respect Language: When, Why and How to use it successfully.* Singapore: Tuttle Publishing

Ohashi, Jun. 2009. 'Linguistic rituals for thanking in Japanese: Balancing obligations.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 40. 2150 – 2174

Pandharipande, R. 1979. 'Passive as an optional rule in Hindi, Marathi and Nepali. *South Asian Language Analysis*, (ed.) B. B. Kachru, 88-106. Urbana, IL:University of Illinois.

Smith, Jane S. 1992. 'Women in Charge: Politeness and Directives in the speech of Japanese Women.' *Language in Society* 21. 59 -82

Srivastava, R.N; Pandit, Ira. 1988. 'The pragmatic basis of syntactic structures and the politeness hierarchy in Hindi.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 12. 185 – 205

Suslak, Daniel F. 2009. 'The sociolinguistic problem of generations.' *Language and communication* 29. 199 – 209

Wetzel, Patricia J. 2008. Keigo Ideology in *Japanese Applied Linguistics: Discourse and Social Perspectives*. (ed) Junko Mori, and Amy Snyder Ohta, 111-131. London: Continuum.

CHAPTER 28

River Centric Narratives:
The Factors and Methodology of Filmic Translation

Mrinmoy Pramanick

pathchala@gmail.com

In this paper I discuss about the methodology and issues which work to translate a verbal text into a non-verbal text, this is a paper on translation from page to screen. I have taken three Bangla novels and filmic translation of these novels which are river centric. The paper discusses the cultural subjects/elements which are represented in the ST and the differences of translating those elements into the filmic texts. The paper also has mentioned the limitations of translation and the cultural loss which happens because of translating the texts across the media. Besides this, the paper points out the impression, imagination and importance of river to the people and the life and culture of river-centric people of Bengal. The paper has discussed the various dimensions in which river appears in the imaginary of Bengal. It has also discussed how the human body, gestures etc., plays as a tool of translation. It has also concentrated on social and cultural issues of the texts.

I would like to begin my discussion of the river-centric film genre with a quote from Upperstall Review, to frame the context of this genre in the Bangla film history:

Satyajit Ray's path breaking masterpiece Pather Panchali (1955) had an immediate and fundamental impact on the culture of film making in Bengal. Ray's film which was in some ways influenced by the efforts of Italian Neo-Realists like Vittorio De Sica and Roberto Rossellini prompted some filmmakers working in Kolkata to go beyond the artificiality of the Tollygunje studios and take up the life and struggles of marginalized rural communities as the subjects of their films. Rajen Tarafdar's Ganga is one of the more successful films of this transformation - a film that is still remembered as a powerful yet sensitive depiction of the poor fishermen whose lives are irrevocably entwined with the flux of the great river. (Upperstall.com)

Though this is said especially for Ganga, it provides a common context for river centric films.

River is described in three well known Bangla novels as it appears in different looks in different seasons. The fisher-folk's life and culture have been brought to life. In the films

the three directors have shown river in a broad vista that run in tandem. These novels and films form parallel texts. The novels as 'hypertext' have influenced the 'hypotext' films. The films are influenced hypotexts, yet they are different texts.

River makes a difference to the life of the people. Their behavior and culture when they live on their land is different from that of their life on the river. River has a particular meaning to them which is shown in three novels and films as is full of freedom, and happiness, whereas 'land' signifies struggle and conflicts of their material life, river has a kind of magical power which makes them feel free, joyful, and happy.

In Padma Nadir Majhi, Manik Bandopadhyay's Kuber, the boatman is the protagonist and not Hossen Miya who is a very mysterious and important character. Primarily Bandopadhyay's desire is to describe the community of fisher-folk who are exploited by social, economic and cultural factors. He has fleshed out his protagonist and made the surroundings to express his thoughts and emotions. The author never forgets the river as he knows that fishermen's life depends upon it. So Padma River is always present with different expressions. Bandopadhyay is an outsider to the society of the fisher folk but he had gathered enough experiences of his narrative subjects. As a Marxist, he wanted to portray the life and reality of that particular community that lives at the margins of our society. Bandopadhyay does this successfully. Though the novel centers on the protagonist, the story makes the surroundings reflect Kuber's nature and character.

In Ganga the director, Rajen Tarafdar does not change the story of the novel remarkably. He romanticizes some portion of it. In contrast, much of the anthropological details of the society described by Adwaita Mallabarman, as 'insider', in Titas Ekti Nadir Nam has been lost in the filmic hypo text. Some events are retained but the audience cannot understand their significance without reading the novel first. These are the problems of TT and the director's failure to convey the essential spirit of the narrative. Ideologically and politically Manik Bandopadhyay, Goutam Ghose, Samaresh Basu and Ritwik Ghataki are Marxist. Their texts narrativise the 'margin'. The directors of the film have also used the Marxist view point yet, obviously, their individual treatment varies.

Since Fishing, as a profession was not always reliable or profitable as it is completely dependent on the whimsical nature of the river. So, the members of fisher folk community must also take up agriculture. Thus, Rasu in Padma Nadir Majhi thinks about an alternative profession. Similarly Hossen Miya also thinks about the farming in his new world of Maynadweep. In the film, the director indicates this by showing Maynadweep as

a beautiful place. Kuber and Ganesh become spell bound on seeing the beauty of the Maynadweep. Hossen Miya's business also deals with opium, a crop of the land, though a banned product. Similarly at the end of the novel, Titas Ekti Nadir Nam it is explained that culture and lifestyle is changing. The author writes, Paddy-cutting has been completed. There is not a single paddy plant on the sandy land… There is only the land of the Malopada. The Malopada is not there (Mallabarman: 2000: 562). And the author writes about the farmers in his novel and shows the integral relation between fishermen and farmers. In Ganga too, the Rajbanshi community becomes farmer though the Malos do not consider it, as they ultimately go to high seas for their livelihood.

It is interesting and important to note the time gap between the publication of these novels and their filmic translations. For the contest of the films greatly influence the 'reading' and translation of novels into films. Bandopadhyay's Padma Nadir Majhi was published on 16th July 1936 and its filmic translation was released on 7th April 1992, translated after 56 years of ST publication. Samaresh Basu's Ganga was published in 1955 and the film was released on 11th June 1980, 25 years after ST publication. Mallabarman's Titas Ekti Nadir Nam was published posthumously in 1956 and its filmic translation was released in Bangladesh on 27th July 1973 and in India on 11th May 1991 after 17 years after the ST publication. Time influences filmic translation especially of Padma Nadir Majhi. Goutam Ghose's film Padma Nadir Majhi is contextualized by contemporary events of nine-eighties and nineties.

Padma Nadir Majhi is a short novel of only 101 pages. It was not difficult as such to convey the narrative in the film of 35mm in 133 minutes 5 seconds. Though some incidents were abridged, such as the details of Ratha Jatra, Sidhu's character and his shopping the fair, Bhasaan Jatra which is a cultural program and entertainment for the community and so on over all the film conveys the essence of the novel. Ganga is a novel of 191 pages and the duration of its filmic translation in 35 mm is of 123 minutes 53 seconds. There are no major changes in the TT of Ganga, except the songs. The songs in the ST depict the life of the community and Bilas' (hero of the novel an film) thoughts. In some cases Bilas is obviously representing the community. In the TT, most of the songs are very community-bound and the translator has omitted many of the songs from the ST and added new ones. One particular song in the film about Bilas's love towards Gamli Panchi (a village girl in Ganga, film) is the director's addition as the other song by Kadame Panchu's younger son (Ichcha Kare Parandare Gamcha Diya Bandhi). The director abridges certain events.

