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Retro Walk to the Eternal Abode of Ancestors in *The Tree Bride* of Bharati Mukherjee

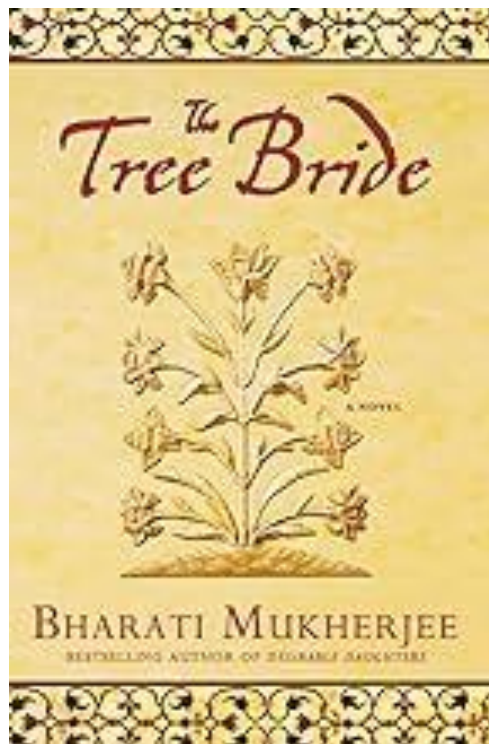
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Courtesy: www.amazon.in

Abstract

Bharati Mukherjee is a popular India born American writer. Her major works are brilliantly based on the diaspora theme and filled with the feeling of alienation, isolation, and duality. The protagonists are from South Asian background especially from India and struggling hard to incorporate into American society unlike Mukherjee herself. *The Tree Bride* is such a prolific

work of the writer in which the protagonist Tara Chatterjee has fixed her feet in American soil but crazy after a mysterious expedition to unearth her ancestor's death mystery. A nostalgic craving for her traditional home in East Bengal of India and her anxiety about a fairytale ancestor aunt who married a tree; brings her back to India. The theme of soul and death ritual add mysticism and spirituality to the story. As Tara is mad about the death mystery of Tara Lata, the great grand aunt or namesake Tree Bride also restless for her soul's release from the bondage of mundane world and return to the home of Super soul. Besides, the freedom struggle of British India adds the historical authenticity of the novel and a philosophical prospective, that nothing in the world is lost and everything in the world is somehow connected with each other is highlighted.

Keywords: Bharati Mukherjee, *The Tree Bride*, Soul, Struggle, Freedom, Marriage, Woman, Ancestors.

Being churned with diasporic dilemma of longing and belonging and immigrant's alienation's sickness, Bharati Mukherjee efficiently incorporated the same temperament in many of her protagonists. In *The Tree Bride* (2004), she has fused history with mysticism in an astonishing manner, besides her immigrant mind has suggested a spiritual inhalation for dead and living people. The novel gives the story of a young woman trying to fit her place in the universe. Simultaneously, there is focus on the role and ultimate downfall of colonial rule in India. By a single person narrative style Mukherjee gives us a broad picture of British people who came India to rule as the representative of their government.

The Tree Bride is one part of Bharati Mukherjee's trilogy, in which *Desirable Daughters* is the first part. The ground for *Tree Bride* is created in the preceding *Desirable Daughters* as it ends with the terrorist bomb attack on Tara's house and from this *The Tree Bride* starts. Tara Chatterjee, a thirty-year-old Bengali woman living in a rental on Haight Street in San Francisco with her ex-husband Bishwapriya Ali's Bish. As a Silicon Valley guru, Bish is rich by an integrated communication system called CHATTY. In the beginning of the book the bomb attack crippled him, and he becomes wheelchaired and starts working on a book titled, "The natural history of coincidence". Tara says, she is enough of a mystic to believe that there are coincidences, only convergence; nothing in the world is lost, but everything in the world is some have connected. So,

she attempts to reconcile the present as an assimilated American woman with her past Indian heritage. The novel swings between centuries, continents, and cultures of past and present. In press materials for the book, the author admits that she is consciously playing with the American literary tradition of root-retrieval, mixing memory with imagination.

Tara Chatterjee is a cosmopolitan world traveller who is very much satisfied with her Silicon Valley magnet life. Like many other Bengali women of her time, she has crossed the Blackwater, she had taken red and white meat even tested wine. She had crossed the threshold of all taboos to be recognised as a casteless and religion less world individual. She is divorced from husband and living a single mother of her son Rabi and having affairs with other men. When her house is bombed, she starts realising the value of her home, ancestry, tradition and cultural roots in India. Her yearning - led her to India. This strong call of ancestry and their family position in pre-independent India, makes Tara a retro walker in the pages of history. "When we dream or perhaps I should limit such a broad declaration only to myself, I dream of the past" (252). Her encounter with her Victorian ancestor namesake *The Tree Bride*; Tara Lata, who was a victim of social superstition like the archaic custom of child marriage by her father, a university graduate and a lawyer.

The history of *Tree Bride* is intricately woven with the history of India's freedom struggle, social blind beliefs like child marriage, widow condemnation, communal understandings, and racial discrimination. At the beginning, Tara is pregnant, while doing research on a novel, she is in search of a gynecologist. Her search for an Indian doctor leads her to Victoria Khanna, who is married to an Indian professor at Stanford who once taught her husband. Tara's encounter with Victoria opens many rays of hope for her ancestral exploration about a great-great grand aunt. Tara Lata Ganguly or namesake Tree Bride. Tara has her nostalgic reminiscences about her childhood and her grandparents and the story about *The Tree Bride* in Kolkata. The character of *The Tree Bride* remained in her mind as a mystic but enchanting figure from childhood: "when Victorians dream, they dreamed of the future. I dreamed of the past (51). Although Tara is a successful woman in a foreign land, acquires sufficient knowledge in her wide exposure to modern world, still the

story of three bride from her childhood days remains point of light from the remotest, darkest galaxy of her life.

Dr Victoria Khanna has a very sensitive link with Tara as exposed when both are united. Doctor Victoria Treadwell as she was before her marriage is a descendant of Vertie Treadwell, the ICS British officer who had disgusting feelings for pre-independent Indians and also signed the official report of *The Tree Bride* in the jail. Tara now gets a key to open her past. She collected all the documents from Victoria, mouldering papers in a duffel bag which say the history of Treadwell family in India and the story of Tara Lata Ganguly, *The Tree Bride*. The documents are the autobiography of Vertie Treadwell as he told to Winston Churchill that he knew, ... a woman married to a tree. As he admitted, he had never seen an Indian woman more obdurate than that lady. This information signals the authenticity of tree bride. She recollects her three trips to India:

"The first time I went back to India on my own, it wasn't just see relatives. I took Rabi with me on my own American-style root search, into the East Bengal Bangladesh of my grandparents and a hundred generations of Gangulys and Bhattacharjee" (20).

During these trips Tara learns about Mishtinguj about which she had heard a lot from her family members, but never visited for sixty years. She memorises her childhood in that town street, her house, school, friends, especially her fairytale character tree bride. Her ancestral family was, "... a hybrid family of orthodox Hindu, Bengali-speaking, cricket-loving, Shakespeare-acting, Gilbert and Sullivan- singing, adaptable-anywhere Brahmins" (45). Overall, Tara's family was a well-balanced family between two cultures: an orthodox Bengali Brahmin culture and Christian convent cultures. Her father, who "...drank scotch and read English mysteries and positively idolised Doris Day" (48). The more the family advanced in thoughts and habits, the more they were concerned in conserving the traditional archaic customs like child marriage. The story of tree bride starts from this child marriage tradition. On Tara's visit to Mishtingunj she comes to know that her great grand aunt Tara Lata, "has been dead for fifty-five years" (59) and she left no written record of her life except a few pamphlets with parables and moral stories.

It was in 1879, Tara Lata's wedding day when she was at the tender age of five, who knew nothing about what marriage means, misfortune endowed upon her fate. Her marriage had been fixed in a nearby village to a small boy. The marriage procession reached the door of her adolescent bridegroom; people started scolding and cursing the little bride instead of welcoming them. It was because the boy to marry had been bitten by snake and died consequently. Widowhood at that society was the synonym of curse, death was better than the condemned life of a widow. No body asks when a male becomes widower rather, he marries many women one after another unlike Lata's father Jay Krishna Ganguly, who had married at least ten times until he got the only son. But he decided to marry the little girl with a tree to save her from the ashamed life and the whole family from social humiliation, and so, rather than die as a spinster-second only to widowhood as a personal tragedy. On a cold, foggy December night in 1879, deep in the forest, she had been married to a poxy husband, a straight, tall, Sundari tree. Other girls facing similar fates were married to rocks or crocodiles.

Mukherjee has planned the background for *The Tree Bride* in her preceding work ***Desirable Daughters***. The novel ***Desirable Daughters*** opens with detailed description of proposed marriage, widowhood and the marriage of Tara with a tree. This description of the story of Tara in ***Desirable Daughters*** connects both these novels as portion of the sequel.

However, after marriage, Tara Lata became the legendary tree bride. Marriage with a tree was widespread in India in the remote past, because there were beliefs that trees contain hidden or sacred powers to cure or enhance fertility. Besides, trees contain the souls of ancestors or of the unborn. As per custom, the people who have Manglik problems which affect the longevity of their spouse face problems at the time of marriage. So, to neutralize the negative force in the stars the bride has to marry a non-human like trees. But the pathetic point to note is that the star fault or star problem is always judged with the girl, and she has to become a tree bride like Tara Lata never with any boy. The sole motive of the marriage of Tara is to redeem her from the condemned life of a widow and lead a normal life like a normal woman.

With marriage Tara became a namesake tree bride and acquired the nomenclature as *The Tree Bride* and developed the characteristics of the tree. As a loyal bride she stays rooted in her father's house for her entire life and distributed her shadow and oxygen to society without any expectation. She remained silent throughout her life like a tree. She devoted her entire life to serve the poor and needy People and distributes her dowry property to them and actively participates in the freedom struggle of India. Her house remained open to all. She educated people to bring literacy to common people and became a source of wisdom for women and men in Mishtigunj. As an active and devoted nationalist, she dedicated her life to the freedom fight. Tara became a spirited activist and fought wholeheartedly till her last breath. She lived in Mist Mahal with her father along with a Muslim family that served them. She used all her dowry and parental property to finance the forces fighting for independence. Of course, Tara Lata had recorded very little information about herself, but she wrote e about the day when she became a widow and her marriage with a tree at the early age of five in Mishtigunj. She had written at the age of six, the British troops and their Indian conscripts arrested the chowkidar and broke through the gate of her house. There was a feast arranged to honour Rafeek Hai and his family attended by John Mist and Lata's father Jaya Krishna Ganguly. It was in 1880 Ramzan day the Brahmins, although orthodox, still participated in the festival. There the troops arrested Mist and Rafeek Hai and later both were hanged in the "Town Square". The little girl Tara witnessed the tragic and terrifying incident sitting on her father's shoulders. That incident enlightened her fighting spirit for which she became a nationalist in her later life. Tara also records her childhood friend Sameena who had inherited the Mist Mahal after her death.

Tara Lata is so deeply rooted in her father's house that only on three occasions she has left the house. The first time at the age of five when she has to go to the Mishtigunj forest on a chilly winter night to marry a Sundari tree in 1879. In second time, when she has gone to witness the hanging of Jon Mist and Rafeek Hai in the next year. In 1943 the third time she left her house when the British army hold her with rifles. This is the last time because it is reported that she died of heart attack in the jail but mysteriously her body is never found nor properly cremated with custom. The whole second part of the novel discusses the genealogy from 1820 to 1874 that gives the foundation for the birth of *The Tree Bride*.

The Tree Bride dies a dubious death. Her life is as fascinating as mysterious her death is. In her initial phase of rebellion life, she supported and financed Gandhi, but later supported the radical leader Subhash Chandra Bose. She seems to have abandoned the path of peace and nonviolence and starts following radical paths. Her house, Mist Mahal, becomes the centre of movement with a veritable printing press and munitions factory for sedition elements. She is a gracious lady with bob cut hairstyle and quite masculinity in her attitude as the Moulding paper says. Her character is a brilliant balance between rebellious nature and reforming attitude. Her heart is shocked by noticing the torture of woman in that society because it seems to be a curse to be a woman. In that time and the social rules, regulations and restrictions were against the interest of womenkind. The conservative norms and taboo confined women in four walls of home and adding fuel to fire the freedom movement had triggered the sufferings of women. The activist remains absconded from home in fear of arrest by British police but at home the women and children were left behind to be tortured by brutal British police. Tara's documents revealed how a nineteen-year-old housewife named Habeeba Shah and her three little daughters had been scored alive in her hut because her husband had joined in Indian National Army and was fighting for independence. Likewise, another heart rendering story of Kanaka Bala Devi who had been raped and tortured in front of her parents because her brother had bombed a police station. These incidents highlight the emotional aspects of her character. So she fights and calls for justice and equality in society.

Apart from being an active Independence warrior Tara Lata was a progressive lady perhaps relatively smarter and more advanced than Tara Chatterjee, who lived in an advanced age of 21st century. In 1931 when many educated men had not read George Orwell at that time Tara Lata had read many of the author's books. She was reading a piece of literature- a magazine called "A hanging" and a novel called "Burmese Days" when the warrant against her was issued. She had link with high officials in British bureaucratic level than Trade well. People used to respect her as incarnation of God and called her in affection, "Tara -Ma". To spread the light of education she trained her servants to read and write and then sent them to nearby villages teach five other people. She understood that literacy is the only way to bring change in Indian society and bring freedom

to the country. As Treadwell told Churchill, “She’d managed to take the curse of her virginity - the worst thing a woman can be in that country- and elevate it into something worthy of a Catholic saint” (211). Undoubtedly, she was very popular in her society, but she was not enemy less. As one British officer Coughlin had recorded, “Sameena and her husband, Tara Lata’s personal physician plotted to take possession of Mist Mahal sooner or later” (277). So, they plotted the Tree Bride’s death thinking that it might be a conspiracy of any enemy with the British government. In 1943 Tara Lata died in a mysterious circumstance in police station and the possession of Mist Mahal went to Begum Smeena. In 1971 before the death of Coughlin he had written in Dhaka newspapers Mist Mahal was a occupied by a ninety seven years old widow woman named Sameena Chowdhury and her family of grandson and great grandsons. But there was no will or sale; it was illegal that the Gangulys had the right to inherit the Mahal. Now Tara Chatterjee is clear about the reason behind the bombing in her San Francisco house, assassination of Doctor Victoria and all those mishaps upon her. “The house itself...might have killed John Mist, Rafeek Hai and eventually the Tree Bride” (278). Now the story of *The Tree Bride* comes to a complete circle and the past deeds seemed to overshadow the present happenings. The legendary aunt gives the hints of her presence at Bengal Street to Tara, “I am trapped in your world of mortals, she pledges and performs the rites. Set me free Tara” (279).

Mukherjee tries to show towards the end that India is the land of mysticism. Tara remembers the childhood stories she heard from her grandmother,

“...twilight was the time when evil spirits where most potent and unhappy ghost most eager to take our living bodies. Most ghosts were unhappy. She said caught between worlds. Some were dangerous” (208).


In her mystic conversation with her successor Tara Chatterjee the legendary Tree Bride revealed her death mystery. As she narrated, she was hanged by Mackenzie in a cell of the jail till death, and to avoid public fury Treadwell had ordered her body to be cremated by police. Her body had been tossed over the prison wall and then had been ripped off by vultures and bones had been chewed by dogs. Tara gets what she had been searching for years that is the truth behind the

mysterious death of her tree bride aunt. However, Tara Lata doesn't want to avenge for the brutal murder; simply she wants peace and her soul 's release from the mundane world because without funeral rites the soul can't get freedom from this material world as the Hindu cults says. For generations the tree bride had been waiting to return to the "Abode of Ancestors" (281) in the realm invisible to the mortals.

Mukherjee has used the elements of mysticism to connect past Tara Lata with present Tara. Both are daughters of cultured Bengali soil and proved their potentiality in own sphere. Tara makes Bish agree to accompany as a married man to go Kashi to perform proper cremation of Tara Lata so that she can attain status of "Pitt", ancestor. Tara once again realised the real value of Indian marriage and decides to remarry Bish. After all the novel ends with a happy note as Tara gives birth to a daughter after a week of her remarriage and named the baby girl, Victoria, in loving memory of the doctor. The home coming of both the Tara(s) once again emphasised the precious value of home for anyone, maybe a living individual or dissatisfied soul in search of salvation.

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The Impact of Inter-language Related Errors among Non-English Majors at Tertiary Level Students in Bangladesh

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Abstract

The study focuses on the influence of inter-language related errors on EFL learning among tertiary level students. In Bangladesh, the non-English majors studying in different private universities learn English language through different English language courses, however, a huge number of students struggle to learn English language and receive failing grades in their EFL courses due to the interferences of inter-language or the influence from their L1. This study aims at identifying the common inter-language related errors learners make and thus discover possible solutions to improve EFL learning at tertiary level. A total of 106 students and 15 teachers currently practicing at the private universities were randomly chosen as respondents from three private universities of Bangladesh. Interviews, content analysis and sample study were the instruments to collect data for the study. The analysis revealed that tertiary level students face much difficulty for the interference from their L1 i.e., Bangla language and has come up with very important recommendations and suggestions that may help to improve EFL learning at tertiary level in Bangladesh.

Keywords: error analysis, exposure to English, EFL learners, writing skill, teaching strategies

Introduction and Background

At present, English language, the most widely used lingua franca and an unavoidable communication technology in the globalized world, is now being learned and taught at all the levels of education in Bangladesh. But, in tertiary level, most of the students face problems and also make errors in writing composition. To examine student's error in their composition writing, error analysis is highly needed. Error analysis is a systematic method that focuses on the errors that learners make. It also helps teachers to find out the sources of errors and the importance of these errors. So, the analysis of the student's error has become a crucial part to overcome the errors and therefore suggests some solutions regarding the problem.

The researchers feel that students at tertiary level must know why they repeatedly make the same type of errors while using English language both academically and globally and find out how their L1 effects L2 learning to avoid common errors in EFL learning. The researchers assume that, this kind of research will help particularly the students, teachers and the curriculum designers to enhance the student's skills and to take pedagogical precautions.

Error has been analyzed by many researchers in several different ways. Many researchers focused on the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) to identify error every second language learners. In CAH the researchers mainly discovered that the differences between L1 and L2 are the major factors of making errors. Bloomfield (1933) suggested "The differences (among language) are great enough to present our setting up any system of classification that would fit all language." Wardhough(1970) proposed a distinction between a strong version and weak version of the contrastive analysis hypothesis. The strong version involved producing errors in second language learning based upon a contrastive analysis of the L1 and L2, namely error analysis. According to Corder (1967) learning errors are invaluable to the study of the language learning process. By classifying the errors that learners made, Corder submitted researchers could learn a great deal about the SLA process by CAH. Corder (1967) also differentiated between mistakes and errors.

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Tanzin Ara Ashraf and Tasleem Ara Ashraf

The Impact of Inter-language Related Errors among Non-English Majors at Tertiary Level
Students in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, a large number of students study in private universities. In these private universities, most admitted students do not have good English skills. English as a second language is very difficult because when starting to write a sentence or a paragraph, students must consider the main and secondary ideas of each paragraph, including the unity between paragraphs. Next, students should imagine different descriptions depending on the situation. In fact, the problem students often encounter is having to think in their mother tongue and then translate it into English. Moreover, they lack the required knowledge of vocabulary and structures. Therefore, this study will help students (especially advanced students) find out the significance of their mistakes and the most common errors as well as the causes of their mistakes. This will also help teachers understand why and how errors occur and how they can be resolved.

Research Questions

1. What are common the errors that tertiary level students of Bangladesh among non-English majors frequently commit while writing essay /paragraph/compositions?
2. How does inter-language related errors impact on students' anxiety?

Literature Review

Aydin and Turnuk (2020) investigated the errors of EFL learners due to the influence of Inter-language and identified learners with more inter-language errors experience writing anxiety at higher levels. Now-a-days Error Analysis (EA) has become a preferred tool of second or foreign language learning. Error Analysis (EA) is one of the best tools of linguistics studies that concentrate on the learner's errors. In recent years, there has been an emphasis in analyzing errors of the language learners. According to Brown (2000), a "mistake" refers to a performance error in that it is a failure to utilize a known system correctly. While an "error" is a noticeable deviation from the adult grammar of a native speaker, reflecting the inter-language competence of the learner. In Bangladesh in the private universities, the non-departmental majors need to learn English in various language courses. Even after completion of several language (writing) courses their proficiency level is far from satisfactory. Here in this research, the researchers have hypothesized that error analysis can be a great help to identify the roots of students' error.

Error analysis is a very important area of applied linguistics as well as of second and foreign language learning. It is also a systematic method to analyze learners' errors. Errors are not always bad; rather they are crucial parts and aspects in the process of learning a language. Error analysis in SLA was established in the 1960s by Stephen Pit Corder and colleagues. Error analysis (EA) was an alternative to contrastive analysis, an approach influenced by behaviorism through which applied linguists sought to use the formal distinctions between the learners' first and second languages to predict errors. Error analysis showed that contrastive analysis was unable to predict a great majority of errors, although its more valuable aspects have been incorporated into the study of language transfer.

Stephen Pit Corder is regarded as the father of Error analysis. Pit Corder (1974) has made an in-depth study of errors in the learning of second language. Corder (1967:19-27) was the first to advocate the importance of studying errors in student writing. He suggests that an analysis of errors is significant because of various reasons. Corder (1981:35) states that learners' errors are a major element in the feedback system of the process which is called language teaching and learning. Therefore, the study of errors is also a fundamental part of applied linguistics. On the other hand, Ellis 1994 defines error as deviation from the norms of the target language.

It is to be remembered that a learner cannot learn language without first systematically committing errors. Therefore, making errors is an inevitable part of learning. Therefore, Error analysis (EA) examines errors made by L2 learners and Richards and Schmidt (2002:184) define it as "The study and analysis of the errors made by second language learners." According to Corder (1967:19-27), learner's errors are important in and of themselves. For learners themselves, errors are indispensable, since the making of errors can be regarded as a device the learner uses in order to learn. Gass and Selinker (2001:67) define errors as "red flags", that means they are warning signals, that provide evidence of the learner's knowledge of the L2.

James (2007) proposes that Error Analysis (EA) is the analysis of learners' errors by comparing what the learners have learned with what they lack. It also deals with giving the explanation of the errors in order to accurately reduce them. Another definition of Error Analysis

(EA) given by Crystal (2016) is the study of language learners' language forms which deviate from those of the target language. Norrish (1983: 11) proposes that errors are not only an inevitable part of the learners' output but they are also quite possibly a necessary part because they provide useful information for teachers and help them to plot the learning activity as it takes place. Ellis (1994: 301-302) states that "errors occurred as a result of the negative transfer of mother tongue patterns into the learner's L2" while Stevens (1969) theorized that, "errors should not be seen as mere problems to be overcome". Rather they should be taken as normal and inevitable features that signify the criteria that learners employ while acquiring the target language. He held that if one had examined a regular pattern of errors in the performances of all learners in a particular setting and if some of them had shown their progress through this pattern, one could have taken their errors to be proof of accomplishment in the target language learning rather than proof of failure.

Sources of Errors

It is noted that the native language plays a crucial role in learning second language fluently. A number of scholars propose about the sources of errors made by language learners as follows: Richards (1974), for instance, states that two major sources of errors are interlingual errors and intralingual errors. The first one refers to errors caused when learners wrongly use the rules of their first language when they produce sentences of the target language. The second errors are caused during learners' language learning process. The errors include overgeneralization, false analogy, etc. James (1998) states that there are four sources of errors which are interlingual errors, intralingual errors, communication strategy-based errors, and induced errors. Based on her study, Penny (2001) concludes that there are two major sources of errors: interlingual transfer and intralingual transfer. Likewise, Heydari and Bagheri (2012) also state that interlingual interference and intralingual interference are the two sources of errors committed by EFL and ESL learners.

Types of Errors

If we consider the theoretical framework of error analysis, then first of all, errors should be identified and then they should be described. A number of categories are suggested for the error analysis. Corder (1967, 1971 & 1974) classifies the errors into four different categories.

The categories are given below:

- a. Addition
- b. Omission
- c. Selection
- d. Ordering

Addition refers to the addition of any grammatical item or unnecessary word(s) in the sentence, such as, adding a “do” auxiliary in the sentence, “Does can he play?” or “The pigeons is flying”, here is the addition of morpheme “s” with pigeon that is not required. The real construction is: The pigeon is flying. **Omission** occurs when the linguistic item that is required in the sentence is omitted. For example, “Alif play football in the field”, here the morpheme “s” is omitted that was required for the correct construction of the sentence. **Selection** refers to the problem of wrong selection of certain forms. For example, “Fahim is biggest than Alif”, here, the superlative degree is used instead of the comparative degree and it is the example of wrong selection of the degree of adjective. **Ordering** refers to the wrong order of the words in the sentence or confusion with the word order in the target language. For example, “I to the bridge Padma went”, instead of saying “I went to the Padma Bridge”. Here the order of the sentence is incorrect and is becoming the reason of errors.

Burt and Kiparsky (1972 quoted in Sereebenjapol 2003: 27) concluded that learner’ errors can be classified into two categories as follows: 1) **Global errors** occur in sentences with more than one clause, errors in overall organization which confuse the relations among the constituent clauses, or errors which cause a reader to misunderstand a message, such as “Babu like taxi but his friend said so not that we should be late for school”. 2) **Local errors** mean minor errors within clauses or errors which do not significantly hinder communication of a sentences message such as, “If I heard the news from him, I will let you know”. On the other hand, Touchier (1986) talks about two types of errors: **performance errors** and **competence errors**. Performance errors are made by learner when they are speaking fast. Competence errors are reflected in a learner’s competence. Moreover, Corder (1974) talks about three types of errors such as: **Pre –systematic error** (learner

does not know a rule of the target language), **Systematic error** (learner applies the incorrect rule) and **Post-systematic error** (similar to the mistake).

Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CPH)

Error Analysis (EA) is the development of Contrastive Analysis (CA) created in an attempt to understand the nature of student's errors and the contrastive analysis was formed for understanding the errors committed by the learners in the light of the rules of both languages. In the past, teachers and linguists focused on contrastively analyzing two languages. And the errors of the learners were taken into account based on contrastive analysis of languages. Later on, the contrastive analysis could not provide the sufficient grounds for the errors of the learners. However, the contrastive analysis could not define all the causes of the errors and it was realized that the process is not as simple as elaborated by contrastive analysis; rather there are various underlying processes that are working behind the language learning. Language learning is a very complicated and complex phenomenon and error analysis is basically the linguistic analysis and these shortcomings led to birth of Error Analysis (EA). In terms of this, Rustipa (2011) comments that EA proves the inability of CA in predicting vast number of errors as in CA errors are only viewed as a result of language interference.

Contrastive Analysis is not only a way of comparing language, but also a way to focus on errors for the purpose of knowing what needs to be learned and what is not need to be learned in a second language learning situation. (Lado,1957, p.241-247). In Contrastive Analysis, when students of L1 learn L2, two kinds of transfer happen, such as: Negative Transfer and Positive Transfer. According to Brown (1941) a learner can simply transfer lexical items from native language to the target language (p.250). There are two positions that develop with regard to Contrastive Analysis- Strong and Weak versions. Strong version is important for L2 language learning. Strong version offered by Whitman and Jackson in 1972.Strong version is important for L2 language learning. Strong versions focus on meaning, help to grow vocabulary knowledge and to develop communicative confidence. The weak version starts with an analysis of learners recurring errors. It has explanatory power, helping the teacher of foreign language understand their students'' source of error. Weak version has been advocated by Wardhaugh in 1970s. This version

has later been developed into Error Analysis (EA). CA follows deductive approach on the other hand EA adopts an inductive one. Whitman and Jackson (1972) pointed out that number of errors related to L1 interference (p.253). According to Lightbown and Spada (2006), all L2 errors are not reasoned from L1 interference.

So, we can say that in contrastive analysis, lessons were prepared in such a way that there was hardly any chance of making a mistake. Errors were considered as sign of failure. But in Error analysis, it was taken as a natural occurrence in learning. The approach towards errors totally changed. They were taken as an essential part of language learning and as an indication of the extent of progress made by the learner and of what was left unlearned.

Fossilization

Fossilization refers to the process in which incorrect language becomes a habit and cannot easily be corrected. For example, many advanced level learners who have Spanish as an L1 do not distinguish between 'he' and 'she'. This could be a fossilized error. Brown (1998) referred to fossilization as “permanent incorporation of incorrect linguistic forms into person’s second language competence” (P: 217). Brown (1998) also states that, “learners with fossilized items have acquired them through the same positive feedback and reinforcement with which they acquired correct items”. Therefore, fossilization plays a crucial role in analyzing language learning as well as in analyzing Error Analysis.

Procedures of Error Analysis (EA)

Actually, error analysis is a complicated process consisting of several procedures. For error analysis research Corder has suggested the following steps:

1. Collection of a sample learner language
2. Identification of errors
3. Description of errors
4. Explanation of errors
5. Evaluation of errors

In the first steps of error analysis, it is needed to decide what samples of learner language will be used for analysis and how to collect these samples. Once a corpus of learner language has been collected, the errors in the corpus have to be identified. It is also necessary to establish a procedure to recognize errors. The description of errors requires attention to the surface properties of the learners' written and utterance based on linguistic categories. After identifying and describing errors, the next step is to explain them which are concerned with the sources of the error that is accounting for why it is made. It involves an attempt to establish the process responsible for fossilizing L2 acquisition. The final step, error evaluation involves a consideration of the effect that errors have on the person(s) addressed either in terms of the addressee's comprehension of the learners' meaning or in terms of the addressee's affective response to the errors. In this way, the evaluation of learner error poses a number of problems. Thus, error evaluation can be influenced by the context in which the error occurs. The evaluations also vary from person to person depending on who made it, and where, when, how it is made. Finally, on the basis of analysis the evaluator gives some recommendation from his/her point of view so that the errors could be avoided.

The most troublesome problem in the area of grammatical errors was determiners. Thai has no definite and indefinite articles while English has a large number of articles. Students often omit articles or make the wrong choice. The second highest numbers of errors were errors in the use of verbs. Wrong choice of verbs and omission of verbs were the main errors in this regard. The third most frequent errors were the use of agreements. Subject-verb agreements are the major errors in this research. In the area of lexical errors, most students used the wrong choice of words when they wrote compositions because they had inadequate vocabulary to explain such topics when they wrote a sentence such as "The father sets up instead of decorates a door with flowers."

Saara Sirkka Mungungu, a South African researcher has presented research, namely (Error Analysis: Investigating the Writing of ESL NAMIBIAN Learners). In this study, there were three groups: Oshiwambo students, Silozi students, and Afrikaans students. This study investigated common English language errors made by Oshiwambo, Afrikaans and Silozi First Language speakers. The four most common errors committed by the participants were tenses, prepositions,

articles and spelling. Oshiwambo students recorded the highest number of errors (656) followed by Silozi students that recorded (630) errors and Afrikaans recorded the lowest number (588) errors. The remarkable part of this study is that, the Afrikaans, who wrote the highest number of words, produced the least number of errors. This shows that the length of the essay does not necessarily determine the number of errors. This research also focused on finding out the frequency of occurrence of the identified errors in the learner's L2 written work. In this study, Afrikaans and Oshiwambo compositions recorded almost the same rate of occurrence of errors that is 292 and 278 respectively. In contrast, Silozi students recorded the lowest rate of frequency of error types occurrence, that is 193. However, the results of the study reveal that there was no big difference in the type of errors recorded from each group. The total numbers of errors recorded were almost the same (Oshiwambo 656, Silozi 630 and Afrikaans 588 errors). The only difference that occurred was in the rate of frequency of occurrence.

Md. Didar Hossain & Md. Tareque Uddin (2015), for instance, analyzed the errors committed by First Year under Graduates in the Department of English at Jahangirnagar University. They showed that the students are committing errors frequently in prepositions, articles, auxiliary verbs and pronunciation. These errors are due to the less involvement in writing and speaking activities.

Another study entitled "An Analysis of the Common Grammatical Errors in the English Writing made by 3rd Secondary Male Students in the Eastern Coast of the UAE" by Taiseer Mohammed Y. Hourani, has explored that the common types of grammatical errors made by Emirati secondary male students in their English essay writing. This study showed the most common and salient grammatical errors which were found in the students essays included: passivization, verb tense and form, subject-verb agreement, word order, prepositions, articles, plurality and auxiliaries. After analyzing the errors, it has been found out that the students make grammatical errors due to two main reasons: Interlingual and intralingual reasons. This research clearly showed that the lack of basic English grammar was the main reason of their errors. The findings of this study support the claim that Arabic-speaking students commit many grammatical

errors when writing essays in English. It is clear that the errors in grammar require more attention because grammatical proficiency is the foundation of better writing ability.

Research on Error Analysis in Bangladesh

If we consider Bangladesh perspective then we can say, Bangladeshi learner's face many difficulties because English as their second language. An analysis of student's "mistakes and errors in English writing", Akther and Khan (2017) talked about the condition of English writing ability of Bangladesh tertiary level students. Although they get twelve years of education and learn English as a compulsory subject, still they could not write confident, competent and error free writings. They also observe that teachers hardly provide any constructive comments for accurate writing.

According to Akhter and Khan (2010), Bangladesh education system mainly has 3 stages which are primary, secondary and higher education that is undergraduate and graduate program. English is introduced as a mandatory subject (from class 1 to higher secondary level) but they cannot write properly and their standard of English is not satisfactory. However, Heydari and Begheri (2012) found that maximum number of errors in writing made by adults while learning the L2. For instance, he said learners have difficulties to write English if they do not get enough facilities to free handwriting practice in class.

Methodology and Research Design

The main purpose of this research is to investigate, examine and identify the types and frequency of writing errors committed by the non-English major students at tertiary level. Along with these, it also concerns to find out the importance of those errors and their probable solutions. This study adopts a mixed method as it has used both quantitative and qualitative data. The researchers examined the samples collected from the student participants and analyzed their common errors through statistical graphs and tables. Qualitative data was collected through participants' interview. Quantitative methods are research techniques that are used to gather information dealing with numbers and anything that is measurable (Nunan, 2001:87-92), also known as quantitative data.

Rationale for Choosing Error Analysis (EA)

English is one of the most dominant languages in the world. It is widely used in many fields. However, the students of Bangladesh, are still facing numerous problems while writing English sentences. Therefore, writing skill is rated to be a hard task for most students. A study of the various kinds of errors made by the students would guide teachers not only to identify program and materials but also would lead them to find strategies that could be beneficial for teaching and learning. Therefore, in addition to helping the teachers to find out and categorizing the errors through the student's output, the researchers believe that Error Analysis (EA) helps them to interpret the learning / teaching strategies of students. In addition, Error Analysis (EA) may be helpful to speculate the amount of interest learners /students in acquiring the language. Thus, Error Analysis (EA) has been beneficial in many ways in the domain of language teaching.

Instruments

The study employs a mixed method design which includes both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Such a method integrates both approaches to provide a much more detailed and comprehensive picture of that which is being investigated. In this study the qualitative data (interview) was conducted after the quantitative data collection to foster understanding and interpretation of the results.

The researchers conducted this study by using the following tools for data collection:

(1) Sample

The corpus on which this study is based includes 25 exam scripts. The purpose of collecting the samples was to analyze the most common grammatical errors made by the non-English major students at tertiary level.

(2) Interview

Interview was taken for each of the 25 students of the three universities. The interviews of the students were also recorded for later analysis by the researchers. The researchers collected the data through the interviews and writing samples from Stamford University Bangladesh and University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh and Daffodil International University.

Procedure and Timeline

The participants of this study were the non-English majors at tertiary level. The study includes 25 students writing samples to identify the categories of mistakes and errors that the students made. The study was mainly conducted in Stamford University Bangladesh and University of Liberal Arts Bangladesh and Daffodil International University of Bangladesh where the medium of instruction was English. For this study, the researchers investigated 25 student's paragraph samples from writing courses. The course teacher had been taking this course for 4 months. It was a fundamental and mandatory course for all the students from different departments. This course was aimed at developing student's basic language skills. The collected answer scripts have already been checked by the responsible teachers.

Limitations

The researchers could cover only three private universities for the survey. This study deals with a limited number of students due to the limitations of time. The researchers faced difficulty to collect the views of the students on time because of their busy schedules. In addition, collecting the answer scripts from different teachers were also troublesome. This is a very small scale study because the researchers failed to cover all possible areas for the limited timeline of the research.

Data Analysis and Findings

The researchers conducted univariate analysis and mean differences among the participants to identify errors. The results were shown through graphical presentation and chart of the samples.

Population and Sampling

In this study the researchers selected 25 students from 3 private universities of Bangladesh. All students are non-department majors. They are basically learning English language through different language courses. The researchers specifically selected those students who have undertaken writing courses. The age of participants ranges from (19-25) years. All these students have also learnt English through their compulsory courses in secondary and higher secondary level. The number of students according to the departments are given below:

Table 1: Number of Student Participants

Sl. No.	Name of University	Name of the Departments	No. of students
1	Stamford University Bangladesh	Journalism	5
2	Stamford University Bangladesh	Architecture	5
3	Stamford University Bangladesh	Economics	5
4	University of Liberal Arts	BBA	5
5	Daffodil International University	CSE	5
Total			25

The table above shows the randomly chosen participants from three renowned universities in Bangladesh

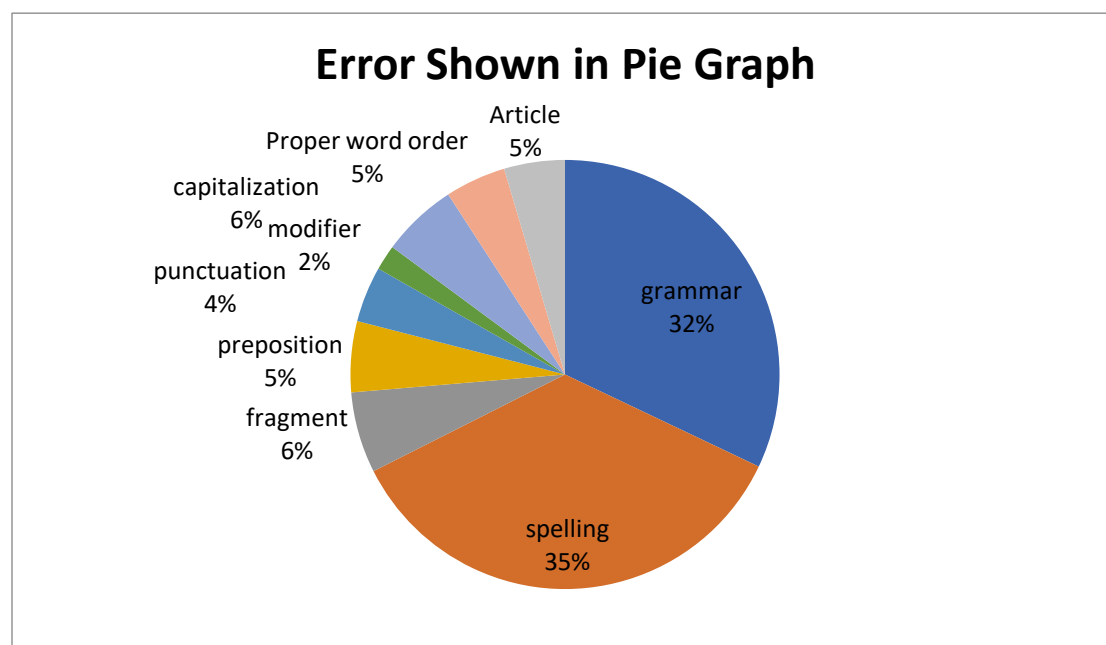
Table 2: Error Chart in Table

Departments	No. of Students	Grammar	Spelling	Fragment	Preposition	Punctuation	Modifier	Capitalization	Proper word order	Article
ARC	5	22	18	5	2	2	1	1	2	2
JRN	5	15	31	5	4	2	1	2	3	3
BBA	5	15	11	3	3	4	1	4	2	2
ECO	5	21	19	2	2	1	1	4	3	3
CSE	5	11	14	1	3	2	1	4	2	2
Total	25	84	93	16	14	11	5	15	12	12

Brief Description and the Error Chart

Here, at first different types of errors have been identified and categorized from the samples according to their types. To investigate the error analysis, collection of samples of student's scripts and then identification of errors are very important steps. According to the aim this study/research

will be obtained through the collection of samples, identification, description, explanation, and evaluation of the errors which are the essential part of error analysis. Then the samples will be classified into different categories like grammatical errors, spelling errors, fragment errors, preposition errors, punctuation errors, modifier errors, capitalization errors, proper word order errors and article errors.



Graph 1: Error chart shown by pie graph

The pie graph above shows the percentage of errors non-dept majors have done while writing a paragraph on different topics. The paragraph samples have been collected from the five different departments from 3 different private universities. Here the researcher has discovered that students made 35% errors in spelling, 32% in grammar which included the general errors like 3rd person singular number, gender errors, incomplete sentence etc. other grammar errors are categorized separately where they made 6% errors in fragment, 6% in capitalization, 5% in preposition, 5% in article, 5% in proper word order, 4% in punctuation and 2% errors in modifier.

Spelling Errors

After the grammatical errors, spelling errors are the most frequent errors that students commit. Spelling error occurred as the students did not receive enough help from the teachers to learn spelling in the proper way. They also were unaware about the phonetic structure of words. The error chart above shows that the student made 35% errors in spelling. It shows their unawareness to the spelling sector. Most of the spelling errors occurred as they don't know the exact spelling of the word. Sometimes this kind of spelling error occurred because of L1 interference or it indicates that the students may get confused with a word with another word that sounds alike. Result showed that they made some sample spelling errors in their exam scripts. Some examples identified from the scripts like-beleive (believe), batter (better), collage (college), madical (medical), cource(course). After analyzing the spelling error it can be said that the students also did not get proper help while learning pronunciations of English words.

Punctuation Error

In English writing, punctuation is a very important part of language. Many students make numerous errors while using punctuation, which indicates their performance in composition is very poor. From the scripts the researcher has identified that most of the students made this error. In many scripts it was found that students did not use comma, semi colon while they wrote long sentence. Without proper punctuation it became meaningless sentence. The students also used incorrect punctuation in their exam and some students did not use any punctuation where it required.

Fragment Error

Fragment is also an essential part of language. In the scripts, the students made fragmental error, where they wrote incomplete sentences and used full stop. These kinds of errors are very common in their scripts. They have lack of knowledge in using comma or they misused the comma. It shows that students are unaware of the proper use of comma in sentences.

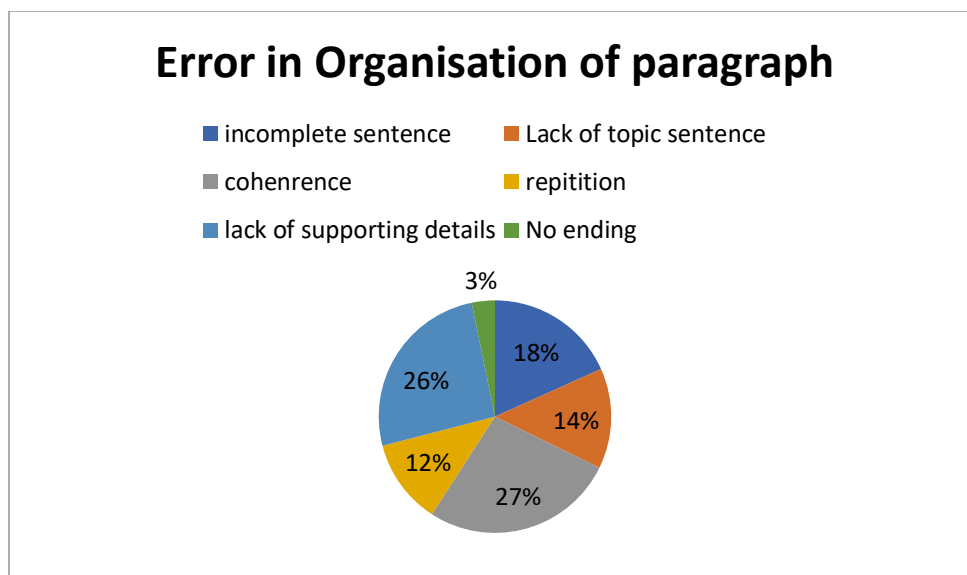
Error Chart regarding Organization of Paragraph

Departments	No. of Students	Incomplete Sentences	Lack of topic sentence	Lack of coherence	Repetition	Not proper supporting details	No ending
ARC	5	5	4	4	2	6	1
JRN	5	5	3	7	1	5	1
BBA	5	3	1	5	3	5	0
ECO	5	2	3	4	2	3	0
CSE	5	2	2	5	3	5	1
Total	25	17	13	25	11	24	3

Students made lots of error in structure of paragraph writing. They could not write proper topic sentences, did not use suitable transitional words and could not write proper closing sentences.

Table 3: Error Chart regarding Organization of Paragraph

At tertiary level, the organization of the paragraph or composition is very important. In paragraph or composition writing, there should be a general specific sequence to write a paragraph or composition. There should be a standard rules and regulation to write a paragraph or composition and also proper unity among sentences that relate to the topic. Supporting details should be developed in a way that supports the topic sentence.



Graph 2: Errors in composition writing

The above graph shows common errors students make while writing composition

Lack of Topic Sentence

Topic sentence introduces the main idea of the paragraph or composition. It is very important because it introduces the topic and also states what the students attempt to write or argue in the paragraph. Topic sentence should be the first sentence in a paragraph. It is a kind of statement that introduces the paragraph that followed by specific details that explain or illustrate the topic sentence. The pie chart above shows that most of the paragraphs do not have proper topic sentence. The students have lack of knowledge to use proper topic sentence. The chart shows that students made 14 % errors in writing the proper topic sentence. It shows their lacking regarding the topic sentence.

Lack of Supporting Details

Supporting details is very essential parts of a paragraph. It consists of sentences that support/develop/generate or explain the main idea of the paragraph. In supporting details, the students write enough evidence that supports the student's argument. Here, the students should develop the ideas in detail with enough examples. The pie graph above shows that the majority of

the students failed to develop the supporting details properly. The pie graph shows that students made 26 % errors in writing the supporting details properly. It means they did not even know the general structure of a paragraph or composition. Among 25 scripts, the researcher has found that, few students tried to develop the composition with evidence that supports the topic sentence. Some students tried to develop the supporting details within 3 or 4 paragraphs. Very few students developed the paragraph in a single paragraph.

Incomplete Sentences

The pie graph above shows that the students made 18 % errors regarding the incompetency in writing English sentence. It shows their lack of knowledge to write in English as they fail to express their thoughts properly. Very few students tried to complete the sentences properly.

Lack of Coherence

In paragraph writing coherence is very important because students get confused after writing some sentences because of their mother interference. It means the quality of being logical and consistent in the writing.

The pie graph shows that the students made 27% of errors regarding the lack of coherence. Students failed to be a consistent writing in their paragraphs. Very few students tried write body paragraphs but those sentences lack coherence in supporting detail.

Repetition Error

The pie graph shows that the students made 12% errors in repetition. In paragraph writing repetition is totally prohibited. Especially at tertiary level it is not acceptable to write the same thing again. But, there is a tendency that students try to write the paragraph broadly by using repeated words continuously. It shows their incompetency as well as inability to express their thoughts in English. It shows their negative attitude towards the paragraph writing.

No Ending

In paragraph, the ending part regarded as the conclusion part. In this part, the students should summarize the main points of the paragraph. The pie graph above shows that the students made 3% errors regarding the no ending error. It means very few students made this error. Most of the students tried to write more or less some sentences in their paragraph.

Analysis and Findings of Qualitative Data

The researchers interviewed the participants and collected qualitative data.

Q.1: Do you think error free writing is very important for your career? If yes explain why?

All the students do understand the fact that writing error free sentences is a crucial part to develop their career. They added that after completion of their graduation they will apply in different companies or banks or other institutions. “Every institution will give more priority to the students who know English well”, expressed one student.

Q.2: What type of errors do you mostly do while writing? Give some examples?

Most of the students answered that they made mostly grammatical errors followed by spelling errors. The students added that inadequate vocabulary further challenges them to express their thoughts. “Tense” and “Sentence construction” are two of their major flaws.

Q.3: Do you think that maximum number of students are aware of their errors in writing?

All the students negatively answered that they are not aware of their errors in writing and that is why they make mistakes. The students do believe that they should be more concerned about the errors. They also believe that individual student counseling is the most effective way for the students to understand their errors.

Q.4: Do you think teachers can help students to do less error in writing? If yes, how?

All the students positively answered, “Yes! teachers can help us to do less error in writing.” The students added that the teachers can check their copies in front of them, identify their errors and make them understand.

Q.5: Do you like to use error free writing in Social networking sites?

Most of the students answered, ‘Yes! Absolutely’ while answering this question. They do realize the fact that writing error free sentences can help them look smarter in social media.

Q.6: Do you think the writing courses are helping you in avoiding errors to write in English?

Each and every student positively answered that ‘Yes!’ the writing courses are helping them in avoiding errors in English writing. They realize that they lack in academic writing skills.

Conclusion

The study was aimed at investigating the impact of error analysis as well as the most frequent errors that the tertiary level students made in writing the paragraph. Therefore, a number of different grammatical errors, spelling errors, fragment errors, preposition errors, punctuation errors, modifier errors, capitalization errors, proper word order errors and article errors were found in their English paragraph. The researchers have found that, the errors made by the students in writing mostly are spelling errors (35%) followed by grammatical errors (32%). It has been noticed that, they commit errors because they are not careful and they have lack of knowledge as well as mother tongue interference. Lack of writing practices, do make the students forget the proper rules of academic writing. To reduce the errors, more English writing courses should be introduced in the universities along with the school level. Furthermore, our education method should be changed according to the student’s need.

The research highlights the fact that, the non-English majors frequently commit errors in several areas of writing. Therefore, it hampers their academic life in universities because at this level it is not acceptable. They make silly spelling errors which can be considered unacceptable at tertiary level. In fact, they are learning English from the very beginning of their school lives. As students of non-English majors, they do not take it seriously. If proper steps are taken to reduce the errors then the concerned students will benefit.

Therefore, further research may be undertaken for finding out how to reduce the errors in writing the English paragraphs properly. Bangladesh is a monolingual country but there is no

denying the fact that English has occupied a significant position as a means of communication in any sector. In Private Universities of Bangladesh, English is extensively used for all the activities. Error free English is also required to communicate with the world abroad. The students need good English writing skills wherever they go, especially when they go for higher education in different countries. So, remedial action must be taken.

The researchers hope that this research will help the students (especially non-English majors), teachers, curriculum designers to develop the teaching method, teaching aid and material as per the student's need. Error analysis is very useful for the non-English majors because this will help the students to find the problem areas. It will be beneficial for the teachers to design remedial exercises for the students paying more attention to the trouble spots.

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Language Choice of Shina Youth in Different Domains: A Sociolinguistic Study

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Abstract

Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir is a multilingual area where languages belonging to different language families are found. Apart from major languages like Kashmiri, Dogri, there are multitude of minority languages like Shina, Burushaski, Balti, Hindko, Punjabi, Pahari, Pashtu, Gojri, etc. Gurezi Shina is a lesser-known variety of Shina language being spoken by inhabitants of Gurez, a remote northern valley in the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The Shina Language belongs to the Dardic sub-group of Indio-Aryan language family. This language is primarily spoken in Gilgit-Baltistan, Pakistan, Dah Hanu, Gurez and Dras in India. The alternate names of the language are Shinaki and Sina. The linguistic repertoire of the native speakers of Gurezi Shina mainly comprises of languages like Shina, Kashmiri, Urdu and English. This paper focuses on the domain analysis that is the domains where Shina is used and the domains where other languages are used. By looking at language use in different domains one can get an idea whether there are any particular linguistic preferences for different domains and different interlocutors. The data for the present study was elicited through a well-designed questionnaire.

Keywords: Shina, Language Choice, Language Domains, Linguistic Repertoire, Domain Analysis, Language Preference.

Introduction

Shina is a language spoken by communities across a vast mountainous region that spans from the northern areas of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) in the east to parts of Gilgit-Baltistan in

Pakistan and northeastern Afghanistan. Kohistani and Schmidt (2006) identified specific areas where Shina is spoken, such as Gilgit, lower Hunza, Tangir-Darel, Astor, and Chilas valleys in Pakistan, as well as parts of Indus Kohistan. In India, Shina is spoken in areas like the Neelam (Kishenganga) valley, Gurez and Tiliel valleys, Drass plain, and Ladakh. In J&K, the language has two main varieties: Gurezi in the Gurez valley and Drassi in the Drass area. Additionally, there's a mention of a third variant, Tilieli Shina, primarily spoken in the Tiliel valley of Gurez, which is often considered a part of the Gurezi variety.

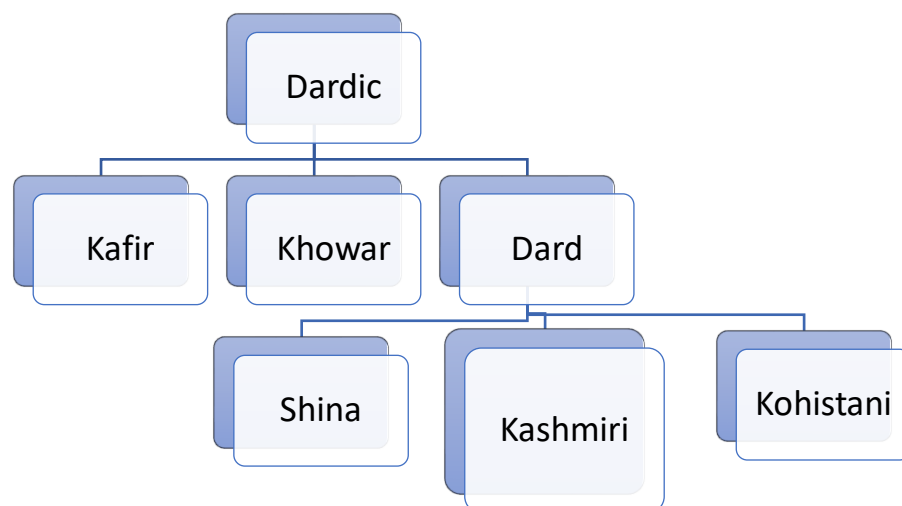
The first linguistic taxonomy for the languages of the northern territories from Kashmir to the northern parts of Afghanistan was proposed by George A. Grierson (1919) in his monumental work *Linguistic Survey of India* published in the early twentieth century. According to Grierson, Shina language belongs to the Dard group- a subgroup of Dardic groups of languages. Grierson (1919:2) presents Dardic as a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, with three groups:

The Kafir group

The Khowar group

The Dard sub-groups

The Dard group is in itself composed of Shina, Kashmiri and Kohistani. It can be shown diagrammatically as:



Gurez Valley

Gurez Valley is situated at the northernmost part of Indian Kashmir within the Bandipora district. On its northern boundary, barbed wires mark the Line of Control (LOC) separating it from areas controlled by Pakistan. The Kishenganga River, originating from Gangbal Lake in the Harmukh Mountains, runs east-west across the valley. In Pakistan, this river is known as Neelum and acts as the LOC for the lower parts of Gurez. The valley stretches about 95 kilometers in length and is, in some areas, only half a kilometer wide. As per the 2011 census, Gurez valley had a population of 34,390 in India, with around 25,000 being native Shina speakers. The rest primarily speak Kashmiri. The Shina-speaking inhabitants of the valley identify as Dards or Dard-shins. The linguistic repertoire of native speakers of Gurezi Shina typically encompass Shina, Kashmiri, Urdu, and English.

The main aim of this paper is to explore the language choices and areas of language application among young Shina speakers. The study specifically delves into analysing the specific contexts or domains where Shina is employed compared to other languages. Examining these domains offers insights into potential linguistic preferences across different settings and conversational partners. To gather data, a comprehensive questionnaire was designed. This questionnaire aimed to capture insights into language usage patterns, considering various social factors such as gender, age, and educational background. Additionally, participants were queried about their language preferences in more personal contexts, including interactions with siblings, close friends, and other acquaintances.

Methodology

This study has been carried out in the Gurez valley within the Bandipora district of Jammu and Kashmir. The study involved 45 respondents who are the native speakers of Shina language, within the age group of 16 to 30 years. Each participant filled out the prepared questionnaire and various questions were crafted and posed to assess the language choices of the research respondents. The respondents have been taken from the educational institutions comprising of schools, higher secondaries and colleges of Gurez Valley. From the total informants, 43% were males and 57% were females. The informants belonged to both the genders, as the research was carried in co-educational institutes.

The questionnaire has been the main tool employed for eliciting the sociolinguistic data from the Shina youth. It consists of two sections. Each section has its own focus.

Section 1 focused on discovering the background information of the subjects such as age, gender, education level and occupation.

Section 2 aimed to obtain the data in terms of the language use in different domains: home, education, religious, personal, and social domain.

Domain Analysis

Joshua Fishman has introduced domain analysis which describes the use of languages in various institutional contexts in a multilingual society. Fishman suggests that one language is more likely to be appropriate in some specific contexts than another (Fasold 1984). Domains are defined in terms of institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences. They attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings.

Analysis

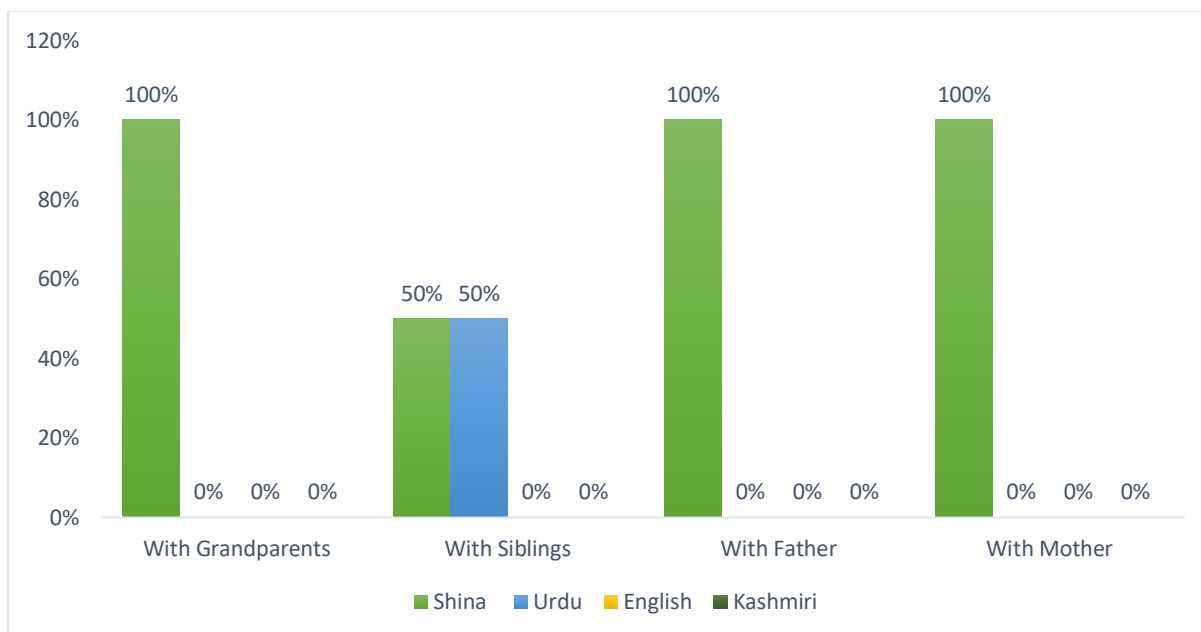
Home Domain

In sociolinguistics, the term "home domain" refers to the linguistic environment or context in which a person primarily uses a particular language or dialect. This setting usually takes place in a home or family environment where people are most comfortable using their native (Shina) or dominant language. Home domain can influence language maintenance, transmission, and change within a community or family unit.

Language Usage in Home Domain with Different Interlocutors

Language	With Grandparents(% age)	With Siblings(% age)	With Father(% age)	With Mother(% age)
Shina	100%	50%	100%	100%
Urdu	0%	50%	0%	0%
English	0%	0%	0%	0%
Kashmiri	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 1.1: Language Usage in Home Domain with different Interlocutors



Graph 1.1: Language usage in Home Domain with different interlocutors

Graph 1.1 gives a clear representation of language usage in home domain. 100% respondents speak Shina at home with Grandparents and Parents while as, 50% respondents speak Shina at home with Siblings and 50% speak Urdu at home with Siblings. From this graph, it is quite clear that, in home domain Shina is a preferred language as their mother tongue.

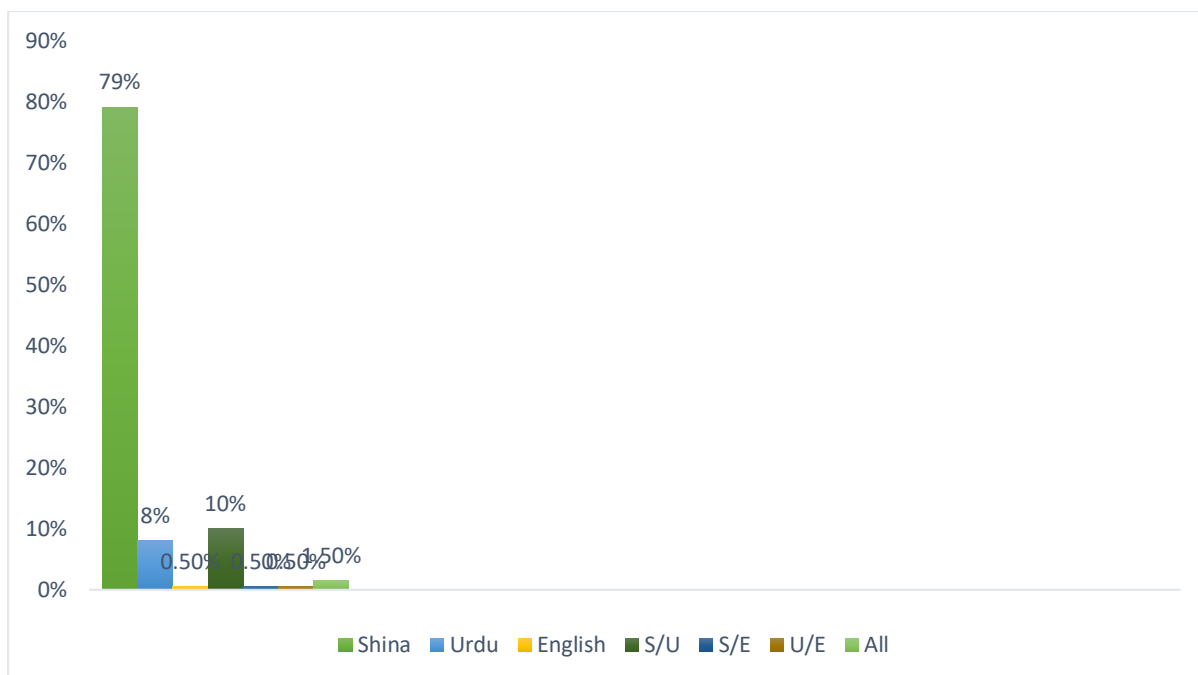
Personal Domain

The personal domain refers to linguistic behaviours and patterns that are unique to an individual in a particular social context. The way people use language in their most personal interactions was determined by questioning them about the languages they employ in certain day to day activities like language used for thinking, nicknaming, storytelling with their most intimate and private interlocutors.

Language Used while Thinking

Languages	Shina	Urdu	English	Shina/Urdu	Shina/English	Urdu/English	All
Percentage	79%	8%	0.5%	10%	0.5%	0.5%	1.5%

Table 1.2: Language used while thinking



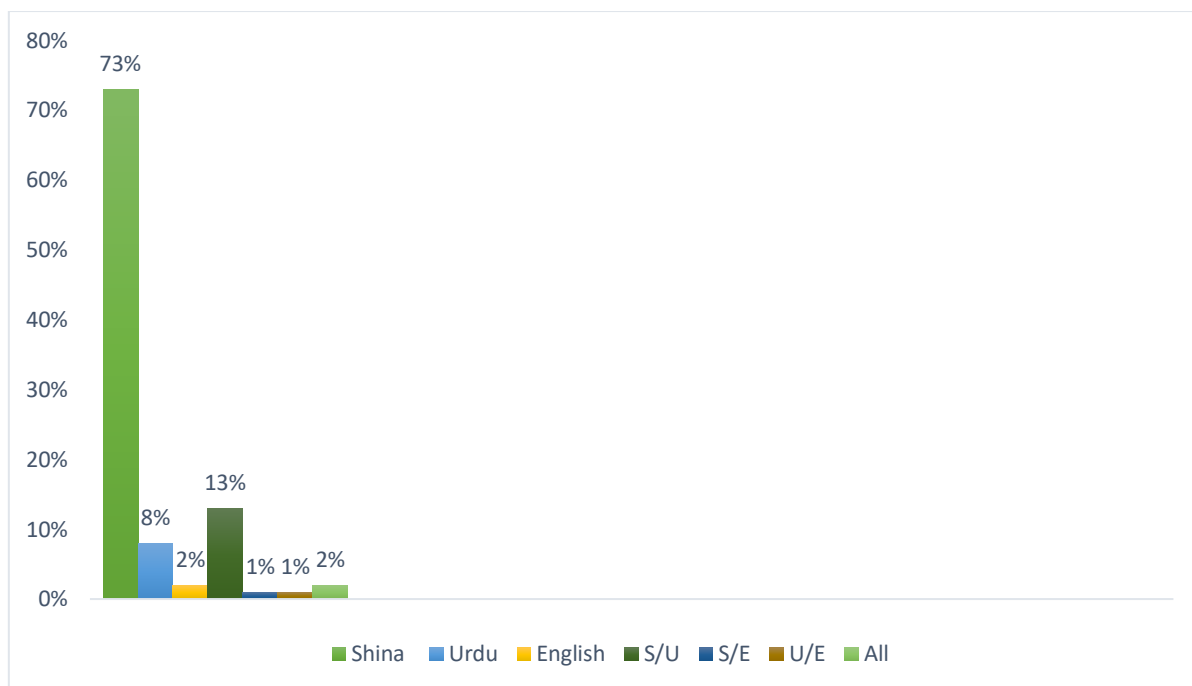
Graph 1.2: Language used while thinking

Above graph 1.2, clearly shows that 79% respondents use Shina language in thinking or planning, followed by Urdu which is 8%. Shina gets high percentage score as compared to Urdu and English, which once again reveals the fact that Shina is emotionally more dominant language than Urdu and English.

Language Used while Nicknaming

Languages	Shina	Urdu	English	Shina/Urdu	Shina/English	Urdu/English	All
Percentage	73%	8%	2%	13%	1%	1%	2%

Table 1.3: Language used while Nicknaming



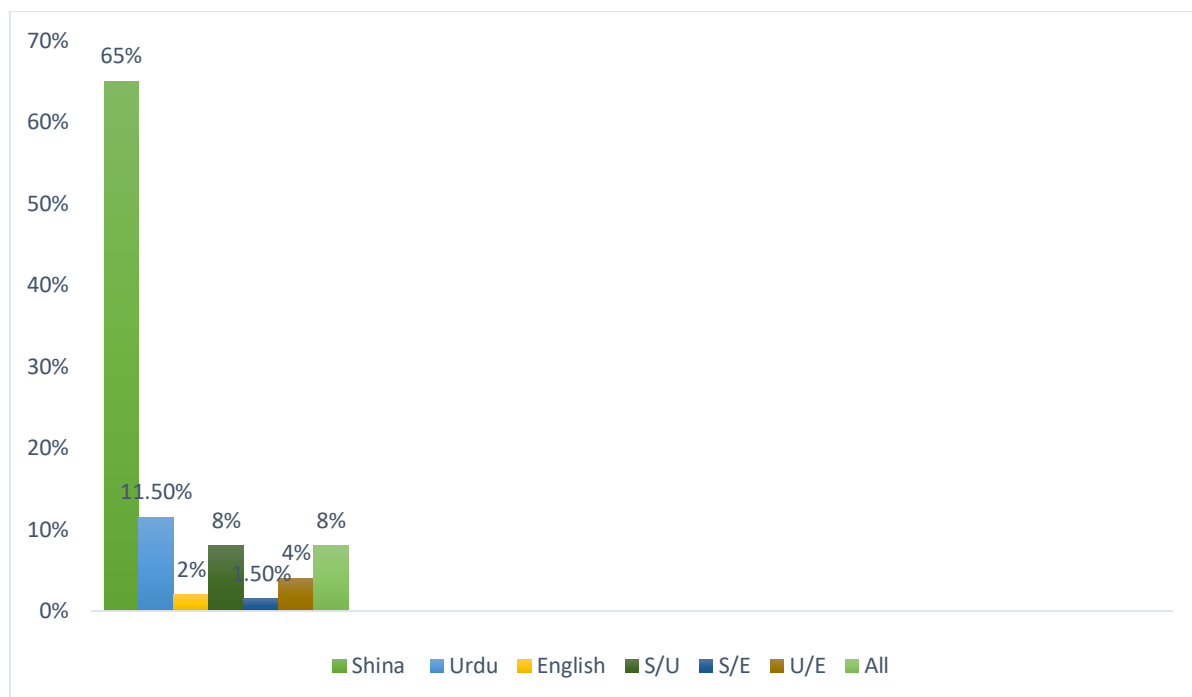
Graph 1.3: Language used while Nicknaming

From the above graph 1.3, it is seen that 73% respondents choose their native tongue i.e. Shina for nicknaming, followed by combination of Shina and Urdu which is about 13% of respondents. 8% of respondents use Urdu language for the same. Nicknaming in one's native language may reflect certain cultural nuances, values, and traditions that are important within a particular community or context. It can also serve as a form of endearment, affection, or recognition, emphasizing a unique characteristic, quality, or experience associated with the person given the nickname.

Language Used for Storytelling

Languages	Shina	Urdu	English	Shina/Urdu	Shina/English	Urdu/English	All
Percentage	65%	11.5%	2%	8%	1.5%	4%	8%

Table 1.4: Language used for story telling



Graph 1.4: Language Used for Storytelling

From the above graph 1.4, one can see that 65% of informants use Shina while only 11.5% of informants use Urdu while telling stories to their children, friends, relatives etc. Telling stories in native languages is a powerful way to preserve cultural heritage, express identity, foster community connections, and enrich linguistic and cultural diversity.

School Domain

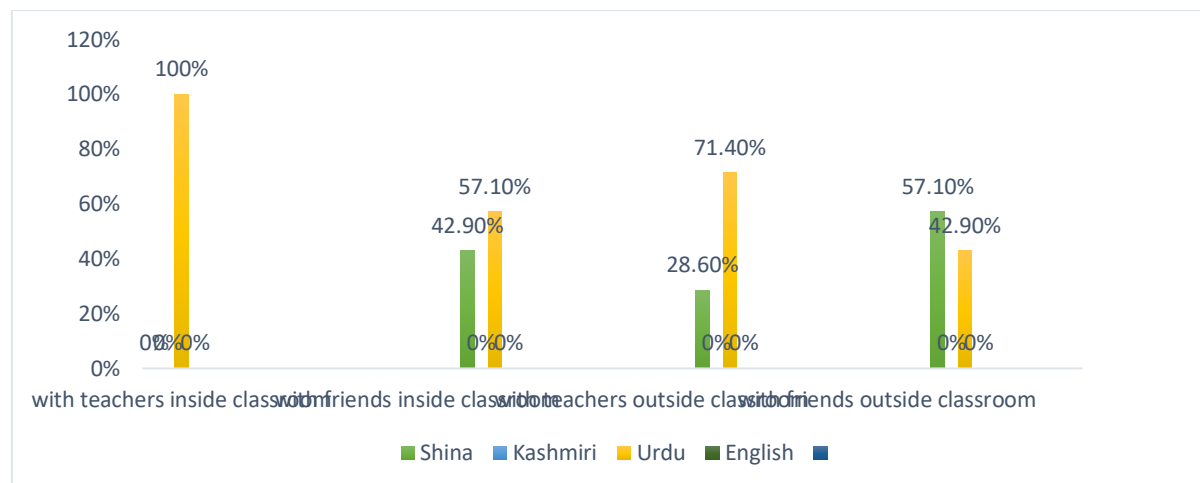
School domain refers to language practices and patterns associated with educational institutions, especially schools. This area includes the way language is used, learned, and perceived in educational institutions. The interlocutors in the school domain with whom the patterns of language use were observed are teachers and friends.

Language Usage in Schools

Language	With teachers inside classroom	With friends inside classroom	With teachers outside classroom	With friends outside classroom
Shina	0%	42.90%	28.60%	57.10%
Kashmiri	0%	0%	0%	0%
Urdu	100%	57.10%	71.40%	42.90%

English	0%	0%	0%	0%
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Table1.5: Language Usage in School



Graph 1.5: Language Usage in School

Graph 1.5 represents languages spoken at school. From the graph, it is clear that 100% respondents speak Urdu language inside classroom with teachers and 55% respondents speak Urdu language with friends inside classroom and 45% speak Shina with friends inside classroom. However, 55% respondents prefer to use Shina language and 45% prefer Urdu language with teachers outside classroom and 75% respondents prefer Shina language and 25% respondents prefer Urdu language with friends outside classroom. Inside the classroom, 100% respondents prefer Urdu language with friends outside classroom. Inside the classroom, 100% respondents speak Urdu with teachers as the respondents claimed that it is better to use Urdu in schools as this language is associated with greater prestige and power. It is pertinent to mention here that English is the medium of instruction in secondary and higher secondary schools. However, the elicited data, given in the table above, reveals that the students are reluctant to communicate in English which may perhaps be because of lack of confidence and poor communication skills.

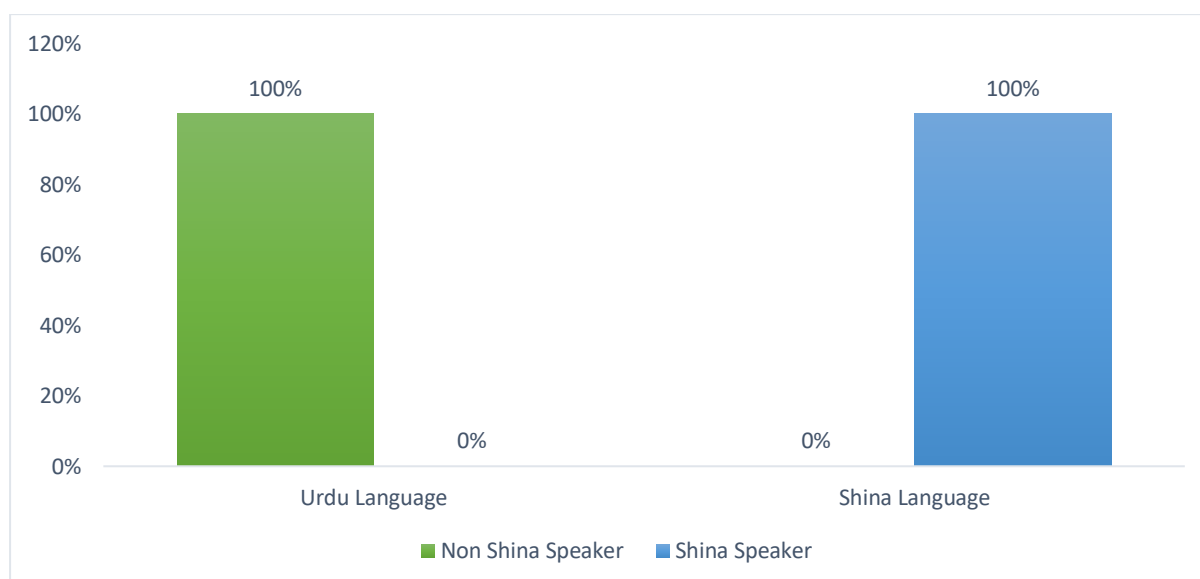
Social Domain

The social domain refers to a specific context or setting where language is used and understood by its participants. This includes situations such as community gatherings, market place interactions, religious ceremonies etc. Each social domain has its own set of linguistic norms, rules, and expectations that influence how language is produced and interpreted

Language Usage with Shina and Non-Shina Speakers at Market

Speaker	Urdu Language	Shina Language
Non-Shina speaker	100%	0%
Shina speaker	0%	100%

Table 1.6: Language Usage at Market



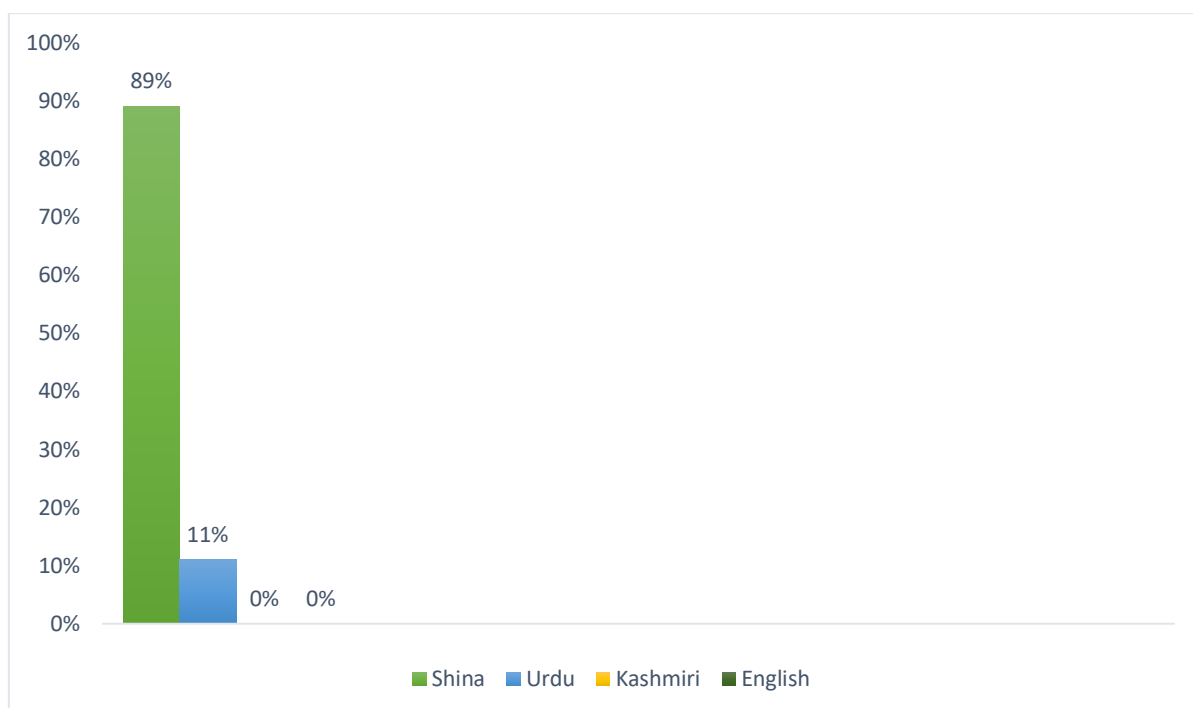
Graph 1.6: Language Usage at Market

Graph 1.6 represents language used with Shina and non-Shina speakers. The results shown in the above graph reveals that Shina people use Shina language while interacting with their own community people. While as, Shina people use Urdu language when interacting with the non-Shina speakers. Moreover, it is clear from the above given graph that Kashmiri and English languages have got 0% when it comes to interactional purpose.

Language Used in Community Gathering

Language used in	Shina	Urdu	Kashmiri	English
Community Gatherings	89%	11%	0%	0%

Table1.7: Language used in Community Gathering



Graph 1.7: Language used in Community Gathering

Graph 1.7 represents language used in community gathering. The results shown in the above graph reveals that 89% Shina youth use their mother tongue i.e., Shina in community gatherings whereas 11% of the youth prefer Urdu language over their mother tongue in community gatherings. Moreover, it is clear from the above given graph that Kashmiri and English languages have got 0% speakers when it comes to community gatherings. The use of mother tongue in community gathering reflects a complex interplay of cultural, social, historical and personal factors and contributes to the preservation, expression and celebration of linguistic diversity and identity in a community context.

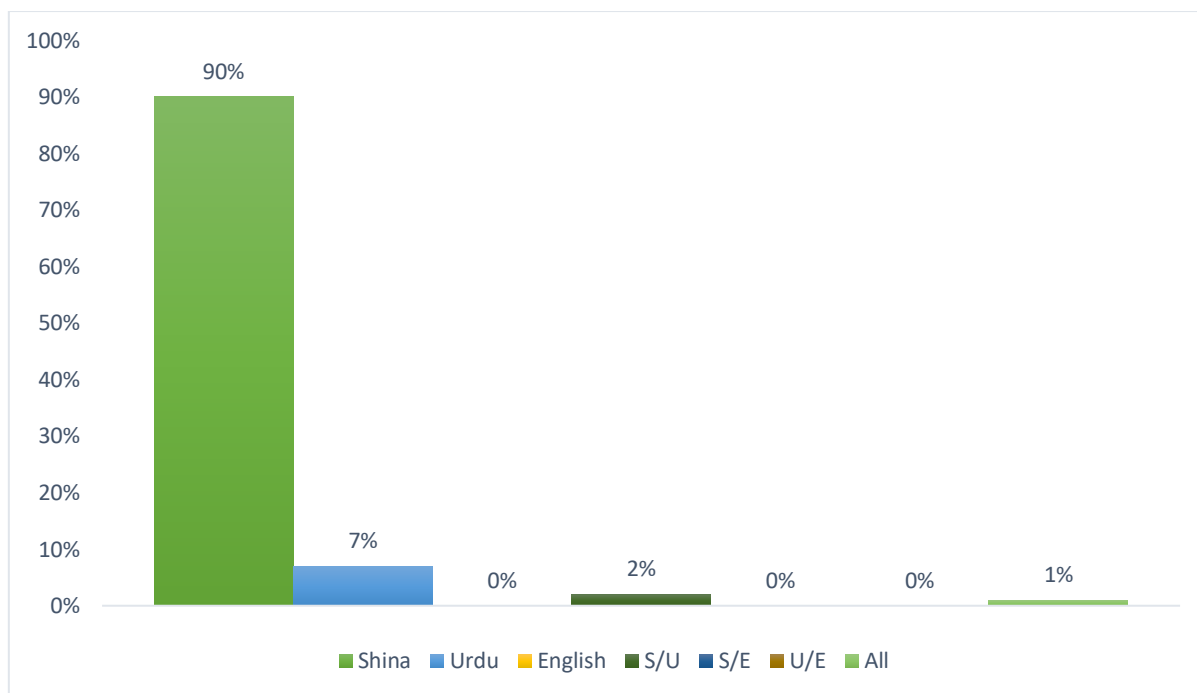
Religious Domain

The religious domain focusses on studying how language is used within religious communities, institutions and contexts.

Language Used while Making *Dua* (Asking God for something)

Languages	Shina	Urdu	English	Shina/Urdu	Shina/English	Urdu/English	All
Percentage	90%	7%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%

Table 1.8: Language used while making dua



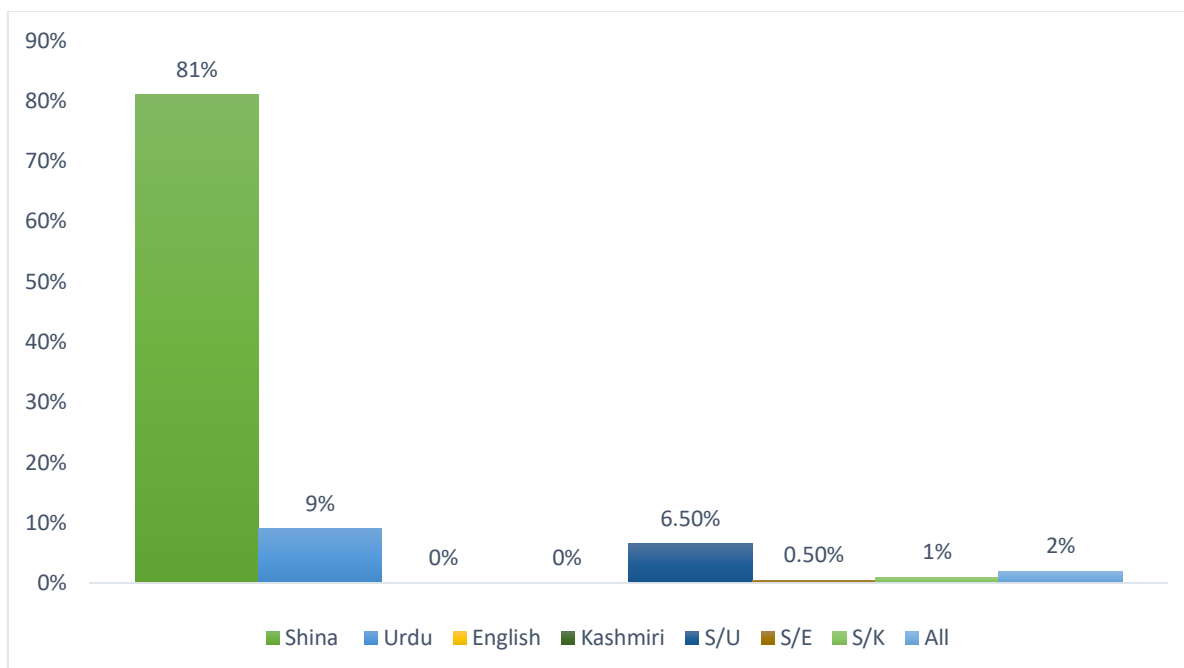
Graph 1.8: Language used while making dua

From the above graph 1.8, it can be observed that majority of respondents have claimed to use Shina while making dua i.e. asking God for something, followed by Urdu which is 7% and the combination of Shina and Urdu which is 2%. Shina gets maximum score, which may be construed as reflecting that Shina speakers are more attached to their native language.

Language Used while Talking with Other Worshipers in the Mosque

Languages	Shina	Urdu	English	Kashmiri	Shina/Urdu	Shina/English	Urdu/Kashmiri	All
Percentage	81%	9%	0%	0%	6.5%	0.5%	1%	2%

Table 1.9: Language used while talking with others worshipers in the mosque



Graph 1.9: Language used while talking with others worshipers in the mosque

It is evident from the above graph 1.9, 81% of informants use Shina language for religious discussions followed by Urdu language which is 9% and the combination of Shina and Urdu which is 6.50%. When people use their native language in religious discussions, it often reflects the complex interplay of language, culture, spirituality, and identity in forming religious beliefs, practices, and experiences. The importance of linguistic diversity and tradition is emphasized.

Conclusion

From the above discussion of domains of language use among Shina youth of Gurez valley, it becomes evident that they have maintained their mother tongue in the home domain. It was found that the informants find Shina more comfortable language in order to fully express themselves in informal situations. In educational domain the use of Shina is not as dominant as in the home domain because Shina youth prefer to speak Urdu with teachers and friends inside the classroom. The results also reveal that they use Shina while interacting with their own community people and prefer Urdu language when interacting with the non-Shina speakers at market. The Shina language appears to have a dominant role in the places of worship and in religious discourse.