Titas Ekti Nadir Nam is a big novel of 164 pages (printed in royal size pages); the filmic translation in 35 mm runs for 159 minutes. Adwaita Mallabarman, the novelist, being a person of the particular culture reflected in the novel, had a deep attachment with the culture of the community, so there are many cultural elements in his narrative. It is difficult to reflect all these elements in the TT in its limited time span. The director Ritwik Ghatak selects the elements he wishes to highlight in his films and adds some songs to portray the culture of fisher folk.

'Jatrapala' (Folk Play) is the Bengal's indigenous folk play and this is used in Padma Nadir Majhi and Ganga. But the two directors Goutam Ghose and Rajen Tarafdar, omit the performances in their translation. Similarly Ritwik Ghatak omits other folk forms in his translation. He only refers to Jatrapala in his film. There are some common events like boat competition in Ganga and Titas Ekti Nadir Nam. In Ganga the prestige and community pride are central to the theme. Titas Ekti Nadir Nam shows Chader Miya's plan for such a competition that involves community prestige and his mooring about the pride of the village. The literary products are completely cultural artifact.

When the novel is translated into film, it has to use its 'own native nonverbal repertoire' (Poyatos 2008:48). Filmic translation of a literary text brings the figures of the land society on which the literary text has been written. It represents society's behavior as living element, as how they act, how they react, how they feel, how they speak, how they wear dresses etc. The literary texts can narrate these things but film's demands are different. So the exploration of the land society happens newly again after author's writing. This is like e.g., ST and TT both are from the same cultural repertoire, it is a way to know the other subjects which are in spite of being different sign how works as sign-equivalence to each other.

Pronunciation and using of words with gestures and approach varies from person to person and to whom a particular person is speaking. It shows the relation between two or many persons and the social status of the person and hegemony. Such relations acan be said to have been revealed in Kuber's way of speaking to Mala (his wife who is handicapped) and Shital babu (a neighbor of Kuber, whom Kuber sold fishes) or to Hossen Miya, in Padma Nadir Majhi, or brahmin mahajan's (money lender) behavior to Kadame Panchu and Bilas's reply to that mahajan and Panchu's reaction to him, or Amrita's wife's language and speaking style to mahajan when he gives her a bad proposal, or Bilas's attitudes and dare to scold Ganga and Panchu's reaction of it in

Ganga or in Titas Ekti Nadir Nam, conversation between Ananta's (a child character) mother and Basanti (a main and important character, likely to be protagonist) mahajan and other upper class-people's behavior, towards the Malo (a fisher-folk community). Their language shows their treatment of the fisher folk as a lower class. Panchu's words in film and novel Ganga both, always shows that they are lower class people and so they should respect Brahmins. The upper caste also knows that they are respected. Malos have to respect mahajans for he is like god to these people. The upper class and caste people consider that these are expected things from the lower caste people. We see Panchu in the film Ganga to touch mahajan's legs and pray for mercy for Bilas as he did misbehave with mahajan (though reader knows it is not misbehavior but an act of self-respect). Here lies the social hegemony. Filmic translation of verbal language shows 'the greater importance of words' (Poyatos2008: 56) and gestures.

Use of paralanguage and kinesics in TT is itself translation and addition made in the TT. It is not always done in that way by the director. ST sometimes may or may not mention certain things but film has to show them to make the situation more realistic.

Poyatos writes:

"Sound is, along with movement, one of the two essential dimensions of life, which alternate with silences of varying duration and meaning. The translator encounters sound descriptions of what we may call the general cultural environment, directly or indirectly originated by human or animal activities (e.g. the sound of a bugle or telephone, a horse's hooves) or by mechanisms we set in motion (e.g. the screeching of tires on the pavement)… The rest of the cultural environmental sounds belong to the exteriors characteristics of each culture or rather universal… the translator finds also the sounds of nature, including the natural elements and the animal kingdom" (Poyatos 2008: 61-63).

These sounds are identical symbol of a society and surroundings of a community which might be heard by the readers or not. This is also an element to represent a community as a whole. In three filmic texts we find these sounds of different types as the calling of a goat in Padma Nadir Majhi (When Hossen Miya is going for Ratha Jatraii Fair), sound of night insects in Titas Ekti Nadir Nam (when Basanti, Ananta's mother are making Pithaiii, a sweet in Kishor's house), the sound storm in night on the river in Ganga (when Panchu is on the way to die) etc. thousands of examples are there in three films.

We find gestures (smiles, eye movements, beckoning), manners (eating, smoking, shaking hands, donning or doffing a garment, the kind of gait), and postures as natural translated elements in living translation. The verbal description of these directors must translate to naturalize the text and theses components are simultaneously tools of translation and form the natural body of translation. Poyatos divides postures in three type- dynamic, contact and micro postures, dynamic posture is moving elements, contact posture is in contact with someone or something and micro posture refers to minor body parts like fingers or eyelids (Poyatos 2008: 258-260). Though due to author's very unique writing craft sometimes these kinesics appear as untranslatable. Then the translator has to depend on some universal expressions which are readable to the reader.

Padma Nadir Majhi and Titas Ekti Nadir Nam have a motif of dreaming for a new civilization. Ganga has a motif of man's step against social superstition struggle for existence against the obstacles of nature. In ST and TT both we see in Padma Nadir Majhi and Ganga the same idea. The TT of Titas Ekti Nadir Nam has projected this motif as it is not there in ST.

According to Pasolini reality is 'discourse of things' that cinema re-narrates. The cinematic sign becomes a meta-linguistic sign, a vehicle, and an interpretant of another sign (Bruno 1991:32). Translation here 'represents 'reality' with 'reality' as Pasolini proposed. The ST presents a reality and TT is a translation of that reality with the reality from the source of the ST and directors' own experience. Here in translational process we find double realistic action. He further says: cinema's imaging is the production of social reality (Bruno 1991: 29). In the detailed reading of the films, we find this type of images which reflects the social realities.

Lotman argues: when a text interacts with a heterogeneous consciousness, new meanings are generated, and as a result the text's immanent structure is reorganized (Lotman 1994:378). Consciousness is created in every different reading of a particular text. Translation is also a reading (naturally filmic translation also). Filmic translation of a literary text explores the soul of the ST with the projections of different mediums simultaneously. We find the sociological, ideological and philosophical consciousness in the translation here, as consciousness about contemporary society (national situation) in Padma Nadir Majhi, romantic consciousness in Titas Ekti Nadir Nam and Ganga, Marxist ideology in Titas Ekti Nadir Nam and Padma Nadir Majhi, director's own philosophical point of view in Titas Ekti Nadir Nam.

Lotringer writes that in trans-semiotics, everything can be a sign. A thing can be sign, and a sign can be a thing… the verbal image (sign) is represented by a thing. The thing becomes the sign of a sign (Lotringer 1978: 90). In this sense filmic translation is a collective of signs. Director must use different things to flourish/explore the verbal sound or conversations/descriptions of the ST.

Philippe Codde opines that every member of a community is a consumer of its cultural artifacts, even if only indirectly or fragmentarily- in everyday life, one inevitably "consumes" scores of textual or visual fragments (Codde 2003: 101). It's one of the results is translation. One condition of translation of any text (artifacts) is that it must be consumed by a person who will take initiative to translate the text. Philippe quotes Shavit's comment: a text gains a high status not because it is valuable, but because someone believes it to be valuable and more important, because someone has the political-cultural power to grant the text the status they believe it deserves (Codde 2003: 101). The mystry of Maynadweep (Padma Nadir Majhi), the life of the marginal people of Bangladesh (Titas Ekti Nadir Nam), the importance of the river Ganga (Ganga) in Bangali's life and culture and the life of the margin make the STs valuable to the translator.

In his social system theory, Luhmann interprets society as a communication system rather than a conscious system or a collection (adding up) of individuals. We consider translation as a conscious and communication system both, without consciousness communication is not possible as communicating presumes subjects with whom to communicate. In this case translation communicates with the mass of different classes with its inner messages. Hermans describes translation as a social autopoietic system because it has its particular social function, as to extend society's communicative range (Tyulenev 2009:149-151). Here the filmic translations of literary texts serve this purpose.

As we have already mentioned translation is yet another probable reading and re-construction of the source text. The source text and target text are a world of narrative construction which has an appeal to the society with new aspects. In the translations, of Padma Nadir Majhi and Titas Ekti Nadir Nam, we find a new reading and a new approach to ST. Goutam Ghose imagines a class and caste free society and Ritwik Ghatak shows his dream about a new society of peace and prosperity by showing the green paddy field and the boy. Goutam Ghose, Ritwik Ghatak and Rajen Tarafdar, these three directors have re-constructed the narrative of the films, as Goutam Ghose makes a

positive appearance of Hossen Miya (who is a symbol of communal harmony and a challenge to Padma River) to the fishermen and portrays Maynadweep, a beautiful place which makes Kuber and Ganesh astonished, Rajen Tarafdar gives importance Gamli Panchi (to romanticize the text) and Amrita's wife (to show the unsatisfied woman and freedom of women in the society and also to create some fun), Ritwik Ghatak also romanticize the narrative by showing Kishor and Ananta's mother's death scene on the bank of the Titas and he gives importance to the river Titas as he shows us that Ananta's mother and Basanti both during the time of their death, looking for the water of Titas. Here the directors as the members of the 'world of Reader' perform a role as members of the 'World of Interpretive Communities' by introducing the 'objects'. We have mentioned that Ritwik Ghatak's 'cultural memory' functions as the resource for situating the translation which George Steiner tells in his theory.

These three translated texts record the social and cultural memory of the fisherfolk, some of which are still existing and some perished. Changing economy changes the life and profession of the people. These texts also make a 'graphic culture' in the history of film media. The STs are canonized in the literary repertoire and the filmic translation of these texts is a contribution to film history. This contribution makes the history of Bangla film known with the representation of the life of the margin and fills a cultural gap also. This genre has been canonized in the filmic culture. This genre is a 'creative accommodation to the target culture' (film culture) as Lynne Long says.

According to Daniel Chandler's statement every component, used in the film, is a sign (Chandler: 2003: 2) and according to Cocteau the thoughts are transformed into images (signs), these comments consider all the translational medium and component as sign. In this sense, whatever ideas have been introduced in the films are also the translations. So, here we can call the thoughts of the directors which are not present in our STs also as the STs. But the second type of ST is not a major issue in translation discussion as our discussion is based on literary STs, so we can call these thought-texts as the minor STs.

According to Brisset adaptation is reterritorialization of the source text (Brisset: 1989: 10). We find the film translations in a broader repertoire, for a wider scale of readers, thus the territory increased. Santoyo comments it (adaptation) naturalize the text for the new repertoire (Santayos: 2002: 104), here, which is filmic cultural repertoire. Adaptation naturalizes the taste of the target text receptors. Goutam Ghose 'naturalizes' some parts of the source narrative. He shows the autumn storm by metonymical image of a tortoise

emerging out of its shelter. These images make the scenario more realistic. The cloudless blue sky of autumn indicates the time of Durga Puja, and Ghose shows the green fields of grass and swaying kashphul, as typical natural indication of the time of the great annual celebration.

According to Cahir's (Cahir: 2006: 263) three tire division of adaptation, we can consider our discussed target texts as traditional adaptations though there are some differences in degrees of adaptation in these three traditionally adapted filmic texts. Ritwik Ghatak has romanticized the text and introduced a new ideology into translation, Rajen Tarafdar has also romanticized the text and given importance on the socio-cultural narrative (by introducing Amrita's wife's and Atarbala's story elaborately, folk ceremonies, and folk play or entertainment like boat race and with the ways of socialization in the villages etc.) and Goutam Ghose has emphasized the issue of new civilization and religious harmony than Manik Bandopadhyay. So, Titas Ekti Nadir Nam is ideological traditional and romantic-traditional translation, Padma Nadir Majhi is social-traditional and ideological-traditional translation and Ganga is social-traditional translation. Gottlieb classified translation on the basis of the technical genealogy. According to his proposal these texts are supersemiotic-diamesic translations of the literary texts.

Gentzler comments on polysystem theory, 'the social norms and literary conventions in the receiving culture govern the aesthetic presuppositions of the translator and thus influence ensuing translation decisions' (Gentzler 1993:107), the truth of this comment we find in these films. Here receiving and source culture is the same, we find, typical concept of love, romantic feelings, social belief as 'social norms', projected in the films.

Notes

i. Ritwik Ghatak has told in an interview about the difficulties which he faced before making the film Titas Ekti Nadir Nam, "…but the problem is they will not allow me to go to that country for it is Ayub Khan's country. I am a communist; they will never give me visa. So I could not go. And many people have told me to shoot it in India. I have told them it is not possible here. That river, that land, those boats, those faces are important for me. They are simply not available here. (Ghatak 2007: 324). It is his clear stand that he is a communist.

ii. It is a popular festival in Bengal and Orrisa to worship lord Jagannath and his brother Balaram and sister Subhadra.

iii. A kind of sweet food, people make on special days in a year, it is made with rice, milk, wheat, sugar, sugarcane products and date juice.

REFERENCES:

Bandopadhyaya Manik, (2009). Padma Nadir Majhi, Kolkata: Bengal Publishers Private Limited.

Basu Samaresh, (1974) Ganga, Kolkata: Mousumi Prakashani.

Ibid, Chattopadhyaya Hiren (2000) "Ganga: Ekti Sameekkhan".

Bandopadhyay Saroj, (1998). Bangla Upanyaser Kalantar, Kolkata: Dey's Publishing.

Biswas Achintya, (2000) "Bhumika" (Introduction) Adwaita Mallabarman Rachana Samgraha, Kolkata: Dey's Publishing.

Brisset, Annie, (1989) In Search of a Target Language, Target 1 (1),

Bruno, Giuliana, "Heresies: The Body of Pasolini's Semiotics", Cinema Journal 30, No. 3, Spring 1991. Web 6 February 2010.