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Exploring the Metaphorical Richness of Agricultural Lexemes in Tamil: A Cultural Tapestry Unveiled

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Abstract

This research article delves into the metaphorical extensions within agricultural lexemes in the Tamil language, unraveling a rich tapestry of linguistic evolution and cultural interplay. The study explores how metaphors, rooted in the foundational activity of agriculture, serve as powerful conduits for expressing diverse facets of human experience. The metaphorical journey spans lexical items such as *talaiyeṭu*, *kaḷaiyeṭu*, *allakkai*, *maṭaimārru*, and *vaṭikāl*, revealing the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and agricultural practices. This analysis highlights the complexity of language evolution, where metaphors rooted in specific cultural practices offer a unique lens through which individuals express and conceptualize abstract ideas. The metaphorical extension of agricultural lexemes serves as a testament to the dynamic interplay between language, culture, and human experiences.

Keywords: Agriculture – Metaphor – *talaiyeṭu*, *kaḷaiyeṭu*, *allakkai*, *maṭaimārru*, *vaṭikāl*

0. Introduction

Human creativity is evident in the way individuals perceive new concepts through the lens of their familiar and experienced activities. As people engage with the nature of objects and activities, they often encounter unexplainable nuances that shape their understanding. Metaphor, as a linguistic device, plays a crucial role in this cognitive process. Carter (2004) thoroughly investigates the intricate domain of linguistic expression, examining the pivotal role of metaphor in cognitive processes. Metaphors, manifested through their widespread use in everyday language, function as imaginative instruments in human discourse, facilitating the depiction of a wide range

of emotions and experiences. While psycholinguistic research has yielded insights into metaphor comprehension (Gibbs, 1994; Glucksberg, 2001; Kintsch, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), the study of how the mind generates metaphors is a burgeoning field (Chiappe & Chiappe, 2007; De Barros et al., 2010; Pierce & Chiappe, 2009; Silvia & Beaty, 2012). The present article is a lexicographer's point view of metaphorical extension of agricultural lexemes.

Individuals tend to categorize entities based on their inherent qualities, a cognitive mechanism deeply ingrained in human nature. This categorization allows for a more accessible and relatable interpretation of the surrounding world. For instance, within a specific African social group, the classification of 'women' within the category of 'dangerous things' exemplifies how such cognitive processes can lead to unique perspectives and associations. This phenomenon underscores the intricate interplay between human cognition, language, and cultural perceptions. Metaphor is a word or phrase that is used in an imaginative way to show that somebody/something has the same qualities as another thing (Metaphor, Jan, 2024). According to George Lakoff (1987), metaphor involves the mapping of cognitive structures from one domain to another within the cognitive process.

Language, as a dynamic and living entity, mirrors the cultural and historical experiences of a society. One fascinating area where this linguistic evolution is evident is in the metaphorical meanings embedded within agricultural lexemes. Agriculture, being one of the oldest and most fundamental human activities, has not only shaped civilizations but has also profoundly influenced the way we express ideas. In this article, we explore the metaphorical richness of agricultural terminology, uncovering the layers of meaning that extend beyond the fields.

Agricultural language is replete with metaphors that draw parallels between farming activities and various aspects of human life. The metaphorical use of phrases such as "sowing the seeds," "cultivating relationships," or "harvesting success" extends the lexicon to encapsulate broader experiences. Here, the act of planting seeds becomes a metaphor for initiating actions that lead to growth and fruition in diverse contexts.

Agricultural lexemes are not limited to describing physical processes; they also enrich the language of relationships. Phrases like "nurturing a friendship" or "sowing the seeds of love" borrow from the agricultural domain to convey the idea of investing time and effort to cultivate

meaningful connections. The metaphorical extension enhances the depth of expression in interpersonal communication.

1.0. Metaphorical Meaning of Agricultural Lexemes

In exploring the metaphorical meanings within agricultural lexemes, we discover a rich tapestry of language that transcends the literal boundaries of fields and farms. The metaphorical extensions of agricultural terms allow for a nuanced and expressive way of communicating about diverse aspects of human existence. Whether describing relationships, intellectual pursuits, business endeavors, or the seasons of life, the metaphorical richness of agricultural language continues to cultivate a deeper understanding of the world around us. As we navigate the vast landscape of linguistic expression, we find that the seeds sown by our agricultural ancestors continue to bear metaphorical fruit in the fields of communication and understanding.

This article explores the metaphorical extensions of agricultural lexemes within the Tamil language. It aims to showcase how Tamils have expanded the meanings of agricultural terms based on their understanding, perception, and cultural context. The subsequent section introduces various lexical items from Tamil agriculture along with their extended meanings.

1.1. Developments in a Person's Life

In the realm of linguistic intricacies, the *Crea Dictionary of Contemporary Tamil* (2018) introduces the verb ***talaiyeṭu*** with two distinct senses. The primary sense denotes the sprouting of vegetation, while the secondary sense alludes to the metaphorical notion of 'coming up in the world.' This linguistic exploration unveils a metaphorical richness deeply embedded in the cultural tapestry of Tamil, particularly within the lexicon of agriculture.

In the grand narrative of human development, the trajectory from infancy to independence mirrors the growth of a paddy sapling in a new field. Dependent initially, much like infants rely on their parents, the sapling burgeons over time, with roots and leaves gradually taking form. This agricultural analogy becomes a poetic metaphor for the journey of individuals establishing their lives and achieving autonomy.

The specificity of the agricultural lexeme ***talaiyeṭu*** ties it intricately to the world of paddy plantation. In this agrarian context, the sapling is deliberately planted at a slant in prepared mud.

As the sapling matures, its roots delve into the soil, and new leaves emerge, standing upright. This natural progression mirrors the symbolic act of lifting one's head from a hanging position. The underlying metaphor here is profound: the plant signifies independence, a journey initiated towards self-sufficiency.

Yet, this cultural richness encounters a challenge in urban settings where the majority may be estranged from the lexeme's basic agricultural meaning. Urban masses encountering "talaiyeṭu" might seek a literal interpretation, missing the nuanced metaphorical context. This gap is exemplified when a Tamil dictionary describes *talaiyeṭu* as the 'sprout' of any plant, showcasing a lack of understanding from the perspective of crop cultivation.

Key Points of Consideration

Cultural Embeddedness: The metaphorical usage of *talaiyeṭu* is deeply rooted in the cultural practices of paddy cultivation, demanding an understanding of these practices for accurate interpretation.

Metaphor as Symbolism: The metaphorical extension, from a paddy sapling lifting its head to the growth and independence of young individuals, symbolizes a profound connection between agricultural processes and human experiences.

Urbanization Impact: The gap in understanding traditional agricultural practices in urban settings leads to potential misinterpretations of metaphorical language, highlighting the impact of urbanization on linguistic comprehension.

Importance of Cultural Context: The discrepancy between intended metaphorical meaning and a literal translation underscores the necessity of considering cultural and contextual nuances in language interpretation, emphasizing the importance of holistic comprehension.

In essence, the metaphorical richness within the agricultural lexemes of Tamil transcends linguistic boundaries, weaving a cultural tapestry that requires a keen understanding of both agrarian practices and the metaphorical intricacies that elevate language to an art form.

1.2. Cultivating Excellence Across Fields

The *Crea Dictionary* introduces **kaḷai** as a headword, yet **kaḷaiyeṭu** doesn't hold the same distinction, possibly due to a lack of citations or its transparency as a literal phrase. Despite this, the metaphorical richness embedded in **kaḷaiyeṭu** unfolds a captivating extension, seamlessly connecting the agricultural domain with the intricacies of institutional management. This metaphor delicately draws parallels between the act of removing weeds from crops and expelling inefficient or dishonest workers from an institution, illustrating the profound interplay between language, culture, and everyday practices.

Key Highlights

Literal Foundation

The literal meaning of **kaḷaiyeṭu**, focused on weed removal in agriculture, establishes a concrete link to the tangible task of ensuring the health and growth of crops. This literal foundation serves as a springboard for a metaphorical exploration into the realm of organizational management.

Metaphorical Symphony

The metaphorical extension to workplace dynamics, involving the removal of inefficient or dishonest workers, resonates as a symphony of language evolution. This metaphor elegantly captures the essence of managerial actions mirroring the agricultural task, both aimed at fostering an environment conducive to growth.

Parallel Productivity

The parallelism between the two meanings lies in their shared objective of promoting productivity and positive growth. Whether in the fields or within an institution, the removal of impediments—be they physical weeds or metaphorical hindrances—reflects a commitment to creating fertile ground for development.

Cultural Roots

This linguistic evolution reflects a cultural understanding deeply rooted in the significance of agriculture and efficient work practices. The metaphor becomes a cultural bridge, allowing individuals to seamlessly navigate between the tangible world of farming and the abstract realm of organizational dynamics.

Language as a Cultural Mirror

The consistent use of *kaḷaiyeṭu* in contexts mirrors a shared value system that places a premium on efficiency, productivity, and the proactive removal of obstacles. The language becomes a cultural mirror reflecting values associated with growth, diligence, and the pursuit of excellence.

In summary, *kaḷaiyeṭu* stands as a testament to language's ability to encapsulate cultural values and seamlessly extend metaphors across diverse domains. This linguistic journey not only enriches the tapestry of language but also serves as a vibrant reflection of a culture's enduring commitment to excellence and growth.

1.3. Nurturing Interdependence Across Agricultural Landscapes

The *Crea dictionary* assigns only one sense to the lexeme *allakkai* - 'toady,' marked as derogatory and not commonly used in Standard Tamil. However, the Tamil lexeme *allakkai* embarks on a captivating linguistic journey, seamlessly weaving together the literal and metaphorical aspects, drawing inspiration from the agricultural tapestry of daily life. This exploration, ranging from the side bars of a bullock cart to the tender plants on banana trees and sugarcane stems, paints a vivid picture of dependency and support, echoing the interconnectedness found in both transportation and agriculture.

Key Insights

Literal Foundation

The literal meaning, rooted in the side bars of a bullock cart, establishes a foundational connection to the essential supports that enable the cart's movement. This tangible depiction sets the stage for a metaphorical exploration into the world of agriculture.

Metaphorical Symbolism

The metaphorical extension to young plants in banana trees and sugarcane stems introduces layers of symbolism, akin to the supportive side bars. These young plants, designated as *allak kaṭṭai* and *allak karumpu* reflect the dependence and support crucial for their growth.

Cultural Connotations

In certain Tamil dialects, *allakkai* likely carries cultural significance, serving as a metaphor for individuals dependent on others for their livelihood. This mirrors the supportive nature of the side bars or the young plants relying on the central plant.

Agricultural Language Integration

The close connection between language and agricultural practices is evident, showcasing how metaphors derived from daily farming activities convey profound cultural meanings. The lexeme acts as a linguistic vessel, carrying the essence of interdependence across diverse contexts.

Everyday Language Usage

The usage of *allakkai* in everyday language seamlessly integrates into conversations within communities familiar with agricultural practices. The metaphorical extension becomes a natural expression for discussions on support, dependence, and communal livelihood.

In summary, *allakkai* emerges as a linguistic marvel, gracefully bridging the realms of the literal and the metaphorical. This lexeme not only captures the essence of dependency and support but also serves as a cultural touchstone, reflecting the rich tapestry of meanings woven into the fabric of daily agricultural life.

1.4. Orchestrating Narrative Currents: The Art of Political Diversion

The Tamil lexeme *maṭaimārru* as defined by the *Crea dictionary* means ‘divert something (for a different use).’ This term delves into the intricate dance between the literal and metaphorical, where the redirection of water in agriculture finds a captivating parallel in the strategic redirection of public attention within the political landscape. This linguistic journey unveils the seamless transition from the fields to the corridors of power, where the term becomes a powerful metaphor for shaping discourse.

Key Insights

Literal Anchoring

The literal meaning, rooted in the agricultural act of diverting water flow between fields, establishes a tangible foundation. This practical necessity for efficient irrigation sets the stage for a metaphorical exploration.

Metaphorical Maneuvers

The metaphorical extension to politics involves the deliberate diversion of public attention from one matter to another. This strategic use of *maṭaimārru* mirrors the agricultural action, now applied to the currents of discourse in the political domain.

Parallel Objectives

The parallelism lies in the shared objective of directing flows, whether it's water in agriculture or attention in politics. Both actions involve a calculated redirection for specific purposes, optimizing resources in one case and influencing public opinion in the other.

Cultural Resonance

The metaphorical usage likely resonates with the cultural significance of agriculture. By employing a term from the agricultural landscape to describe political maneuvers, there's a subtle connection between nurturing crops and managing public perception.

Practical Language Evolution

The metaphorical extension of *maṭaimārru* reflects the organic evolution of language based on practical experiences. The term seamlessly integrates into everyday life, where individuals can intuitively grasp the concept of redirecting water and attention.

In summary, *maṭaimārru* emerges as a linguistic masterpiece, bridging the realms of agricultural practices and political strategy. This metaphorical extension not only enriches the language by drawing on familiar actions but also provides a nuanced and culturally resonant way to articulate the complex dynamics of redirecting narrative currents within the realm of public discourse.

1.5. Flowing Emotions, Urban Outlets: The Versatility of *vaṭikāl*

The *Crea dictionary* defines *vaṭikāl* in a very general way within the domain of agriculture, describing it as a channel for draining water from an area to prevent stagnation during the rainy season. The English equivalents provided are 'outlet,' 'drain,' and 'drainage.' However, the Tamil term *vaṭikāl* beautifully unravels its journey from irrigated fields to the urban landscape, showcasing its evolution from a literal agricultural channel to a metaphorical expression of

emotional release. This linguistic metamorphosis highlights the fluidity of language, seamlessly adapting to diverse contexts and resonating with the nuanced experiences of both rural and urban life.

Key Insights

Literal Anchoring

The term's literal meaning, rooted in agriculture as a small irrigation channel, lays a solid foundation. This practical application in water management sets the stage for its metaphorical and figurative extensions.

Urban Generalization

The metaphorical extension of *vaṭikāl* broadens its scope to encompass any outlet for water, including rainwater, in urban areas. This generalized usage reflects the adaptability of language to diverse environments.

Figurative Emotional Outlet

The figurative meaning introduces a poignant metaphor, likening emotional release, particularly through crying, to the controlled flow of water. This figurative usage elegantly captures the idea that crying serves as an outlet for sorrow.

Parallelism of Flow and Release

The common thread of flow and release runs through both the literal and metaphorical senses. Whether it's water finding its way out in agriculture or emotions seeking an outlet, the term encapsulates the notion of controlled release for specific purposes.

Cultural Integration

The metaphorical extension seamlessly integrates agricultural practices with urban experiences. This reflects a cultural connection, emphasizing the importance of outlets in both contexts, be it for water or emotions.

Expressive Language

The use of *vaṭikāl* exemplifies the expressive nature of language, allowing individuals to articulate complex ideas by drawing connections between tangible actions and abstract concepts.

vaṭikāl emerges as a linguistic chameleon, adapting its meaning to diverse environments and experiences. This versatile term enriches the language by providing a conduit for expressing controlled release and outlets, bridging the gap between agricultural roots and the urban fabric of emotions and drainage alike.

Conclusion

In the exploration of metaphorical extensions within agricultural lexemes in the Tamil language, a rich tapestry of linguistic evolution and cultural interplay emerges. Each instance reveals a seamless transition from literal agricultural contexts to metaphorical expressions, showcasing the dynamic nature of language and its ability to encapsulate complex ideas. The metaphors not only draw upon the daily practices of farming but also serve as powerful conduits for expressing diverse facets of human experience.

The metaphorical journey of *talaiyeṭu*, embodying the ascent of paddy saplings and metaphorically stretching to the emergence of young individuals in the journey of life, serves as a poignant illustration of the profound cultural richness inherent in agricultural metaphors. This instance encapsulates the intricate interplay between the tangible practices of agriculture and the symbolic resonance they carry in shaping human experiences. In the mosaic of linguistic expressions, *talaiyeṭu* stands as a testament to the enduring connection between cultural heritage and the vibrant metaphors that breathe life into language.

The metaphorical journey continues with *kaḷaiyeṭu*, bridging the gap between weeding in agriculture and the removal of inefficient workers in institutions. This parallels the shared objective of promoting growth, whether in crops or organizations, underscoring the interconnectedness of language with everyday practices.

The lexeme *allakkai* intricately weaves together the literal side bars of a bullock cart with the supportive elements in banana trees and sugarcane stems, offering a metaphor for individuals dependent on others for their livelihood. This exemplifies how language can serve as a cultural bridge, connecting diverse aspects of life.

maṭaimārru further extends the metaphorical horizon, transitioning from diverting water flow in agriculture to the strategic diversion of attention in the political domain. The parallelism lies in the intentional redirection for specific purposes, whether optimizing irrigation or influencing public discourse.

The journey concludes with *vaṭikāl*, evolving from a small irrigation channel to a generalized outlet for water in urban areas, metaphorically extending to emotions as an outlet for sorrow. This exemplifies the adaptability of language, seamlessly integrating agricultural practices with the diverse experiences of urban life.

In essence, these instances collectively portray language not merely as a means of communication but as a living, evolving entity deeply intertwined with culture and human experience. The metaphorical extensions of agricultural lexemes serve as windows into the rich tapestry of linguistic expression, reflecting the profound connections between the tangible practices of farming and the nuanced complexities of human existence.

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Toy Preferences of Children with ASD: A Preliminary Study from Southern Kerala

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Abstract

Aim: To explore the choice of toy preferences of young children with autism spectrum disorders in a free play session

Method: Twelve children with ASD were assessed on their choice of toy selection on a ten-minute-long free play session. The toys with which the participant demonstrated play behavior were only considered for analyzing the toy selection. The play behaviors were coded following the play coding scheme of Libby, Powell, Messer and Jordan (1998). ELAN software was employed for analyzing the video recordings.

Result: Friedman test was employed to find out any significant difference present in the choice of toy selection by children with ASD. The results indicated a strong preference for infant toys, followed by the Animal, Vehicle toy category and the toy Bat. Furthermore, the infant toys were mostly used to engage in sensorimotor play rather than functional play. However, Vehicle toy category elicited more functional play behavior in children compared to Animal toy category.

Conclusion: In a free play session, young children with ASD exhibited a preference to Infant toys, vehicles and animal toys, of which vehicle toys had the potential to elicit functional play from them. Rehabilitation professionals should give special attention to the usefulness of play skills and the type of toys that need to be selected for early assessment and interventions of these children.

Keywords: Children with ASD, Toy Play, Sensorimotor play, Autism, ELAN

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Introduction

Play is the primary occupation of preschool children having the potential to unveil the windows of their developmental skills (Kennedy-Behr, Rodger, Mickan, 2013). Children build their basic fundamental skills needed for the development of language, social communication, social cognition through the early pleasurable routine namely play. Knowing the importance of play in the early periods of life, the field of school psychology appreciated the possibility of play in the assessment and intervention of children with disability for decades. Following this direction, Piaget (1962) and Vygotsky (1978) initiated studies on the changes of play behavior in children during the course of their development. According to Piaget (1952), play provides a natural opportunity for children to explore, manipulate and imitate the environment around them. This fastens the development of cognitive and sensory motor skills in them.

Most of the studies on play focused on the toddler period as in this period, children become increasingly competent in their interaction with objects and adults. The more mature motor skills allow them to freely move around and explore objects in the environment. Object manipulation becomes an inevitable part of this phase (Pellegrini & Smith, 1998). Later their manipulation becomes more organized, beginning to attend and imitate the actions of the common objects, and use it more meaningfully in the daily context leading to the emergence of symbolic play. In a symbolic play, children pretend to use objects on their own, with others and in combination with other toys. Hence play objects such as toys have an integral role in the play experience of 90% of preschool children (Tizzard et al, 1976)

Previous research suggested scant studies on the effects of a toy on play skills. Yet, the studies discussing the importance of toys on play skill highlighted the physical attribute, toy preference and parent choice of toys. The physical nature of the toys influences the development in the various domains such as cognition, social, fine and gross motor function. Toys of contrasting colors and textures, with multiple parts, offer the chances for multiple responses and play manners to children. The selection of toys is often determined by the interest of the child towards the toy, the developmental level of the child, the availability of the toy and the impact of cultural beliefs. Studying the availability of toys to preschool children, Pierce, 1999 interviewed the mother and reported that children used to have the toys purchased by mothers prioritizing play items of

educational values and also from friends and relatives as gifts on any special occasion such as a birthday party.

. Research documenting the gender difference on toy selection found that the selection of toys is influenced by the play materials i.e. type of toys (Emolu, 2014), parental interaction and encouragement on gender-specific toys (Bornstein & Lamb, 2011) and the socioeconomic status of the family (Shahidi, 2012). A difference of opinion exists on how early children had this gender-typed preference on toys. Hong, Hwang, and Chi Peng, 2012 opined the presence of this gender preference in early years of life in contradiction to Kane (2006) finding of girls having gender-neutral preferences of toys than boys. In general, boys prefer to play with the model objects of vehicles, tools and construction material in contrast to the girl's preference to play with the household items (Ruble, Martin, & Berenbaum, 2006). Shojae, Ying cui and Shahidi, 2016 studied the gender-typed preference on 256 children between 4 to 10 years of age on 5 set of toys (*car, doll, teddy bear, bicycle, throwing rings & yoyo*) and found that children displayed a gender-typed preference for Doll considering as girlish toy and car as boyish toy.

The developmental status of the child decides the use of toys and the related manners of play. In the early period of life, around 3 to 4 months of age, typically developing infants shift their attention from caregivers to objects around them (Tre-varthen, 1979, 1988). They attempt to grasp, manipulate, and inspect objects indiscriminately resulting in sensorimotor exploration evidenced by waving, banging and mouthing. At around 6 months of age, the increased levels of exploration help them to understand nature and relationship of different objects and develop related action schemas (Uzgiris & Hunt, 1975). Towards the end of the first birthday, children started to use everyday objects in a conventional manner (Ungerer & Sigman, 1981). Functional play emerges in children by around 13-15 months of age. As they grow older, functional plays become more elaborated & other-directed one (Fenson & Ramsay, 1980) paved the way for the emergence of symbolic play.

Unlike typically developing children, play studies of children with ASD displayed significant impairment on object use. Their exploratory play is characterized by unusual features such as odd patterns of visual inspection, twisting of objects near the eyes (Dahlgren & Gillberg,

1989); visual scrutiny of single object or parts of object for a longer period (Freeman et al., 1979); more sniffing and mouthing of objects (Freeman, Ritvo, & Schroth, 1984) & atypical interest in the odor & texture of objects (APA, 1994). Children with ASD showed a preponderance of sensorimotor play in comparison to language matched typically developing children (Libby, Powell, Messer, and Jordan (1998). Studies also reported stereotypic fashion of object use in children with ASD such as lining up of objects, piling up objects one over the others & ordering & reordering the objects repeatedly (Adrien et al., 1987). This disrupts them from exploring the conventional use of objects. Williams et al., 2001 closely examined the functional play in children with ASD and suggested their play as simple, less varied & elaborate.

In this context, play is a potential natural platform to elicit the optimal performance of children with and without disabilities. Considering the importance of toys in play experience and limited indigenous studies on the same, the present study attempts to contribute to the literature on the toy preferences of children with ASD.

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore the choice of toy preferences of young children with autism spectrum disorders in a free play session. The present study investigated the following specific research question.

- a) Do children with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) exhibit any specific preference for toys while engaging in a free play session?

Method

Participants

Twelve children with ASD recruited from an early intervention center in Kerala, served as the participants. The participants who met the diagnosis of ASD on Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-5 (DSM-5) and Childhood Autism Rating Scale (CARS) were considered for the study. The participants were distributed into 3 age groups, 2-3; 3-4; & 4-5 yrs. respectively comprising 4 members in each group. The participants were distributed to socioeconomic status of SES- III and

SES-IV (Venkatesan,2012) with the education of father and mother not below graduation. Informed written consent was obtained from the parents to participate in the study.

Materials

The play materials used in the study, comprised of a set of traditional toys selected based on the guidelines given by Venkatesan (2010) in Toy kit for Kids with developmental disabilities (User manual) and also glean support from the study of Libby, Powell, Messer, and Jordan, (1998). The examiner had given consideration to include toys that were familiar and had the potential to evince different types of play behavior. The play object categories employed in the study are listed down in Table 1 with example.

Table 1 Play object category and the items

	Category of the Play object	Items
1	Infant toy	Xylophone, drum, rattles, flute
2	Construction toy	Blocks, Puzzles
3	House toys	Kitchen set
4	Plastic animals	Pet animals & wild animals
5	Vehicles	Car, bus, JCB, Bike
6	Dolls	A doll
7	Functional	Bat, Ball, Phone, Torch
8	Action figure	Chottabheem-windup toy
9	Pre-literacy	Books, Crayons
10	Bubbles	Bubble

A Sony Camcorder fixed in a tripod stand was used to record the free play of children as it was portable as well as convenient for videotaping in clinical rooms.

Procedure

To ensure the best results from participants, attempts were made to make the procedure of free play recording very natural and flexible. The recording was carried out in an intervention room with limited furniture and free space for arranging the toys. The selected set of toys were spread out in a semi-circular fashion as this arrangement provided easy access and visual scanning of all the toys from the middle of the toy array. A free recording of a single participant was carried out at a time. The participant was seated at the middle of the toy array with a parent, either father or mother, sitting in line or one line behind the child's seat. Parents were instructed strictly not to provide any instruction, demonstrate any play behavior and or label any toys for their child. Instead, they were directed to respond naturally whenever their children show distress and also to encourage their children to play. Free play was video recorded for a duration of ten minutes. The recording was continuous until the child wandered out of the view of the camera for longer than 60 seconds. In such a scenario, the examiner resumed recording only after the child starts playing with the toys again.

Scoring

An overall ten minutes of free play of each child were analyzed for coding the types of toys engaged for the play. ELAN software was employed for analyzing the video recordings. The selection of toys by the participant and its frequency were analyzed and coded for the number of times the child held that particular toy. The toys with which the participant demonstrating play behavior were only considered for analyzing the toy selection. The object play with the toy was coded for different types of play behavior following the play coding scheme developed by Libby, Powell, Messer, and Jordan (1998). The current study particularly focused on the choice of toy selection made by the participant.

Inter-rater Reliability Measures

Inter-rater agreement for classification of play behavior was calculated using intraclass correlation (Bishop et al., 1975) on all of the 12 videos. The scores for the

categorization of play behavior ranged from 0.947 to 0.997. These obtained scores represent excellent agreement.

Analysis

Non-parametric measures were employed in the study as the variation in the sample failed to follow a normal distribution. The Friedman test was performed to find out if there exists a significant difference in the different types of toy`s use among the whole 12 participants. Descriptive statistics were used to find out the most frequently engaged toy categories in each age group.

Results

Toy Category

Table 2 provides an overview of the frequency data in percentage for different types of toys across three age groups, 2-3 years, 3-4 years and 4-5 years respectively.

Table 2

Frequency percentage of different toy category selected.

Participant	Inf	Con	Veh	Ani	Hou	Dol	Bal	Phn	Tor	Bat	PreL	Bub	Act
S1 (2-3yrs)	26	6	29	3	3	16	10	0	0	3	3	0	0
S2	25	6	31	3	3	16	9	0	0	3	3	0	0
S3	6	6	0	28	22	6	6	6	0	11	6	0	6
S4	41	6	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	29	0	12

S5 (3-4yrs)	0	17	23	9	9	0	0	20	6	0	0	17	0
S6	31	0	3	0	0	3	0	19	0	32	0	5	6
S7	12	20	32	20	8	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0
S8	15	3	53	26	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
S9 (4- 5yrs)	0	0	8	68	3	0	5	0	5	11	0	0	0
S10	0	60	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0	0
S11	50	6	0	31	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
S12	19	8	14	8	3	8	3	3	0	22	8	0	5

Note. Inf=Infant toy; Con=Construction toy; Veh= Vehicle toy; Ani=Animal toy; Hou=House toy; Dol=Doll toy; Bal=Ball toy; Phn=Phone toy; Tor Tor=Torch toy; Bat=Bat toy; Pre-L=Pre-Literacy toy, Bub=Bubble toy and Act=Action Toy.

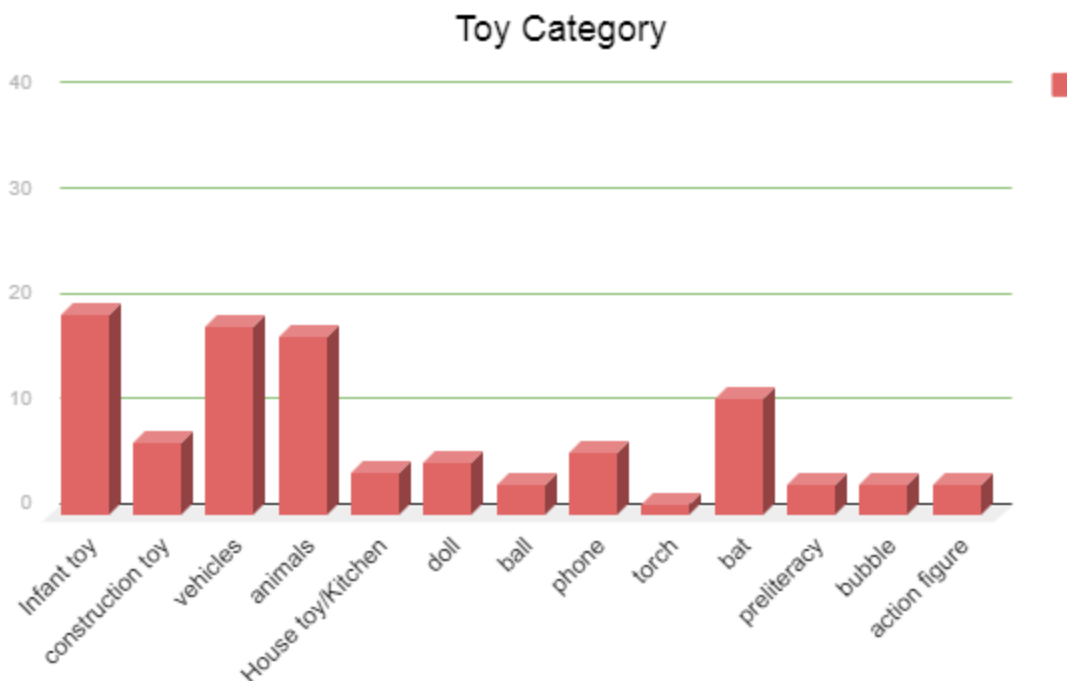


Figure 1. Total frequency percentage of toy category used in free play. This figure illustrates the total percentage of different types of toys selected by children with ASD.

The results of the Friedman test indicated a significant difference in the toy category used by children with autism spectrum disorders with a $\chi^2 (11) = 26.25, p=0.010$ ($p<0.01$). Subsequent to that a post hoc analysis with Wilcoxon signed -rank test was conducted to find out the toy categories preferred mostly by children with ASD. The obtained results are as follows.

Toy Preference of Young Children with ASD

Infant toy

A post hoc analysis of Wilcoxon sign rank test indicated that children showed a significant difference in the preference of Infant toys compared to other toy categories such as House toy ($|z|=0.037, p<0.05$), Doll ($|z|=0.012, p<0.05$), Ball ($|z|=0.046, p<0.05$), Torch ($|z|=0.09, p<0.05$), Pre Literacy ($|z|=-0.012, p<0.05$) and Action figure ($|z|=0.012, p<0.05$) and Bubbles ($|z|=0.017, p<0.05$). This result indicated the strong preference of children with ASD to engage in infant toys

that can explicitly stimulate their atypical sensory responses. Descriptive statistics also revealed that 75 percent of children showed interest and preferred to engage with Infant toys.

However, Wilcoxon sign rank test failed to find a statistically significant difference between infant toys, vehicles, animals and the bat among children with ASD suggesting these toys caught their attention and were manipulated for almost the same count.

Animals & Vehicles

Children with ASD revealed a statistically significant difference in the preference of both the animal and vehicle category toys with the House toy($z=0.028$, $p<0.05$);($z=0.038$, $p<0.05$), Action figure($|z|=0.040$, $p<0.05$); ($|z|=0.047$, $p<0.05$), Torch($|z|=0.007$, $p<0.05$); ($|z|=0.012$, $p<0.05$) and Bubbles ($|z|=0.041$, $p<0.05$; ($|z|=0.024$, $p<0.05$). Except for three children with ASD, all others enjoyed playing with animal and vehicle category toys.

Construction Toys

Construction toys including blocks and puzzles were more preferred statistically than the ball ($|z|=0.005$, $p<0.05$) and bubbles ($|z|=0.014$, $p<0.05$) by children with ASD.

House Toy

Only five children with ASD were interested in playing with house toys, specifically the kitchen utensil and cup. This preference was significantly more than the use of the toy, Torch ($|z|=0.025$, $p<0.05$).

Play Behavior with the Preferred Toy

The play behavior displayed for highly preferred four toys (Infant toy, Animal, Vehicles and Bat) by children with ASD were coded using the play coding scheme developed by Libby, Powell, Messer and Jordan, 1998. It was observed that 71 percent of the time, infant toys were used for sensorimotor exploration. Only 21 percent of the time, it was used functionally by children with ASD. In comparison to the infant toy, the vehicle toy was engaged more in a conventional functional manner, i.e. around 41 percent of the time. At the same time, animal category toys were

played functionally for 19 percent of time. Children with ASD were more interested in visual examination, banging, mouthing the toy bat for 77 percent of the time than using it to hit for 22 percent of the time. A total of less than 30 percent of the time, children with ASD exhibited relational play with the Infant toy (9 %), Vehicle (10%), and animal (13%).

Discussion

The aim of the study was to explore what type of toys young children with ASD prefer during a free play session of no longer than ten minutes. Overall, the examiner found a significant difference in the toy preference of children with ASD. They prefer mostly the infant toys consisting of flute, drum, xylophone, rattles etc. keeping up with the findings of the study by Dominguez, Ziviani and Rodger, (2006) and Doody and Mertz (2013). The greatest preference of infant toys may be attributed to the potential of such objects to provide a structure through an external stimulus (Malone & Langone, 1994) or such toys could elicit a rapid response of sensory stimulation (Ziviani, Boyle and Rodger, 2001). This was also evidenced in the current study as 71 percent of the time, the infant toy was engaged for sensorimotor exploration by nine children with ASD. On the other hand, children with ASD played less frequently with house toys, dolls, balls, books, etc.

A total of eight children with ASD preferred to play with vehicle toys, choosing it with a frequency of 18 percent of their total play time. This is the only toy category that elicited maximum functional play from children with ASD. Surprisingly, a similar finding of functional play behavior is not replicated in a related study by Dominguez et al, 2010 and it could be due to the difference in the toys chosen for the Vehicle category. The present study included toys such as the model of bus, car, bike, airplane, and wheeled fish instead of a tractor, horse, trailer and ambulance. The latter set of vehicle toys such as a tractor, trailer, and an ambulance may not be a prototypical representation of the toy category- vehicle in our Indian culture due to the ethnographical difference.

Studies investigating the gender influence on toy selection in infants using eye tracking method employed toy category vehicle-car & doll for the research (Alexander, Wilcox and Woods, 2009). They reported a gender-specific toy preference of typically developing infants as young as

8 months wherein boys had longer visual attention to toy trucks than girls. The results of the present study also replicated the gender preference of toy vehicles though was not chosen as an objective. Except two, all the remaining boys showed a preference for Toy category- vehicles. This gender specific selection of toys could also be attributed to the parental encouragement to use gender typical toy play (Pasterski et al., 2005)

Though seven children with ASD engaged with the animal toy category for 17 percent of total time, they used it conventionally only for a frequency count of six times. All boys except one engaged with the animal toys in comparison to single girl participants. In general, all three boys between 3 to 4 years of age maximally engaged with the toy category vehicle and animals in comparison to preference of infant toys in younger age groups (2-3yrs). This could be attributed to either the familiarity or the developmental advantage as supported by the cognitive theorist, Piaget. Overall, children with ASD showed less preference for construction toys and house toys, this could be hypothesized to their longer engagement in the sensorimotor exploration of preferred toy categories such as Infant toy, vehicles, animals etc.

Surprisingly, in comparison to the toy Ball, children with ASD showed a preference for the toy Bat. The toy category bat and ball are semantically associated and expected to play with either together or to show a greater preference to ball than the bat by typically developing children. The reverse results obtained in the study may be due to the availability of more opportunities for atypical sensorimotor exploration for the toy bat such as visual scanning by tilting the bat and examining it. Another reason could be the toy category ball, typically could arouse more enthusiasm and interest in social play than in isolation. Though not functionally used, all girl participants engaged the toy doll contributing a total play time of two percent with it.

Conclusion

From the results of the present study, it would be observed that young children with ASD exhibited a preference to Infant toys, Vehicles and animal toys, of which vehicle toys had the potential to elicit functional play from them. Considering the developmental advantage, young children between 3-4 years of age exhibited functional play with Vehicle toys compared to the

preponderance of sensorimotor exploration with infant toys usage in younger counterparts of 2-3 years of age. With the findings of the present study, educators as well as practitioners should give special attention to the usefulness of play skill and the type of toys that need to be selected for early assessment and interventions of these children. As evidenced in the study, a list of toys consisting of infant toy, vehicle, animal, doll, house toy and Construction toy should be included in free play assessment to record the possible play profile of children with ASD. The potential of the toy category vehicles and animal toys to elicit functional play along with the timely introduction of infant toys as a reinforcer helps to successfully engage in play based early intervention. Future directions are recommended to conduct the study on a large sample to obtain a functional relationship between the toy preferred and the play behavior displayed as well as to investigate the truthfulness of gender specific toy play in our culture.

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The Self, the Savage and Diversity: A Study of Texts

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Abstract

This paper aims at analysing the manner in which the ancient and modern world conceived the civilized and the savage. People have always felt distant from tribal communities and have constructed narratives projecting them as inferior to civilised societies, believing in their own myths that may be meaningless to other societies and building peculiar practices that may seem strange to others like the Indian caste system. The Enlightenment philosophy's negotiation has been one-sided as the people with 'voices' and 'expressions' wrote their versions of stories vehemently denying the existence of the others. Human thought and systems of languages accepted the division of civilised as advanced from uncivilized. Still, humanity moves on including all people under the umbrella of democracy, capitalism, and globalization.

Keywords: The Self, the Savage, Diversity

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In human capacity for self-deception to believe emphatically in our goodness, the marginalised societies have been exploited under various schemes. Modern academia, influenced by western universities, has investigated this human project using the newly emerged social science of anthropology, Marxism, and other Enlightenment theories, that gradually led to postmodern thinking, questioning the silence of certain sections of society in mainstream writing. India too has come under this western ideology of egalitarianism and has created policies to include tribes and the marginalised groups into the mainstream. Educational institutions in India are encouraged to practice inclusivity in admitting students from all communities.

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It is said that “the first tribe in India appeared from the descendants of African migrants around 65,000 years ago” and the “645 recognized tribes” found in India live across the country: “Bodo from Assam; Khasi and Garo from North East; Santhals from West Bengal; Bhil from Madhya Pradesh; Munda from Jharkhand; Andamanese from the Andamans; Warli from Maharashtra; and Gond from Andhra Pradesh.” The 2023 budget has proposed to recruit more teachers for schools in tribal areas. “Pradhan Mantri PVTG Development Mission” has been proposed to provide housing, road facilities etcetera (Karkun). All countries and all people quite naturally have classified tribals as inferiors and this history of human perception is well-recorded by western scholars.

The western countries classify other countries as lands with “high or low development of the industrial arts,” in the “manufacture of implements and vessels,” in the level of “scientific knowledge,” and the written down “moral principles,” and other methods of organizational methods of society. Ethnographers arrange the order of culture. But it is not “uncommon to find details of admirable moral and social excellence.” Human development’s principle has defined “savagery and civilization” as elements that “are connected as lower and higher stages of one formation” (Tylor).

“Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity,” and “immaturity is the inability to use one’s understanding without guidance from another.” Immaturity is the result of living without courage. “Laziness and cowardice are the reasons why so great a proportion of men, long after nature has released them from alien guidance” remain immature. The mature citizens “establish themselves as their guardians.” Immaturity is the result of easy living. There is “a strange, unexpected pattern in human affairs” which is “paradoxical” in nature. “A greater degree of civil freedom seems advantageous to a people's spiritual freedom; yet the former established impassable boundaries for the latter; conversely, a lesser degree of civil freedom provides enough room for all fully to expand their abilities.” Restricting one’s freedom will make sure that everyone has freedom (Kant).

Thus, once nature has removed the hard shell from this kernel for which she has most fondly cared, namely, the inclination to and vocation for free thinking, the

kernel gradually reacts on a people's mentality (whereby they become increasingly able to act freely), and it finally even influences the principles of government, which finds that it can profit by treating men, who are now more than machines, in accord with their dignity. (Kant)

Was there a historic period in India like the western enlightenment? The period that created acharyas who trained fellow people in disciplining their minds and bodies which created a social structure of worship and magic rituals might be the one which could have been the forerunner of Indian sciences and philosophy. The concept of 'deva' might have emerged at that time when a man disciplined himself from drinking wine and eating flesh. He concentrated on the soul's upliftment and chose an ascetic path.

"An ordinary man, by knowing more than others, is often seen to become the ruler of men," as the people with wisdom apply reason to their daily affairs and overcome all their adversaries. A disciplined person who applies reason to live is like "a disciplined warrior" who "is able to overcome a host of unrestrained savages." One can argue that "reasoning is the philosopher's stone that converts base metals to gold," as "rational souls safeguard reasoning as the greatest treasure. It yields the desired fruits of men like the wish-fulfilling Kalpa tree of paradise does with a thought" (Valmiki in *Yoga Vashista*).

Ancient societies from India and Greece and the eighteenth century European society have consistently recommended reason as an effective tool for mental well-being and living a meaningful and disciplined life or, as Kant said, living with a mature approach to life. Societies by default recommend that people should be reasonable and mature and do not recommend an intense, passionate approach to life. The tribe falls under the category of sensuality and passionate living – an immature approach to life.

A sinner is reborn as a tribal – is the ancient Indian attitude to the primitives. The tribal is condemned as being punished for the previous birth's mistakes. A dead savage hovers like a ghost in cemeteries, it is argued.

As a traveller is afraid of snakes and twice born brahmins dread demonic savages, so consciousness fears for its safety and avoids the company of the senses. Yet

from a distance, unseen consciousness directs the organs of sense to their various duties like the distant sun, from his situation in heaven, directs the daily duties of men on earth....Men's past actions make them born again as rakshasas among savages or as monkeys in forests...Whether a man leaves his body in a holy place or in the house of a low savage, or whether one dies at this moment or many years afterwards, he is released from his bondage to life as soon as he knows the soul and gets rid of his desires. The error of egoism is the cause of his bondage and its eradication through knowledge is the means of his liberation...Living friends can see the departed souls of savages hovering as ghosts over cemeteries... The past actions of men make to be born again as Rákshas among savages, and others as monkeys in forests; while some become as Kinnaras on mountains, and many as lions on mountain tops... (Valmiki in *Yoga Vashista*)

Ancient India has a definition for the quality of rational thinking - it means applying wisdom in practical affairs and living in a moderate manner, just like the ancient Greek thought. Living in a moderate and controlled manner is the way to live well, and liberating one's ego is the right way to lead one towards wisdom. Indian intelligentsia of the past isolated the majority of forest dwellers, people living in the fringes of society as sinners suffering for their past mistakes. India did not embrace all its people in an equal manner, and created different religious rituals and disciplines for selected people who perhaps were ready to give up many pleasures of life. Asceticism created a separate religion that could not be extended to all the people, either because of the difficulties involved in practising the rituals or because it was part of the organisational structure devised for kingdoms of those days. Ascetics were encouraged to study and their contribution to science, arts, medicine, and other subjects were phenomenal. A common religion and rituals, common celebrating styles and common religious systems were never established by one central religious centre. Temples were places of worship that did not allow hundreds of people to enter at the same time, and their architecture permitted only a selected few to pray at a time. Hence, in India, savages, primitives, tribals, people living in faraway places and others were never involved in the ritualistic religious practices of the ascetically systematised social behaviour. It could also be that the tribal communities were economically and culturally self-sufficient that they did not permit other ideologies to enter their

well-guarded local empires. India did not go through the social processes of one messiah influencing a continent and converting all the people to his teachings and approach to life.