Cahir Linda Costanzo. (2006) Literature into Film: Theory and Practical Approaches Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Chandler Daniel,(2003), Semiotics: The Basis, Routledge, New York.

Codde, Philippe, (2003) "Polysystem Theory Revisited: A New Comparative Introduction", Poetics Today 24:1, Spring, Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics. Web 21 November 2009.

"Ganga, An Upperstall Classic", Upperstall Review, http://www.upperstall.com/ node/16380, Accessed by 17 March 2010.

Gentzler, Edwin, (1993) Polysystem Theory and Translation Studies, Contemporary Translation Theories, Routledge, London and New York.

Ghatak Ritwikkumar "Dui Banglay Amar Dekha Manush", Chalachitra, Manush Ebang Aro Kichu, , Kolkata: Dey's Publishing 2007,

Ghatak, Ritwik, Titas Ekti Nadir Nam, (Film).

Lotman, Yury M. "The Text Within the Text", PMLA, vol. 109, No. 3, May, 1994 Modern Language Association, http://www.jstore.org/stable/463074. Web 14 February 2010.

Lotringer, Sylvere, "Trans-Semiotic Analysis: Shaggy Codes", The Drama Review: TDR, vol. 22, No. 3, 1978, Analysis Issue, Sept. http://www.jstore.org/stable/1145190. Web 28 January 2010.

Long, Lynne, "Literary Translation and Cultural Memory", University of Warwick, http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap

Santoyo, Julio Cesar, Traducciones y adaptaciones teatrales: ensayo de una tipologia, Cuardernos de Teatro Clasico,

Tyulenev, Sergey, Why (not) Luhmann? On the applicability of social systems theory to translation studies, Translation Studies, vol. 2, No. 2, 2009, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14781700902937706. Web 13 March 2010

Choices in Address Forms:
A Sociolinguistic Study of Malayalam Pronominal System

Anurakhi K. P.

kp.anurakhi@gmail.com

Every natural language exhibits an inventory of pronouns and address forms with the help of which the speakers of that language are addressed, named and described. Address forms in diverse languages have been studied by many from a variationist point of view; however, most of the scholars have analyzed the variations in the forms of address according to the social attributes (such as class, status, race, region, ethnicity, caste etc.,) of the language users and the relationship between the interlocutors. The most influential framework for the study of pronominal address is Brown and Gilman's (1960) *power and solidarity model* of pronominal usage. This paper investigates the adequacy of this model in terms of explaining Malayalam pronominal system. The paper strives to explain how the choice of address forms varies according to the formality of the context and analyses the relation between the extra linguistic variables such as age, sex, feelings, intimacy, social class etc. and variations in the use of forms of address.

Establishing social relationship between individuals is perhaps the primary objective of every communicative event. The communicative use of language not only indicates the exchange of information between the interlocutors, but also reveals their identities, the specific cultural or social group to which they belong and their desire to come close or distance themselves from others. Al these functions get reflected in the choice of address forms. Terms of address have been defined as "a sociolinguistic subject par excellence" (Philipsen and Huspek 1985:94) as their usage reveals the social and linguistic background of the interlocutors to a greater extent than other aspects of language. Socially accepted norms have a major role in regulating the linguistic behavior in a social context. A sociolinguistic study of terms of address is not really independent of pronoun usage. However, the speaker has more choices in the case of terms of address while the pronominal usage is confined to a very few pronouns.

In every language there is a repertoire of pronouns and address forms with the help of which the speakers/language users are addressed, named and described. The complexity of pronominal usage is not simple because of the intricate and delicate nature of the co-variance between linguistic and social phenomena. Relationship between

individuals in a society is not necessarily static and any change in their relationship gets reflected in the changes in the use of pronouns. Thus pronouns have a great social relevance. The fact that pronouns are linguistic reflections of human relationships emphasizes the need of studying this system from a sociolinguistic point of view. A speaker is not free to choose any of the alternatives available to him in the language. S/he will have to choose the one which is socially desirable. Otherwise there is a chance of the violation of cultural norms which in turn results in misunderstanding or ill feelings between the language users. Thus no wonder pronouns of address have attracted sociolinguists throughout. A sociolinguistic description of pronouns will describe not only the forms that occur but also how their choice gets affected by the contexts in which they occur. The most influential framework for the study of pronominal address is Brown and Gilman's *Power and solidarity model of pronominal usage* (1960). The present paper investigates the adequacy of this model in explaining Malayalam pronominal usage, taking both macro sociological and speech event variables into consideration.

After examining the role of linguistic forms of address in the patterning of social relations in European languages, Brown and Gilman found out a consistent pattern. Brown and Gilman put forward a power and solidarity model for explaining the usage of forms of address by taking into consideration two dimensions of social relations relevant to the use of pronouns of address i.e., 'power' and 'solidarity'. According to them these two semantic dimensions of social meaning are universal to all languages. The first one is power. Power relations will be asymmetrical which gets reflected in the non-reciprocal use of address forms. According to this model the base of power can be physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, state, the army or within the family. In a dyad where power is involved the more powerful one will receive the honorific form of address [89](*V*-pronoun) and the less powerful one will receive the non-honorific form [90](*T*-pronoun). Solidarity is the symmetrical dimension taken into consideration by Brown and Gilman. This symmetrical relation gets reflected in the reciprocal use of form of address. The *T* of solidarity is evolved by frequency of contact as well as by objective similarities. Frequent contact does not necessarily lead to mutual *T* but it depends on whether the contact results in the discovery or creation of the like-mindedness which is the core of the solidarity semantic. Brown and Gilman's study reveals that during middle

---

[89]   *V* Pronouns- Brown and Gilman proposed this symbol as a generic designator for a polite form of address in any language.
[90]   *T* pronoun – This is the second symbol propose by Brown and Gilman as generic designator for familiar form.

ages the pronominal usage in Europe was purely based on power relations i.e., between power equals pronominal usage was always reciprocal. Members of the upper class exchanged mutual *V* pronouns while members of lower class exchanged *T* pronouns. Between classes *V* was used upwards and *T* downwards. Solidarity dimensions entered later and in the beginning it was confined to the conversations between social equals. For several centuries one said *T* to those with whom one is equal and solidary and *V* to those who are equal and not solidary. The universal vertical usage of *V* to superiors and T to inferiors remained the same.

As long as solidarity was a relevant dimension only in horizontal relationships-between social equals-the system was in equilibrium. But the equilibrium of the system was destroyed when the solidarity criterion began to be applied vertically as well as horizontally. In the nineteenth century the status criterion seemed to prevail in such conflicts, with intimates of higher status receiving the *V* pronouns and strangers of lower status receiving *T* pronouns. This situation seems to have slowly reversed itself, with considerations of solidarity gaining the upper hand. Brown noticed a tendency in European languages in recent times to avoid non-reciprocal usage of second person pronouns by using only the solidarity dimension as relevant to the choice of pronoun, resulting in a unidimensional system. They arrived at this conclusion observing the increasing tendency to address all intimates regardless of status, with *T* pronoun and all strangers with the *V* pronoun.

The present study investigates the adequacy of this model in explaining 2nd person pronominal usage in Malayalam. The paper aims at investigating the semantics of social relations underlying the usage of second person pronouns in Malayalam, taking into consideration, both macro sociological and speech event variables. For this purpose a questionnaire-interview method is used. Interviews were conducted to verify the data obtained from the questionnaire. The data for most of the sociolinguistic studies of personal address came from questionnaires administered to native speakers. The main advantage of it is that we can get more data in less time.

The source of data for this study were 80 subjects (44 men and 36 women) of varying age, gender, educational status, occupation, religious affiliation and caste. Out of these informants there were 25 married men and 25 married women. The data were collected from Kannur and Kasargod districts, the northern districts of Kerala. The subjects were of heterogeneous nature. There were Hindus, Muslims and Christians and

among Hindus there were subjects from both upper and lower castes. Profession-wise there were school teachers, lecturers, housewives, engineers, administrators, clerks, farmers, coolies, businessmen and students. The subjects were mostly educated men and women having some knowledge in English. For those who don't know English the questionnaire was explained in Malayalam.

The questionnaire has four parts. The first part elicits information regarding the socio-cultural background of the speakers such as age, sex, caste, educational qualification, occupation and family background. The second part seeks information regarding the pronominal usage in familial dyadic relationships i.e., the pronominal usage with mother, father, siblings, cousins, uncle and aunt. The third part deals with the pronominal usage in ceremonial dyadic relationships (the pronominal usage between subject and husband/wife and in-laws). The last part elicits information regarding the usage of pronouns in social dyadic relationships. The subjects were placed into various hypothetical situations in order to know how far the use of pronouns of address is determined by considerations of age, sex, religion, caste, profession, education, social status, formality of the context and other factors which affects the respective dyads in the Kerala socio-cultural context. To verify the data elicited from the questionnaire, in-depth interviews were conducted.

In Malayalam speakers have to make use of four forms of YOU – n̪i:, n̪iŋŋaḷ, t̪a:n, t̪a:ŋgəḷ. The common form n̪i: is used to address a close friend or who is inferior in social status. n̪iŋŋaḷ, the plural form of n̪i: is the common form of polite address. t̪a:n is used for addressing friends of long standing, more or less equal in age. Its use is more dominant in south Kerala than in north. It can be used to imply contempt when applied to persons who would normally refer to as n̪iŋŋaḷ. Its use implies some amount of respect familiarity and friendliness when used to a person who would normally be referred to as n̪i:. The plural form of t̪an is t̪a:ŋgəḷ but this form is never used in plural sense to refer to more than one person. It is used as an extra honorific plural to address a famous personality in a formal context. When used in normal conversation it has the ring of a stage-language so the form n̪iŋŋaḷ is preferred.

.   In-depth interviews conducted with Malayalam speakers of varying age, gender educational status occupation and religious affiliation shows that the choice of pronouns of address is determined by the relationship between the interlocutors, age relative status, sex, generation and the formality of the speech context. The use of non- honorific

pronoun is inversely proportional to the formality of the context. i.e., when the formality of the context increases, the use of familiar pronouns of address decreases. In informal situations age and the intimacy of the interlocutors is more significant than sex and social class. Forms of address used by friends and family members may vary according to the formality of the social context. Couples may use intimate forms of address for each other in private while they may shift to polite forms in a formal context.

One basic assumption underlying Brown and Gilman's theory is that pronoun choice primarily reflects macro sociological relationships. But the actual usage cannot be explained by macro sociological variables alone. The choice of pronoun forms are not only sensitive to macro sociological variables such as age, generation, sex, kinship status, relative status etc. but also to speech event variables such as formality of the context and the intension of the speaker, his desire to come close or distance himself from the other, his emotional fluctuations and the affective relation between the interlocutors. As Montgomery (1993:101) suggests, any given instance of language is inextricably bound up with its context. Context of language use is very important, for linguistic and social behavior not only has to be appropriate to the individual and his socio economic background, but it also needs to be suitable for particular occasions and situations. In other words language varies not only according to the social characteristics of the speaker but also according to the social context in which s/he is located

Brown and Gilman's concept of asymmetrical address arising from power differentials subordinates age to status. i.e., if the person in authority is younger than the subordinate, the former will address the latter using his/her first name while the latter uses the title of respect or surname. As for the culture in concern here, though there is power difference there will be a reciprocal use of honorific pronouns. The concept of power or status derives its meaning from particular cultural settings. Brown and Gilman's model is based on Western culture while the present data reflect Malayalee culture.

ṇiŋŋaḷ- indicates power of the addressee , his/her high social/ professional status. It indicates the formal relationship between the interlocutors.

ṇi:- is frequently used among members of younger generation and most often speakers hesitate to use it to address members of older generation.

Use of pronouns of address reflects difference or dominance, intimacy or distance, equality or the differential status of the interlocutors and the formality or the informality of the speech situation.

In the familial dyad the use of pronouns of address is more or less static, with parents receiving the honorific pronoun and children receiving the non-honorific one. Aunts, uncles and grandparents also use non honorific one to address their younger ones and receive honorific pronoun in return. Mutual reciprocal use of non-honorific pronoun (n̪i: - n̪i:) exists among blood relatives of the same generation if there isn't significant age gap between them.

Relatives through marriage are addressed by n̪iŋŋaḷ more often than blood relatives. Between husband and wife n̪iŋŋaḷ- n̪i: relationship is dominant which indicates the authoritative power of the male in our society. Even today when women also have high educational qualification and professional competence the higher authority enjoyed by male remains less affected. We can see a change among younger generation using mutual reciprocal n̪i: while addressing their husband/ wife. n̪iŋŋaḷ is used to address elder in laws and receives n̪iŋŋaḷ in return. A reciprocal use of n̪i: happens when they feel well acquainted with each other some prefer kinship terms and completely drop pronouns to address their elder in-laws.

With classmates regardless of sex a mutual reciprocal n̪i: is the rule. With seniors or friends who are much older n̪iŋŋaḷ is preferred. And if the relationship between them is so intimate mutual reciprocal n̪i: happens. Strangers will either invariably exchange n̪iŋŋaḷ or pronouns are dropped.

In professional dyads n̪iŋŋaḷ- n̪iŋŋaḷ is found to be dominant. If there is a considerable age gap, n̪iŋŋaḷ - n̪i: is preferred and reciprocal n̪i: is found among youngsters. Between teachers and students non reciprocal n̪iŋŋaḷ- n̪i: is found, with the teacher getting the honorific pronoun and giving the intimate form to address his/her students. Education is found out to be one factor that determines power.

Thus the socio-semantic determinants of Malayalam pronominal usage are the context of the speech situation-its formality or informality, social status, generation, age, sex and the relationship between the interlocutors. A study of the use of pronouns of address without taking into consideration the context of the speech situation is meaningless. As Duncun

says (1968:271) "no one is always superior, equal or inferior. Fixed positions of superiority, inferiority and equality are impossible". A person's social status is important in determining the pronoun choice. Social status means the social position or rank in relation to others. Education and caste are variables that show higher status. Generation is another factor. Siblings exchange mutual reciprocal ɲiŋŋaḷ while with members of older generation the usage is nonreciprocal ɲiŋŋaḷ - ɲi:. Older generation people stick to traditions and customs than people of younger generation. Age is a major factor that affects the pronoun choice in Malayalam. A person lower in status for example a subordinate officer or a servant or a beggar is addressed with the honorific pronoun if the latter is much older than the former. Here age prevails over status. The discourse between members of same sex is found more informal than that of opposite sex. Relationship between the interlocutors also affects the pronoun choice. Intimacy is directly proportional to the use of pronoun ɲi:.