On the contrary, the eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophy of Europe had been shaped by one religion and its commandments and practices which had one or two divisions but these divisions also followed the mainstream of the philosophy of one religion to which any one could convert to at any time. The philosophy shaped by this monotheistic society too viewed the primitive from other continents as inferior, but they are people from other lands and continents with whom it had negotiations only through Christian missionaries, initially and later through businessmen. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) had strong views on tribal culture and felt they were innocent and not capable of becoming civilised like Europeans.

It is a great and beautiful spectacle to see man emerge from nothingness through his own efforts, dissipating, by the light of his reason, the darkness in which nature had enveloped him; rising above himself, soaring intellectually to celestial heights, striding like the sun across the vastness of the universe, and, what is grander still and more difficult, retreating back into himself, there to study man and come to know his nature, his duties, and his destiny. (Rousseau 48)

How did men civilise themselves? Did they acquire a civilised state suddenly? Or did they go through processes? When writers described “*savages*”, they were actually describing citizens. Intellectuals are not able to visualise a period during which their ancestors must have lived like “savages”.

The savage was “acquainted” with his body alone and he employed it to “different uses.” There are many questions that come up quite naturally to us: “Had he a sling, would it hurl a stone so great a distance? Had he a ladder, would he climb so nimbly up a tree? Had he a horse, would he run with such swiftness?” (Rousseau 91)

Enlightenment philosophy justified the superiority of the civilised man in its writings. “Savage man and civilised man differ so much at the bottom of their hearts and in their inclinations, that what constitutes the supreme happiness of the one would reduce the other to despair” (Rousseau 137). It analyses the reason for the failure of Christianity to include all the

tribes under its wing of theology, and it couldn't understand why the inferior people could not accept the theology of a superior people.

“Europeans have been toiling to make the savages” to follow the European style of living. Christianity attempted to civilise men from other societies. Though those people accepted Christianity as their religion, they were reluctant “to adopt” European “manners and customs.” Europeans perceived that these savages were unhappy in their surroundings and wondered why they preferred to live in their places. Because they “read in a thousand places that Frenchmen and other Europeans have voluntarily taken refuge” and “spent their whole lives among them, without ever being able to quit so strange a kind of life; and that even very sensible missionaries have been known to regret with tears the calm and innocent days they had spent among those men we so much despise” (Rousseau 147).

Are the savages not enlightened to judge their lives? Is the civilised man only worried about the conveniences of life? Is he worried too much about what people think about him? Does a city man know the pleasure of spending time alone with nature?

Should it be observed that they are not enlightened enough to judge soundly of their condition and ours, I must answer that the valuation of happiness is not so much the business of understanding as of feeling... for our ideas are more remote from that disposition of mind requisite for us to conceive the relish, which the savages find in their way of living, than the ideas of the savages are from those by which they may conceive the relish we find in ours. In fact,...all our labours are confined to two objects...the conveniences of life and the esteem of others. But how shall we be able to imagine that kind of pleasure, which a savage takes in spending his days alone in the heart of a forest, or in fishing, or in blowing into a wretched flute without ever being able to fetch a single note from it, or ever giving himself any trouble to learn how to make a better use of it? (Rousseau 147)

Enlightenment philosophy, with the exposure colonialism gave to missionaries and professors, began analysing the mind of the tribal man, who they thought, felt superior to the animals with whom he was living in close association.

...savage man living dispersed among other animals and finding himself early under a necessity of measuring his strength with theirs, soon makes a comparison

between both, and finding that he surpasses them more in address, than they surpass him in strength, he learns not to be any longer in dread of them. (Rousseau 91)

Human imagination and perception reached a new scale as Europeans began creating theories to describe people different from their own. The tribal is perceived as a lazy man: “alone, idle, and always surrounded with danger, savage man must be fond of sleep, and sleep lightly like other animals, who think but little, and may, in a manner, be said to sleep all the time they do not think” (Rousseau 94). Rousseau argues why the savage is perceived as inferior, as a savage experiences no passions beyond the basic needs:

It is by the activity of our passions, that our reason improves; we covet knowledge merely because we covet enjoyment, and it is impossible to conceive, why a man exempt from fears and desires should take the trouble to reason. The passions, in their turn, owe their origin to our needs, and their increase to our progress in science; for we cannot desire or fear anything, but in consequence of the ideas we have of it, or of the simple impulses of nature; and savage man, destitute of every species of knowledge, experiences no passions but those of this last kind; his desires never extend beyond his physical wants; He knows no goods but food, a female, and rest; he fears no evils but pain, and hunger; I say pain, and not death; for no animal, merely as such, will ever know what it is to die, and the knowledge of death, and of its terrors, is one of the first acquisitions made by man, in consequence of his deviating from the animal state. (Rousseau 97)

The “savage man” as understood by the European intellectuals knows only physical experiences, and not intellectual ideologies. His impulses are simple, like the instincts of animals. He doesn’t possess systems of knowledge. He cannot think. There are questions for which Enlightenment philosophy could not get clear answers: “What progress could mankind make in the forests, scattered up and down among the other animals? And to what degree could men mutually improve and enlighten each other, when they had no fixed habitation?” (Rousseau 99) These questions were later answered by the structural anthropologists, who observed and

studied the structures of kinship, myths and rituals of tribals and these studies launched social sciences, as the scientific method was applied to study human culture.

Rousseau viewed life from a dialectical perspective as of the “savage state and civilization,” and hence “the savage enjoys the missed blessing of a kind of primeval innocence, something less than virtue that was expected to be brought about either by the social contract or by enlightened education” (Sergio). Earlier John Dryden (1631-1700) had described the savage as a noble one in his popular play “Conquest of Granada by Spaniards:”

Almanz: No man has more contempt than I of breath,
But whence hast thou the right to give me death?
Obeyed as sovereign by thy subjects be,
But know, that I alone am king of me.
I am as free as nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran. (Dryden)

Nature created man in a free manner and later man created laws that made man a servant to socio-political ideologies. “Man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains. Many a one believes himself the master of others, and yet he is a greater slave than they. How has this change come about? I do not know” (Rousseau 164).

The next generation of anthropologists like “Griaule, Dieterlen and Zahan have established the extensiveness and the systematic nature of native classification” of savages. It is found out that the tribal people called “Dagon divide plants into twenty-two main families” and “further divided into eleven sub-groups.” These are “divided into two series, one of which is composed of the families of odd numbers and the other of those of even ones.” The categories are more fine-tuned symbolizing births, seasons, trees, bushes etc. corresponding to “a social class and an institution.” Such classifications were found in other primitive societies in America too (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 39). Structural anthropology introduced the inner kinship and cultural patterns of the savages to the rest of the world.

Let us point out, first, that the kinship system does not have the same importance in all cultures. For some cultures it provides the active principle regulating all or most of the social relationships. In other groups, as in our own society, this function is either absent altogether or greatly reduced. In still others, as in the societies of the Plains Indians, it is only partially fulfilled. The kinship system is a language; but it is not a universal language, and a society may prefer other modes of expression and action. (Levi-Strauss in *Structural Anthropology* 68)

“In North Australia foods are distinguished as 'plant' or 'animal' by means of two special morphemes” and tribals called “Wik Munkan” have prefixed “the name of every plant or food derived from it with the term *mai* and every animal, as well as flesh or animal food, with the term *min*.” It used the term “*yukk*” as a “prefix for all names of trees or terms referring to a stick, a piece of wood or wooden object, *koi* for kinds of string and fibre, *wakk* for grasses, *tukk* for snakes, *kampan* and *wank* for straw and string baskets respectively” (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 45).

Primitive societies have... been said to treat the limits of their tribal group as the frontiers of humanity and to regard everyone outside them as foreigners...as dirty, coarse sub-men or even non-men: dangerous beasts or ghosts. This is often true, but what is overlooked when this is said is that one of the essential functions of totemic classifications is to break down this closing in of the group into itself and to promote an idea something like that of a humanity without frontiers. There is evidence of this phenomenon in all the classical areas of so-called totemic organization. (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 166)

The tribal communities live in a systematic manner, argued Levi-Strauss. The structure of their social organization is supported by an axis which is vertical, and they are operated by a system of contrasts (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 217). Structuralism studied the internal modus operandi of societies and argued that primitive societies operate like mainstream civilised societies too. Levi-Strauss accepted that he understood primitive societies primarily from a Satrean perspective, though different in certain aspects.

The savage mind totalizes...In Sartre's terminology, I am therefore to be defined as a transcendental materialist and aesthete. I am a transcendental materialist because I do not regard dialectical reason as something other than analytical reason, upon which the absolute originality of a human order would be based, but as something additional in analytical reason: the necessary condition for it to venture to undertake the resolution of the human into the non-human. And I count as an aesthete since Sartre applies this term to anyone purporting to study men as if they were ants. (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 245- 246)

Levi-Strauss' perspectives on tribals as self-sufficient organizations might help us to understand ancient Indian tribal communities that waged wars against other communities which have been described multiple times in puranas as wars between devas and asuras. Many mainstream festivals of India could be celebrations of war victories of people who wrote their stories. Written literature could portray the lives of others, who did not write their stories, as wicked and immoral. Both sides must have had opinions, but only one side has been recorded, and in course of time all mythical histories do become established truths, merely by repetition.

Anthropology, as an academic discipline, began to represent the procedure to understand the empirical diversity of human societies. "This first enterprise" of studying the structures of other societies would perhaps open "the way for others which Rousseau would not have been so ready to accept and which are incumbent on the exact natural sciences: the reintegration of culture in nature and finally of life within the whole of its physico-chemical conditions" (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 247).

Geographical conditions decide and create specific cultural environments and thus societies are different from each other structurally. "Theoretical knowledge is not incompatible with sentiment" and "knowledge can be both objective and subjective at the same time" as scholars who studied ethnography did acquire certain emotions regarding the subjects they studied. Moreover, it "shows that the concrete relations between man and other living creatures," especially in "civilizations in which science means 'natural science,' colour the entire universe of scientific knowledge with their own emotional tone" which can be interpreted as the

“result of this primitive identification and, as Rousseau saw with his profound insight, responsible for all thought and society (Levi-Strauss in *Savage Mind* 38).

This curious organization of ideas, parallel to that of the society, is perfectly analogous, except for its complication, to that which we have found among the Mount Gambier tribes; it is equally analogous to the division by marriage classes which we have observed in Queensland, and to the dichotomous division by moieties which we have found practically everywhere. But having described the different varieties of this system, such as they function in these societies, in an objective fashion, it would be interesting to know how the Australian himself sees them; what idea he himself conceives of the relations between the groups of things thus classed. In this way we could realize better what the logical ideas of primitive man are and the way in which they are formed. (Durkheim 14)

Logical development and reason-directed systems have been part of tribal societies, and their cultural behaviour has been organised and systematized. “We may therefore be sure that the primitive organization underwent an extensive process of dissociation and segmentation which has not yet ended” (Durkheim 22). “Primitive classifications are therefore not singular or exceptional” but “they seem to be connected” to the earlier “scientific classifications” and have the “essential characteristics” of scientific classifications including “hierarchized notions” and “have a purely speculative purpose.” It is understood that “the nature of these conditions is social” and “classifications were modelled on the closest and most fundamental form of social organization” (Durkheim 48).

Modern anthropologists and philosophers of social sciences have written scholarly treatises based on extensive sociological research, applying the scientific method, and have brought forth ideologies that are supposed to be based on facts. It would be an interesting feature to examine how ancient Greek philosophy represented the idea of a primitive or savage.

Clinias: The upshot of all this, I suppose, is that for millions of years these techniques remained unknown to primitive man. Then, a thousand or two thousand years ago, Daedalus and Orpheus and Palamedes made their various discoveries, Marsyas and Olympus pioneered the art of music, Amphion invented

the lyre, and many other discoveries were made by other people. All this happened only yesterday or the day before, so to speak. (Plato. Laws. 1366)

Human societies have evolved in the course of time, and systems and laws have been introduced gradually. The primitive man is the forerunner of civilization and systematic organization. Civilised societies have evolved gradually, learning to cope up with human capacity for creativity and order. Step by step man has built a system of music, art, literature and political governance.

Athenian: If we compare them with the era before the flood and with the modern world, we shall have to say that the many generations which lived in that way were inevitably unskilled and ignorant of techniques in general, and particularly of the military devices used on land and sea nowadays. They must also have been innocent of the techniques of warfare peculiar to city-life—generally called ‘lawsuits’ and ‘party-strife’—in which men concoct every possible device to damage and hurt each other by word and deed. Weren’t our primitive men simple and manlier and at the same time more restrained and upright in every way? We have already explained why... Let’s remind ourselves that this reconstruction, and the conclusions we shall draw from it, are supposed to make us appreciate how early man came to feel the need for laws, and who their lawgiver was... Presumably they felt no need for legislators, and in that era law was not yet a common phenomenon. Men born at that stage of the world cycle did not yet have any written records, but lived in obedience to accepted usage and ‘ancestral’ law, as we call it. (Plato. Laws. 1368)

The law evolved after languages came to be written, is the Greek assumption, just like any other philosophical expression of any country. We assume that written down languages bring forth advanced societies and so on.

Megillus: But we at Sparta ...think Homer is the prince of epic poets...he certainly seems to bear you out when he points in his stories to the wildlife of the Cyclops as an explanation of their primitive customs...

Athenian: And they arise among these people who live scattered in separate households and individual families in the confusion that follows the cataclysms. In such a system the eldest member rules by virtue of having inherited power from his father or mother; the others follow his lead and make one flock like birds. The authority to which they bow is that of their patriarch: they are governed, in effect, by the most justifiable of all forms of kingship... The next stage is when several families amalgamate and form larger communities. They turn their attention to agriculture, initially in the foot-hills, and build rings of dry stones to serve as walls to protect themselves against wild animals. The result now is a single large unit, a common homestead. (Plato. Laws. 1369)

Small units of family soon collected themselves and gradually Greek cities emerged. Larger communities could experiment with agriculture, and this resulted in social development in which more people began to be fed. Man began to operate in groups and gave himself more protection from wild animals. These general assumptions and opinions were accepted as truth, as people did not have opportunities to travel to other parts of the world, which has been made possible with global migrations after the development of the ship industry.

If you are having an argument you should listen to your opponent's case, and put your own to him and the audience, without making any defamatory remarks at all... In gratifying his ugly emotion, anger, and in thus disgracefully stoking the fires of his fury, the speaker drives back into primitive savagery a side of his character that was once civilized by education, and such a splenetic life makes him no better than a wild beast ...that is why no one must ever breathe a word of ridicule in a temple or at a public sacrifice or at the games or in the marketplace or in court or in any public gathering, and the relevant official must always punish such offences. (Plato. Laws XI. 1587)

It is taken for granted that the tribals are uncontrollable and have violent temper, and Plato's discussions suggest that gentle and civilised men should not get into violent arguments, and instead function in an ordered and disciplined manner. Uneducated people, if they become rulers, become tyrants. Education brings civility and gentle behaviour, Greek thinkers assumed.

Socrates: Now, if in the case of a tyrant who's a savage, uneducated ruler, there were in his city someone much better than he, wouldn't the tyrant no doubt be afraid of him and never be able to be a friend to him with all his heart? (Plato. Gorgias. 854)

The Greek intellectuals analysed the role of civility in politics and social life in general. They discussed the way writers have represented individuals.

Friend: Socrates, they say Minos was savage and harsh and unjust...

Socrates: I will tell you...A good human being is the most sacred of all of these, and one who is wicked the most defiled...For he (Homer) means that during the ninth year Minos got together with Zeus to discuss things, and went regularly to be educated by Zeus as though he were a sophist. So the fact that Homer assigns this privilege of being educated by Zeus to no one among the heroes but to Minos is extraordinary praise. And in the Book of the Dead in the *Odyssey*, he represents Minos...as giving judgement with a golden sceptre. (Plato. Minos. 1315)

The ancient Greek world exalted the value of education as a supreme quality that is supposed to have been highly adored by Gods and by poets and the intelligentsia. Training people towards a better life was one of the many mottos for them. Hence a man with an "irritable and savage temper" might become the "source of a number of crimes." During a Dionysius festival, such a man might become "dangerous," says the Athenian (Plato. Laws I. 1343). He continues to argue that Persians were practising "authoritarian government" and were "depriving people of liberty" and they had "destroyed all friendship and community of spirit the state." They wrecked cities and ruined "friendly nations by fire and sword," and they hated and were "hated in return "with savage and pitiless loathing. When they come to need the common people to fight on their behalf, they discover the army has no loyalty, no eagerness to face danger and fight" (Plato. Laws. 1386). The Persians had "millions of soldiers—all useless for fighting a war." He concludes that the Persian empire was "badly run at the moment" because the people were "kept in undue subjection and the rulers excessively authoritarian," which the Greek considered were barbarian and inferior (Plato. Laws. 1387).

The Persia that Nietzsche introduced to us through Zarathustra believed in love - not only in the love of one's own community but loving people across the world. Nietzsche attempted to go beyond Greek and Christian philosophies and thinking.

I teach you the friend in whom the world standeth complete, a capsule of the good, —the creating friend, who hath always a complete world to bestow. And as the world unrolled itself for him, so rolleth it together again for him in rings, as the growth of good through evil, as the growth of purpose out of chance. Let the future and the furthest be the motive of thy to-day; in thy friend shalt thou love the Superman as thy motive. My brethren, I advise you not to neighbour-love—I advise you to furthest love! — Thus spake Zarathustra. (Nietzsche)

The common man continued to practice the well-established perception of considering the primitive man as an inferior person is reflected in texts written down, in a natural and socially accepted manner. The messenger in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* uses the perception and we all accepted such expressions quite casually without questioning them.

Bless you, fair dame. I am not to you known,
Though in your state of honor I am perfect.
I doubt some danger does approach you nearly.
If you will take a homely man's advice,
Be not found here. Hence with your little ones!
To fright you thus methinks I am too savage;
To do worse to you were fell cruelty,
Which is too nigh your person. Heaven preserve
You! (*Macbeth*, Act IV. Scene 2)

In Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, Claudio publicly denounces his fiancé Hero as a woman of no moral character. Finally, he calls her a savage woman who is sensual pampering her body hunger in a lowly manner, showing the contempt civilised society has and had for the tribal communities.

Claudio... Out on thee, seeming! I will write against it.
You seem to me as Dian in her orb,

As chaste as is the bud ere it be blown.
But you are more intemperate in your blood.
Than Venus, or those pampered animals
That rage in savage sensuality. (*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act IV. Scene 1)

The modern academic world of the “Western-trained social and cultural anthropologists” has promoted “the category” of “tribe” as “the single most prominent and dominant popular anthropological notion for imagining and referring to human society outside bureaucratic states.” Continuous research in the field has enabled that “the notion of the tribe took on a very particular role in the era of colonial expansion. It became the social unit – and characteristic life-organising social form – of peoples considered more primitive than the Euro-American colonists (*Open Anthropology Encyclopedia*).

Even during the period of Valmiki’s *Ramayana*, civilised societies (which might be termed by Levi-Strauss as primitive societies) had consciously kept away from tribals. King Raman is supposed to have treated them with equanimity and genuine respect and is hailed as a model of civility and gentleness. Vishwamitra curses the sons of Vashista that they “die and be reborn for seven generations in a tribe given to eating dog's flesh” (*Ramayana* 6). The tribal Chieftain Guha

had unbounded love for the royal family and for Rama. Being the chieftain of the tribes who dwelt on the banks of Ganga, he was a man of great prestige and power. Rama and Lakshmana rose to greet Guha, even while the latter was still at some distance from them. Guha welcomed them with a hearty embrace, saying: "Regard this land as your own. This place is as much yours as is Ayodhya. Who can hope to have a guest like you? It is indeed my good fortune." (*Ramayana* 43)

The *Mahabharatha* by Veda Vyasari presents communities as tribes. Yudhishtira is furious with Duryodhana and tells him, “After destroying family and tribe, would you yourself escape death by concealing yourself in this pond?” (*Mahabharatha* 181). Each of the kingdoms has been referred to as a tribe in the retold version of *Mahabharatha*. There is historic shift in the way Rajagopalachari has translated the original into English. In *Ramayana* the difference between the civilised and the forest was clearly described. In *Mahabharatha* the civilised

societies themselves are referred to as tribes. One can infer how tribal kingdoms had slowly established themselves in the model of civilised societies.

Along with Krishna went many, including men of the Bhoja and Vrishni tribes, Dhrishtaketu, the king of the Chedi country, and the Kekayas who were all devoted to the Pandavas (*Mahabharatha* 58) ...Gandhari turned to Draupadi, who was in lamentation, having lost all her sons. "Dear girl," said Gandhari. "Do not grieve. Who can give solace to you and me? It is through my fault that this great tribe has been destroyed altogether." (*Mahabharatha* 189)

We see the same model in the Greek writing of Homer. *The Odyssey* narrates its society as in *Mahabharatha* - tribes have constructed themselves as civilised societies and kingdoms. The translators have decided to use the word 'tribe' to refer to kingdoms in both *The Odyssey* and *Mahabharatha*. The *Ramayana* could be an earlier legend, as its story directly negotiates with cities and forests.

And the godlike seer Theoclymenus replied, "Just like you, I too have left my land— I because I killed a man of my own tribe. But he has many brothers and kin in Argos, stallion-land, who rule the plains in force. Fleeing death at their hands, a dismal fate, I am a fugitive now, doomed to wander across this mortal world. So take me aboard, hear a fugitive's prayer: don't let them kill me—they're after me, well I know!" (*The Odyssey* 253)

The tribes merge into cities as described in *The Odyssey*. It tells the story of clans changing their lifestyles to become cities. Tribes and cities all become one unit.

There is a land called Crete ... ringed by the wine-dark sea with rolling whitecaps— handsome country, fertile, thronged with people well past counting—boasting ninety cities, language mixing with language side-by-side. First come the Achaeans, then the native Cretans, hardy, gallant in action, then Cydonian clansmen, Dorians living in three tribes, and proud Pelasgians last. Central to all their cities is magnificent Cnossos, the site where Minos ruled, and each ninth year conferred with almighty Zeus himself. (*The Odyssey* 321)

Alexander Pope introduces the difference between tribes and civilised societies clearly in his translation of *The Iliad*.

He said; the monarch issued his commands; Straight the loud heralds call the gathering bands The chiefs inclose their king; the hosts divide, In tribes and nations rank'd on either side. High in the midst the blue-eyed virgin flies. (*The Iliad* 134)

There were many clans or tribes living speaking different dialects and Pope calls them barbarous.

There, from the fields where wild Maeander flows, High Mycale, and Latmos' shady brows, And proud Miletus, came the Carian throngs, With mingled clamours and with barbarous tongues. (*The Iliad* 155)

“The tribes of Troy” (*The Iliad* 380) are described and we are told that “Rhodes the chief arrived at last: There in three tribes divides his native band” (*The Iliad* 145). The City of “Athens the fair” was nurtured by “the blue-eyed maid.” She is worshipped by all the people and “her altars blaze, And all the tribes resound the goddess' praise” (*The Iliad* 141). Tribes merging into cities happened naturally in the western countries, as these epics show us.

India solidified social differences as castes, as cities were caught in specially devised rituals and customs, and after a certain period they were established; rules were written down and and frozen so that tribes could not merge with civilised societies any longer, and tribes became outcastes forever. Inter-marriages between these tribes with no written languages and civilised societies with written languages were banned to get into kinship, and strict rules were enforced to keep the purity of the civilised clans with written systems, rules, grammar and literatures and myths.

The second problem confronts us with the kind of situation arising when the kinship system regulates marriage exchanges not between equals but between members of a hierarchy (either economic or political). Under that heading comes the problem of polygamy which, in some cases at least, may be shown to provide a bridge between two different types of guarantees, one collective and political,

the other individual and economic, and that of hypergamy (or hypogamy). This deserves much more attention than it has received thus far, since it is the doorway to the study of the caste system and hence to that of social structures based on race and class distinctions. (Levi-Strauss in *Structural Anthropology* 340)

Contemporary scholarship on caste in India views colonialism as an important fact that solidified caste and established the racial superiority of certain communities. “Colonialism plays a very important role in reproducing Brahmanism as a very important emblem of Hinduism” (Jangam).

German academia through the Christian missionaries came into contact with Sanskrit and Tamil documents, but they established Sanskrit as a language of Indian culture and identified India with it. Ziegenbalg’s extensive work in Tamil Nadu and his medical records of Tamil medicine are being studied by German Tamil Studies now by scholars like C.S. Mohanavelu who has done extensive research on German Indology with a special reference to German Tamilology.

The Christian missionaries looked beyond their horizons of theological thinking and extended their learning to philology and comparative mythologies and literature. Sanskrit as a language began to be identified with refinement, culture, civilization, and education, and began to represent Indian civilization...Franz Bopp established Sanskrit as a prime player in the comparative study of Indo-European languages and its related study of linguistics and developed a technique of language analysis. His scholarly treatise “Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Slavic, Gothic, and German” was a great contribution to comparative linguistics, and it studied languages and established a strong link between Asia and Europe. The connection between the East and the West developed academic roots through these renowned oriental scholars and Friedrich Schlegel remembers Hamilton with respect in his preface to “On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians.” (Sridevi)

German Romanticism, perhaps, became an important factor in re-establishing the social supremacy of Sanskrit in India, and it was linked to caste system’s cultural remaking of its self.

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Dr. S. Sridevi

The Self, the Savage and Diversity: A Study of Texts

The tribals' reputation took a tremendous backlash with the establishment of German philology departments' research works and theories. More research is required in this field to study how the present Indian mainstream consciousness has been shaped by European and American linguistic and Oriental academia.

The German respect for Sanskrit which the people identified as “Oriental genius” has been shaped by William Jones who established the affinity between Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, German and Persian. Schlegel says that William Jones “first threw a light on this obscure study” and explains how Jones introduced the advanced intellectual position of India to Europeans and its “surprising discoveries” which have been made in the past “which remarkably illustrate the progress of human intelligence in those ancient times.” Schlegel recommends the study of “Oriental literature” and anticipates “that still more satisfactory results will attend the further prosecution” of research (Schlegel 465). Sanskrit created this impact on German scholars and developed their philological studies into a strong academic discipline during the nineteenth century, and these ideologies of languages slowly spread across Europe and America as scientific studies of languages and comparative philology. (Sridevi)

The German academia studied the structures of Sanskrit language and literature and later philosophers studied its social structures and could not locate the system of caste.

How came it that English supremacy was established in India? ... A country not only divided between Mahomedan and Hindoo, but between tribe and tribe, between caste and caste; a society whose framework was based on a sort of equilibrium, resulting from a general repulsion and constitutional exclusiveness between all its members. Such a country and such a society, were they not the predestined prey of conquest? ... Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society. The question, therefore, is not whether the English had a

right to conquer India, but whether we are to prefer India conquered by the Turk, by the Persian, by the Russian, to India conquered by the Briton. (Marx)

Indian kingdoms failed to incorporate the energy of the varied tribes, the western intelligentsia has perceived. Ancient academia in the kingdoms in the sub-continent did not observe the lives of tribals carefully like the European missionaries, as Indian religions were ritual oriented and intertwined with caste. These religions did not have a messiah who established ideologies for people who convert to its thinking patterns. Prophets based religions with messiah teaching intended to spread their ideologies, religious rituals and practices. The western academic world, its scientific method and the European colonial trade - missionary expansion created academic avenues performed a dual role: it helped traders destroy tribal cultures completely in other continents; it also absorbed them into their culture with its ideology of love and social welfare. Kingdoms in the Indian sub-continent did something differently – it retained and preserved the tribal culture but kept it outside social life and as far as possible used them as downtrodden workers in social hierarchy.

The German philosophy approached the multicultural religions of India interpreting brahmanism as a religion in the model of monotheistic religions. The nineteenth century intellectual was not able to perceive different types of worship patterns in the Indian sub-continent. He considered only the Vedas as written religious code and imagined that it was like the Bible. He uses the term 'Hinduism' to describe the religions of India. He introduced the Vedas as supreme and interpreted other religious practices as inferior - may be unconsciously. The autonomy of the individual living in India, his freedom to practice or create rituals, his choice in choosing rituals and systems, cannot be understood by Europeans.

Only Brahmans, educated in the Veda, formed, as bearers of tradition, the fully recognized religious status group. And only later a non—Brahman status group of ascetics emerged by the side of the Brahmans and competed with them. Still later, during the Indian Middle Ages, Hinduism entered the plain. It represented the ardent sacramental religiosity of the savior and was borne by the lower strata with their plebeian mystagogues. (Max Weber 269)

Nation/state model has disrupted tribal self-sufficiency in India. Dams and reservoirs were designed by engineers and democracy in India became one unit of focal power that could not be resisted by tribals any longer. A nation with a military system was many times more powerful than the ancient wars between cities and forests. It operates with a separate ministry to monitor the lives of tribals, and no tribal community can resist the power of a democratic government.

Even during the 1950s, when India began operating as a democratic nation, we notice the powerful manner the government took over impacting on the lives of tribals. Damodar Valley Corporation was one such example of a modern project planned in Jharkhand, “the country's first multipurpose project, a network of dams, thermal and hydroelectric plants which would lay the foundation for modern India... But building it was equally controversial. Thousands of local people, most of whom were tribespeople, were evicted from their ancestral lands to make way for its construction” (Mateen). Budhini Manjhiyain was one of tribals who was ostracised by her community for welcoming Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister by garlanding him at the inauguration of the dam.

In 1959, Nehru announced that he would go to inaugurate one of the dams, called Panchet. To her surprise, the DVC chose Manjhiyain and a colleague to welcome the prime minister...At the ceremony, Manjhiyain was asked to garland the prime minister. What she didn't expect though was that Nehru would playfully garland her back... The village headman summoned her and said that by garlanding Nehru, she had become his bride. He said she had also broken the Santhal code of marrying an outsider and, to atone for her offence, she had to give up everything and leave... The tribe proscribes marrying outside the community and violators are routinely punished with social ostracism...Manjhiyain knew that if she left, she could never return. She tried to resist and reason with the village head, but the community's verdict was swift and sure - to them, she had already become an outcast...Helpless, the 15-year-old picked up her things and left. (Mateen)

Current social sciences research on India must use these facts to reconstruct the past. How were the Indian tribals situated during ancient times, and how did the interaction between

cities and forests solidify into caste system? Did the ascetic decide to term all the so called indisciplined ones as the lowest? Did monarchy help to pass resolutions and create policies? Is it the nomad or the tribe never really bothered about the so-called hierarchies or classifications which actually did not affect them at all?

Today, democracy has bulldozed into forests and has dominated their lives and has branded them as scheduled tribes which is understood by Indians as low and inferior.

On the one hand, the 2002 awarding of Scheduled Tribe (ST) status to only high-caste Kangra Gaddis has reified emic exclusions, further alienated Gaddi-identifying Dalits and birthed new idioms of casteism. On the other hand, five Scheduled Caste (SC) groups that self-report as Gaddi and share Herderian commonalities of culture, language and history felt to constitute shared identity are ethno-politically mobilising to be recognised as Gaddis and within the ST quota (Wimmer, 2013). By advocating for a shift from Gaddi as high-caste tribe (janjāti) to a community (samudāy) of hierarchically scaled castes, Gaddi-aspiring SCs are hoping that advantageous forms of positive discrimination will follow from cultural recognition. They argue that caste-based Gaddi exclusions are not proof of difference but of sameness, what Freud termed the narcissism of small differences and what across India is reflected in mythologies of brotherhood rivalries instigating ethnogenesis and competing castes (Pocock, 1972, p. 67). (Christopher)

The situation has become very sensitive for every stakeholder as practicing equality hurts all parties involved in some way or other. India is going through a crucial period in its historical development because of the concept of equality which in a country without a common religion and a common language or common race becomes a highly complex domain.

In addition to tribal subalternity are deeper and more opaque caste-based social vulnerabilities and economic disadvantages. Sukhdev Viswapremi, the president of the People's Campaign for Socio-Equality in the Himalayas, described how the intersection of Dalit and tribal is overlooked in a scholarly and political context.

‘Based on extensive research across throughout Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and J&K, we have found tribes to be heterogeneous. So many people are surprised to find out that Dalits are discriminated against by tribals’ (personal communication, 2016). Viswapremi’s NGO operates across Himachal Pradesh and has deep organisational ties to the Backward Class Gaddi Organisation (sangathan), whose founding president was a ST-aspiring Gaddi Dalit. We frequently discussed the psychosocial discriminations against Halis and other SCs by Gaddis: caste slurs, marriage exclusions, ritual prohibitions, temple barring and spiritual disorientation. It is important to analyse these stigmatisations by recursively looping between state arbitration of ethnic classifications and the microaggressions and identity reformations that shape everyday life in the obscured margins of tribal society. (Christopher)

One has to wait and observe the change of events and see how the nation is going to tackle multiculturalism and diversity – genetic diversity as claimed by biologists - without monarchy. Contemporary biological research has begun to study the genetic features of regions at micro-level.

India is well-known for its autochthonous cultural, lingual and traditional diversity, which has drawn the attention of researchers to unravel the scientific facts behind it at the genetic level, by using various genetic markers namely, autosomal, X chromosomal, Y chromosomal and mitochondrial DNA markers ...This study was conducted with the aim to investigate the genetic diversity in population of Rajasthan based on Y-STR haplotype data ...The extremely high genomic diversity exhibited by studied population of Rajasthan is may be because of the fact that it has served as an important ancient human migration route. Indian Genome Variation Consortium's report showed that India has larger areas of genetic diversity than other worldwide populations. Previous genetic studies showed that India is a reservoir of amalgamated genetic material from various populations of the world. (Kumawat)

Eco-friendly approaches would recommend that we leave the primitives undisturbed. Other approaches might encourage that we practice social justice and treat everyone in the same manner giving them equal opportunities. Human migrations have continuously brought different peoples together, and clans find it difficult to absorb them. As humanity evolves, in future, biological research might also step in to understand race, caste and tribe. Genetic studies might become an important segment of cultural studies. New policies might be required to handle genetic diversities. Earlier written narratives might have represented the genetic diversity as high and low and have recorded human emotions from the perspective of the writer. Anthropology combined with empirical research might take us to the next level of understanding human civilization.

How did Valmiki represent the Deccan plateau? Were there monkeys? Were they tribes? Why does Kambar not ask these questions? Did the sculptor who chiseled tribes as gods gave them the face of monkeys? ‘Van –naran’ can mean ‘forest-man’ or tribal. Have the translations of the epic misguided the culture?

Hanuman is the monkey God according to the narration in the epic, but the fact that Rama and his people were continually and actively communicating at ease with him and his relatives and clan members, suggests that this was a metaphoric representation of a native tribe of Deccan India who were perhaps melanic, strongly built and forest-dwelling and hence different from the northern people. (Ganeshaiah et al)

The hundreds of oral versions of Ramayana have incorporated the local goddesses, lands, and people. Adivasi communities have stories of Ramayana and some of them even worship Rama and Sita. Spoken stories of Ramayana continue to be adapted and created with add-ons even now (Tharuvana).

However, they are not unrelated to folklore outside the Ramayana. For example, in the ‘Adiya Ramayana’ (the oral version of the text which prevails among the Adiya tribe of Wayanad), there are popular characters from local legends and folklores, such as Valliyoorkavu Bhagavathi, Pulpalli Bhagavathi, Pakkathayyam, Tirunelli Perumal, Siddhappan, Nenjappan and Mathappadeva; similarly, in

‘Chetty Ramayana’ (the text used by the Wayanadan Chettis), there are characters like Athirukaalan, Arupuli, Kandanpuli, Dammadam, Kaikalan and Thamburatti. In the same way, the ‘Chandrabati Ramayana’ (written in the 16th century in Mymensingh, East Bengal, by a woman named Chandrabati), was rejected by the Bengali pandits of her time but survived for more than four centuries solely through oral transmission. Written from the point of view of a woman, this version of the Ramayana was a unique piece of work featuring local Bengali goddesses like Mangal Chandi, Manasa, Banadurga, Sitala and Shashti. (Tharuvana)

The mainstream wrote versions of Ramayana and the tribes spread oral versions of the same, both living side by side one not affecting the other. This multicultural diversity sounds theoretically profound but in reality expresses itself as caste and slavery. “Until 1975, members of the Adiya and Ponniya communities were sold as slaves on the occasion of the Valliyoorkavu Temple festival. It was only in 1975 that slave trade was banned by law in Wayanad” (Tharuvana).

In political domains, however, especially as negotiated by tribal actors and tribal-aspiring applicants, the calculus is simpler: those groups scheduled as ST are tribal, and those groups scheduled as SC are Dalits, and never the two shall meet. Already-recognised STs accept the state as the final arbitrator of incentivised difference and exclude SCs based on their separate political classification as indicative of a different essence or kind. In contrast, scholarship on the relationship between caste and status continuity oftentimes lumps SC and ST together. While generalisations about these most disadvantaged populations highlight the failure of government reservations to establish equal competition between unequal social actors (Vaid & Heath, 2010, p. 156), it obscures the relative differences between low-castes and often high-caste tribals. By generalising about ‘SC/ST’ populations, it places the emphasis on their status relative to high castes and OBCs; it also suggests an equality-in-difference that obscures how caste exclusion operates within tribes. (Christopher)

Democracy has a big challenge of bringing forth social justice in a multicultural society with many types of religions, branded as Hinduism by the world, apart from other monotheistic religions, that still functions in a feudalistic model as far as prejudices, food habits, festivals and rituals are concerned.

While the race and caste debate in India is an old one, these positions have remained, at best, theoretical and intellectual exercises for scholars and government bodies. The opposition against Dalit organizations to include caste in the agenda at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related Intolerance (WCAR) at Durban in South Africa in 2001 reveals the caste mentality of the Indian state (Teltumbde Citation 2009). The basis of casteism and racism is discrimination that traces the descent of skin colour, caste categories, and social hierarchies. (Kikon)

The Indian experiences and negotiations with tribes took place in their own continent, but the primitive societies technically belonged to other regions. The environment encouraged the genesis of caste system. What were the exact reasons for the birth of caste hierarchy? Did Indian kings reject the culture of primitive societies?

It is no crime for Mlechchhas to sell or mortgage the life of their own offspring. But never shall an Arya be subjected to slavery... That land, on the border of which there are a number of forts giving shelter to bands of thieves, Mlechchhas, and wild tribes is a land with a constant enemy ... If he is destitute of an army, he should, as far as possible, attract to himself the brave men of corporations, of thieves, of wild tribes, of Mlechchhas, and of spies who are capable of inflicting injuries upon enemies... After entering into the king's (the enemy's) palace, they may kill the king in the tumult; when the king begins to run from one direction to another, Mlechchhas, wild tribes, or chiefs of the army, lying in ambush (sattrā), or concealed near a pillar or a fence, may slay him; or spies, under the guise of hunters, may slay the king when he is directing his attack, or in the tumult of attack following the plan of treacherous fights. (Arthashastra)

This was the socio-political set up in ancient kingdoms in which the kings were constantly threatened by wild men and other enemies. Feudalism had to protect itself from enemies of all types. The land had abundant human resources and created workers, servants and slaves out of its own society that spoke different languages and practiced different rituals. Opportunities were not given to the primordial societies or foreigners or Mlechchhas to absorb mainstream culture and become civilized. European theories cannot perhaps be used to understand the Indian mainstream royal ideology guided by the intelligentsia that looked at wild tribes as prospective invaders.

These Euro-American discourses draw from outmoded scholarship about tribal primordialism. Accelerating with European colonisation in the 16th century, tribes have represented a primitive social order in the Western imaginary. The Enlightenment formalised the dichotomy between European progress culminating with civilisation and timeless tribes mired in ‘savage’ sociopolitical units (Yapp, 1983). Henry Lewis Morgan’s (1877) formative theory of human development slotted groups into three broad stages: savagery, barbarism and civilisation as the teleological endpoint. Tribes were theorised as conglomerate kinship units based on clan affiliation and shared descent from common ancestry. Later evolutionist paradigms constructed societal progress as moving through stages of development, from pre-state egalitarian tribes based on non-hierarchical kinship bonds to territorialised state formations structured by social hierarchy and complex administrative institutions. Tribes were defined as egalitarian and homogenous, reproduced by clan-based isogamous marriage alliances, distinctly bounded from proximate social groups with whom they lived in a state of Hobbesian perpetual warfare. (Christopher)

Theories of tribal life and primitive culture by the enlightening philosophers were the beginning of knowledge of this aspect of human life. Europeans conceived human life as a development process in which the cities came to be looked up as the end of human hard work. Structuralism perceived kinship patterns of primitive societies and understood the similarities; still the emotions and prejudices of anthropologists could not treat such societies as equal to western societies.

The ancient people were organized on the basis of hordes or tribes; the tribes were political groups within a geographical setting. The members of the tribe all spoke the same language. The headquarters of the tribe developed into cities and the political power of the tribes was transformed into 'city states which today are nations.' In the words of Sir Arthur Keith 'nations are big tribes welded together by force.' (Majumdar 4)

The Indian situation is not as simple as exemplified by Sir Arthur Keith. In India tribes and castes have merged into a hierarchical establishment. Nation in India came to be a colonial intervention and not a natural development. Hence, it does not have natural answers to the questions arising from hierarchical systems established in age-old times. Modern India has feudalistic attitudes and democratic attitudes living side by side and in course of time we will know if Indian society evolves into a society of enlightened values.

It is also caught in the way the western academia has portrayed its religious systems and caste. It is viewing the Vedic works as the standard against which it is judging the rest of the sub-continent. Weber uses the term "classic Hinduism" to refer to the religious practices of a particular clan. There is bewilderment as to the concepts in the Veda regarding caste and the reality of caste as practised by the common man, who, if he has money, invites Sanskrit scholars to conduct marriage or any other rituals, without understanding the meaning of the Sanskrit verses at all. Classic Hinduism is practised in rituals and hymns and epic discussions by select clans.

The position of the Brahman, in classic Hinduism as well as today, can be understood only in connection with caste, without an understanding of which it is quite impossible to understand Hinduism. Perhaps the most important gap in the ancient Veda is its lack of any reference to caste. The Veda refers to the four later caste names in only one place, which is considered a very late passage; nowhere does it refer to the substantive content of the caste order in the meaning which it later assumed, and which is characteristic only of Hinduism. (Max Weber 396)

Scholars studying world religions include Indian religions in their study and call them as Hinduism treating Indian religions like monotheistic religions which follow a particular saint or prophet or messiah. They interpret Indian society just like any other society that follows such religions.