Caste had a major role in Kerala culture. It divides the whole community into hierarchically superposed classes and determines from birth a persons occupation, education, social status and even little details of his daily life, including modes of address. The use of *acharabhasha* was dominant in Kerala i.e., upper caste people had special kind of vocabulary and terms of address quite different from that of lower caste people. But now-a-days caste has lost its role in determining the status of a person. This might be because of the spread of education or by the communist movement in Kerala which played a major role in uplifting depressed classes.

Brown and Gilman's theory fails to explain the occurrence of either pronouns in exactly the same line and same context. According to them the use of pronouns reflects the superior or inferior relations or the degree of intimacy between the interlocutors. But there are cases in which speakers shift from ɲi: to ɲiŋŋaḷ or ɲiŋŋaḷ to ṭa:n. This momentary shift is due to an expressive or emotional use of pronominal system. The speaker's emotional fluctuations get reflected in the switch from one pronoun to another. Power and solidarity model cannot cope with these expressive shifts in pronoun use within the same discourse and between the same interlocutors ɲi:, ɲiŋŋaḷ, ṭa:n and ṭa:ŋgəḷ can be used to accomplish any special effect such as love, hatred, sarcasm etc.

According to Brown and Gilman (1960: 160) power semantics has disappeared leaving merely the solidarity semantics due to the influence of less static and more mobile social systems. Brown and Gilman conclude, "However all our evidence

consistently indicates that in the past century the solidarity semantics has gained supremacy." An examination of the present data revealed that our society has not yet reached the unidimensional solidarity semantics towards which the present European pronominal usage seems to be moving.

The present study comes to a conclusion that, no single model or theory can completely account for the Malayalam pronominal usage, as there is a vast network of forces at play. The power and solidarity model is inadequate in their representation of both the complexity and distinctiveness of social meanings of Malayalam pronouns. According to Mehrotra (1985:78), "an attempt to cover all the ramifications and manifestations of address forms in Hindi is like tracing a map of the Gulf Stream which comprises a number of cross currents and even counter-currents flowing in arbitrary directions besides the main". This statement is applicable in the case of Malayalam also.

REFERENCES:

Brown, Roger and Albert Gilman. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.) *Style in Language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT, pp. 253-76.

Duncan H, Dalziel. 1968. *Communication and social order*. London: OUP.

Mehrotra.R.R. 1981. Non-kin forms of address in Hindi. *International journal of the sociology of language.* 32, pp-121-37.

Mulhausler,P. and R.Harre.1990. *Pronouns and People : The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity*. Oxford : Basil Blackwell.

Philipson, Gerry and Huspek Michael.1985. A bibliography of sociolinguistic studies of personal address. *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.27, pp.94-101. January 2011: http://www.jstor.org/stable/30027934

CHAPTER 30

Essential Readings in Linguistics

The following section embodies a carefully chosen inventory of essential books on General Linguistics and its various sub-disciplines. Most of these books have become synonymous with the discipline they represent and are freely available on sources. For deliberate reasons the standard reference/ citation schemes have been avoided. As it happens in general conversation and appears on a book's cover page, we have enlisted the books in the following order: title first, followed by the authors' names, publishers' name and the year of publication respectively. Also, the books listed here, appear in accordance with their relevance to the area and utility to the readers. The list is intended to benefit all students of linguistics, however, the following set will benefit more than others:

Beginners in Linguistics (BA, IMA & MA Students).
Interested students from adjacent and cooperating disciplines.
Research students who wish to take up teaching linguistics as profession.
Research students of linguistics who wish to rebuild their foundation in the subject.

General Linguistics

The Study of Language. George Yule. Cambridge University Press. (2008)
An Introduction to Language. Victoria Fromkin, Robert Rodman, and Nina Hyams. Thomson Heinle. (2003)
Teach Yourself Linguistics. Jean Aitchson Hodder & Stoughon. (1992)
Linguistics. David Crystal. Penguin. (1985)
Introducing Linguistics. R. L. Trask & Bill Mayblin. Icon Books. (2005)
Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication. Adrian Akmajian et al. MIT Press. (2001)
Language: The Basics. R. L. Trask. Routledge. (1995)
How to Study Linguistics. Geoffrey Finch. Palgrave Macmillan. (1998)
An Introduction to Linguistics. Loreto Todd. Longman. (1987)
Investigating Language. Ronald Wardhaugh. Blackwell. (1993)
The Language Instinct. Steven Pinker. Penguin. (1995)
Language and Linguistics: An Introduction. John Lyons. Cambridge. (2008)
The Handbook of Linguistics. Mark Aronoff & Janie Rees-Miller (eds.). Blackwell Publishing. (2002)
Linguistics: an Introduction to Linguistic Theory. Victoria.A.Fromkin. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. (2000)
An introduction to Linguistics: Language, Grammar and Semantics. Pushpinder Syal & D.V.Jindal. Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited. (2007)

Phonetics

A Course in Phonetics. Peter Ladefoged. Heinie & Heinie. (2001)

Speech Sounds. Patricia Ashby. Routledge. (2005)

A Practical Introduction to Phonetics. Catford J. Oxford University Press. (2002)

Phonetics. Peter Roach. Oxford University Press. (2001a)

Introduction to Phonetics. L. F. Brosnahan and Bertil Malmberg. Cambridge University Press. (1975)

Phonology

Understanding Phonology. Carlos Gussenhoven & Haike Jacobs. Edward Arnold Pub. Ltd. (2001)

An Introduction to Phonology. Francis Katamba. Longman. (1996)

Introducing Phonology. David Odden. Cambridge University Press. (2005)

Phonology. Philip Carr. Macmillan Press. (1993)

The Handbook of Phonological Theories. John Goldsmith. Blackwell Publishing. (1995)

The Cambridge Handbook of Phonology. Paul de. Lacy. Cambridge University Press. (2007)

The Handbook of Speech Perception. David B. Pisoni & Robert E. Remez. Blackwell Publishing. (2006)

Morphology

What is Morphology. Mark Aronoff & Fudmon. Blackwell Publishing. (2008)

Introducing Linguistic Morphology. Laurie Bauer. Edinburgh University Press. (2003)

Understanding Morphology. M. Haspelmath. Oxford University Press. (2002)

Morphology. P. Matthews. Cambridge University Press. (1991)

Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Words. Eugene A. Nida. University of Michigan Press. (1947)

The Handbook of Morphology. Andrew Spencer & A. Zwicky. Blackwell. (2001)

Syntax

Syntax. A Generative Introduction. Andrew Carnie. Blackwell Publishing. (2003)

Simpler Syntax. Peter Culicover & Ray Jakendoff. Oxford Linguistics. (2005)

Introduction to Government and Binding Theory. Liliane Haegeman. Blackwell. (1994)

Elements of Grammar. Liliane Haegeman. Kluwer. (1997)

Syntax. Andrew Radford. John Wiley & Sons Ltd. (2010)

Syntactic Structures. Noam Chomsky. Mouton (1957)

Semantics

Semantics. John I. Saeed. Wiley Blackwell. (2009)

Semantics: A Course Book. James R. Hurford et al. Cambridge. (2009)

Semantics. John Lyons. Cambridge University Press. (1996)

Meaning in Language. An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics. Alan Cruse. Oxford University Press. (2011)

Meaning and Grammar: An Introduction to Semantics. Gennaro Chierchia & Sally McConnell-Ginet. MIT. (1990)

Pragmatics

Pragmatics. George Yule. Oxford University Press. (1996)

Pragmatics and Discourse. Joan Cutting. Routledge. (2002)

Pragmatics. Levinson. Cambridge. (2003)

Handbook of Pragmatics. L. Horn & G. Ward. Blackwell. (2004)

Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics. Jenny Thomas. Longman. (2008)

Discourse

Discourse Analysis. Gillian Brown and George Yule. Cambridge University Press. (1988)

Discourse Analysis. Barbara Johnstone. Blackwell Publishing. (2005)

An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method. James Paul Gee. Routledge. (2001)

Introduction to Discourse Studies. J. Renkema. John Benjamins. (2004)

Field Linguistics

Linguistic Fieldwork. Paul Newman & Martha Ratliff (eds.). Cambridge University Press. (2001)

Field Linguistics: A Beginner's Guide. Terry Crowley. Oxford University Press. (2007)

Handbook of Descriptive Linguistic Fieldwork. Shobhana L. Chelliah & Willem J. De Reuse. Springer. (2011)

Typology

Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Bernard Comrie. Blackwell. (1989)

Typology and Universals. W. Croft. Cambridge. (2002)

Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology. J. J. Song. Oxford University Press. (2011)

Linguistic Survey of India. George. A. Grierson. D. K. Publishers Distributors (P) Ltd. (2005) [Linguistics Survey of India has also been published by Motilal Banarsri Das (1968) as well Low Price Publications (2009)].

The Indo-Aryan Languages. Colin P. Masica. Cambridge University Press. (1993)

South Asian Languages: A Syntactic Typology. K. V. Subbarao. Cambridge. 2012

Dravidian Linguistics. Bhadriraju Krishnamurti. Cambridge University Press. (2003)

The Atlas of World Languages. Bernard Comrie et al. Bloomsbury. (1997)

Historical Linguistics
Historical Linguistics. Winfred P. Lehmann. Routledge. *(2005)*
Historical and Comparative Linguistics. R. Anttila. John Benjamins. (1989)
Language Change: Progress or Decay. Jean Aitchison. Cambridge University Press. (2001)
Genetic Linguistics. Joseph H. Greenberg. Oxford University Press. (2005)
Handbook of Historical Linguistics. Brian D. Joseph & Richard D. Janda. Blackwell Publishing. (2003)

Sociolinguistics
An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Wardhaugh Ronald. Blackwell Publishing. (2006)
Sociolinguistics: A Resource Book for Students. Peter Stockwell. Routledge. (2007)
Introducing Sociolinguistics. Rajend Mesthrie et al. Edinburgh University Press. (2009)
The Handbook of Sociolinguistics. Florian Coulmas. Blackwell
Sociolinguistics. Richard A. Hudson. Cambridge. (2001)
Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society. Peter Trudgill. Penguin Books. (2000)
Dialectology. J. K. Chambers & Peter Trudgill. Cambridge University Press. (2004)

Psycholinguistics
Psycholinguistics. Michael Garman. Cambridge University Press. (2000)
Psycholinguistics. J. Berko Gleason & Nan B. Ratner. (1998)
Psycholinguistics: A Resource Book for Students. John Fiend. Routledge. (2006)
Fundamentals of Psycholinguistics. Eva M. Fernandez & Helen S. Cairns. Wiley-Blackwell. (2011)
Developmental Psycholinguistics. Irina Sekerina et al. John Benjamins Publishing Company. (2008)
The Articulate Mammals. Jean Aitchison. London: Routledge. (2008)
The Psychology of Language from Data to Theory. Trevor A. Herley. Psychology Press. (2005)
Psycholinguistics. Dan Issac Slobin. Foresman. (1979)
Psychology of Reading. Keith Rayner & Alexander Pollatsek. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc. (1989)

Neuro-linguistics
Neurolinguistics and Linguistic Aphasiology. David Caplan. Cambridge University Press. (1987)
Language: Structure, Processing and Disorders. David Caplan. MIT Press. (1996)
Linguistic Encounters with Language Handicap. David Crystal. Basil Balckwell. (1987)
Handbook of Neurolinguistics. Brigitte Stemmer & Harry A. Whitaker. Academic Press.

(1998)

Language Teaching & Language Testing
Second Language Acquisition. S. Gass & L. Selinker. Lawrence Erlbaum. (2001)
Language Teaching Methodology. D. Numan. Prentice-Hall. (1991)
Applied Linguistics and Language Teacher Education. Nat Bartels. Springer. (2005)
The Handbook of Applied Linguistics. Alan Davies & Catherine Elder. Blackwell Publishing. (2004)
Introducing Applied Linguistics. Pete Corder. Penguin. (1973)
Testing for Language Teachers. Arthur Hughes. Cambridge University Press. (1997)
The Handbook of Educational Linguistics. Bernard Spolsky & Francis M. Hult. Blackwell Publishing. (2008).

Computational Linguistics & Natural Language Processing
Computational Linguistics: An Introduction. Ralph Grishman. Cambridge University Press. (1994)
Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction. Tony McEnery & Andrew Wilson. Edinburgh University Press. (2001)
The Oxford Handbook of Computational Linguistics. Ruslan Mitkov (ed.). Oxford University Press. (2005)

Writing Systems
Handbook of Scripts and Alphabets. George Campbell. Routledge. (1997)
Writing Systems: An Introduction to Their Linguistic Analysis. Florian Coulmas. Cambridge University Press. (2003)
Writing Systems: A Linguistic Approach. Henry Rogers. Blackwell Publishing. (2005)
History of Writing. Steven Roger Fischer. Reaktion Books Ltd. (2001)
Analyses of Script. Reinhard Kohler et al. Mouton de Gruyter. (2008)
Indian Epigraphy. Richard Salommon. Oxford University Press. (1998)

Signed Language
Sign Language: The Study of Deaf People and Their Language. J. G. Kyle. & B. Woll. Cambridge University Press. (1985)
Sign Language. Lou Fant. Joyce Media. (1977)
Gesture. A. Kendon. Cambridge University Press. (2004)
Signing: How to Speak with Your Hands. E. Costello. Bantam Books. (1995)
The Deaf Experience. T. W. Batson & E. Bergman. Merriam Eddy. (1976)
Teaching Sign Language to Chimpanzees. R. Gardner et al. (eds.). State University of New York Press. (1989)

Semiotics
Semiotics for Beginners. Daniel Chandler. Routledge. (2005)

Reading Between the Signs. Anna Mindess. Intercultural Press Inc. (1999)
Sign in Use. Jorgen Dines Johansen & Svend Erik Larsen. Routledge. (2005)

Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive Linguistics. William Croft & Alan Cruse. Cambridge University Press. (2004)

Cognitive Linguistics An Introduction. Vyvyan Evans & Melanie Green. Edinburgh University Press. (2006)

Cognitive Linguistics: Current Applications and Future Perspectives. Gitte Kristiansen et al. (eds.). Walter de Gruyter. (2006)

Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition. Peter Robinson & Nick C. Ellis (eds.). Routledge. (2008)

Methods in Cognitive Linguistics. Monica Gonzalez-Marquez et al. (eds.). John Benjamins Publishing Company. (2007)

Women Fire and Dangerous Things. George Lakoff. University of Chicago Press. (1990)

Translation Studies

Translation Studies Reader. Lawrence Venuti. Routledge. (2006)

Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Application. Jeremy Munday. Routledge. (2008)

Translation Studies. Susan Bassnett. Routledge. (2002)

The Theory and Practice of Translation. Jin Di & Eugene A. Nida. City University of Hong Kong Press. (2006)

The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting viewpoints? Mary Snell-Hornby. John Benjamins Publishing Company. (2006)

Approaches to Translation. Peter Newmark. Pergamon.(1981)

Toward a Science of Translating. Susan Bassnett & Andre Lefevere. Pinter. (1990)

Constructing Cultures: Essays on Translation Studies. Susan Bassnett & Andre Lefevere Multilingual Matters. (1998)

Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice. Susan Bassnett & Harish Trivedi. Routledge. (1999)

Bible Translating. Eugine A Nida. Brill. (1964)

Gender and Translation: Culture and Identity and the Politics of Transmission. Sherry Simon. Routledge. (1996)

Rethinking Translation. Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology. Lawrence Venuti. Routledge. (1992)

Mapping Literature: The Art and Politics of Translation. David Homel and Sherry Simon. Vehicule Press. (1998)

Dictionaries

Students' Dictionary of Language and Linguistics. R. L. Trask. Hodder Education Publishers. (1997)

Key Concepts in Language and Linguistics. R. L. Trask. Routledge (2005)

A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. David Crystal. Blackwell. (2003a)

Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics. Hadumodd Bussmann. Routledge. (1998)

English Pronouncing Dictionary. Daniel Jones. Cambridge. (2006)

Encyclopedias

Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. Keith Brown. Elsevier Publication. (2005)

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language. David Crystal. Cambridge University Press. (1997)

Encyclopedia of Linguistics. Philipp Stranzy. Fitzroy Dearborn. (2005)

An Encyclopedia of Language. N. E. Collinge. Routledge. (2005)

The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. R. E. Asher & J. M. Y. Simpson. Pergamon Press. (1994)

The Linguistics Encyclopedia. Kirsten Malmkajaer. Routledge. (2009)

Other Books

The Bilingualism Reader. Li Wei. Routledge. (2007)

Language Policy. Bernard Spolsky. Cambridge. (2004)

Language Death. David Crystal. Camridge University Press. (2007)

English Verb Classes & Alternations. Beth Levin. University of Chicago Press. (1993)

Linguistic Landscape. Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter (eds.). Routledge. (2009)

Language and Mind. Noam Chomsky. Harcourt. (1972)

New Horizons in the Study of Language and Mind. Noam Chomsky. Cambridge University Press. (2000)

Politeness. R. Watt. Cambridge University Press. (2003)

Research in Language and Linguistics

Handbook of International Phonetic Association. International Phonetic Association. Cambridge University Press. (1999)

The Linguistics Student's Handbook. Laurie Bauer. Edinburgh University Press. (2007)

Authors' Info.

Sr.	Name	Affiliation	E-Mail Id
1	Abhijit Debnath	University of Hyderabad	discoveryabhijit@gmail.com
2	Amalesh Gope	IIT Guwahati	amaleshgope5sept@gmail.com
3	Anurakhi K. P.	University of Hyderabad	kp.anurakhi@gmail.com
4	Arnab Dutta	Jadavpur University	bonjourarnab@gmail.com
5	Bidisha Bhattacharya	Delhi University	dibyasha@gmail.com
6	Bindu Madhavi	University of Hyderabad	madhavihcu@gmail.com
7	Bornini Lahiri	Jawaharlal Nehru University	lahiri.bornini@gmail.com
8	Devaki Reddy	IIT Madras	dre@iitm.ac.in
9	K. A, Jayaseelan	EFLU, Hyderabad	kajayaseelan11@gmail.com
10	K. V. Subbarao	University of Hyderabad	kvs2811@gmail.com
11	Krishna Kumar	University of Hyderabad	krishnasoni.bhu@gmail.com
12	Kumari Neelu	Jawaharlal Nehru University	neelutiwary@gmail.com
13	Maansi Sharma	Jawaharlal Nehru University	maansi16@gmail.com
14	Manmee Bhattacharya	EFLU, Hyderabad	manmeebc@gmail.com
15	Mrinmoy Pramanik	University of Hyderabad	pathchala@gmail.com
16	Neelu Singh	Jawaharlal Nehru University	2225neel@gmail.com
17	Nilu	IIT- Patna	nilu.linguistics@gmail.com
18	Nimmi Nalika	Jawaharlal Nehru University	
19	Nisha Irene	EFLU, Hyderabad	nishairene@gmail.com
20	Nivedita Kumari	IIT- Madras	rosynivi4@gmail.com
21	Peter Bozovic	University of Montenegro	petros@t-com.me
22	Samik Malla	University of Hyderabad	samikmalla@gmail.com
23	Sanjay Kaushal	Jawaharlal Nehru University	snjy9522@gmail.com
24	Shailendra	Banaras Hindu University	shail.linguistics@gmail.com
25	Sheerin Hena	University of Hyderabad	sheerinfalak@gmail.com
26	Suman Meena	Jawahralal Nehru University	mastimantra.suman@gmail.com
27	Surjit Singh	Delhi University	lsurjit24@yahoo.com
28	Swathi P. G.	University of Hyderabad	swathipg@gmail.com
29	Tariq Khan	University of Hyderabad	safertariq@gmail.com
30	Uttam Chakravarti	Tripura University	dhanitattauc@rediffmail.com

Subject Index

Quotes that matter

"The limits of my language mean the limits of my world." (Ludwig Wittgenstein)

"One reason for studying language – and for me personally the most compelling reason – is that it is tempting to regard language, in the traditional phrase as "a mirror of mind." (Chomsky)

"Every human thought and action is built by grammar like rules. It may seem odd or bold to assert that grammar is a model for how everything in the mind works". (Samuel Jay Keyser)

"There have been many interesting developments in the study of language but it is still a fact that any individual speaker of a language has more comprehensive unconscious knowledge of how language works than any linguist has yet been able to describe". (George Yule)

"Before plunging into the mysteries of phonology or syntax it's a good idea to reflect on what you use language for and how much you know about the processes involved." (Geoffrey Finch)

"You can't translate without cultural context." (Eugene A. Nida)

"All our work, our whole life is a matter of semantics, because words are the tools with which we work, the material out of which laws are made, out of which the Constitution was written. Everything depends on our understanding of them." (Felix Frankfurter)