Messianism or Mahdism is the belief in the advent of a messiah who acts as the Saviour of a group of people. Messianism originated as an Abrahamic religious belief, but other religions have messianism-related concepts. Religions with a messiah concept include Judaism (Mashiach), Christianity (Christ), Islam (Isa Masih), Zoroastrianism (Saoshyant), Buddhism (Maitreya), Hinduism (Kalki) and Taoism (Li Hong). (Alma'itah)

Indian social topography is a challenge to any sociologist as it has imbibed multiple cultures and has adapted to diversity in a spontaneous manner. The contemporary democracy in India, a contribution of colonialism, has begun to blend the self and the savage in a much more flexible manner, though it might take centuries for castes to be either neutralised or take some other shape of existence. Clans are slowly losing their individual selves in all walks of life and are acquiring new identities. Capitalism and globalization are activating the processes, in spite of strengthening their local and individual identities of clans or tribes.

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Comparison of Metaphonological and Reading Skills in an Alpha Syllabary Language between Children with Learning Disability and Their Normal Peer Group

Dr Swapna Sebastian, Dr. Venkataraja U Aithal, and
Dr. Shyamala K C

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Introduction

"Specific learning disorder" is a type of neurodevelopmental disorder characterized by persistent difficulties with learning and academic skills (eg, reading, writing, and mathematics) that are substantially and measurably below those expected for their chronologic age. It is believed that such disorders interfere with school performance, work performance, or activities of daily life. The difficulties initially present during the formal school years and are not better accounted for by other conditions (e.g., intellectual disability, visual or auditory impairments, insufficient instruction, psychosocial adversity)(1) .

The child who does not meet the expectations for academic performance in school irrespective of having intelligence in the normal range and normal sensory motor skills and no environmental deprivation has received several different diagnostic labels like "Minimal brain dysfunction", "strephosymbolia", "word blindness", "Strauss Syndrome" and "learning disability". The relationship between phonological disorders and educational problems is of interest to the clinicians working with school aged children since oral language skills are fundamental to the development of many academic skills such as reading and spelling because the use of sounds in symbolic lexical units is a task common to learning to speak, read and write.

The cause of learning disability in children is yet debatable and not clearly understood. Neuroanatomic and neurophysiologic deficits have been attributed as one of the causes (2). Another hypothesis is that poor readers have difficulties with phonemes, which are the smallest unit of sound system. Difficulties in phonological coding and phonemic segmentation were looked into using rhyming tasks where

the child is presented with three pairs of rhyming words and required to provide a third word that rhymed with the words in the set. Other strategies such as syllable reversals are used where, the child has to produce syllables in reverse order for both real words and pseudowords, presented both in auditory and visual form. (3,4) Cognitive deficits associated with reading difficulties like meta-language, meta-memory, working memory and short-term memory has also been a focus of research.(5)

Reading and writing are complex behaviors which require interaction between sensory, motor, cognitive and metacognitive skills particularly metalinguistic skills. Metalinguistic skill is a type of metacognition that comprises of a person's skill in understanding the rules that govern his or her spoken language. It refers to the ability to reflect consciously on the nature and properties of language and reflect upon its structural and functional features..(6)

In comparison to typically developing (TD) children differences in metalinguistic skills have been reported in learning disabled children.(7)

Development of metaphonological skills in TD children (8) and Profiling of metalinguistic skills among learning disabled children has been attempted by researchers(9). It is well established that metaphonological skills are predictive of reading skills in alphabetic languages(10). Very little is known about this relationship in alpha syllabary languages. The results of the Studies conducted in Malayalam, an alpha syllabary Dravidian language spoken in Kerala, a state in India and Marathi, a regional language in the state of Maharashtra, India to find out the relationship between metaphonological skills and reading in children is contrary to the findings of similar study in Kannada, and Gujarati which are other Indian alpha syllabary languages.(11–15) Iyyer, Somashekara, Das and Bhat supported the view that metaphonological skills and reading skills are related in the context of Indian alpha-syllabary language . However, Rekha could not find any relationship between metaphonological skills and reading in her study. (11–13) . The present study was designed to investigate the metaphonological and reading skills in Malayalam speaking children with learning disability in comparison to typically developing children.

Materials and Methods

Objective

To compare the metaphonological skills of Malayalam speaking children with learning disability and typically developing (TD) children matched for sex and age.

Procedure

The study was approved by the research ethics committee of the Institution and informed consent was taken from the parents of the children. In-order to achieve the above goals, study was conducted on 2 groups of subjects - experimental group (learning disabled) and control group.

34 children with learning disability between the age group of 5-9 years diagnosed by a multidisciplinary team consisting of a Neurologist, Speech Pathologist and Clinical Psychologist formed the experimental group.

Table 1. Profile of Children in the Experimental group

Sl No,	Age	Sex	Grade
1	8	M	IV
2	8	M	IV
3	5 ½	M	I
4	6	M	11
5	7	M	III
6	6	M	II
7	7	M	III
8	7	M	III
9	7	M	III
10	6	M	II
11	9	M	V
12	9	M	V
13	9	M	V
14	7	M	III
15	8	M	IV
16	5 ½	F	I
17	8	M	IV

18	6	M	I
19	6	M	II
20	8	M	IV
21	8	M	IV
22	8	M	IV
23	6	M	I
24	7	M	III
25	7	M	III
26	7	M	III
27	8	M	IV
28	9	M	V
29	9	M	V
30	9	M	V
31	9	M	V
32	9	M	V
33	6	M	II
34	5	M	I

The control group consisted of age and sex matched 34 typically developing children. All the participants used Malayalam as their mother tongue and were from the middle and upper strata of the socio-economic ladder.

Both the control and experimental groups were tested using the following tool:

The ‘Test for reading and metaphonological skills in Malayalam’ was considered in this study.(11)

This test consisted of 9 subtests -

1. Oral reading test
2. Rhyme recognition
3. Phoneme Oddity
4. Phoneme Stripping/deletion
5. Syllable stripping/deletion
6. Phoneme reversal
7. Syllable reversal

8. Writing test
9. Shwa test
 - a. Oral
 - b. Writing

Scoring and Statistical Analysis

A score of one was given for each correct response. One way ANOVA was used to analyze the significance of difference between the groups.

Results

Mean scores for each subtest of metaphonological skills and reading were calculated. Statistical analysis was done using the software -IBM SPSS version 19. One way ANOVA was done to find whether there is any significant difference between the children with learning disability and the TD children.

As shown in the Table 2 One-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference ($F=88.533$; $p<0.000$) between the children with learning disability (academic learning disability) and the TD children in terms of total score in Test for reading and metaphonological skills in Malayalam.

Subtest	LD	Normal	F	Significance
Oral reading test (Number of words read correctly in first one minute)	12.56	29.73	22.99	0.000
Oral reading test (Total number of correct words read)	54.33	133.61	99.12	0.000
	5.59	10.52	87.50	0.000
Rhyme recognition	3.4	6.97	24.94	0.000
Phoneme Oddity	0.00	2.67	37.79	0.000
Phoneme Stripping/deletion	6.12	15	263.89	0.000
Syllable stripping/deletion	0.00	0.00	-	0.000
Phoneme reversal	3.82	11.18	147.0	0.000
Syllable reversal	6.06	10.91	86.38	0.000
Writing test	0.32	0.48	1.46	0.20
Shwa test-Oral	0.15	0.5	3.23	0.10
Shwa test-Writing				
Total M P T	90.79	221.64	88.533	0.000

Table 2. Showing the results obtained using One way ANOVA

Discussion

There was a significant difference noticed on the overall scores of the learning disability children compared to controls. Oral reading scores of the TD children were significantly higher than learning disabled children. Difficulty in learning to read could be due to an inability to establish letter-sound relationship in other words the poor acquisition of metalinguistic skills (16). The scores obtained on the different subtests of metaphonological skills and the reading scores, which is another subtest by the normal children were significantly better than learning disabled children showing a relationship between reading and metalinguistic skills. The results highlights the role of phonological awareness for reading alpha syllabaries as well as already reported in alphabetic languages such as English.(17)

Among the different tasks of metaphonological skills, for both typically developing children and LD children the phoneme tasks were more difficult than

the syllable tasks. Syllable stripping was the easiest and the normally achieving children attained full scores (15/15). The type of speech sound structure of a given language plays a major role in the ability to perform meta cognitive operations essential for reading. The reader may find tasks related to phonemes (English) or syllables (Kannada) or morphemes (Chinese and Japanese Kanji) easier based on the language per say. This is in agreement with the studies of Karanth and Prakash (18–20) which state that syllable stripping is the earliest indicator for a nonalphabetic reader.

Among the phoneme tasks, phoneme reversals were found to be the most difficult. Both typically developing children and learning-disabled children scored zero for the task of phoneme reversal, indicating that these are skills learned at a later age.

Shwa test was found to be difficult for both learning disabled children as well as normal peers. The task was that, one new alphabet adapted from another language which doesn't have any script in the given language was introduced to a known script in the language being tested and the child had to combine both and read it together. The results show that the cognitive skills required for two different types of language script systems are different and the child finds it difficult to combine both reading and writing process.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to understand the relationship between metaphonological skills and reading in learning disabled children compared to normal peers. The learning-disabled children showed poor metaphonological skills compared to their normally achieving peers. The evaluation of metaphonological skills and targeting those skills during early interventions is recommended to improve reading and writing skills among learning disabled children. However, the tasks selected should be based on the type of language script.

Data Availability Statement

Data is stored and is available for verification.

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Compliance with Ethical Standards

The author has no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.
The author has no competing interests to declare that are relevant to the content of this article.

Informed Consent

The informed consent was obtained from the parents of the children.

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Urdu in Contemporary India – A Study of the Census Data on Languages

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Introduction

In my paper ‘*Patterns of Indian Multilingualism*’ Published in the *Language in India* (Vol. 10:6 June 2010) based on language data of 2001 Census, I had written that ‘... only speakers of Hindi are found in all the States and Union Territories. Next to Hindi, it is Urdu speakers who are found in all the states except in the states of the Northeast region of the country.’ In the Northeast region also, Urdu speakers are there but in very less numbers. Hindi and Urdu languages could be called pan-Indian languages. I wanted to write about the spread of Urdu and multilingualism of Urdu speakers and waited for 2021 Census. But Census 2021 is not held till date, and we do not know when it is going to be held. Hence, I am using the language data of Census 2011 to present the Urdu scenario in the Union and the States and Union Territories. Of course, wherever possible I shall present some comparative information from the earlier Censuses also about Urdu.

In the population ranking of the *Language Handbook on Mother tongues in Census-1971*, Urdu is the 6th largest mother tongue spoken by 28,600,428 persons, where 11,027,864 are males and 10,547,155 are females. In the 2011 Census, ‘*Mother tongue is the language spoken in childhood by the person’s mother to the person. If the mother died in infancy, the language mainly spoken in the person’s home in childhood will be the mother tongue. In the case of infants and deaf mutes, the language usually spoken by the mother should be recorded. In case of doubt, the language mainly spoken in the household may be recorded*’. In the 2011 Census in the order of speaker’s strength Urdu is in the 7th place.

Composition of Urdu

The Census, while rationalizing the data relating to mother tongues and languages, follows a process of inclusiveness. It is not genetic grouping of mother tongues into languages but a functional grouping of mother tongues. Accordingly, all languages are mother tongues, but all mother tongues are not languages. Urdu language is a composite of different mother tongues included under its name. Table-1 below exemplifies the composition of it in 1991, 2001 and 2011. In the 2011 Census, Urdu language is a composite of mother tongues Urdu, Bhansuri and Others (this includes many more unlisted mother tongues). Here it may be recalled that Hindi too is one of the composite languages having more than 56 mother tongues under its umbrella.

Table-1
Composition of Urdu

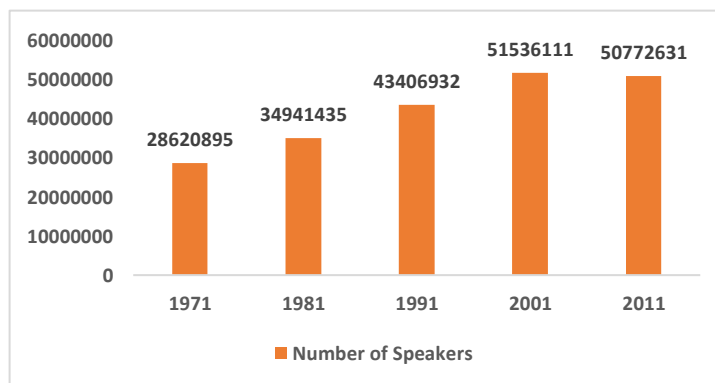
Year	MT Urdu +	Others +	Bhansuri =	Urdu Language
1991	43,358,978	47,954	***	43,406,932
2001	51,536,111	2,157	***	51,533,954
2011	50,725,762	24,063	22,806	50,772,631

Increase in the Number of Urdu Speakers

In tune with most of the non-endangered Indian languages, the number of persons speaking Urdu is increasing from decade to decade. It has increased from 28,620,895 persons in 1971 to 50,772,631 persons in 2011. Table-2 and the chart below provide the details.

Table-2
Increase in the Number of Urdu Speakers

Census Year	Number of Speakers
1971	28620895
1981	34941435
1991	43406932
2001	51536111
2011	50772631

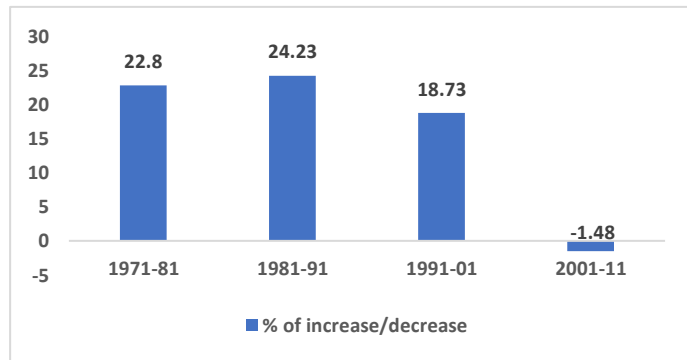


Fluctuation in the Percentage of Urdu Speakers

The decennial statistics show a fluctuation in the increase and decrease of the population of Urdu speakers. In the decade 1971-81, the percentage of Urdu speakers increased by +22.8%, it further increased by +24.23% in the 1981-91decade. However, decennial statistics for Urdu speakers declined by -01.48% in the decade 2001-11. The table-3 and the chart below illustrate the same.

Table-3
Fluctuation in the Percentage of Urdu Speakers

Period	% of increase/ decrease
1971-81	+22.8
1981-91	+24.23
1991-01	+18.73
2001-11	-01.48

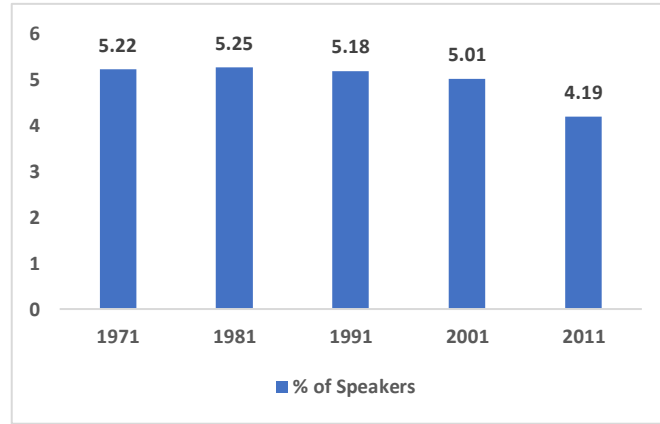


Decline in the Proportion of Urdu Speakers

Now, there is a gradual decline in the proportion of Urdu Speakers in the country. In the year 1971 it was 5.22% and increased to 5.23% in 1981. The trend has changed, it has declined from 5.25% in 1981 to 5.18% in 1991, to 5.01% in 2001 and to 4.19% in 2011. Table-4 and the chart provide the details.

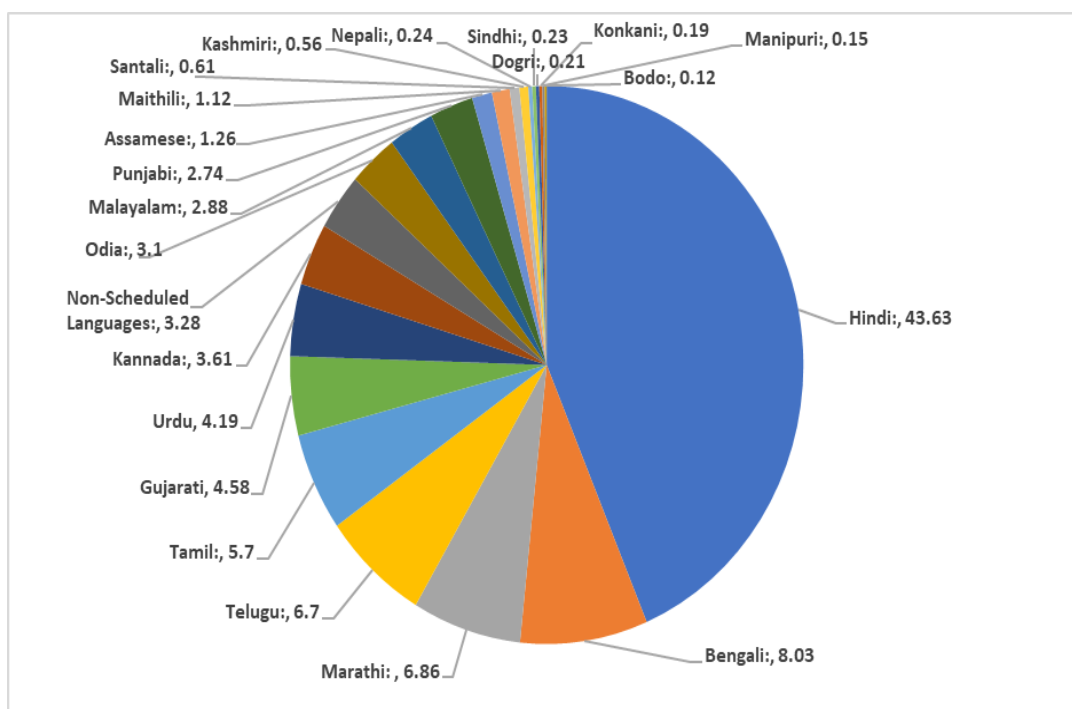
Table-4
Decline in the Proportion of Urdu Speakers

Census Year	% of Speakers
1971	5.22
1981	5.25
1991	5.18
2001	5.01
2011	4.19



Urdu in India at Contemporary Times

The 2011 count of Indian mother tongues/languages informs that the Census had raw returns of 19,569 mother tongues. After rationalization of the mother tongue/language data, a list of 121 languages is arrived at. Among them, 22 languages are part of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The rest of the 99 languages are non-scheduled languages. The scheduled languages are spoken by 96.71% and the non-scheduled languages are spoken by 3.29% of the population of India. Urdu is one of the 22 Scheduled languages ranking in 7th place, first being Hindi- 43.63% followed by Bengali -8.03%, Marathi- 6.86%, Telugu - 6.7%, Tamil - 5.7%, Gujarati-4.58%, Urdu- 4.19 and Kannada 3.61%. Details of the percentage of speakers of Urdu and various other scheduled and non-scheduled languages are illustrated in the diagram given below.



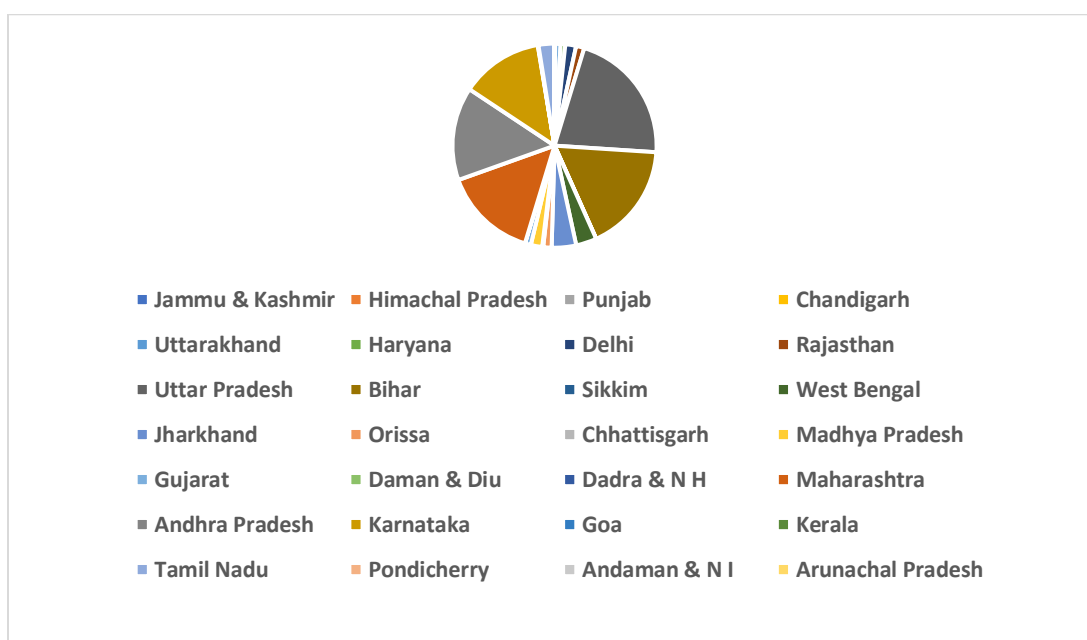
Urdu Speakers in the States and Union Territories: 2011

Though speakers exist it is not a majority language in any of the states and it is a minor/minority language in all the states. It is also a stateless language like Sindhi, in the sense that Kannada, Marathi etc., have a state after the reorganisation of geographical territory on the basis of language. The table-5 illustrates the percentage of distribution of Urdu speakers in the states and union territories in 2011.

Table-5
Urdu speakers in the States and Union Territories: 2011

Sl. No	STATE	2011 %	Sl. No	STATE	2011 %
1	Jammu & Kashmir	0.039	18	Daman & Diu	0.002
2	Himachal Pradesh	0.010	19	Dadra & N H	0.002
3	Punjab	0.053	20	Maharashtra	14.851
4	Chandigarh	0.020	21	Andhra Pradesh	14.782
5	Uttarakhand	0.838	22	Karnataka	13.035
6	Haryana	0.737	23	Goa	0.081

7	Delhi	1.708	24	Lakshadweep	***
8	Rajasthan	1.309	25	Kerala	0.025
9	Uttar Pradesh	21.311	26	Tamil Nadu	2.490
10	Bihar	17.273	27	Pondicherry	0.016
11	Sikkim	0.003	28	Andaman & N I	0.002
12	West Bengal	3.276	29	Arunachal Pradesh	0.002
13	Jharkhand	3.871	30	Nagaland	0.002
14	Orissa	1.320	31	Manipur	***
15	Chhattisgarh	0.157	32	Mizoram	***
16	Madhya Pradesh	1.805	33	Tripura	***
17	Gujarat	0.943	34	Meghalaya	0.001
			35	Assam	0.016



Since it is difficult to capture the percentage of Urdu speakers in some of the states and a Union Territory to help the readers total number of speakers is provided here. They are Lakshadweep - 32; Manipur - 247; Mizoram - 113; Tripura - 526.

It is observed in the above table that in the first category of five states more than 80% of Urdu speakers, that is 81.252% are residing. They are: Uttar Pradesh-21.311%, Bihar-17.273%, Maharashtra-14.851, Andhra Pradesh-14.782 and Karnataka-13.035.

In the second category more than 1% of Urdu speakers are in Jharkhand-3.871%, West Bengal-3.276%, Tamil Nadu-2.490%, Madhya Pradesh-1.805%, Delhi-1.708%, Odisha-1.320% and Rajasthan-1.309% totalling-15.579%. That means 96.831% of Urdu speakers are in 12 states and the rest 3.169% of them are spread over the remaining 23 states and union territories.

Variation in the Percentage of Urdu speakers: 2001-2011

The table-6 and the chart illustrate the variation in the number of Urdu speakers reported in the 2001 and 2011 censuses. There are states where there is an increase in the percentage of Urdu speakers and there are states where there is a decrease in the percentage of Urdu speakers in the concerned decade. Also, there is a state where the percentage has remained constant.

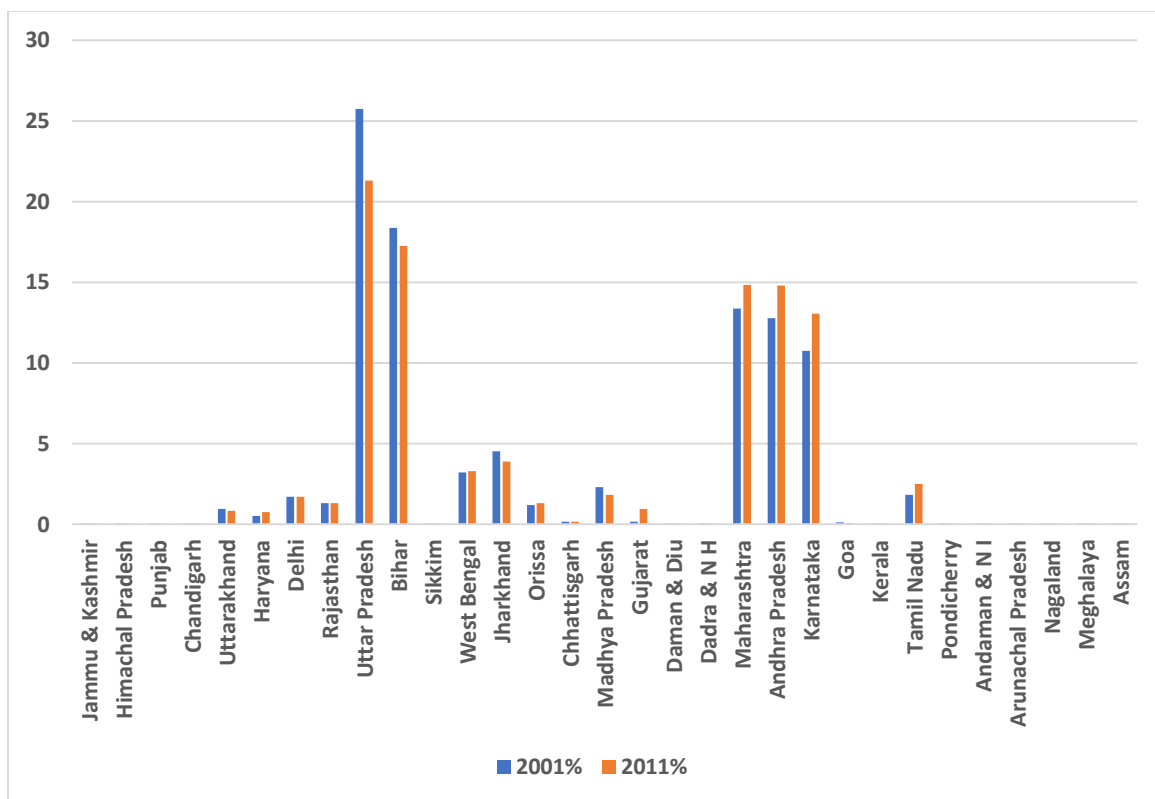
Table-6
Variation in the Percentage of Urdu speakers:2001-2011

Sl. No	STATE	2001 %	2011 %	Sl. No	STATE	2001 %	2011 %
1	Jammu & Kashmir	0.025	0.039	18	Daman & Diu	0.001	0.002
2	Himachal Pradesh	0.009	0.010	19	Dadra & N H	0.001	0.002
3	Punjab	0.053	0.053	20	Maharashtra	13.379	14.851
4	Chandigarh	0.014	0.020	21	Andhra Pradesh	12.758	14.782
5	Uttarakhand	0.964	0.838	22	Karnataka	10.749	13.035
6	Haryana	0.505	0.737	23	Goa	0.105	0.081
7	Delhi	1.696	1.708	24	Lakshadweep	***	***
8	Rajasthan	1.286	1.309	25	Kerala	0.026	0.025
9	Uttar Pradesh	25.752	21.311	26	Tamil Nadu	1.828	2.490
10	Bihar	18.351	17.273	27	Pondicherry	0.013	0.016
11	Sikkim	0.005	0.003	28	Andaman & N I	0.003	0.002
12	West Bengal	3.208	3.276	29	Arunachal Pradesh	0.002	0.002

13	Jharkhand	4.510	3.871	30	Nagaland	0.001	0.002
14	Orissa	1.186	1.320	31	Manipur	***	***
15	Chhattisgarh	0.170	0.157	32	Mizoram	***	***
16	Madhya Pradesh	2.302	1.805	33	Tripura	****	***
17	Gujarat	0.168	0.943	34	Meghalaya	0.004	0.001
				35	Assam	0.009	0.016

In the following states there is an increase in the percentage of Urdu speakers. They are: Jammu and Kashmir-0.025% >0.039%, Himachal Pradesh-0.009>0.010, Chandigarh-0.014%.0,020%, Haryana-0.505%>0.737%, Delhi-1.696%>1.708%, Rajasthan-1.286%>1.309%, West Bengal-3.280%>3.276%, Gujarat-0.168%>0.943%, Daman &Diu-0.001%>0.002, Maharashtra- 13.379%>14.851%, Andhra Pradesh-12.758%>14.782%, Karnataka-10.749%>13.035%, Tamil Nadu-1.828%>2.490%, Pondicherry-0.013%>0.016%, Nagaland-0.001%>0.002% and Assam-0.009%>0.016.

In some of the States there is a decrease in the percentage of Urdu speakers. They are Uttarakhand-0.964%>0.838%, Uttar Pradesh-25.752%>21.311%, Bihar-18.351%>17.273%, Sikkim-0.005%>0.003, Jharkhand-4.510%>3.871%, Chattisgarh-0.170%>0.157%, Madhya Pradesh-2.302%>1.805%, Goa-0.105%>0.081%, Kerala-0.026%>0.025%, Andaman & Nicobar-0.003%>0.002% and Meghalaya-0.004%>0.001%. In two states the percentage of Urdu speakers has remained the same in 2001 and 2011. They are Punjab-0.053% and Arunachal Pradesh-0.002%.



During the 2001 census the following are the number of speakers in Lakshadweep-26, Manipur-483, Mizoram-97 and Tripura-312. It is observed that in these cases too there is variation in the number of Urdu speakers.

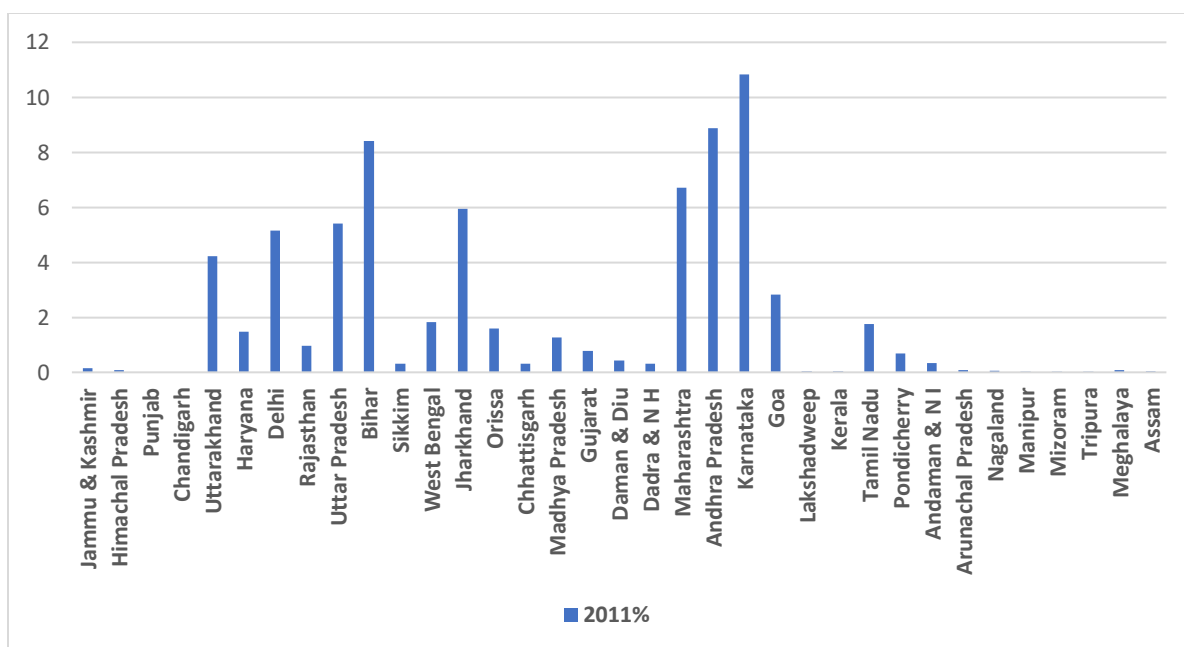
Urdu Speakers in the States and the Union Territories

Table-7 and the chart exemplify the distribution of the percentage of Urdu speakers to the total population of the states and the union territories. It is seen that in the percentage of Urdu speakers to the total population in the state (1) Karnataka stands first with 10.83% of its population are Urdu speakers. The hierarchy of the rest of the states is as follows: (2) Andhra Pradesh-8.87%, (3) Bihar-8.42% (4) Maharashtra-6.71% (5) Jharkhand-5.95% (6) Uttar Pradesh-5.41% (7) Delhi-5.16% (8) Uttarakhand-4.22% (9) Goa-2.82% and (10) West Bengal-1.82%. In the other five states Urdu speakers are one or more than one percent of the total population. They are (1) Chandigarh-1.0% (2) Haryana -1.47% (3) Orissa-1.59% (4) Madhya Pradesh-1.26% (5) Tamil Nadu-1.75%.

In the rest of the twenty states and union territories Urdu speakers are less than one percent of the total population of the concerned state.

Table-7
Percentage to the Total Population of the State

Sl. No	STATE	2011 %	Sl. No	STATE	2011 %
1	Jammu & Kashmir	0.159	18	Daman & Diu	0.42
2	Himachal Pradesh	0.07	19	Dadra & N H	0.31
3	Punjab	0.09	20	Maharashtra	6.71
4	Chandigarh	1.0	21	Andhra Pradesh	8.87
5	Uttarakhand	4.22	22	Karnataka	10.83
6	Haryana	1.47	23	Goa	2.82
7	Delhi	5.16	24	Lakshadweep	0.04
8	Rajasthan	0.96	25	Kerala	0.03
9	Uttar Pradesh	5.41	26	Tamil Nadu	1.75
10	Bihar	8.42	27	Pondicherry	0.69
11	Sikkim	0.32	28	Andaman & N I	0.33
12	West Bengal	1.82	29	Arunachal Pradesh	0.09
13	Jharkhand	5.95	30	Nagaland	0.05
14	Orissa	1.59	31	Manipur	0.008
15	Chhattisgarh	0.31	32	Mizoram	0.010
16	Madhya Pradesh	1.26	33	Tripura	0.014
17	Gujarat	0.79	34	Meghalaya	0.071
			35	Assam	0.026



We have seen the details of the Percentage of Urdu speakers to the total population of the state in 2011 in the previous table.

Similarly, the Percentage of Urdu speakers to the total population of the state in 2001 in some of the states and union territory is also very low and it is difficult to capture it. However, in the 2001 census the following are the numbers of Urdu speakers in Lakshadweep-26, Manipur-483, Mizoram-97 and Tripura-312. It is observed that in these cases too there is variation in the number of Urdu speakers in 2001 and 2011 censuses.

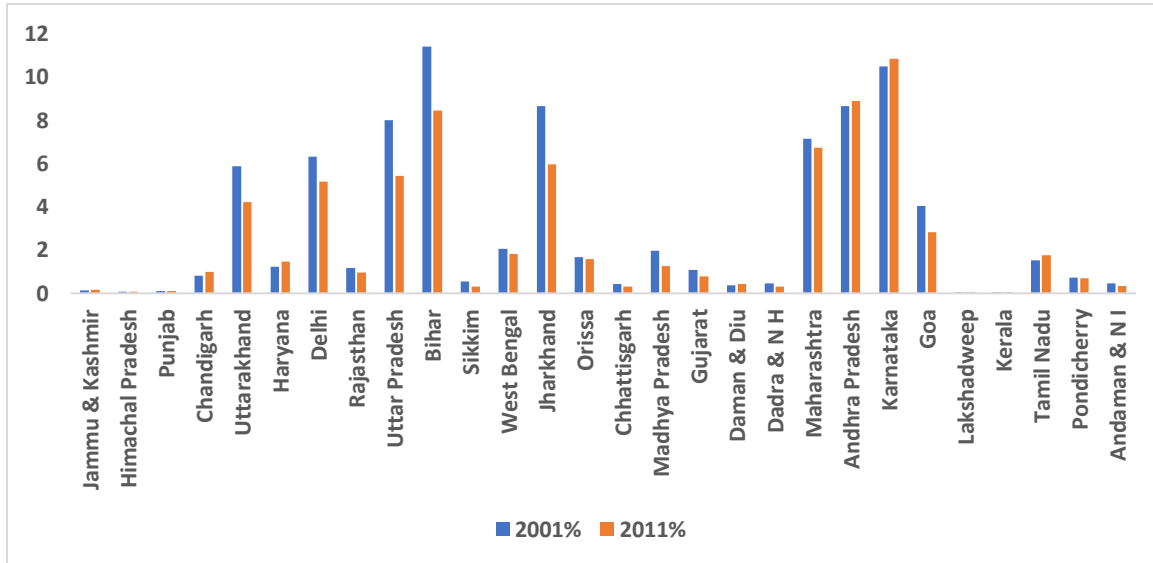
Urdu Speakers in the States and the Union Territories: 2001-2011

Table-8 shows the variation in the percentage of Urdu speakers to the total population of the states and union territories 2001-2011. According to this only in Karnataka-10.48%>10.83%, Tamil Nadu - 1.51%>1.75%, Andhra Pradesh - 8.63%>8.87%, Jammu and Kashmir-0.13%>0.159%, Haryana-1.23%>1.47% and Daman & Diu-0.36%>0.42% there is an increase in the percentage to Urdu speakers to the population of the states and union territory. In all other states and union territories it is observed that there is a decrease in the percentage to Urdu speakers to the population of the respective states and union territories.

Table-8

Variation in the Percentage of the Total Population of the State 2001-2011

Sl. No	STATE	2001 %	2011 %	Sl. No	STATE	2001 %	2011 %
1	Jammu & Kashmir	0.13	0.159	15	Chhattisgarh	0.42	0.31
2	Himachal Pradesh	0.08	0.07	16	Madhya Pradesh	1.97	1.26
3	Punjab	0.11	0.09	17	Gujarat	1.09	0.79
4	Chandigarh	0.81	1.0	18	Daman & Diu	0.36	0.42
5	Uttarakhand	5.86	4.22	19	Dadra & N H	0.45	0.31
6	Haryana	1.23	1.47	20	Maharashtra	7.12	6.71
7	Delhi	6.31	5.16	21	Andhra Pradesh	8.63	8.87
8	Rajasthan	1.17	0.96	22	Karnataka	10.48	10.83
9	Uttar Pradesh	7.99	5.41	23	Goa	4.02	2.82
10	Bihar	11.39	8.42	24	Lakshadweep	0.04	0.04
11	Sikkim	0.54	0.32	25	Kerala	0.04	0.03
12	West Bengal	2.06	1.82	26	Tamil Nadu	1.51	1.75
13	Jharkhand	8.63	5.95	27	Pondicherry	0.73	0.69
14	Orissa	1.66	1.59	28	Andaman & N I	0.45	0.33

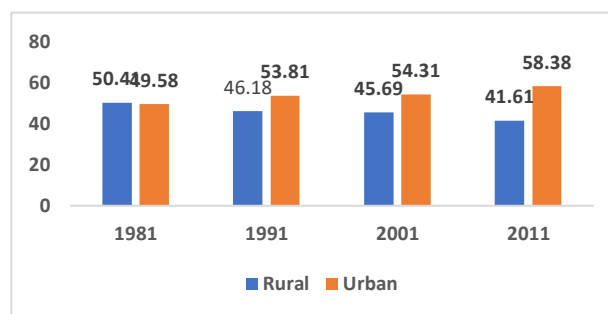


Urdu Speakers in the Urban and Rural Areas

Table-9 provides the details of Urdu speaker's distribution in the Urban and Rural areas. The number of Urdu speakers in the rural areas is declining and those residing in the urban areas is gradually increasing from decade to decade.

Table-9
Urdu speakers in Rural and Urban Areas

Year	Total %	Rural %	Urban %
1981	5.25	50.41	49.58
1991	5.18	46.18	53.81
2001	5.01	45.69	54.31
2011	4.19	41.61	58.38

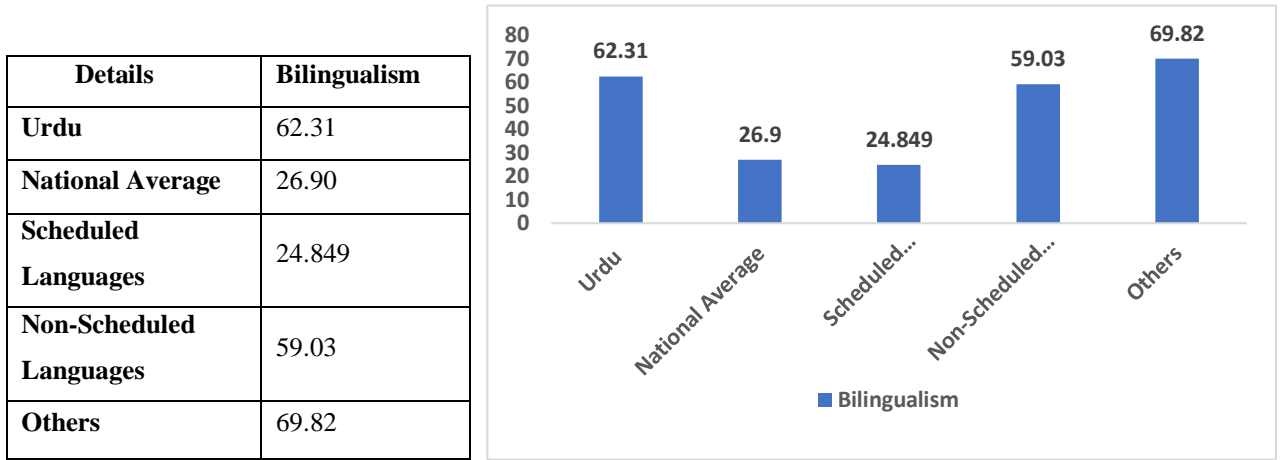


Urdu and Indian Multilingualism

Popular conception of multilingualism is co-existence of more languages in an administrative territory. But in reality, multilingualism is a greater number of speakers of a language being conversant in a greater number of languages. In India multilingualism is self-declared by the speaker of a language and not measured by using any testing scale. Hence it is an important tool to identify and understand the attitude of the speakers of a language towards other languages.

The Census gathers the data on the *first subsidiary language* and the *second subsidiary language* the speakers of a language know. Thus, collected data is interpreted as data on bilingualism and trilingualism. The 2011 Census reports that 62.31% of its population know a first subsidiary language and 15.557% know a second subsidiary language. Urdu is a schedule language, the percentage of Urdu speakers being multilingual is more than double of multilinguals among the scheduled languages. It is observed in the multilingualism table that the national average for bilingualism is 26.90% and trilingualism is 7.35%. The percentage of Urdu speakers being bilingual and trilingual is more than double of the percentage of the national average.

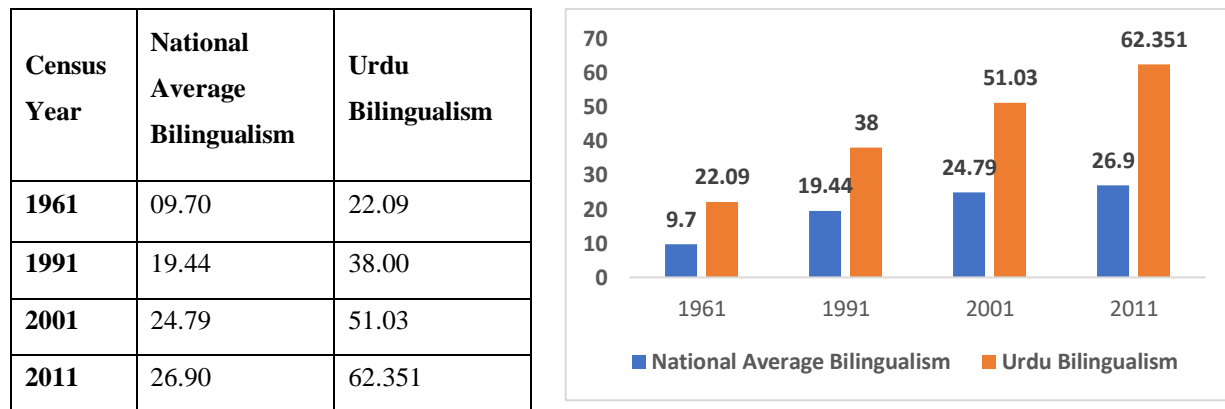
Table-10
Urdu and Bilingualism: 2011



Growth of Bilingualism among Urdu speakers

It can be seen in the table-11 that the national average of bilingualism has increased from 09.70% to 26.90% from 1961 to 2011. So also, more and more Urdu speakers are becoming bilingual from decade to decade. During the same period their percentage was 22.09% in 1961 and the same has become 62.351% in 2011.

Table-11
Urdu and Growth of Bilingualism: 1961 to 2011



Choice of First Subsidiary Language by Urdu speakers

Majority of Urdu speakers prefer Hindi as their first subsidiary language. May be in most of the cases - Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu etc., might have been chosen due to the coexistence of Urdu with them. These languages might have been acquired contextually.

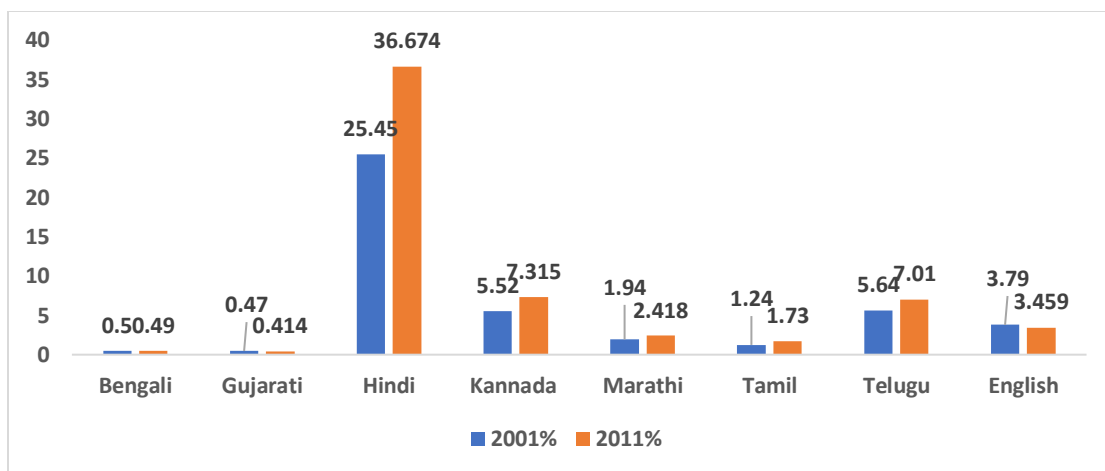
The table-12 on bilingualism among Urdu speakers - choice of first subsidiary language by them in 2001 and 2011 census reveals an interesting opinion.

There is a decrease in the number of Urdu speakers choosing Bengali-0.5%>0.47%, Gujarati-0.47%>0.414 and English 3.79%>3.459% as their first choice of subsidiary language.

During the same period there is an increase in their choice of first subsidiary language like Hindi - 25.45%>36.674%, Kannada- 5.52%>7.315%, Marathi-1.94%>2.418%, Tamil-1.24%>1.730%, and Telugu-5.64%>7.01%. This trend of Urdu relating to some of these languages relating may be reflecting the socio-linguistic trends in the respective regions.

Table-12
Choice of First Subsidiary Language by Urdu speakers

Sl, No	Language	2001 %	2011 %
1	Bengali	0.5	0.49
2	Gujarati	0.47	0.414
3	Hindi	25.45	36.674
4	Kannada	5.52	7.315
6	Marathi	1.94	2.418
8	Tamil	1.24	1.730
9	Telugu	5.64	7.01
10	English	3.79	3.459



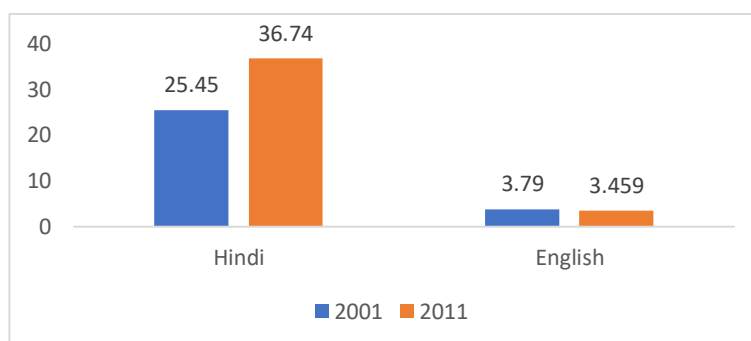
Urdu Speakers' Choice of Hindi/English as First Subsidiary Language

More and more Urdu speakers are choosing Hindi as their first subsidiary language. Their number is increasing, whereas the percentage of Urdu speakers choosing English as the first subsidiary language is decreasing from decade to decade.

Table-13

Urdu speakers' choice of Hindi/English as first subsidiary language

Year	2001	2011
Hindi	25.45	36.74
English	3.79	3.459



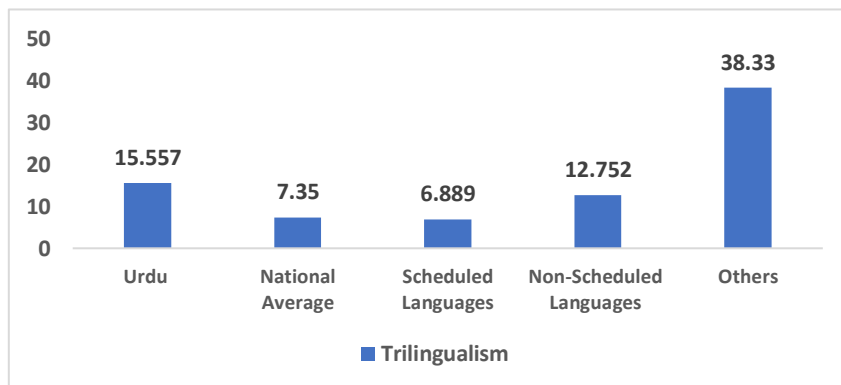
Urdu and Indian Trilingualism

The national average of trilingualism, the number of persons choosing a second subsidiary language has increased from 7.26% in 1991 to 7.35% in 2011. So also, more and more Urdu speakers are becoming trilingual from decade to decade. During the same period their percentage of Urdu speakers choosing a second subsidiary language was 12.14% in 1991 and the same has increased to 15.557% in 2011.

Table -14

Urdu and Trilingualism -2011

Details	Trilingualism
Urdu	15.557
National Avg.,	7.35
Scheduled Languages	6.889
Non-Scheduled Languages	12.752
Others	38.330



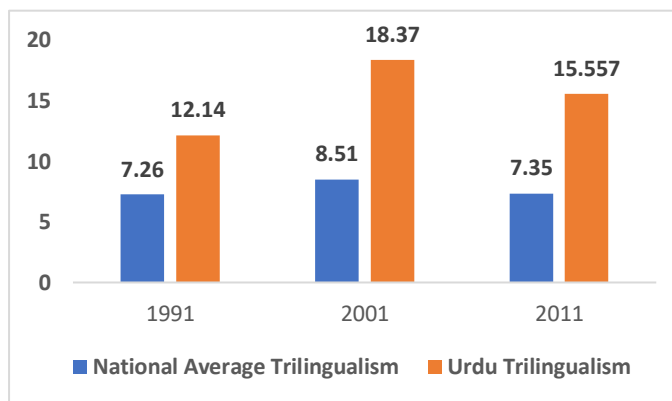
Urdu and Growth of Trilingualism: 1991 to 2011

The number of Urdu speakers declaring that they know a second subsidiary language is above the national average since 1991. It continues to be more than double that average.

Table – 15

Urdu and Growth of Trilingualism: 1991 to 2011

Census Year	National Average Trilingualism	Urdu Trilingualism
1991	7.26	12.14
2001	8.51	18.37
2011	7.35	15.557



To Conclude:

This is the linguistic demographic profile of Urdu in India. Urdu, one of the two pan-Indian languages -- Hindi and Urdu, is having its presence in all the states and union territories of India. The number of its speakers is increasing from one decennial census to another. However, the proportion of its speakers is decreasing in the country. The percentage of Urdu speakers in many states and union territories and the percentage of them as opposed to total speakers of all the languages in the respective states and union territories is also fluctuating. More number of Urdu speakers are residing in the urban areas and the percentage of them in the urban areas is also increasing.

. Multilingualism of Urdu speakers is much beyond the national average for bilingualism and trilingualism. The number of Urdu multilinguals is fast growing. It is one of the languages where more and more speakers are becoming multilingual from decade to decade. There is a noticeable change in the choice of first and second subsidiary languages by the Urdu speakers.

Whenever the language data of the next Census is made available in the public domain, one can compare the analysis presented here with that. If the trend continues, a sociolinguistic study of Urdu in India will help to find the social, economic, linguistic or any other reasons for the same.

Data Source

Language Tables of the Census of India from 1961 to 2011.

Phonetic and Metaphonological Skills of Learning in Disabled Children

Dr. Swapna Sebastian, Paul Jasper, & Dr. Shyamala K C

Introduction

Phonological development is the process of learning the mapping between auditory speech input and gestural control of speech output (1). Phonemes are the smallest units of speech which are written as graphemes and are acquired by age five. (2).

Speech sound difficulties can interfere with school performance and can typically exhibit reading and writing difficulties that are related to their speech errors (3). Phonological awareness is the knowledge of oral structure of speech sounds and the ability to access it and manipulate it. Phonological awareness is considered as an important skill needed for the acquisition and development of reading skills. (3)

The aim of the study was to investigate the speech sound production and metaphonological skills in Malayalam speaking children with learning disability in comparison to typically developing children.

Materials and Methods

Objective

To compare the speech sound production skills and metaphonological skills of Malayalam speaking children with learning disability and typically developing (TD) children matched for sex and age.

Procedure

The study was approved by the research ethics committee of the Institution and informed consent were taken from the parents of the children. In-order to achieve the above goals, study was conducted on 2 groups of subjects - learning disabled children and control group.

34 children with learning disability between the age group of 5-9 years diagnosed by a multidisciplinary team consisting of a Neurologist, Speech Pathologist and Clinical Psychologist formed the experimental group.

The control group consisted of age and sex matched 34 typically developing children. All the participants used Malayalam as their mother tongue and were from the middle and upper strata of the socio-economic ladder.

Speech sound production was tested using the Malayalam Diagnostic Articulation test (4)

All the phonemes (11 vowels and 33 consonants) of Malayalam language were tested in the diagnostic articulation test.

Administration: Picture cards (86) were visually presented to the subjects in order to elicit the response.

Scoring: Each correct response was given a score of one and total scores for each subject was computed.

The following metaphonological skills were tested using the Test of reading and metaphonological skills.

Rhyme recognition,

Phoneme Oddity,

Phoneme Stripping/deletion, and

Phoneme reversal (5)

Results

Statistical analysis was done using the software -IBM SPSS version 19. One way ANOVA was done to find whether there is any significant difference between the children with learning disability and the TD children.

Table 1 One-way ANOVA for Malayalam Diagnostic Articulation Test

Sub	LD	Normal	F	Significance
	85.09	86.00	188.732	0.09

Table 2 One-way ANOVA for Test for reading and metaphonological skills in Malayalam.

Subtest	LD	Normal	F	Significance
Rhyme recognition	5.59	10.52	87.50	0.000
Phoneme Oddity	3.4	6.97	24.94	0.000
Phoneme Stripping/deletion	0.00	2.67	37.79	0.000
Phoneme reversal	0.00	0.00	-	-

As shown in Table 1, both learning disabled children and controls performed equally in the Malayalam Diagnostic Articulation Test. Table 2 reveals that there was a significant difference between the learning-disabled children and typically developing children for the tests of rhyme recognition, phoneme oddity phoneme stripping

Discussion

The scores obtained by the children with learning disability (85.09) were in par with the scores obtained by the normally achieving peers (85.30). The learning-disabled children between the age group of 5-9 years did not show any articulation problems.

The findings of our study is contrary to earlier studies which showed an unusually high prevalence of articulation disorders among individuals with learning disability (6).

Whether these children had a speech sound disorder during early developmental period is a matter of research interest. Literature shows mixed results on the relationship between speech sound disorder in early childhood and reading disability at school age (7) .

On comparison with the normally achieving children, it was found that the children with learning disability scored poor in all the metaphonological tests. This finding is consistent with other studies that have suggested that children with dyslexia perform more poorly than the normally achieving children on the tasks of phonological awareness, (Frith 1981, Torgensen 1985).

Conclusion

The significantly poorer scores obtained by the learning-disabled children on the test of metaphonological skills and almost equal scores as compared to the normal peers on the articulation test suggests that the knowledge of the phonological constraints or rules of the language spoken (phonological awareness) is important for acquisition of academic skills and not the ability to articulate phonemes.

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A MORPHO-SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF IGBO V-V COMPOUNDS

DURU, FERDINAND EBERE
2015056004F

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS,

FACULTY OF ARTS

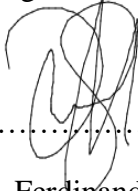
NNAMDI AZIKIWE UNIVERSITY, AWKA.

**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD MASTER
OF ARTS (MA) DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS**

OCTOBER 2018

CERTIFICATION

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted to support an application for another degree or qualification in this or any other university or institution of learning. References to other works have been duly acknowledged.



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Duru, Ferdinand Ebere

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Date

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved for the award of master's degree in Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Nigeria.

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Duru, Ferdinand Ebere

A Morpho-Semantic Classification Of Igbo V-V Compounds – Thesis Submitted In Partial
Fulfilment Of The Requirements For Master Of Arts (M.A.) Degree In Linguistics

.....
Prof. Herbert Igboanusi

.....
Date

External Examiner

DEDICATION

To the evergreen memory of my lovely father Ichie Ogbuefi Pius Duru.

And

My Lovely Family.

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I am grateful to God Almighty for His abundant and sustaining grace throughout my MA program at this university. I am also thankful to God for His provisions, journey mercies, good health, divine wisdom, knowledge, power, and strength to complete this work.

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Duru, Ferdinand Ebere

A Morpho-Semantic Classification Of Igbo V-V Compounds – Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfilment Of The Requirements For Master Of Arts (M.A.) Degree In Linguistics

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To every other person who contributed in one way or the other towards the successful completion of this program, I appreciate you all. God bless you.

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Fig 2: Fabb (1998) Classification of Compound Verbs

Fig 3: Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) classification of compound verbs

LIST OF GLOSSES AND ABBREVIATIONS

EMPH	-	Emphasis
M-V	-	Modifier-Verb
V-M	-	Verb-Modifier
P	-	Preposition
Pl	-	Plural
PST	-	Past (tense)
POSS	-	Possession
Sg	-	Singular
V	-	Verb
V1	-	First compounding verbal lexeme
V2	-	Second compounding verbal lexeme
1s	-	First Person singular
1pl	-	First Person Plural
2s	-	Second Person singular
2pl	-	Second Person plural
3s	-	Third Person singular
3pl	-	Third Person plural

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Abstract

This study is a morpho-semantic classification of the V-V compound structures in Igbo. It seeks to establish the kind of internal semantic relationship that characterizes compounding lexemes as well as the degree of semantic relativity between the compounding lexemes and their compound units. Several studies have been carried out on Igbo compound verbs. However, none of the previous works on Igbo compound verbs has accounted for the internal semantic relationships that underlie compound verbs and their compounding constituents, nor classify Igbo compound verbs using such semantic correlations. This study projects the conceptual idea that the Igbo V-V compound is derived from the composition of two verbal lexemes where their idiosyncratic semantic readings are determined by the native speakers' intuition, cognition, and cultural knowledge. The study adopts the compound verb classificatory framework of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998). This theory seeks to provide a systematic semantic basis for the description and classification of compound verb compositions in languages. This study finds out that the concept of endocentricity; exocentricity and coordinative relationships as projected in this work are stimulated by semantic headedness. It also discovers that the V+nye compound verb structures with benefactive readings are the only compound verb formations that manifest coordinate compound relationships in Igbo. The study concludes that V-V compound formations in Igbo are products of semantic correlation between independent discrete verbal lexemes and that the description and identification of V-V compound heads in Igbo compound structures is solely dependent on the degree of semantic relativity between the compound units and their compounding constituents.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Compounding in linguistics can be described as a morpho-semantic reality where two or more independent discrete linguistic elements combine to form a new linguistic unit, which may or may not be semantically related to the semantic specification of the individual combining elements. Fabregas and Scalise (2012) defined Compounding as “a word-formation process that combines two or more roots inside the same word”. They likened the relationship between compounding lexemes to that which exists between other grammatical elements within a sentence when they stated that “the relation which is established between the elements combined inside a compound is generally not very different from the relations seen between phrases in syntax: modification, coordination or subordination”.

A compound verb therefore is a composition of two verbal lexemes that metamorphose to the formation of a new verbal lexeme. They are linguistic elements that represent lexical units that are made up of two or more elements, each of which can function as a lexeme independent of the other(s) in other contexts, and which shows some phonological or grammatical isolation from normal syntactic usage. In line with this explanation, V-V compound verb structures can be said to be verbal entities made up of two or more independent verbal lexemes. The V-V compound structure comprises two discrete verbal constituents with idiosyncratic semantic specifications where the first compounding constituent is known as V1 the corresponding compounding constituent is known as V2, and the V1 and the V2 must portray verbal readings.

The concept of compound and compounding is not novel to linguistics literature. A variety of approaches and methods have been adapted to the universal study of compound structures, especially the area of compound formations that account for V-V compounds.

Studies in Igbo literature show that Igbo verbs have been greatly investigated through diverse approaches and theoretical frameworks. The great interest attracted by the Igbo verb can be attributed to the centrality of the Igbo verb to the general Igbo language studies (Nwachukwu: 1987). Linguistic evidence has shown that the study of Igbo verbs is central to the study of Igbo grammar. As noted by different scholars, a comprehensive knowledge of the structural and semantic dispositions of Igbo verbs amounts to the understanding of the workings of Igbo grammar in general. Despite these colorations of Igbo verbs, an aspect of Igbo verbs known as compound verbs has received minute attention, especially the V-V compound structures.

In Igbo, there has been a consensus about the composition of compound verb structures. This general perception portrays compound verbs in Igbo as a composition of two independent elements. Agbo (2014:133-134) notes that compound verbs in Igbo are made up of lexical stems or bases that combine to form new structures. This explains the binary constituent structure of compound verbs in Igbo.

However, existing studies in Igbo compound verbs have adopted syntactic and semantic approaches to the analysis and description of Igbo compound verb structures. The proponents of the syntactic approach claim that the syntactic foundation of Igbo compounds is motivated by principles of transformational generative grammar and to some extent minimalist program. The proponents of this notion include Lord (1975), Uwalaka (1995, 1997) Mbah (1999, 2005), and Anyanwu (2005, 2007). These scholars employ a syntactic approach in their analysis and description of Igbo compound verbs. Typical constructions resulting from their analyses are illustrated in examples 1(a)-(d) below:

1. a. Ó tú-fù-rù ákwúkwó
3s throw-lose-PST paper
'He threw away the paper' (Lord 1975:25)

- b. Ònyé Ézè mé-bì-rì ókwú ahù
Person chief do-end-PST talk/case that
'The chief put an end to that case' (Uwalaka 1995:157)
- c. Ngózí dú-pù-rù Íjè
Ngozi lead-exit-PST Ije
'Ngozi led Ije out' (Mbah 2005:590)
- d. Ezè mme-dhà-rà óché nà
Eze make-fall-PST chair one
'Eze made this chair to fall' (Anyanwu 2005:615)

The illustrations in 1(a) by Lord (1975:25), assume that the compound verb unit *túfuru* is a product of the transformational process and it is derived from two underlying constructions of *Ó tùrù ákwúkwó* 'he threw book' and *Ákwúkwó fùrù* 'book lost' respectively. According to her, syntactic principles, rules, and conditions are imposed on these underlying syntactic manifestations to derive the construction in 1(a). She claims that the analysis of the resulting compound verb *túfú* ('throw away') is a product of syntactic configuration between *tùrù* 'throw' and *furu* 'lost'. She attributes the first component *tú* with the characteristic of an action verb while the second component *fù* indicates the goal or result of the action verb. Lord concludes by saying that the canonical example of a compound verb in Igbo as illustrated in 1(a) is characterized by action-goal compound formations. However, in example 1(b) the compound verb *mé-bì*, which indicates a causative specification "belongs to the subset of Igbo complex predicates" (Uwalaka 1995:157). To Uwalaka, the compound verb structure *mébìrì* is typical of a complex predicate rather than an overt compound structure. The clause in 1(b) is also analyzed within the framework of the Government and Binding Theory (Agbo: 2014). Mbah (2005:590) opines that the typical compound verb unit *dú-pù* ('lead out') demonstrated in 1(c) is "made possible by transformations and the meaning of the compound derived from the structure". He claims "that the interpretation and comprehension of the compound formation is derived from the structural disposition of the compound structure. To him, the formation and interpretation of compound verbs in Igbo are dependent on structures rather than intuition and cognition (Agbo 2014). This implies that the syntactic configurations that characterized a canonical compound verb unit in Igbo account for their semantic integrity. Anyanwu (2005) adopts the Principles and

Parameters approach in his evaluation and analysis of Igbo compound verbs as illustrated in example 1(d). According to him, a typical compound verb *mmé-dhà* ('make-fall') in example 1(d) can be classified under the causative family of compound verbs where the causative attribute that characterized this class of compound verbs was stimulated by some syntactic processes (Agbo: 2014). As a result, the causative reading of the verb *mé-dhà* is the result of syntactic derivations from a bi-clausal structure, where *mé* ('make/do') in one instance is a predicate head of a clause, and *dhà* ('fall') is also a predicate of another clause respectively. Anyanwu's analysis portrays compound verbs in Igbo as having a double-headed clausal structure at the deep structure. By this postulation, the V1 and V2 are conceived as independent predicate heads respectively (Anyanwu (2005). The idea in 1(a)-(d) is that verb compounds derive their meaning from syntactic derivations and structures. These scholars describe compound verbs in Igbo as products of syntactic configurations and transformational movements.

In another development, Oha (2010) examines the combining inter-relation between the compounding elements of the V-V compound formations including their constraints in terms of the operative relations that hold between them. Typical constructions resulting from Oha (2010) analysis of causative compound verbs as a class of Igbo compound verbs identified by him are illustrated below:

- | | | | |
|----|------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 2. | a. kpó-wa: | VI-KPỌ = peg. | V2-WÁ = break, slice |
| | b. pì-wá: | V1-PÌ = press, squeeze | V2-WÁ = break, slice |
| | c. gbá-ji: | V1-GBÁ = MOTION | V2-JÍ = snap |
| | d. mé-bì: | V2-MÉ = do, act | V2-BÌ = end, stop |
| | e. kú-wa: | V1-KÚ = hit, knock | V2-WÁ = break, slice |

Oha (2010)

The illustrations in 2(a)-(e) above contain canonical samples of compound verb structures outside context. Oha (2010) random and arbitrary approach in the selection and identification of compound units independent of contextual usage appears short of the orientation of this study. Such an approach projects compound verb formations as mere assumptions and introspective phenomena stimulated by syntactic configurations between compounding verbal lexemes.

As we have illustrated above, it is obvious that previous studies of compound verbs in Igbo have focused largely on the transformational process from which these compounds are derived. The central idea behind the syntactic base of compound verbs in Igbo is that the semantic interpretation of conventional compound verbs is usually parsed from these syntactic derivations largely stimulated by the tenets of Transformational Generative principles. The syntactic-based approach to the formation and interpretation of Igbo compound verb structures, as adopted by some Igbo grammarians, and the implicit consensus that Igbo compound verb formation and interpretation is a function of syntactic configuration, constitute part of the motivation for this research. However, none of the previous works on V-V compound formations in Igbo have given an account of the headedness relationship that characterized compounding verbal constituents. Also, none of the existing works in Igbo have any evidence of semantic classification of Igbo compound verbs with reference to the degree of semantic relativity between compound verbs and their compounding constituents. This study is set to address this gap in Igbo compound verb studies. To adequately account for these internal semantic correlations that characterized V-V compound formations in Igbo, this study will adopt the compound verb classificatory system of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) as its theoretical model. These and many more residual issues constitute and explain the researcher's motivation for this study.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Previous studies in Igbo such as Lord (1975), Uwalaka (1995, 1997) Mbah (1999, 2005), Anyanwu (2005, 2007), Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014), and Agbo (2014) have looked at the compound verbs from different perspectives. Lord (1975), Uwalaka (1995, 1997), Mbah (1999, 2005), and Anyanwu (2005, 2007), are of the view that the concept of compound verbs in Igbo is a product of syntactic configurations and transformations. They claimed that the syntactic processes that stimulate the formation of compound verbs in Igbo were guided by the rules and principles of Transformational Generative Grammar. In another development, Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014), and Agbo (2014) approach the concept of compound verbs in Igbo from the domain of semantics. However, there is a consensus among these Igbo scholars on the binary compounding structure of Igbo V-V formations. However, none of these studies have accounted for the internal semantic relationship that exists between the compounding constituents (V1 and

V2) in V-V compound structures. Also, none of the existing studies in Igbo V-V compound formations have given a comprehensive account of the semantic headedness that characterized compound verb structures. Also, none of the previous investigations in Igbo compound verbs have given semantic interpreted of Igbo V-V compounds with recourse to the semantic specifications of the compounding lexemes. We postulate that these gaps have impeded a better understanding of the structure, formation, and proper interpretation of the Igbo V-V compounds. Therefore, this work will explore these intellectual gaps by demonstrating a systematic exposition of the semantic relationships between the compounding lexemes and their compound units and will also utilize such grammatical correlations to classify Igbo V-V compound units using Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) compound verb classificatory frameworks.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This study is a morpho-semantic investigation of Igbo V-V compounds. The following constitute the fundamental aim of the study:

1. To account for the semantic headedness in Igbo V-V compound formations within the classificatory model of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998).
2. To establish the kind of grammatical relationship that underlies compounding constituents of Igbo V-V compound structures.
3. To demonstrate how the grammatical relationship between the compounding constituents accounted for the semantic headedness in Igbo V-V compounds.
4. To systematically demonstrate and establish the connection between the semantics of the compounding elements and their compound elements.
5. To give a systematic exposition of the role of the compounding lexemes in the semantic decomposition and interpretation of the V-V compound structures.

1.4 Research questions

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How can semantic headedness be accounted for in Igbo V-V compound structures within the classificatory model of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998)?

2. What nature of grammatical relationship exists between the compounding constituents in the Igbo compound verb structures?
3. How can the semantic relationship between V1 and V2 account for semantic headedness in Igbo compound formations?
4. What kind of internal relationship exists between Igbo compound verbs and their compounding lexemes?
5. What role do V1 and V2 compounding constituents play in the semantic decomposition of V-V compound verb units in Igbo?

1.5 Significance of the study

This work will provide a morpho-semantic description and interpretation of V-V compound formations in Igbo. The semantic headedness that the work seeks to account for is a canonical departure from the traditional transformational generative approach to the study of compound verbs currently subsisting in Igbo grammar. As a result, it evokes a new dimension of research in the study of Igbo verbs for linguists, language researchers, and Igbo language teachers alike. Also, this work will lay a solid foundation for future classifications of Igbo compound verb structures with reference to the grammatical relationship that underlies compounding elements. This study also introduces a new typological and classificatory system in the study of Igbo compound verbs and verbs in general. Above all, it establishes a new approach to the study of Igbo morphology and Igbo grammar in general.

1.6 Scope of the study

The focus of this work is to investigate the degree of semantic relationship between V-V compounds and their compounding constituents in Igbo. And use such semantic correlation to account for the semantic headedness that characterized V-V compounds in Igbo. Therefore, the scope of the study is limited to the semantic headedness disposition of V-V compound formations in Igbo. The study is undertaken within the classificatory framework of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998). It focuses on the semantic classification of Igbo V-V compound structures using the idiosyncratic semantic specifications of compounding verbal lexemes as a parameter. The study aims to establish the semantic significance of the compounding verbal elements to the semantic integrity of the compound verb units in Igbo. In reality, the study of

compound verbs in general especially in Igbo is practically inexhaustible. Therefore, this study focuses on an aspect of Igbo compound verbs known as V-V compound structures. However, there are diverse approaches to the study and classification of compound verbs in Igbo. These approaches include the transformational approach, minimalist approach, pragmatic approach, Semantax approach, etc. This work did not go into the discussion of all available approaches to the analysis of compound verbs in Igbo. The scope of this study is strictly limited to the idiosyncratic semantic specifications of the compounding lexemes as well as the semantic relationship that underlies compounding constituents and their compound units. Other semantic features of Igbo compound verbs outside the headedness condition are relatively excluded from this study. Also, the semantic interpretations and specifications of the compound verb units and their compounding elements are context-sensitive. This implies that the semantic readings of this compound and compounding elements outside their contextual usage are practically inconsequential to the analysis of the data, and therefore fall outside the scope of this study.

1.7 Limitation to the study

The researcher was constrained by some factors during his plenary research for data, especially the secondary data. Part of these constraints were attributed to the theoretical framework adopted for this study. The classificatory framework of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) as a theory of compound verb description and analysis is quite a novel theory, especially in the analysis and classification of Igbo compound verbs. Based on this, there is a paucity of material in Igbo compound verbs from the adopted theoretical model's perspective. However, the semantic headedness relationship that characterized V-V compounds in Igbo has not been accounted for. This stimulated a kind of artificial scarcity of literature on this area of linguistic study especially in Igbo. The available literature on V-V compound verb formations in Igbo did not give an adequate account of the semantic correlation between V1 and V2 compounding constituents. This posed a serious challenge for the researcher in the area of previous work assembling.

Another limitation of the study is finance. The researcher was not under any form of external funding other than self. This constituted a serious challenge as many research instruments that require capital funding could not be procured and as a result, were technically excluded from the work plan. However, despite all these challenges, limitations, and constraints, the commitment, disposition, and resilience of the researcher stimulated the successful completion of this research.

1.8 Tone and Tone-marking Conventions

The tone is an integral attribute of West African Languages to which the Igbo language belongs. The Igbo language uses variation in pitch to distinguish lexical and grammatical meanings. As a result, it can be said to be a Tonal Language. In Igbo, Ugorji (2008) stated that three-level tones

are contrasted in lexical formation. These include High, Low, and Mid-tones respectively. He observes that while high and low tones have unrestricted distribution and occurrence, Mid-tones have restricted distribution. According to him, Mid-tones occur only after a high tone and do not occur as an initial syllable in a word. Also, it does not occur in monosyllabic CV roots and may behave as a variant of the high tone in syntactic derivations. Tonal symbols for the registered three-level tone in Igbo are represented below:

High [ˈ]
 Low [ˋ]
 Mid [ˊ]

In this Igbo V-V compound investigation, we shall adopt the traditional tone marking convention where all the registered tone levels are marked in correlation with the Tone Bearing Units (TBU). Canonical examples of the traditional tone marking conventions are demonstrated below.

ákwà	[H L]	‘cloth’
àkwá	[L H]	‘egg’
ákwá	[H H]	‘cry’
àkwà	[L L]	‘bed/bridge’
ísī́	[H S]	‘to cook’

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines some available literature considered relevant to this study. It acts as a reference point as it exposes the researcher to previously accomplished works by scholars in different languages that are related to the research title and above all relevant to the researcher's intellectual intent and purposes. It explored previous studies in Igbo verbs, accesses morpho-syntactic constructions in Igbo, as well as intellectual assertions that contain ideas relating to compound verb configurations with a focus on V-V compound types. Also, empirical studies on the compound verb phenomenon in Igbo were reviewed. The purpose of the latter is to achieve a systematic exposition of the intellectual gaps that characterize existing studies in Igbo compound verbs, especially the V-V compound formations. And this fits into the researcher's designed purpose and objective. The theoretical framework adopted in this work was also reviewed to demonstrate its choice and to reflect its ideal theoretical orientation which this study signifies.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 The Universal Concept of Compound and Compounding

As we stated in chapter one, this study investigates the morphosemantic manifestation of V-V compounds in Igbo with the view of establishing their headedness properties. It considers the idiosyncratic semantic specifications of the compounding lexemes and the degree of their semantic relativity with their compound units. The study classifies Igbo compound verbs based on the internal semantic relationships between the compounding verbal lexemes and the compound structures.

The concept of compound and compounding is not restricted to linguistics or Igbo language alone. As noted by Mbah (2005), other disciplines, and fields of human endeavor such as chemistry, Mathematics, etc explore the principles of compounding in their relative studies.

Discussing compounding in chemistry, Robins (1969) explains the concept of a compound in chemistry as “a substance which contains two or more elements chemically combined where an element is assumed to be a substance which cannot be by any known physical process be split into two or simpler substances”. This by implication means that the metamorphosed element cannot be disintegrated by any identifiable empirical process. Nevertheless, if by any chemically stimulated process there appears incident of chemical split of the element, the compound chemical element loses its substantial value. According to this explanation, the value of a compound element in chemistry is a function of the inseparable form of the compounding elements. A similar idea is portrayed in Mendelson (1970) as regards compounding in mathematics, where it was stated that the mathematical compound process is a principle that conforms to the intricacies that are identical to the universal concept of compound. Mendelson (1970) in Mba (2005), supported this notion with the following algebraic principle; “when sets A and B form a compound – a union, then A and B intersect. By inductive mathematical reasoning, the relationship between union and intersection is given by the following formularized distributive laws”:

if	$A \cup B$
then	$A \cap B$
and if	$A \cup B$
then	$A \cap B (A \cup B) = (A \cap B) \cup (A \cap B)$
and	$A \cup B (A \cap B) = (A \cup B) \cap (A \cup B)$

(Where \cup means unites and \cap means intersects)

(cf Mbah 2005)

Application of this mathematical theory expressed above to a typical verbal compound structure in linguistics will mean that if a verbal element A unites with another verbal element B, then verbal element A intersects with verbal element B. By implication since verbal element B unites with verbal element A, then all other elements united with verbal element B logically intersects and units with verbal element A. The implication of this explanation is a testimony of the morpho-semantic contributive attribute of compounding verbal elements in the semantic interpretation of compound verb structures.

The understanding that underlies the concept of compound in linguistics shares similar idea with the conceptualization of compound as we observed in chemistry and mathematics respectively.

Mbah (2005:584) follows this explanation with the identification of certain attributes that characterize compounds. These according to him include;

- Free forms form compounds: This specifically means that compounds are made up of more than two independent elements with distinct semantic specifications. The compounding elements must have idiosyncratic semantic features which may or may not be related to the semantic readings of their compound form.
- Compounding of free forms produces new matter or words. This simply means that the coming together of the compounding lexemes or elements gives rise to a new lexical item or chemical substance. This justifies the notion of compound and compounding as a lexical derivational device.
- The meaning of the compound incorporates the individual meaning of the constituents. This means that in some instances the semantic readings of the compound verb may exhibit semantic relativity with the compounding constituents.
- Any of the constituting elements may exist without destroying the independence of the other elements or elements within the structure. This implies that there are instances of semantic equality among the compounding lexemes where the compounding elements can exist in isolation and still retain the conceptual integrity of their compound form.

(Mba 2005)

Compound structures in linguistics are universal phenomena that represent lexical units. They consist of two or more elements each of which can function as a lexeme independent of the other(s) in some designated morphosyntactic environment. Compound structures in linguistics also exhibit some morphophonological independence and show remarkable isolation attributes

from conventional syntactic usage. In line with this explanation, we identify a compound verb to be a verbal entity made up of two or more independent verbal elements or lexemes.

2.2 Studies in Compound Verbs

Compound verbs have been defined as words that consist of two words. In his account of the nature of compounds and compounding in English, Selkirk (1982:12) stated that compounds in English are a type of word structure made of two constituents, each belonging to one of the categories of noun, adjective, verb, or preposition. According to him, the compound itself may belong to the category noun, Verb, or adjective. Selkirk portrayed that what is special about compounds in English is the fact that the two constituents are linked by a grammatical relation that is not overtly expressed.

Scalise (1992), affirms the assertion by Selkirk (1982) about the morphological structure of universal compound verbs when he stated that compounds are generally acknowledged to be formed by at least two words. Bauer (2001), Plag (2003), Lieber (2004), and Booij, (2005) agree to the notion of structural binarity that characterizes compound formations. Their consensus viewpoint is that compound formations consist of two or more elements and the compounding units may be bound lexemes or independent words. The constitution of compounds, therefore, includes a binary structure, where the compounding constituents have a kind of grammatical relationship or link that may be marked or unmarked. Here the syntactic and semantic relativity between the compounding constituents in compound structures is acknowledged. According to Booij (2005:75), this link involves one lexeme or word modifying the meaning of the other. This link is interpreted by the native speaker of the language who cognitively encodes the usage in context. The acknowledgment of a modifying element within compound units by Booij (2005) underscores the existence of a super-ordinate relationship between the compounding constituents. This simply means that in the compounding process, therefore, some lexemes are semantically more salient than others. This semantic inequality informs our M-V and V-M compound structures which will be discussed further in chapter three of this study.

2.2.1 The Concept of Lexemes and Compounding Lexemes

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A Morpho-Semantic Classification Of Igbo V-V Compounds – Thesis Submitted In Partial
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In his account and definition of a lexeme, Aranoff (1994:10) assumes the lexeme to be ‘an abstract vocabulary word’ which is a set of linguistic signs incorporating form, syntax, and meaning. He further explained that the semantic integrity of a lexeme and its identification is a function of its morpho-phonological realization. This explanation according to Agbo (2014:133), means that “a lexeme is a potential member of a major lexical category”. This definition implies that when an abstract lexeme appears in a syntactic context with interpretable morpho-syntactic properties it can be analyzed as a word. In his definition of the interaction between a word and a lexeme, Aranoff (1994) posits that “grammatical words are the members of the paradigm of a particular lexeme”. In this case, the terms lexeme and word are interchangeable depending on the linguistic context. The assumption by Aranoff (1994) is that lexemes lack overt semantic specification outside their identifiable syntactic environment. The description of the lexeme as an abstract phenomenon does not mean to identify the lexeme as a meaningless variable, rather it shows that its semantic interpretation is largely context dependent. The fundamental notion is that their contextual syntactic appearances give a clearer view and understanding of their semantic identity. Aranoff (1994:39-41) went on to establish a distinction between lexemes, roots, stems, and bases. He defines a root as “what is left when all morphological structure has been wrung out of a form”, while he adopts the classical designation of a stem “as the part of a complete word form that remains when an affix is removed”. The base of a word is then defined according to him as “a complete lexeme or syntactic-semantically identifiable set of lexemes”. In a related development, Matthews (1991) and Anderson (1992) believe that compound formations result from composite structures that occur at the level below the word. This assumption according to Agbo (2014:133-134) implies that compounds are made up of lexical stems or bases that combine to form new structures.

In Igbo as we will observe later, inherent semantic features of the lexical stems, bases, or words involved in the compounding process are not completely compromised during the compounding process; rather they contribute to the conceptual integrity of the new compound structures. This presents Igbo verb roots as linguistic elements with semantic contents.

The concept of compounds and compounding in general appears to be a productive word-formation strategy in some languages. However, its study seems to have attracted less attention

in linguistics literature, especially the aspect of compounding that deals with compound verbs (CVs). The reason for this may be attributed to its non-conventionality across language phylum. In their view of this development Guevara and Scalise (2009: 116), stated that “compound verbs do not make a favorite topic in the mainstream of linguistic literature (be it word formation, compounding proper, cognitive linguistics, construction grammar, typology and universals, etc.). This can hardly be attributed to the scarcity of such compounds in languages rather it is a case of an aspect of compounding preferred by researchers. This was collaborated by Guevara and Scalise (2009:125) when they stated that “it is remarkable that literature has dedicated a great deal of attention to just one case in compounding that is: endocentric subordinate right headed [N+N]N compounds. While this pattern is certainly the canonical instance of compounding in the world’s languages, it is by no means the only one. Future work on the typology and the theory of compounding will necessarily have to shift the tendency shown until now by concentrating on the analysis of the many remaining compound types”. On the other hand, Cappa and Perani (2002), and Laudanna (2002), corroborated the concern of Guevara and Scalise (2009) by expressing their worry over the less attention studies on compound verbs have attracted. They opined that the considerably less attention paid to CVs (compound verbs) in general may be a function of the unrealistic assumption that what applies to synthetic endocentric nominal compounds applies by implication to compound verbs. They argue that “such an assumption is however if not wrong-footed, at least unwarranted as it can be seen from psycholinguistic research on the processing and representation of compounds, the neurolinguistic evidence indicating strict dissociations between nouns and verbs, and research within cognitive linguistics which points towards a basic conceptual distinction between the profiling capacities of symbolic complexes surfacing as nouns and those surfacing as verbs”. However, Finocchiaro (2000: 226) noted that studies of compounding are not the only area of linguistic investigations that do not grant verbs their due center stage in linguistic research. Psycholinguistic research on compounds is focused exclusively on nominal compounds; Neurolinguistic research is also focused predominantly on the processing of other categories. He noted that “the absence of Neurolinguistic studies specifically concerning verb semantics can be due, at least in part, to the ‘puzzling’ nature of verbs”. All these observations speak volumes of the significance of compound verb investigations and documentation in the mainstream of linguistic literature.

Despite the less attention attracted by Compound verbs in the linguistics literature, some scholars have devoted undivided attention to investigating compound verb formations across languages. In their diverse efforts to achieve this, a lot of approaches have been expounded and adopted by different researchers. Aikhenvald (2007:32), adopts a morphological approach in the analysis and description of compound verbs. He describes Verbal Compounds in the context of word-formation discussions. He defined CVs as root serialization objects comprising of sequences of verb roots which result in the creation of a single verb with shared arguments. He argues that such definitions have led to conclusions considering the correlation between verbal compounds and head-marking typology of languages. In that study which focuses on the internal headedness hypothesis identifiable with Compound verbs, Aikhenvald (2007) claims that the notion of verbal compounds has been instrumental in typological classification of languages using headedness classificatory criterion. The fundamental argument posited by Aikhenvald (2007) is that internal headedness attributes of compound verb formations should serve as a typological factor considering its functional and semantic significance in the understanding of universal language structure and behavior.

However, the classificatory feature attributed to CVs was of great concern to some scholars. This was stimulated by the intricate internal structure that characterizes compound verb formations. According to Bagasheva, (2012a), Compound verbs (CVs) raise several puzzling questions concerning their classification, word formation properties, basic onomasiological function, as well as their transitory status between ‘relations’ and ‘conceptual cores’. These factors appear to have constituted residual issues in the analysis of compound verb formation. These residual issues, however, according to Guevara and Scalise (2009: 102) are associated with semantic decomposition and determinacy of verbal compounds. To proffer solutions to the semantic complexity associated with compound verbs, they identify the following set of concepts to project conventional properties in verb compounding. These features include (a) output categories, (b) input categories, (c) the relation between the constituents, (d) headedness, and (e) a combination of categories. The claim is that absolute adherence and attention to the identified linguistic features and criteria will nevertheless give a clearer view and understanding of

compound verb classifications and conceptualization across languages. In addition to the identified features, Booij (2009: 83) proposed the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis, which consists of non-interruptability and non-accessibility of word-internal structure as a formal universal that can be exploited in word-formation typology. He admits that “it is hard to find uncontested substantive morphological universals of an absolute nature, certainly not in the domain of word formation”.

In another approach, Langacker (2008) and Libben (2006) adopted a cognitive approach in their analysis and perception of the compound verb phenomenon. They observed that CVs occupy a special place in the lexicon because “they are linguistic cues that explicitly manipulate frames and are responsible for patterns of conceptual modification and integration. The general language-independent motivational drive behind CVs is an onomasiological need instigated by the situational salience of a conceptual complex worthy of a name”. Their analysis was motivated by the linguistic evidence in which they claim that CVs are products of formal and conceptual components and associations of linguistic units, which are usually co-activated with the representation of the whole, even with the semantic indeterminacy that so often characterized the internal relationship between the compounding components.

Hong and Huang (2004) are concerned about the internal arrangement and ordering of the individual constituents of the compound verb units. They observe that the ordering of the two verb components in a compound verb structure is determined by their eventive relations which can be inferred through the conceptual reading of each verb. Here, Hong and Huang (2004) take into consideration the inherent semantic features of the compounding element in isolation as the determinant factor for the perception and conceptualization of the compound structures.

2.2.2 Structural Decomposition of Compound Verbs.

As we have identified above, the semantic decomposition and interpretation of compound verb structures have posed a little challenge to scholars. This has been attributed to the diverse

perceptions and approaches to the analysis of compound units. Some linguists view compounds as a product of morphological formation, while others see it as a syntactic reality. In another development, other scholars argue that determinacy and interpretation of compound structures can only be successful if researchers can employ semantic methodology. As a linguistic phenomenon, Compounds and Compounding (compound verbs inclusive) have their inherent grammatical challenges, which over the years constitute the center of debates across language typologies. Highlighting these challenges, Bisetto and Scalise (1999); Neeleman and Ackema (2004), are of the collective view that among the problems of compounds and compounding are the interpretation of compounds as syntactic or morphological objects. Gaeta and Ricca (2009) are concerned with the grammatical status of compounding components. They proposed that the decomposition of compound verb structures should focus on finding whether the internal properties of the compound verb structures are lexicalized objects or mere morphological objects. Lieber (2004), Scalise and Guevara (2006), and Scalise et al. (2009), identify issues over their headedness conditions. They are concerned if the CVs structures should be decomposed as a unified concept or as a parameterized phenomenon. Libben and Jarema (2006), are worried about the nature of their basic onomasiological function, naming or descriptive, and the nature of their processing as on situ computation online or as retrieval of stored ready-made lexical units. Benzces (2006), Bundgaard, Ostergaard, and Stjernfelt (2006, 2007); respectively identify one of the challenges as the nature of their internal semantics in terms of compositionality. Trask (1999), and Bauer (2005); stated that the analysis of the exponents of the compound verb structures as independent words or roots/stems or something entirely distinct posed a great challenge of indeterminacy and semantic interpretation.

Lieber (2004) is specifically concerned with the interpretation of compound verb structures. He emphatically stated that “no less problematic is the analysis of the word formation processes involved in the creation of Compound Verbs”. Wald and Besserman (2002) questioned if compound verb structures are to be considered “coinages resulting from conversion interpreted as re-listing, interpretable only as diachronically accountable backformations or as productive analogical compositions proper, in which it is possible to accommodate VVs whose diachronic establishment has evolved from back formations to a fully productive synchronic VV pattern”.

Having seen all the challenges associated with the semantic indeterminacy of compound verbs in general, the present study does not span as wide as to cover all the questions and problems that characterize the interpretation of compound verb formations as identified above. It focuses on the structural semantic decomposition of CVs in Igbo with a focus on the semantic relativity between the compounding lexemes with their compound forms as well as their independent semantic readings in isolation.

2.3 Classifications of Compound Verb Structures

The little attention attracted by compound verbs as a linguistic concept has led to diverse classificatory approaches. Scholars believe such classifications are necessary as the compound verb phenomenon is gradually becoming a cross-linguistic phenomenon. As noted by Bisetto and Scalise (2007), classifications of compounds present a range of different problems, namely: terminological problems, problems of neglected lexical categories, and problems of consistency of the used criteria. The following scholars Bloomfield (1933), Bally (1950), Marchand (1969), Shibatani (1990), Spencer (1991), Fabb (1998), Olsen (2001) Haspelmath (2002), Bouer (2001) Booij (2005) Bisetto and Scalise (2005) have made attempts in classifying compounds across linguistics using different classificatory criteria. Even though there has not been linguistic evidence of the universality of identified classes across languages, these classificatory templates nevertheless seem to capture the true manifestations of compound configurations cross-linguistically. Despite the diversity of the classificatory framework, one criterion that is common to all the classifications is the presence and absence of a head compounding lexeme. The identification of the compound head can be syntactically or semantically motivated. Shibatani (1990) and Spencer (1991), Fabb (1998), Olsen (2001) Haspelmath (2002), Bouer (2001) Booij (2005) Bisetto and Scalise (2005) adopted semantic approach in their respective classifications of compound verbs. They examined the internal semantic interaction between the compound lexemes and their semantic correlation to the semantic readings of the entire compound unit.

The respective compound verb classifications by Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) were adopted in this study. The choice of their classificatory framework was stimulated by their extensional

analysis of CVs that capture the morphosemantic dispositions of V-V compound formations in Igbo.

Fabb (1998) classified compound verbs into three categories, namely: endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate compound verbs. His classification was in line with that of Shibatani (1990) who also emphasized semantic headedness of V-V compound structures.

Shibatani (1990) suggests the following classification mechanism for V-V compound verb formations:

- (i) Modifier-V (M-V) – where the modifier names the manner of the activity named by the second verb.
- (ii) V-Modifier (V-M) – where the second constituent identifies the manner or the direction of the verb.
- (iii) V-V – where both verbs have an equal semantic contribution to the semantics of the whole, naming a complex event.

While Shibatani's (1990) M-V, V-M, and V-V compound structures agree with the endocentric and co-ordinate compound verb structures of Fabb (1998), it did not consider the exocentric compound verb formations as accounted for in Fabb (1998). This necessitates our inclusion of Fabb (1998) and its subsequent merging with Shibatani (1990) in this study.

However, Shibatani (1990) investigated the morpho-semantic disposition of the compounding lexemes within the exocentric, endocentric, and co-ordinate compound verbs. His classification looked into the morphosemantic properties of the compounding lexemes within the endocentric and coordinate compound verbs. He maintained that endocentric compounds are characterized by two sets of verbal lexemes with distinct semantic functions; Modifier-Head and Head-Modifier structures respectively, where the identification of the Head of a compound structure or its modifier is strictly based on the semantic specifications of each of the compounding constituents. To ensure adequate account and proper representation of the canonical V-V compound structures in Igbo, this study intends to collapse the compound verb classificatory models of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) within a single schematic to capture the typical V-V compound structures in Igbo.

2.4 The Igbo Verbs

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A Morpho-Semantic Classification Of Igbo V-V Compounds – Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfilment Of The Requirements For Master Of Arts (M.A.) Degree In Linguistics

The verb generally can be defined traditionally as a word that indicates an action or state of affairs. Chafe (1970: 95) rightly observes that grammatical units with verbal reading are semantically present in all but some marginal utterances of every language. He posited that in certain circumstances, the verb may appear to be elided at surface structure but “the semantic influence of the verb is relatively dominant, extending itself over other elements in the sentence”. The Igbo verb is one of the two productive word classes in the Igbo language. Nwachukwu (1987) referred to Igbo as a verboid language. He claims that Igbo is very much verb-centered, and any accurate and comprehensive description of the Igbo verb system amounts to an adequate description of the language in general. This assertion shows that the verb constitutes the centrality of the grammar of the Igbo language. Mba (2006:21) cited in Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) also aligns with the idea of the centrality of the Igbo verb in the Igbo language. They supported their position by arguing that while the Igbo verb contributes largely to the morphological formation of other word classes in the Igbo language, there seems to be no evidence of any lexical category that contributes to the derivation of verbs in the Igbo. By this labeling, they reaffirm that the knowledge of the morpho-semantic properties of Igbo verbs amounts to the knowledge and understanding of the entire grammatical inventory of the Igbo language. However, the morphological significance of the Igbo verb in Igbo grammar has made it the cynosure of Igbo linguistic studies.

According to Emenanjo (1975), “the semantic content of every Igbo verb describes a certain action, state, process or another phenomenon, which by its very nature implies the co-existence of a certain nominal (phrase) concept”. According to him, it is this nominal or conceptual phrase that forms the syntactic complement of the verb. Therefore, the nominal complement of every Igbo verb encodes the meaning of the verb. The nominal can, therefore, be used to define the semantic classes of verbs.

Given the position above, Emenanjo (1975, 1978, 2005, and 2012) has consistently argued that the internal structural disposition of the Igbo verb is made up of three mutually obligatory and complementary elements. These obligatory elements comprise the verb itself, the complement, and the bound cognate noun (BCN). However, the validity of his assertions has been substantiated by notable Igbo scholars such as (Nwachukwu 1987, Uwalaka 1988, and Mba

2005). The consensus held by these scholars is that every Igbo verb co-occurs with a nominal element as part of its internal predication. Emenanjo (1978) referred to these nominal elements as complementizers. Studies have proved that all Igbo verbs can co-occur with bound cognate nouns, which occur bound to the verb. The example below illustrates the tripartite structural properties that characterize Igbo verbs:

3. (a) Ézè rì-rì ñrì
 Eze eat-PST food
 Eze ate food

The construction in 3(a) above shows the verb *rì* ‘eat’ co-occurring with *nrì* ‘food’ as its obligatory nominal complement.

- (b) Ézè rì-rì ñrí èrí
 Eze eat-PST food EMPH
 Eze ate the food indeed.

The illustration in 3(b) above shows *èrí* as a structural reduplicate of *rì* in the construction. It is a bound cognate noun. It is unavoidably bound to the verb *rì*. It serves as an emphaser showing that agent *Eze* ate the food as conceptualized.

The compound verbs in (c) and (d) below also show the manifestation of the argument above.

- (c) Ngózí fò-chà-rà òlúgbù
 Ngozi squeeze bright-PST bitter-leaf
 Ngozi washed bitterleaf.

From the illustration in 3(c), the compound verb *focha* ‘wash clean’ is composed of two independent lexemes *fò* ‘squeeze’ and *chá* ‘bright’. When the compounding unit *fòchá* occurs in a syntactic situation, it is conceptualized as a single indivisible concept, thereby depicting a single lexical event. The construction also has *òlúgbù* as the obligatory nominal complement of the verb *fòchá* which it co-occurs with.

The concept of Bound Cognate Noun (BCN) can be demonstrated below:

- (d) Ngózí fò-chà-rà òlúgbù áfóchá
 Ngozi squeeze bright-PST bitter-leaf EMPH
 Ngozi has indeed washed the bitter leaf

From the illustration in 3(d) above, *àfóchá* is a partial reduplication of the verb *fòchàrà* and it serves as an emphasizer morpheme. In the literature on Igbo grammar, this is known as the Bound Cognate Noun (BCN) (Emenanjo 1987), as we have mentioned earlier. All Igbo verbs have the BCN, which is always morphologically derived from the verb. Again, the BCN always follows the verb in the syntactic construction as shown in 3(b) and 3(d) above.

2.5 Empirical Studies in Igbo Compound Verbs

In Igbo literature, linguistic evidence has shown that sufficient studies have not been carried out on Igbo V-V compound structures. As observed by Uchechukwu (2004a; 2004b), “the examination of some ‘Igbo verb roots’ has led to a realization of their cognitive motivation in the form of phono-semantic antecedents and the specific gestalts or patterns that emerge from them and are fully realized in the image schemata of the verb roots”. This assertion shows that every Igbo verb root has inherent multi-dimensional semantic specifications, and this can only be effectively and semantically interpreted from the native speakers’ cognitive cum cultural sense. This assertion explains the diverse interest of Igbo scholars in verb-related studies in Igbo.

Intellectual submissions by some scholars of Igbo such as Green and Igwe (1963), Welmers (1970), (1973), Oluikpe (1979), Nwachukwu (1983), Ogwueleka (1987), Uwalaka (1995) and Mbah (1999), Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) and Agbo (2014) have proven that there is indeed manifestation of compounds in Igbo grammar. The above Igbo scholars in their separate investigations have discussed the process of compounding in Igbo and therefore, they are of the general view that Igbo have compounding as a morphological tool for word formation. In his analysis of Igbo compound verbs, Mbah (2005) defines a compound verb as a verb, which has a minimum of two verbs that may act as independent verbs. He argues that “in its citation form, it may mean or refer to any verbal construct, which is not accessible to the vowel harmony rule”. In other words, though the affixes attached to them copy vowel harmony from them, they cannot alter their forms to reflect this harmony. Using the compound verbs *gbábà* and *gònyé*, he justifies his claims with the following examples:

9. (a) Íjè gbá-bàrà n`úló ákwúkwó
Ije run enter in to PST in house school
Ije ran into a school
- (b) Òkéké gò-nyèrè yá únèrè
Okeke buy-give PST him/her/it banana
Okeke bought a banana and gave it to him/her/it.

According to Mbah (2005), the compound verbs *gbábà* and *gònyé* in examples 9(a) and (b) are typical examples of Igbo compound verbs for the reasons stated in 2.1.1 The tense markers affixed to them according to him have not influenced their forms; rather, they have determined the class of vowels that will form the tense marker. This singular characteristic is a major distinguishing factor between the compound verb and complex verb structures available in Igbo.

2.5.1 Classifications of Igbo Compound Verbs

Notable Igbo scholars such as Lord (1975), Emenanjo (1978), Uwalaka (1988), etc, have had various studies on Igbo verbs which could stand as proper yardsticks for the classification of compound verbs in Igbo. Nevertheless, as much as Igbo verbs have attracted a lot of attention, which however led to diverse verbal classification, there has been negligible literature on the classification of an aspect of Igbo verbs called compound verbs. Oha (2010) developed a semantic approach to the analysis and classification of Igbo compound verbs. Referring to Uwalaka (1988) classification of Igbo verbs, Oha (2010) identifies eleven classes of Igbo compound verbs. These classes according to him include the following: Causative Compound Verbs, Multi-event Compound Verbs, Motion Compound Verbs, Change-of-Ownership Compound Verbs, Compound Verbs of Occurrence, Surface-Contact Compound Verbs, Compound Verbs of Placement, Experiencer Compound Verbs, Compound Verbs of Mental Exertion, Compound Verbs of Communication, Compound Verbs of Emission. The identification and classification of these Igbo compound verbs according to Oha (2010) was based on his assumption that “compound verb components have common essential properties which ensure the unification of the verbs into the classified compound”. Similarly, Oha (2011)

examines the eleven compound verb classes identified in Oha (2010) in terms of the combinatorial patterns of the verb components. Three headings of Verb classes, Co-occurrence restriction, and Positional constraints form the evaluative yardstick in Oha (2011). Though he referred to the headedness hypothesis, his analysis of compound heads was motivated by the morpho-syntactic relationships that underlie the compounding lexemes. However, both studies (Oha 2010 and 2011) fall short of the orientation of this work as they fail to give an adequate account of the semantic input of the compounding constituents or lexemes and their morpho-semantic significance to the overall conceptualization of the entire compound units.

Agbo (2010) examines verb classification and Aktionsart in Igbo. Aktionsart is one of the tenets of RRG expounded by Van Valin and La Polla (2007). Aktionsart is a system of verbal classification based on the temporal properties of such verbs. Agbo (2010) develops six syntactic tests for determining verb classes and *Aktionsart* in Igbo, following Van Valin (2005) and Van Valin and La Polla (1997). Four of these tests include the co-occurrence of the various members of the verb classes with Igbo words that have adverbial notions. One of the tests has to do with the co-occurrence of the ‘*nà*’ progressive marker, while the others test for causative verbs. In his account of tests for determining the *Aktionsart* class of Igbo verbs, Agbo (2010) argues that the fifth test is used to determine Causative verbs. To pass the Causative test, the verb should be a compound verb, it should also be paraphrased with the causative marker, *mè*, ‘do’, and should have at least two arguments. In a related development, Agbo (2014) gave a classificatory account of Igbo compound verbs from Role and Reference Grammar perspectives. He stated that “the meaning of the verb is determined by the inherent temporal properties (*Aktionsart*) of the resultant verb”. According to him “the *Aktionsart* depicts the conceptual boundaries of the event represented by the verb which brings about their semantic classification”. With reference to the inherent temporal properties of the compounding lexemes, and following the RRG analysis, Agbo (2014) identifies and classifies Igbo compound verbs into five classes. These classes are State, Achievement, Accomplishment, Active accomplishment, and semelfactive compound verbs respectively. However, despite the semantic approaches of Oha (2010, 2011) and Agbo (2014) compound verb classifications in Igbo, they did not account for the semantic headedness of canonical Igbo V-V compound. This study however intends to account for the semantic

headedness that characterizes Igbo V-V compounds using the compound verb classificatory system Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998)

2.5.2 Approaches to Igbo Compound Verb Studies

2.5.2.1 Syntactic Approaches to Igbo Compound Verbs

One of the notable attempts to study and analysis of compound verb formations in Igbo was Lord (1975). In her analysis of compound verbs in Igbo, Lord (1975) adapts the phenomenon of Igbo compounds to Mandarin Chinese. She claims that the two compounding elements may be interpreted through the action-result meaning of Igbo verb forms. She argues that the first component of the Igbo compound verb can be any action verb, while the second component may be static or action verb. The constructions in (10) below were typical of Lord (1975) Igbo compound verb structures:

10. (a) Ó tù-fù-rù ákwúkwó
3s throw-lose-PST paper
'He threw away the paper'
- (b) Ó tù-rù ákwúkwó
3s throw-PST paper
He threw paper
- (c) Ákwúkwó fùrù
Paper lose-PST
Paper lost (Lord 1975:25)

From the illustrations above, Lord (1975) claims that the constructions 10(b) and (c) are derived forms of the construction in 10(a) through a transformational process. She claims that syntactic conditions such as agreement feature (tense) serve as a bridge between 10(b) and (c) so that compounding becomes possible in 10(a). This implies that the application of syntactic rules in 10(b) and (c) constructions leads to the derivation of 10(a). She claims that the compound structure *tùfùrù* 'lost' in 10(a) is a composite of two events where *fù* is a resultant effect of the action *tù* 'throw'.

Perhaps to Lord (1975), the class of Igbo verbs is just limited to action and state verbs if the only limiting constraint to the formation of Igbo compound verbs is on the speaker's intellectual

capacity and cultural experience. However, Lord's acknowledgment of the bi-componential nature of compound verbs in Igbo is commendable, but her limitation of manifestation of compound verbs in Igbo to merely action-result formations may not be the ideal morpho-semantic antecedent that characterized Igbo compound verbs.

Uwalaka (1995, 1997) ascribes the term complex predicate to Lord's notion of verb compound. This follows his earlier classification of Igbo verbs into simple, compound, and complex verbs respectively. The construction below from (Uwalaka 1995:157) is a typical example of compound verb structures in Igbo:

- 11 (a) Ònyé Ézè mé-bì-rì ókwú ahù
 Person chief do-end-PST talk/case that
 'The chief put an end to the case'

From illustration 11(a) above, the compound verb *mé-bì*, which includes a causative reading with metaphorical understanding, "belongs to this subset of Igbo complex predicates" as expounded by (Uwalaka 1995:157). She adopted the Government and Binding Theoretical framework in the analysis of her Igbo complex predicates as exemplified in 11 above. Her analysis did not account for the inherent semantic properties of the compounding lexemes nor establish the semantic relationships that exist between the compounding elements and their compound units which informs our semantic headedness orientation.

Mbah (1999, 2005), account of compound verb structures in Igbo was based on the transformational process. His account was a huge departure from the works of Lord (1975), even though there is consensus among them on the dual lexeme structure of Igbo compound verbs. Mbah (2005) criticizes Lord (1975) for her inability to adequately account for the thematic structure of verbal compounds in the language. Using the sentential construct below, he argues that compound verbs are a product of syntactic interaction among compounding constituents rather than a mere morphological formation.

12. (a) N'gózí dú-pú-rù Íjè
 Ngozi lead-exit-PST Ije
 'Ngozi led Ije out'

Adopting the notion of the transformational process, Mbah (2005) explains that such structures in 12(a) above are surface structure properties. He argued that the structure does not reflect the structural disposition at the deep structure. According to him, the structures in the (12) illustration are made possible as a result of transformation, and being that transformation is meaning preserving; the fundamental semantic readings of the D-structure and S-structure were not in contradiction. Mbah's analysis of Igbo compound verbs outside the cognition and intuition of native speakers again falls short of the orientation of this research. We argue here that Igbo compound verbs are not syntactically stimulation nor born out of a transformational process, but a property of native speakers' cognition. Its formation and interpretation are the linguistic prerogatives of the competent native speakers of the Igbo Language. Due to the syntactic methodology adopted by Mbah (2005) in his account of Igbo compound verbs, the semantic relationship that underlies the compounding lexemes was unaccounted for. This study deems this a significant gap as such omission will be a great impediment to the semantic conceptualization of Igbo compound verbs.

Anyanwu (2005, 2007) follows Mbah (2005) syntactic approach to Igbo compound verbs analysis. He gives an account of Igbo compound verbs on the premises of Principles and Parameters (PP). The constructions in (15) below are attributed to him:

13. (a) Ézè mmé-dhà-rà óché nà
Eze make-fall-PST chair one
'Eze made this chair to fall'

(Anyanwu 2005:615)

From the illustrations above, Anyanwu (2005), evaluates the compound verb *mmé-dhà* 'make-fall' in example (13) as stated earlier within the Principle and Parameters framework and concludes that the causative reading of the verb *mé-dhà* 'make-fall' is the result of syntactic derivations from a dual-clausal structure.

However, the claims in examples (10)-(13) by (Lord 1975), Uwalaka (1995, 1997) Mbah (1999, 2005), and Anyanwu (2005, 2007) that the meaning of compound verbs is syntactically and structurally motivated do not tally with our cognitive orientation and approach to semantic

decomposition of Compound verb formations, especially in Igbo. This study believes that the study and account of compound verbs in Igbo cannot be successful without absolute reference to the cognitive sense, conceptualization, and intuitive interpretation of the native speakers. This study intends to demonstrate all these through the systematic exposition of the semantic headedness that underlies Igbo V-V compound structures.

2.5.2.2 Semantic Approaches to Igbo Compound Verbs.

Previous studies on Igbo compound verbs have largely adopted a syntactic approach to the analysis of Igbo compound verbs. They have focused greatly on the transformational-generative processes from which these compounds are derived. The meaning of these verb compounds is usually construed from these syntactic derivations.

Nevertheless, Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) noted that the category of the output of compounding may be identical with the category of each of the constituents or one of them or a different category altogether. This assertion credited to Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) validates our conceptualization of the notions of endocentricity, exocentricity, and coordination in Igbo compound verbs. In their analysis of Semantax of V+nyé compound structure which is a productive aspect of compound verbs in Igbo, Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) argue that the V+nyé verbal structures represent typical compound verb structures in Igbo. Their assertion was stimulated by the wrong notion prevalent in Igbo literature that the verbal element *nyé* has a dual morphological function where in one instance it is considered a content verbal element and in another an extensional suffix. Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) refute this claim stating categorically that “*nyé* which has semantic specification of the verb ‘give’ remains ‘give’ irrespective of its morpho-syntactic position”. They opine that *nyé* is a verb; hence have been formalized as a V-V compound verb in all contexts in Igbo. Although they acknowledge the fact that in some linguistic situations, *nyé* may express illativity, which according to them specified preposition or goal. This prepositional specification or value has been the premise for some Igbo linguists to designate it as one of the examples of a category-incorporated preposition or a grammaticalized verb. Some of these Igbo linguists believe that hence a verb is grammaticalized; it loses its semantic verbal interpretation. But Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) refute this

assumption, arguing that the illativity notion expressed by *nyé* is a metaphorical extension of its meaning as ‘give’. They further explain that “the verb ‘give’ in English takes three arguments and assigns the roles: Agent, Theme, and Goal to them. The same trivalent feature of *nyé* as an independent verb is carried into its existence as part of a compound verb structure. When the Goal argument is [+human], it appears as the indirect object of the verb, but when it is [-Human], the illativity notion becomes prominent and the [-Human] Goal appears as an object of a preposition, denoting location. More interesting is that *nyé* imposes its trivalent feature on any sentence where it occurs”. Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) use the following constructions to justify their assertions about V+nye compound verb formations in Igbo:

- 14 (a) Àda zù-nyè-rè nne yā unènè
Ada buy-give-PST mother her banana
‘Ada bought some bananas for her mother’
- (b) Àdá tì-nyè-rè òròma n’àkpà
Ada put-give-PST orange in bag.
‘Ada put an orange into a bag.’

Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014)

One of the claims made by Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) is that the verb *nyé* is characterized by its ability to assign the GOAL role to an argument in all linguistic situations. From the illustrations in (14) above, Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) posit that *nyé* assigns the thematic roles of Theme and Goal to its double objects and therefore can be classified as a verb in all contexts and its occurrence in V+nye structure can be certified a V-V compound verb unit.

However, the orientation of this study agrees with Obiamalu and Mbagwu's (2014) account of V+nye compound structures. Their claim that the verbal lexeme *nyé* in all V-V compound verb formations functions as a compounding element rather than an extensional suffix is a clear justification of the verbal status of *nyé* which this study stands for. However, this study observed that Obiamalu and Mbagwu (2014) concentrated on only the V2 *nyé* compounding verbal lexeme with no reference to the semantic relevance of its V1 compounding constituent. We argue that the kind of semantic relationship that exists between the verb *nyé* and its V1 compounding lexeme as demonstrated in examples (14) is significantly necessary, as it will give a clearer view and understanding of the idiosyncratic semantic features of each of the compounding element in

V+nyé compound verb configurations. As we will demonstrate in this study, the semantic relationship that characterized V+nyé compound verb structures in Igbo can be endocentric or coordinate in nature. The identification and establishment of this relationship type is strictly a function of the inherent semantic properties of the compounding lexemes rather than morpho-syntactic dispositions.

Agbo (2014) gave a detailed account of compound verb structures in Igbo from Role and Reference Grammar's (RRG) perspective. In his account, he adopts the view that the Igbo verb compound is formed from the composition of two lexemes, whose meaning is determined by the native speaker's cognitive and cultural orientation on the verbal unit resulting from the compounding verbal exponents. Agbo (2014) account was a remarkable departure from the initial prevailing propositions held in Igbo literature concerning compound verb formation which claim that the meaning of a compound verb structure can only be ascertained through its morpho-syntactic configurations. This understanding is devoid of the native speaker's interpretive ability and knowledge. However, Agbo (2014) debunks this assertion, claiming that the semantic interpretation of a compound verb in Igbo is a function of the native speakers' intuitions and cognitive conceptualization of the compound structural unit rather than the syntactic disposition of compound verbs. In his application of the RRG framework, Agbo (2014) identifies five classes of Igbo compound verbs. These classes include State, Achievement, Accomplishment, Active-accomplishment, and Semelfactive compound verbs respectively. The examples below contain contextual manifestations of this class of verbs:

15. (a) Óbì má-pù-rù m
Heart leap-exit-PST 1s
'I'm disconcerted'
- (b) Ó tì-wà-rà éféré
3sg hit-split-PST plate
'S/he broke the plate'
- (c) Ésú áhù rị-bà-rà n'ímé òhía
Millipede DEM crawl-enter-PST inside bush.
'That millipede crept into the bush'
- (d) Há bú-gà-rà égó há n'ùlò àkù

3pl carry-go money 3pl to house wealth
'They took their money to the bank'

- (e) Érírí áhù tí-bì-rì ètíbì
Rope DEM beat-cut-PST EMPH
'That rope cut into two'

Agbo (2014)

According to Agbo (2014), Verb compounds partly composed of the lexeme *pù* as contained in 15(a) represent state verbs. Achievement verbs partially consist of the lexeme *wá* as demonstrated in 15(b). Accomplishment verbs comprise partly of the lexemes *bà* as we have in 15(c). The lexeme *gá* usually constitutes part of the active achievement class of verbs as demonstrated in 15(d), while the lexeme *bì* is the basis of the composition of semelfactive verb compounds as illustrated in 15(e).

Despite the expansive nature of compound verb accounts in Agbo (2014), the internal semantic relationship that exists between the compounding verbal lexemes seems to be properly unaccounted for. This study is motivated by these intellectual gaps as we will prove later that there are varieties of semantic headedness that characterize compound verb structures in Igbo. This study believes that the identification of such heads of compound verb structures is semantically motivated and as such is a product of the internal semantic relationship between the compounding verbal lexemes.

In our account of the inherent semantic properties that underlie compounding lexemes in Igbo compound verbs, this work takes into account the notions of endocentricity, exocentricity, and coordination as they refer to the compound verb units. The first two notions of endocentricity and exocentricity investigate the inherent semantic value and specification of the compounding lexemes and define compound verbs based on the presence versus absence of a semantic head constituent. The notion of coordination in compound verbs also examines the inherent semantic properties of the compounding lexemes and classifies compound verbs in this category based on equal semantic values, readings, and specifications.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study is undertaken within the framework of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) compound verb classificatory systems. This framework classifies compound verb formations on the parameters of semantic headedness.

2.6.1 Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) Theoretical Model

This is a system of compound verb classification based on the semantic headedness in compound verb structures. The ideology behind this framework is that a compounding verb is made up of two discrete compounding lexemes with idiosyncratic semantic values. It assumes that the compounding lexemes may or may not have equal semantic value in the interpretation of the compound forms. This semantic equality and inequality are the basis for the identification of compound heads and their corresponding modifiers. Under this theoretical model, the identification of compound heads is based on the degree of semantic relatedness between the compound verb structures and their compounding constituents. This theoretical model classifies compound verbs into three semantic classes. These include:

- i) Endocentric compound verbs
- ii) Exocentric compound verbs
- iii) Coordinate compound verbs.

2.6.1.1 Endocentric Compound Verb

This is a kind of compound verb formation where one of the compounding lexemes exhibits a high degree of semantic relativity with the compound form in comparison to the other, and such identifies as the compound head. However, the less semantically related compounding element within the same compound verb structure is called the modifier. Under this classificatory model, two structural types of endocentric compound configuration have been identified, namely, Modifier-Verb (M-V) and Verb-Modifier (V-M) compound structures respectively.

2.6.1.2 Exocentric Compound Verb

This is a class of compound verb formation that lacks an overt semantic head. The attribution of semantic non-head to this category of compound verb structures is because the semantic specifications of the compounding constituents are not in any way related to the semantic reading of their compound form. This implies that the semantic interpretation and understanding of an exocentric compound verb is independent of the individual meaning of the compounding

lexemes. This semantic disparity between the compound units and the compounding lexemes has made exocentric compound verb structures analyzed as headless compound verb formations.

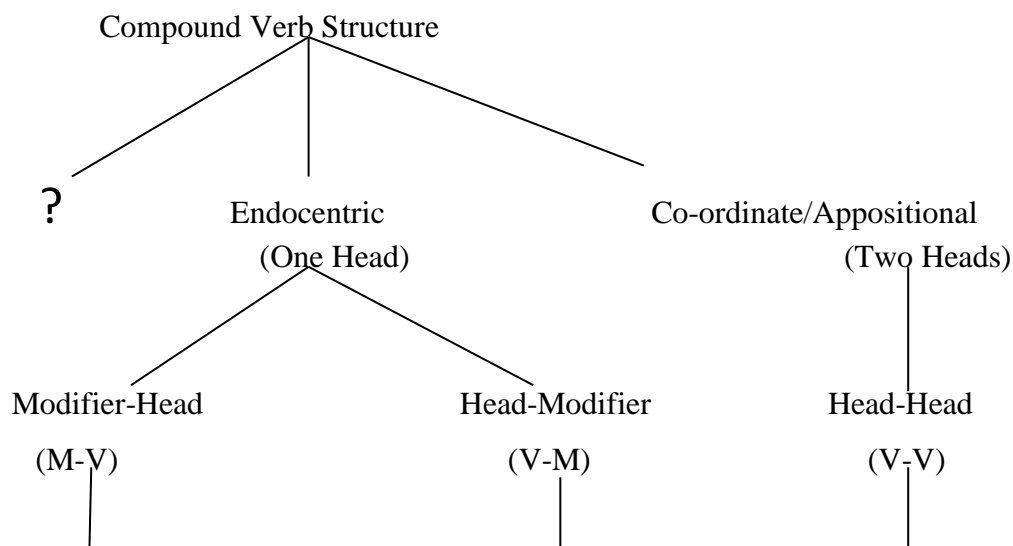
2.6.1.3 Coordinate Compound Verb

This is a class of compound verb formations that exhibit dual semantic heads. The compounding lexemes within this compound structure exhibit equal semantic value. Under the coordinate compound verb formations, the idiosyncratic semantic specifications of the compounding constituents are equal to the semantic readings of the compound verb structure.

The choice of this classificatory framework was motivated by the fact that it will adequately classify and account for the semantic headedness that characterized canonical V-V compound structures in Igbo. To ensure adequate account and proper representation of canonical V-V compound structures in Igbo, this study collapsed the compound verb classification models of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) within a single schematic to capture the typical V-V compound structures in Igbo. This can be diagrammatically represented below:

Fig. 1

Shibatani (1990) Compound Verb Classification



(V-V)

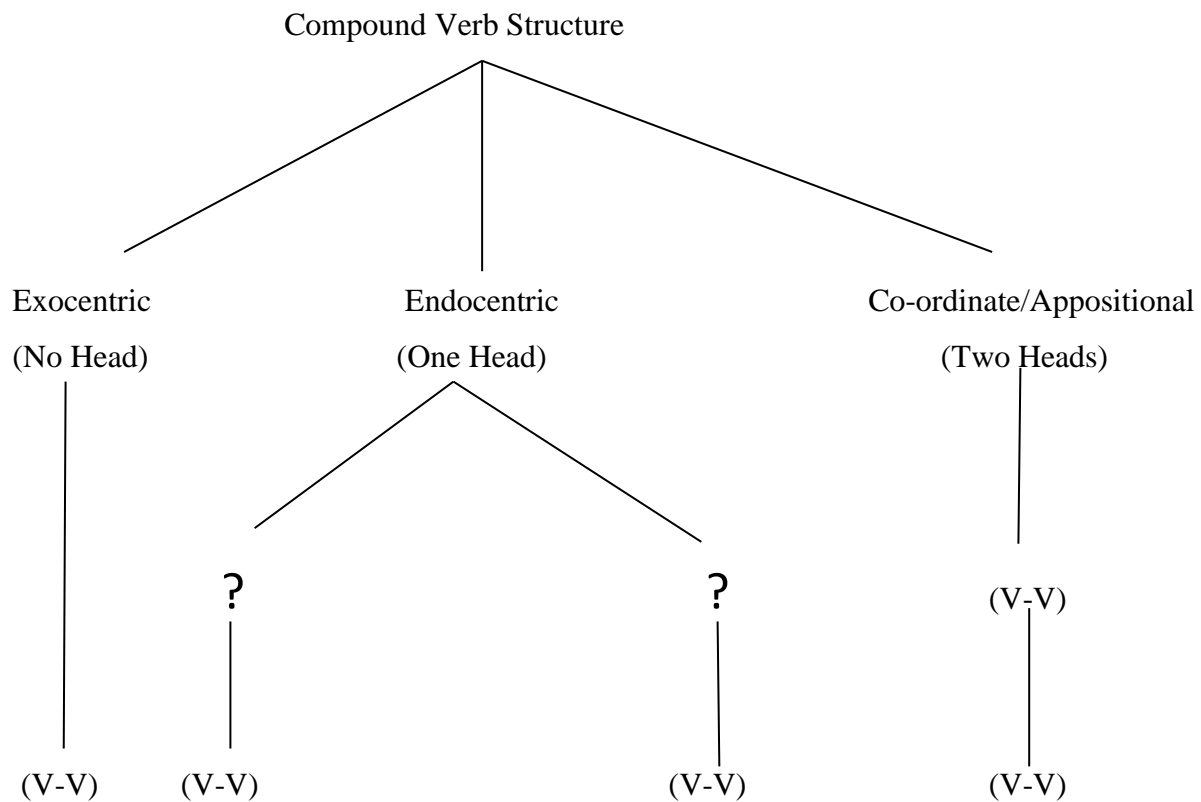
(V-V)

(V-V)

The structure in Fig 1 above illustrates the compound verb classification by Shibatani (1990) showing the conspicuous absence of the Exocentric class of compound verbs.

Fig. 2

Fabb (1998) Compound Verb Classification



The structure in Fig 2 above illustrates the compound verb classification by Fabb (1998) showing the conspicuous absence of the internal structure of the Endocentric class of compound verbs.

Fig. 3

Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) compound verb classification

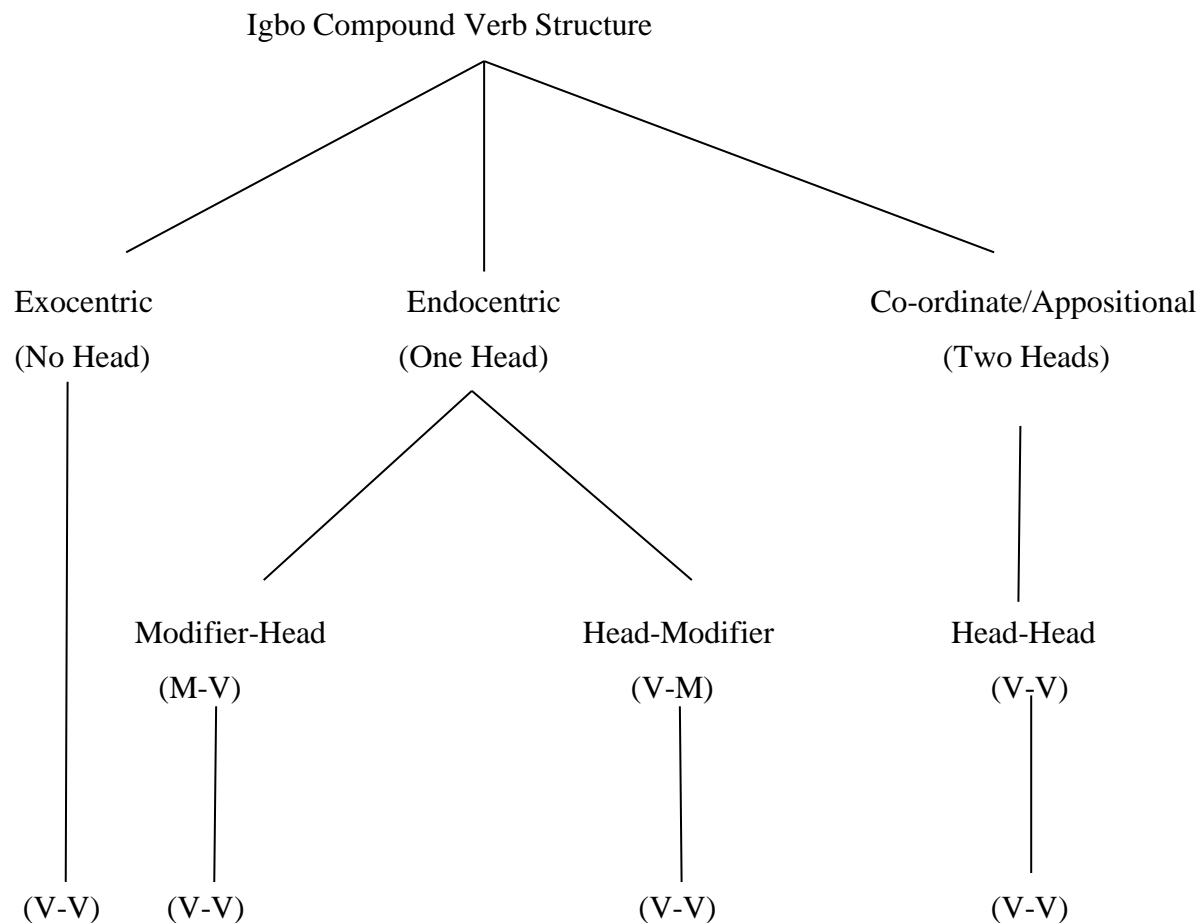


Fig. 3 above shows the collapsing of the respective compound verb classifications of Shibatani (1999) and Fabb (1998), to capture the holistic view of the structural distribution of compounds and compounding components within the V-V compound system in Igbo.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has successfully reviewed relevant pieces of literature as they affect and relate to the concept of universal compound and compounding, compound verbs and their manifestation in Igbo. Theoretical and empirical appraisals have successfully examined an appreciable number of works on universal and Igbo Compound verbs respectively. We observed generally that compound verbs as a linguistic reality have been studied in Igbo, but not with their semantic headedness. On the theoretical dimension, it is evident from our literature review that no existing studies in Igbo have classified Igbo compound verbs using semantic headedness as a classificatory parameter as expounded by Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998). In another development, only Agbo (2014) has explored and adopted the tenets of RRG in the analysis and classification of Igbo compound verbs. A comprehensive assessment of the review reveals that no scholar has attempted to classify Igbo compound verbs using the semantic specifications of the compounding lexemes. This further speaks volumes of the relevance of this present research to Igbo literature and grammar in general.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter represents the research design, sources of data, sample techniques, instrumentation, and method of data collection. It also represents systematic methods of data presentation and analysis for easy conceptualization. Outstanding characteristics of good research include explicitness, empirical and local approach to findings as well as the research's disposition to proffer solutions to problems as identified and bridge gaps where necessary. This research explores the tenets of morpho-semantic realities of Igbo V-V compound configurations. The descriptive research method explored by the researcher during this investigation is fundamentally concerned with the description and interpretation of extracted data or information which often form the foundation for the development of novel conceptual ideas, theories, and frameworks.

3.1 Research Design

This research sets out to investigate and analyze the semantic relationship that characterize Verb-Verb Compounds in Igbo. It seeks to establish the semantic integrity of the compounding verbal lexemes and their compound units. The degree of semantic relationship between the compound verb structures and their compounding constituents constitute the basis for the classifications of the V-V compound formations in Igbo.

3.2 Sources of Data

Since this research is set to investigate and classify Igbo V-V compound formations using a semantic template, primary and secondary sources of data were explored. The data for this study were mainly drawn from the standard variation of Igbo. However, there are dialectal infiltrations from other dialects of Igbo such as Orlu, Ideato, and Owerri. The data were drawn from several discourses in which Igbo is used extensively by its competent native speakers. Two methods of data collection were adopted: the primary and secondary methods. The primary data were collected from randomly selected competent native speakers of the Igbo language through personal interactions and intuitive knowledge and understanding of the language. Data from Ideato Igbo were generated by introspection since the researcher is a competent native speaker of the Ideato dialect of Igbo. Also, naturally occurring conversations were carefully observed and recorded in informal settings such as family gatherings, marriage ceremonies, funerals, and other social gatherings where the Igbo language is solely used as the conversational code.

The secondary method comprises library sources which include published and unpublished materials on verbs and compound verbs. Some selected Igbo novels and drama books were also explored. Other secondary sources include programs on radio and television, other documented informal communicational situations in which Igbo language serves as a communicational code.

The researcher's motivation for exploring library sources for data was based on the expository nature of the study where canonical examples of Igbo compounds as contained in these secondary sources call for reanalysis to portray and demonstrate the researcher's views and perceptions of the concept of headedness in Igbo V-V compound structures.

3.3 Sample Techniques and Size

As we stated in 3.2, the primary data for this research were elucidated from randomly but carefully selected native speakers of Igbo. The population is made up of 30 speakers of Igbo, comprising 13 male and 12 female adults. The remaining population comprises young males and females between the ages of 18-25. The researcher engaged them in extensive recorded discussions. Other primary sources of data also included recordings and observations from

family gatherings, Umunna meetings, marriage negotiation ceremonies, etc. After this, statements that contain compound verb formations were extracted. The extracted data were subjected to strict grammatical scrutiny correctness by 3 lecturers at the University of Benin who are native speakers of the Igbo language. The three (3) lecturers are comprised of one (1) female and two (2) males.

3.4 Instrumentation and Data Collection

The researcher relies solely on a digital Canon X3 audio and video recorder. In the course of data collection, all conversations were recorded. Data from secondary sources such as Igbo dictionaries, articles in journals, commentaries, informal personal observations, etc were carefully extracted from the sources and compiled for grammatical checks and conformity.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

The methods of data analysis used in this work are strictly morpho-semantic structures illustrating canonical V-V compound formations in Igbo. The compound verb units were subjected to contextual usage for proper semantic interpretation and to ensure conformity to the grammatical tenets of Igbo. The compound verbs are classified into endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate compound verbs respectively. There are also subclasses of Compound verb formations within the three broad classes identified above. The classification of the compound verb formations is strictly based on the internal semantic relationships that exist between the compounding lexemes and the compound verb structures. The analysis of the canonical instances of V-V compounds as contained in the data has two levels of representation: morphological exposition of the canonical V-V compound formations, and their contextual manifestation on the other hand. The essence of the latter level was to ensure that the native speakers' cognition,

intuition, and cultural knowledge of the V-V compound formation and interpretation in Igbo are fully portrayed.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF IGBO V-V COMPOUNDS

This chapter presents a semantic classification of Igbo compound verbs based on the internal semantic relationship that underlies the compounding constituents, as well as the degree of semantic relativity between the compound units and their compounding exponents. The classification of compound verbs is based on the presence versus absence of a compound head as contained in the Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) compound verb classificatory model.

4.1 Endocentric V-V Compounds in Igbo

The concept of Endocentricity in Igbo compound verbs is an investigation into the semantic relationship that exists between the two compounding lexemes in a given Igbo compound verb. It tries to establish the individual semantic specifications of the compounding lexemes as well as the degree of their relatedness to the semantic readings of their compound forms. The notion of headedness is the principle that underlies endocentricity. In endocentric compound verbs, one compounding lexeme is conceived to be the head while the other lexeme is conceived to be the modifier of the compound head. Endocentric compound verbs in Igbo manifest in two structural forms; Head-First [HF] compound structures where the compound head occupies the left-side syntactic position, and Head-Last [HL] compound structures where the head of the compound unit occupies the right-side syntactic position of the compound formations respectively.

4.1.1 Verb-Modifier (V-M) Compound Structures in Igbo

Endocentric compound verb formations with V-M compound structures are referred to as Head-First (H-F) compound verb formations in Igbo. They manifest a V-M structural configuration, where the V1 (V) is the compound head and the V2 (M) is the modifier of the compound head. A typical example of Head-First compound verbs in Igbo, are Igbo compound verbs with attributive readings.

Attributive compound verbs in Igbo are often referred to as state verbs. They are kinds of endocentric compound verb formations with V-M structural dispositions. They are types of compound verb structures that demonstrate non-happening events. They distinguish events that are non-static or happening events. The examples in 16(a)-(g) below contain morpho-semantic instances of this class of compound verb:

16	(a)	chá-ké V1-V2 V - M	‘shine-glit’ V1 - V2 V - M
	(b)	dọ-ká V1- V2 V - M	‘drag-tear’ V1- V2 V - M
	(c)	sá-chú V1-V2 V - M	‘ripe-soil’ V1- V2 V - M
	(d)	tù-chú V1-V2 V - M	‘throw-soil’ V1- V2 V - M
	(e)	chá-zù V1- V2 V - M	‘ripe-complete’ V1 - V2 V - M
	(f)	má-jí V1- V2 V - M	‘run-black’ V1 - V2 V - M

The compound verbal configurations represented in 16(a)-(f) above are morphological manifestation of V-V compounds with attributive readings in Igbo. They are typical of state compound verbs identified in Agbo (2014). The illustrations in 17(a)-(f) below represent contextual utilization of the attributive compound verbs identified in 16(a)-(f) above:

- 17 (a) Íhú Àmáká chà-kè -re` àcháké
Face Amaka shine-glit-PST EMPH
Amaka's face is bright.
- (b) Ákwà àhù dọ -kà -rà àdóká
Cloth DEM drag -tear PST EMPH
The cloth is torn.
- (c) Ó sá -chú -rú àsáchú
3sg ripe-darken-PST EMPH
It ripped prematurely.
- (d) Ákwà àhù tù-chú-rù átúchu
Cloth that throw- darken-PST EMPH
That cloth is soiled.
- (e) Únùnè àhù sá-zù-rù àsázù
Plantain DEM shine-complete-PST EMPH
That plantain is well-ripped.
- (f) Àmáká má-jí-rí ámají
Amaka run-black-PST EMPH
Amaka is dark in complexion.

The sentences 17(a)-(f) contain constructs with attributive compound verb structures in Igbo. In example 17(a), the V1 verbal lexeme *chà* 'shine' combines with the V2 lexeme *kè* 'glit' to form the compound formation *chàkè* which has the semantic reading of 'brightness'. *Cháké* is contextually conceived as an attributive disposition of the argument *Àmáká* in the construction. The compounding lexemes *chá* and *ké* are characterized by internal semantic relationships and this accounted for endocentricity. The compound verb *cháké* is analyzed as an endocentric compound verb formation as it accounted for semantic headedness. The lexeme *cha* is conceived to be the head of compound formation *cháké* while *ké* is identified as the modifier. The identification of *cha* as the compound head is based on its high degree of semantic relativity to the compound verb structure *cháké*

In 17(b), the V1 lexeme *dò* ‘drag’ compounds with the V2 lexeme *ká* ‘draw’ to give the compound verbal structure *dòká* which semantically specifies ‘torn’, a conceivable feature of the argument *Ákwà* ‘cloth’ in the sentence. The internal semantic relationship that underlies the compounding lexemes of the compound verb *cháké* shows that the compound verb accounted for semantic headedness and as a result identified as endocentric compound verb. The V1 lexeme *dó* is conceived to be the semantic head of the compound structure *dóká* while V2 *ká* is conceived to be the modifier lexeme. The identification of *dó* as the compound head is also based on its high degree of semantic relativity to the semantic reading of the compound structure *dóká*.

In 17(c), the V1 lexeme *sá* ‘ripe’ combines with the V2 lexeme *chú* ‘soil’ to form the endocentric compound verb *sáchú* which encodes ‘premature ‘ripe’. The compound verb is said to be endocentric because the internal semantic correlations between the compounding lexemes are characterized by the headedness condition. The compounding lexeme *sá* is analyzed as the semantic compound head while the V2 compounding lexeme *chú* is identified as the semantic modifier. Also in 17(d), the V1 lexeme *tù* combines with the V2 lexeme *chú* to form the state compound verb *túchú* which has the semantic reading of ‘fade’ (a cloth fading in color). The V1 compounding lexeme *tú* is conceived to be the semantic compound head while the V2 lexeme *chú* is identified as the modifier lexeme. In 17(e), the compounding process involves the V1 *sá* ‘ripe’ and the V2 *zù* ‘complete’ to form the compound verb *sázù* which contextually encodes ‘well ripped’. In 17(f), the compounding process involves the V1 lexeme *mà* ‘throw’ and V2 lexeme *jì* ‘darken’ combining to form the compound verb *màjì*, which has the semantic reading of ‘darken’ (fading in complexion). In examples, 17(e) and (f), the V1 compounding lexemes of *sá* and *ma* are identified as semantic compound heads, while the V2 compounding lexemes *zú* and *jí* are analyzed as modifiers. The identification of semantic compound heads and their corresponding modifiers follows our initial analysis in examples 17(a)-(d).

The attributive endocentric compound verbs in Igbo as we have demonstrated above translate events with no conceivable temporal boundary and they are devoid of activity. They are motionless events that describe attributive tendencies of their external and internal arguments.

However, having accounted for and established the compound status of the compound events highlighted in 16 and 17 above, the state compound verbs exhibit elements of an endocentric relationship. Endocentricity takes into account the internal semantic relationship between the compounding lexemes or constituents. As we have stated, the endocentric state compound verbs in 17(a)-(g) examples have a V-M compound structural pattern, where the first compounding lexemes (V1) are heads in their respective compound units, while the V2 serve as modifiers of the V1 in their respective syntactic situations. The V1 in all the compound verbs analyzed above (*chá, dò, sá, tù, má, and kà*) encode meanings more related to the semantic reading of their compound forms. On the other hand, the V2 lexemes (*kè, kà, chù, zù, jì, and chì*) are identified as modifiers as they overtly describe the manner, nature, and attributive content of V1 in their respective compound configurations.

4.1.2 V-M Composition with *fè* lexeme

The V-M composition with *fe* lexeme is an example of endocentric compound verb formations in Igbo. They also belong to the class of Head-First (HF) compound verbs in Igbo. Compound verb structures with *fe* lexeme often denote events with the semantic readings of transfer, movement, cross-over, or excess. Agbo (2014) also identifies this kind of lexeme in his classification of Igbo compound verbs from RRG perspectives. The examples in 18(a)-(e) below are morpho-semantic realizations of this class of compound verb formations outside of context:

18	(a)	kwá-fè V1-V2 V - M	pack-fly V1-V2 V - M
	(b)	nyé-fè V1-V2 V - M	give-fly V1-V2 V - M
	(c)	kwú-fè V1-V2 V - M	grind-fly V1-V2 V - M

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (d) | gbá-fè
V1-V2
V - M | run-fly
V1-V2
V - M |
| (e) | si-fè
V1-V2
V - M | cook-fly
V1-V2
V - M |

The contextual uses of the compound verb forms identified in 18(a)-(e) above can be illustrated below:

- 19 (a) Há kwá-fèrè n' ébé òzò
3pl pack-fly-PST in place another
They have moved out to another place.
- (b) Òbí nyé-fè-rè àdá égó
Obi give-fly-PST Ada money
Obi gave money to Ada in excess
- (c) Ézè kwú-fè-rè Òjú úgwó
Eze paid-fly-PST Uju dept
Eze overpaid Uju
- (d) Àdá gbá-fè-rè òmírí n'ńrí
Ada pour-fly PST water in food
Ada added water excess water to the food.
- (e) Àmáká si-fè-rè ánú áhù ófè
Amaka cook-fly-PST meat DEM over
Amaka overcooked the meat
- (Agbo 2014:142)

The sentences in examples 19(a)-(e) above comprise endocentric compound verbs with *fe* lexeme. In example 19(a), the V1 of *kwá* 'pack' combines with the V2 *fè* 'fly' to form the compound structures *kwáfè* which semantically encodes packing to another location. In 19(b), the V1 lexeme *nyè* 'give' combines with the V2 *fè* 'fly' to constitute the compound verb *nyefe* which semantically denotes give money in excess. In example 19(c) the V1 compounding lexeme *kwú* 'pay' co-occurs with the V2 *fè* 'fly' to form the compound verb unit *kwúfè* which

means overpayment. In example 19(d), the V1lexeme *gbá* ‘fetch’ combines with the V2 lexeme *fè* ‘fly’ to form the compound verb *gbáfè* which idiosyncratically specifies the addition of excess water. In the 19(e) example, the V1 verbal lexeme *sí* ‘cook’ combines with the compounding V2 verbal lexeme *fè* ‘fly’ to constitute the compound verb unit *sífèrè* which semantically encodes the conceptual idea of overcooking.

However, the V1 and V2 compounding lexemes identified in 19(a)-(e) above are semantically characterized by some kind of endocentric internal relationship. The endocentric relationship that underlies the class of compound configurations takes the V-modifier structure where the V is the V1 and the modifier is the V2. From the compound verbs exemplified in 19(a)-(e) the V1 in all the illustrations is identified as the heads of the compound formations, while the V2 *fè* modifiers the V1. The identification of V1 as the semantic heads of compound formations is stimulated by the fact that the semantic readings of the compound verbs in 19(a)-(e) are strategically centered and more related to the V1 lexemes rather than the V2 lexeme. For instance, in sentences 19(a)-(c), the modifier lexeme *fé* describes the directionality of the V1 lexemes *kwá*, *nyé* and *kwú* respectively while in 19(d)-(e), the modifier lexeme *fè* gives the description of manner and degree of the verbal lexemes *gbá* and *sí* respectively. The identification of the V2 *fè* as the verbal modifier in the compound units of 19(a)-(e) is specifically based on its extensional and descriptive function in its respective morpho-semantic contexts.

4.1.3 V-M Composition with *dà* lexeme

The V-M compound compositions with *dà* lexeme are another class of endocentric compound verbs in Igbo with Head-First compound structural dispositions. They demonstrate events that encode fall, diminutive, exhaustive, and reductive attributes. Examples of such compound verb formations outside of context are represented in examples 20(a)-(e) below:

- | | | | |
|----|-----|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 20 | (a) | kwá-dà
V1-V2
V - M | ‘push-fall’
V1-V2
V - M |
| | (b) | kú-dà | ‘knack-fall’ |

	V1-V2 V - M	V1-V2 V - M
(c)	rí-dà V1-V2 V - M	‘eat-fall’ V1-V2 V - M
(d)	ré-dà V1-V2 V - M	‘sell-fall’ V1-V2 V - M
(e)	gù-dà V1-V2 V - M	‘read-fall’ V1-V2 V - M

The compound verbs identified in 20(a)-(e) above are examples of endocentric V-M compound verbs in Igbo in isolation. The contextual uses of these compound verbs are represented in examples 21(a)-(e) below:

- 21 (a) Ézè kwà-dà-rà óché
Eze push-fall-PST chair
Eze pushed down the chair
- (b) Há kù-dà-rà ùlò yá
3pl knock-fall-PST house his
They pulled down his house
- (c) Èméká rí-dà-rà ògá yá
Emeka eat-fall-PST master 3s
Emeka renders his master bankrupt
(Agbo 2014:142)
- (d) Ó ré-dà-rà áhíá yá
3sg sell-fall-PST market 3s
He had a bumper sale
- (e) Òbí gù-dà-rà ákwúkwó áhù
Obi read-fall-PST book DEM
Obi perused that book
(Agbo 2014:142)

Sentences 21(a)-(e) demonstrate compound events dà lexeme. In example 21(a), the compounding process involves the V1 lexeme *kwá* ‘push’ combining with the V2 lexeme *dà*

‘fall’ to form the compound unit *kwádà* which semantically means to push an object down. In 21(b) the V1 lexeme *kú* ‘knack’ combines with the V2 *dà* ‘fall’ to form the compound unit *kúdà* which semantically encodes to pull down or demolish. In example 21(c) the V1 compounding lexeme *rí* ‘eat’ co-occurs with the V2 *dà* ‘fall’ to constitute the compound unit *ídà* which means squander wealth. In example 21(d) and (e) the V1 *ré* ‘sell’ and *gú* ‘read’ combined with the V2 *dà* ‘fall’ to form the compounding units of *édà* and *gúdà* respectively.

The internal semantic relationship that underlies the compounding constituents of these compound verb structures is that of an endocentric relationship. The semantic readings of the compound forms seem to be more semantically related to one of the compounding lexemes than the other in the sentences above. From the native speakers' intuition and cognition, the semantic specification of the compound structures is more related to the V1 activity verbal lexemes of (*kwá, kú, rí, ré, sú and gú*) of sentences 21 and as a result they are classified as the semantic heads of the compound structures. On the other hand, the V2 compounding lexeme ‘*dà*’ has been identified as the modifier of the V1 compounding lexemes in 21(a)-(e) respectively. The identification of the V2 *dà* ‘fall’ as a modifier verbal lexeme in the compound formations in 21 illustrations was further affirmed by the fact that the lexeme describes the manner or the state of affairs of V1 compounding lexemes in their respective morpho-syntactic dispositions.

4.1.4. Durative V-M Compound Compositions

In Igbo, V-M compound compositions with durativity are characterized by situations, activities, and events with cyclic phases. In Igbo, compound verbs with identifiable durative readings manifest successive phases in relation to time. However, endocentric durative V-V compounds are distinct from other non-durative compound verbs, especially in terms of their internal temporal grammatical properties. While non-durative compound verbs account for the immediate and instantaneous nature of events, durative compound verbs capture the durative extended nature of events in relation to time. This class of compound verbs seems to take protracted process to complete than the short period that characterized non duratives. The examples in

22(a)-(g) below represent morpho-semantic manifestations of durative V-M compound structures:

22	(a)	zú+tò V1-V2 V - M		train+lay V-M V - M
	(b)	nyà+gbú V1-V2 V - M		drive+kill V-M V - M
	(c)	rí+bà V1-V2 V - M	- - -	crawl+enter V-M V - M
	(d)	rú+chí V1-V2 V - M	- - -	grow+fill V-M V - M
	(f)	rú+jú V1-V2 V - M	- - -	grow+full V-M V - M
	(g)	tá+kpó V1-V2 V - M	- - -	dry+shrink V-M V - M

The contextual realizations of the durative compound formations identified in (21) above are represented in example 23(a)-(g) below:

23	(a)	Há zú-tò-rò ùmú há 3pl train-lay-PST children 3pl They spoilt their children
	(b)	Ó nyà-gbù-rù ùgbó àlà hà 3sg drive-kill-PST car land them He wrecked their car
	(c)	Ésú áhú rí-bà-rà n'ímé óhíá

Millipede DEM crawl-enter-PST inside bush
That millipede crept into the bush

(Agbo 2014:144)

- (d) Áhíhíá rù-chì-rì áhíá áhù
Grass grow-fill-PST market
The market is filled with grass
- (e) Ntùtù rùjùrù yà ísì
Hair grow-fill-PST 3s head
His hair is bushy
- (f) Mmírì áhù tàkpòró àtákpó
Water Dem shrink-dry-PST EMPH
That river has dried up
- (g) Àdá mìkpòrò ázù
Ada smoke-dry-PST fish
Ada smoked the fish very well.

The illustrations in examples 23(a)-(g) demonstrate the manifestation of V-M durative compound verbs in Igbo. In 23(a), the V1 lexeme *zú* ‘train’ combines with the V2 lexeme *tò* ‘lay’ and the resultant state of the compounding process is a durative compound formation *zútò*.

In 23(b), the V1 activity verb *nyà* ‘drive’ co-occur with the V2 *gbú* ‘kill’ to form the compound verb *nyàgbù*. In 23(c), the verbal lexeme *bà* ‘inter’ is combined with the activity verbal lexeme *rí* ‘crawl’ to form the compound verb unit *rìbà*.

In 23(d), the verbal lexeme *rú* ‘grow’ compounds with the V2 element *chí* ‘fill’ to form the durative compound verb *rúchí*. In 23(e), the activity verb *rú* ‘grow’ co-occurs with the verbal lexeme *jú* ‘fill’ to form the compound verb structure *rújú*. The same pattern and order of analysis are also applicable in 23(f) and (g) where the activity verbal lexemes *tá* ‘chew’ combines with the attributive verbal lexeme *kpó* to form the durative compound verb *tákpó* ‘dried up’.

The systematic illustrations and analyses of the compound structures in 23(a)-(g) above follow our earlier postulations about the inherent internal combinatory tendencies of the compounding constituents that characterized various classes of compound verb formations in Igbo. As we can deduce from our analyses, the compound verbs contained in example 23(a)-(g) are all durative compound verbs. Their identification and classification as durative compound verbs is stimulated

by their inherent temporal properties which are evident in their conceivable onset and endpoint, and this speaks volumes of their extended time frame in accomplishment. These conceivable temporal features lack punctuality as they are devoid of promptness as evidenced in non-durative compound structures. As demonstrated in 23(a), the activities that characterize spoiling a child as a result of improper training cannot be said to be prompt nor have an immediate endpoint. It is a durative event whose vivid endpoint justifies the meaning of the event. However, in 23(b) also, the inherent temporal property of the durative compound verb *nyàgbùrù* which semantically specifies ‘running a car down or wrecking a car’ takes a protracted time to accomplish. Therefore 23(b) is a durative compound verb as the temporal idea it represents lacks instantaneous readings. Similarly, the same order of analysis is applicable in 23(c)-(g). The timeframe captured in these events is extensional and protracted and they enjoy more durativity than other non-durative, instantaneous compound verbs in Igbo. However, the durative compound verbs in 23(a)-(g) are identified as endocentric compound verbs respectively. On the other hand, the illustrations in (22) above show the endocentric structural pattern of the durative compound verbs contextually used in (23) examples. From the illustrations, the verbal lexemes *zú* ‘train’, *nyà* ‘drive’, *rí* ‘crawl’, *rú* ‘grow’, and *tá* ‘shrink’ are all V1 and heads of compound formations in their respective compound configurations. In the same vein, the corresponding compounding verbal lexemes *tò* ‘lay’ *gbú* ‘kill’, *bá* ‘enter’, *chí* ‘fill’, *jú* ‘full’ and *kpó* ‘dry’ are V2 respectively and also modifiers of the compound heads in their various morpho-semantic dispositions. The identification of the compound head and its corresponding modifier is semantically sensitive. This process is based on the idiosyncratic semantic specification of the compound head in relation to the semantic specification of the compound unit. The data shows that the overall semantic readings of the entire compound units revolved around the semantic specification of the compound heads. The semantic verbal modifiers give more information about the compound heads thereby creating a minute semantic gap between their meanings and the semantics of the compound formations. The modifiers specify the kinds, manners, directionality, and state of affairs of the compound head in their respective compound configurations. With reference to the structural positions of the compound heads and their modifier verbal lexemes, the endocentric compound verbs of duration illustrated in examples (22) and (23) above can also be called Head-First endocentric compound verbs. Their identification and certification as Head-First

endocentric compound verbs follow the syntactic position of the compound heads in the compound structure where the head of the compound verb precedes the modifier verbal lexeme. The endocentric relationship that characterized these family compound verbs took the V-M compound structure where the V is the V1, and head of compound formations and M is the V2 and the modifiers of the compound head. This morph-syntactic cum semantic dispositions project the compound verbs in (23) as Head-First V-V compound configurations.

4.1.5. Semelfactive V-M Compound Compositions

The V-M semelfactive compound verb formation is a class of Igbo compound verbs that exhibit a high degree of promptness and punctuality in accomplishment. The term semelfactive was originally introduced into the mainstream of linguistic literature by Smith (1997) as an inherent property of a class of verbs. It was widely expanded later by Van Valin (2005:47) in his Aktionsart classificatory system of Verbs. Van Valin describes semelfactive verbs as verbs that denote events without much temporal duration. This implies that events with semelfactive readings are more prompt, immediate, and instantaneous than other verbs with or little degree of durativity. He further describes this class of events as atelic events.

However, certain compound verb structures in Igbo have shown elements of semelfactive readings in their semantic specifications. Semelfactive compound verbs in Igbo do not have an overt conceivable temporal boundary. The margin between the onset and endpoint of semelfactive compound events cannot be overtly established. They are as good as the end as soon as they start. Examples of semelfactive V-M compound structures in Igbo outside of context can be illustrated in example 24(a)-(f) below:

- | | | | | |
|----|----|--------|---|------------|
| 24 | a) | kpó-bì | - | strike-end |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | V - M | - | V - M |
| | b) | gbá-bì | - | run-end |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | V - M | - | V - M |

c)	kwá-pù	-	cough-exist
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	V - M	-	V - M
d)	nyí-pù	-	excrete-exist
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	V - M	-	V - M
e)	gbá-bì	-	run-end
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	V - M	-	V - M
f)	gbá-pù	-	run-exist
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	V - M	-	V - M

The contextual manifestations of the morpho-semantic structures of the V-M semelfactive compound verbs are illustrated in 25)(a)-(f) examples below:

25. (a) Èméká kpò-bì-rì úkwú
Emeka strike-end-PST leg
Emeka stubbed his foot
- (b) Èrírí áhù gbá-bì-rì àgbábì
Rope DEM run-end-PST EMPH
The rope cut
- (c) Ò kwá-pù-rù úkwàrà
3sg cough-exist-PST cough
He coughed
- (d) Ádá nyí-pù-rù áhùrù
Ada excrete-exist-PST fart
Ada farted
- (e) Àmáká gbá-bì-rì ányá
Amaka run-end-PST eye
Amaka blinked

- (f) Ó gbá-pù-rù n'áká
3sg run-exist-PST in hand
He snapped fingers

The sentential construction in 25(a)-(f) are practical manifestation of V-M semelfactive compound verbs in Igbo. The compounding process that gave rise to semelfactive compound verbs in Igbo involves activity verbal lexemes as V1 and non-durative verbal lexemes as V2.

In 25(a), the activity verbal lexeme *kpó* 'strike' compounds with the V2 lexeme *bi* 'end' to form the semelfactive compound verb *kpóbì* 'stub'. With reference to the native speakers' understanding, intuition, and conceptualization of the compound verb *kpóbì* in relation to time, the verb lacks durativity as it is characterized by a high degree of promptness and punctuality. It ends as soon as it starts. The durativity that characterizes semelfactive events is so short that it appears practically unattainable to be considered an event process in real-time. This implies that there is no marginal time frame that can accurately account for its duration. In 25(b) the compounding process involves the activity V1 lexeme *gbá* combining with the V2 compounding constituents *bi* 'end' to form the semelfactive compound verb *gbábì*. The compound verb *gbábìrì* is analyzed as a semelfactive event because it has no conceivable inherent endpoint. As a result, it lacks durativity. In 25(c) the activity V1 lexeme *kwá* combined with the V2 compounding element *pu* 'exit' to form the semelfactive compound verb structure *kwápú*. Under Emenanjo (1978) classification of Igbo verbs, the compound verb *kwápú* falls within the class of inherent complement verbs which must co-occur with a nominal element as its obligatory complement. This is evidenced as *kwápú* 'cough-exist' obligatorily takes *úkwàrà* 'cough' as its obligatory nominal complement to constitute conceptual integrity. The conceptualization of the event represented in the compound verb formation *kwápú* indicates an event with semelfactive readings. Cough as an event in Igbo is conceived as an involuntary act that lacks premeditation and durativity. As a semelfactive compound event the conceptualization of the verb *kwápú* in relation to time is greatly rapid as it has no conceivable onset and endpoint. Just like every other semelfactive event, it ends as soon as it starts. The same order of analysis in 25(a)-(c) above is also applicable to the examples in 25(d), (e) and (f) respectively.

However, the process that characterizes semelfactive compound verb formations in Igbo cannot be overtly conceived in relation to time. The inconceivability of the temporal features of semelfactive compound verbs in Igbo is stimulated by the fact that they do not exhibit endpoints. They are considered to be one-off events. As events that lack endpoints, they are classified as atelic [-telic] events.

Semelfactive compound verb structures are not productive in Igbo. They are relatively restricted. This generalization only affects the compound verb system in Igbo as it does not expand to non-compound verbal elements. Linguistic evidence has shown that the unproductive proposition of the compound verb structures does not affect Igbo alone but some other languages that manifest compound and compounding as morphological reality.

In another development, the compounding lexemes in the compound verb configuration illustrated in 25(a)-(f) exhibit a V-M compound structure and this speaks volumes of the endocentric relationship that characterized them. The V1 in the entire compound formations are analyzed as the compound heads while the V2 corresponding compounding lexemes are analyzed as modifiers of the compound head respectively. The structural dispositions of the semelfactive compound verbs in endocentric relationships are illustrated 26(a)-(f) below:

26	(a)	kpó+bì V1+V2	- -	strike-end V-M
	(b)	gbá+bì V1+V2	- -	run-end V-M
	(c)	kwá+pù V1+V2	- -	cough-exist V-M
	(d)	nyú+pù V1+V2	- -	excrete-exist V-M
	(e)	gbá+bì V1+V2	- -	run-end V-M
	(f)	gbá+pù V1+V2	- -	run-exist V-M

The illustrations in 26(a)-(f) above demonstrate the structural disposition of the endocentric compound relationship that exists among the compounding verbal lexemes as contained in

examples (24)-(26). The compound verb structures manifest Head-First (HF) compound verb formation where the V1 is the head of the compound verb unit and the V2 the modifier of the compound head. This by implication gives a V-M compound verb structure, which is a disposition for the internal semantic relationship between the compounding lexemes respectively.

4.1.6. Active Accomplishment V-M Compound Compositions

The V-M active accomplishment compound compositions in Igbo contain a class of Igbo compound verbs that denote durative events that exhibit motion which has an identifiable culminating point. The term ‘Active accomplishment’ was adopted from the works of Van Valin (2005) which tries to classify verbal categories in relation to their inherent temporal properties. According to Van Valin (2005), these classes of verbs are characterized by durativity and as a result do not exhibit punctuality. They are inherently non-instantaneous events with identifiable culminating points. With reference to their conceivable terminal, they are classified as telic events.

Morphosemantic manifestations of some classes of Igbo compound verbs have shown features of active accomplishment and this speaks volumes of the reality of active accomplishment compound verb formations in Igbo. The examples in 27(a)-(g) below presents V-M active accomplishment verbs outside of context:

27	(a)	gá -rú	-	go - reach
		V1-V2	-	V1 – V2
		V - M	-	V - M
	(b)	zí - gá	-	send + go
		V1-V2	-	V1 – V2
		V - M	-	V – M
	(c)	bù - lá	-	carry - go
		V1- V2	-	V1 - V2
		V - M	-	V - M

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|---|-------------|
| (d) | gbá - rú | - | run - reach |
| | V1- V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | V - M | - | V – M |
| (e) | dú - gá | - | lead - go |
| | V1- V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | V - M | - | V – M |
| (f) | bú – gá | - | carry - go |
| | V1- V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | V - M | - | V – M |
| (g) | dé - ga´ | - | write - go |
| | V1- V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | V - M | - | V - M |

The contextual utilization of the compound forms represented in 27 above are contained in example 28 constructions below:

- 28 (a) Há gà-rù-rù na mmírí
3PL go-reach-PST in water
They got to the river
- (b) Èmeká zì-gà-rà nné yá égó
Emeka message-go-PST mother him money
Emeka sent money to his mother
- (c) Há bù-là-rà íbú há ùlò
3pl carry-go-PST load them house
They sent their properties home
- (d) Àdá gbà-rù-rù ùlò
Ada run-reach-PST house
Ada travelled home
- (e) Ó dù-gà-rà ndí ághá Énúgú
3sg lead-go-PST DEM war Enugu
He led the soldiers to Enugu
- (f) Ó bù-gà-rà há nrí n`úgbó

3sgcarry-go-PST 3pl food PRE farm
She took food to them in the far

- (g) Òbí dè-gà-rà Ézè ákwúkwó
Obi write-go-PST Eze book
Obi wrote a letter to Eze

Sentences 28(a)-(g) above contain compound verb formations in Igbo with V-M compound structure as well as active accomplishment readings. The inherent temporal features of the compound events represented in the constructions show a high degree of activity with conceptualized temporal boundaries. The compounding constituents are made of activity verbal lexemes *gá*, *zí*, *bú*, *gbá*, *dú*, and *dé* as V1, co-occurring with durative verbal lexemes *rí*, *gá*, *lá* as V2 to form the active accomplishment compound verb structures contained in example 28 above. In example 28(a), the V1 *gá* ‘go’ combines with the V2 *rí* ‘reach’ to form the compound verb *gá-rí* which semantically specifies arriving at a destination. The V1 *gá* indicates the motion attribute of the compound verb, while the V2 *rí* indicates the temporal boundary of the activity of ‘going’. In example 28(b), the V1 compounding constituent *zí*, ‘send’ combines with the V2 element to form the active accomplishment compound unit *zí-gá* which has the semantic interpretation of sending something to an identifiable location. In 28(c) illustration, the V1 lexemes *bú* ‘carry’ co-occur with the V2 compounding lexeme *lá* ‘go’ to produce the compound verb *bú-lá* which has the semantic reading of carrying some load or property to a designated location. The compounding configurations of 28(e)-(g) also follow the same pattern of compounding processes highlighted in examples 28(a)-(c).

With reference to the semantic interactions of the compounding lexemes, V-M active accomplishment compound verbs in Igbo can said to be events with logical and conceivable endpoints.

However, the V-M active accomplishment compound structures in 28(a)-(g) above accounted for the endocentric relationship. The V1 which are activity verbal elements are categorized as the head of their compound formations respectively, and the V2 which inherently have durative readings in isolation are modifiers. They are called modifiers because of their directive functions

towards their compound heads the V1. The V2 verbal modifiers give a description and a sense of direction to their compound heads. The endocentric compound structure that characterized the compound structure is that of V-M endocentric compound formation where the V is the compounding verbal head, and the M is the compounding verbal modifier.

The diverse constructs represented in examples (16)-(28) so far are instances of Endocentric Verb-modifier compound formations, where the V1 is the compound head and the V2 functions as a modifier. These classes of compound verbs are syntactically referred to as Head-First compound verb structures. It must be interesting to note that identification of the compound heads and their corresponding modifiers are not syntactically stimulated as such identifications are not position-sensitive. However, the identification of compound heads and modifiers is semantically motivated. The process of categorization and identification is strictly based on the inherent semantic specifications of the compounding verbal lexemes in relation to the semantic reading and cognition of their compound forms.

4.1.7 Modifier-Verb (M-V) Compound Structures in Igbo

Endocentric compound verb formations with M-V compound structures are referred to as Head-Last (H-L) compound verb formations in Igbo. The Head-last compound verb formations in Igbo have the M-V structural configuration where the V1 (M) is the modifier of the compound head, and the V2 is the head of the compound unit. The following Endocentric compound verb formations illustrate canonical M-V compound compositions in Igbo:

4.1.7.1. M-V Composition with the lexeme *gbú* (V+gbu)

The M-V compound compositions with the *gbu* ‘kill’ lexeme are a class of Igbo compound verb that semantically encodes the termination of life. They also belong to the Head-Last family of compound structures. the examples in 29(a)-(f) below contains morpho-semantic instances of V+gbu compound configuration outside context:

29	(a)	kù-gbù	-	beat-kill
		V1-V2	-	V1 - V2

	M - V	-	M - V
(b)	zò-gbù	-	stamp-kill
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	M - V	-	M - V
(c)	gbà-gbù	-	shoot-kill
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	M - V	-	M - V
(d)	tà-gbù	-	bite-kill
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	M - V	-	M - V
(e)	sù-gbù	-	stab-kill
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	M - V	-	M - V
(f)	kpò-gbù	-	stub-kill
	V1-V2	-	V1-V2
	M - V	-	M - V

The structures in 29(a)-(f) contain a morpho-semantic exposition of compound verb formations outside context. The sentential constructs in 30(a)-(f) below illustrate contextual uses of the compound verbs identified in (29) above:

- 30 (a) Èméká kù-gbù-rù ágwò
Emeka beat-kill-PST snake
Emeka killed a snake.
- (b) Àdá zò-gbù-rù áhùhù
Ada stamp-kill-PST ant
Ada kills an Ant.
- (c) Díntá gbà-gbù-rù ánú ọhíá
Hunter shot-kill-PST meat bush
The Hunter killed a bush animal.
- (d) Ñkítá tà-gbù-rù ọkúkò
Dog bit-kill-PST fowl
A dog bites the fowl to death.
- (e) Ézè sù-gbù-rù ényì`yá

Eze stab-kill-PST friend him
Eze stabbed his friend to death.

- (f) Há kpò-gbù-rù yá
3pl stab-kill-PST his
They crucified him

The constructions in 30(a)-(f) above contain compound verb structures with diverse semantic readings. They are prototypes of endocentric compound verbs in Igbo. Their analysis as endocentric V-V compound configuration is based on their exhibition of an identifiable semantic compound head.

In example 30(a) the V1lexeme *kù* ‘beat’ combines with the V2 lexeme *gbú* ‘kill’ to form the compound verb *kùgbùrù* ‘hit to dead’. The V1 *kù* is analyzed as the modifier of the V2 *gbú* ‘kill’ which is the head of the compound formation.

In example 30(b), the compounding V1 element *zò* ‘stamp’ combines with the V2 compounding lexeme *gbú* ‘kill’ to form the compound unit *zògbùrù* which semantically specifies ‘killing by stamping’. The endocentric relationship between *zò* and *gbú* also follows our initial analysis in 30(a) where the V1 is the modifier of the V2 compound head.

In example 30(c), the compounding process comprises of V1 *gbá* ‘shoot’ combining with the V2 verbal lexeme *gbú* ‘kill’ to form the compound structure *gbàgbùrù* which encodes the semantic reading of ‘shot to dead’. Also, as a kind of Igbo compound verb characterized by an endocentric relationship, the V2 *gbú* ‘kill’ is analyzed as the compound head, while the V1 *gbà* ‘shoot’ is the modifier of the V2 compound head.

However, the same order of analysis in 30(a)-(c) follows in examples 30(d)-(f), where the V1 compounding lexemes *tà* ‘bite’, *sù* ‘stab’ and *kpò* ‘stub’ combined with V2 *gbú* ‘kill’ to form compound units *tàgbùrù* ‘bite to dead’ *sùgbùrù* ‘stab to dead’ and *kpògbùrù* ‘stub/crucify to dead’, in their respective morpho-semantic realizations. The endocentric relationships between

the compounding lexemes also follow accordingly as the V1 is identified as the modifier lexemes, while the V2 *gbú* ‘kill’ sustains its compound head status.

However, the illustrations in examples 30(a)-(f) are called endocentric compound verb structures because of the internal semantic relationship that characterizes the V1 compounding element and the V2 compounding lexeme *gbú*. The internally stimulated relationship took the M-V endocentric structural dispositions.

The ‘M’ stands for the V1 modifier while the ‘V’ represents the V2 verbal head. The verbal lexemes *kú* ‘hit’, *zò* ‘stamp’, *gbà* ‘shoot’, *tà* ‘bite’, *sù* ‘stab’, and *kpò* ‘stub’, as demonstrated above are modifiers in their respective compound formations, while the lexeme *gbú* ‘kill’ is identified as the head. The modifier lexemes modify their compound head *gbú*. The certification of V2 *gbú* as the head of compound formations in 30(a)-(f) is based on the conceptual semantic properties of the verb *gbú* in relation to other compounding constituents in the compound units. The verbal lexeme *gbú* bears the central information conveyed by the entire sentences. The modifier verbs in the constructions have a lesser semantic contribution as they specify kinds, means, nature, or types of the V2 *gbú* ‘kill’. For instance, in 30(a) *kùgbùrù* specifies a type of killing by beating. In 30(b) *zògbùrù* means killing by stamping upon. In 30(c) *gbàgbùrù* reads killing by shooting. In 30(d) *tàgbùrù* specifies killing by biting. In 30(e) *sùgbùrù* semantically specifies killing by stabbing, while in 30(f) *kpògbùrù* specifies a type of killing by crucifixion. Nevertheless, the entire compound configuration in 30(a)-(f) has a fundamental semantic notion of life being taken out, and this was overtly specified by the V2 lexeme *gbú*. As a result, the lexeme *gbú* is the head of the compound structures in sentences 30(a)-(f).

It is pertinent to note that the conceptual idea represented by the lexeme *gbú* ‘kill’ in example (30) constructions is quite distinct from the semantic import of the lexeme *gbú* ‘kill’ in example 23(b). The compound structures illustrated in examples 30(a)-(f) which also have the verb *gbú* ‘kill’ as the V2 have the semantic specification of extinction of life. The *gbú* compound composition in 30 illustrations exhibits non-durative readings and also specifies extinction of life while the *gbú* compound composition in 23(b) has durative readings and is semantically unconnected with termination of life. It shows the degree of affectedness and bad state of the internal argument *úgbó àlà* ‘car’ in the construction.

4.1.7.2. M-V Compositions with the lexeme wá

The V+wa compound structure is also a typical example of an Igbo endocentric compound verb with the semantic reading of splitting, breaking, or shattering of an object. Examples 31(a)-(e) below represent V+wa endocentric compound verb structures in Igbo outside context:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|-------|---|-----------------|
| 31 | (a) | kù-wà | - | 'hit-break' |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | M - V | - | M - V |
| | (b) | pì-wà | - | 'squeeze-break' |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | M - V | - | M - V |
| | (c) | zò-wà | - | 'stamp-break' |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | M - V | - | M - V |
| | (d) | mà-wà | - | 'sling-break' |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | M - V | - | M - V |
| | (e) | dò-wà | - | 'draw-break' |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | | M - V | - | M - V |

The sentential constructs in 32(a)-(e) below demonstrate contextual uses of the V+wa compound compositions identified in 31 examples:

- | | | |
|----|-----|----------------------------------|
| 32 | (a) | Ézè kù-wàrà éféré |
| | | Eze hit-break-PST plate |
| | | Eze broke a plate |
| | (b) | Àdá pì-wà-rà ùdará |
| | | Ada squeeze-break-PST cherry |
| | | Ada crack/break the cherry |
| | (c) | Èméká zò-wà-rà éféré áhù |
| | | Emeka march-break-PST plate that |

Emeka broke that plate

- (d) Hà mà-wà-rà úzò há
3pl throw-break-PST door 3pl
They broke their door by slinging
- (e) Ó dọ-wà-rà ákwá yá
3sg draw-break-PST cloth 3sg
She tore her clothes.

The sentential illustrations in 32(a)-(e) above represents compound events with modifier-Verb structural configurations in Igbo. The compounding processes comprise of V1 compounding constituents of *kù* ‘hit’, *pì* ‘squeeze/press’, *zò* ‘stamp’, *má* ‘sling’, and *dọ* ‘draw’, occurring with the lexeme *wá* ‘break’ and the resultant effect of the compounding processes are the formation of the compound units of *kùwàrà* which has the semantic readings of ‘hit to break’, *pìwàrà* which specifies the conceptual idea of ‘squeeze to crack/break’, *zòwàrà* which semantically encodes ‘break by stamping’, *màwàrà* which has the semantic reading of ‘break by slinging’ and *dòwàrà* which semantically encodes ‘break by over-stretching’. These compound verbs are canonical examples of Igbo endocentric compound verbs. They are endocentric because they exhibit verifiable semantic heads respectively.

The endocentric relationships between the compounding lexemes take the form of the M-V compound structure where the V1 (M) identified above are the modifier lexemes and the V2 (V) is the head of the compound configurations. As a result, the V2 of the compound units *wá* ‘break’ in the examples represented in 32(a)-(e) is the head of the compound structures respectively. The V1 lexemes as illustrated in the same 32 examples are modifiers of the V2 compound head.

4.1.7.3. M-V compositions with the lexeme *nyú*

The M-V compound composition with the *nyú* verbal lexeme belongs to the class of Igbo compound verbs that semantically specifies extinction and the act of putting off something. The analysis of the compound verb structure with the verbal lexeme *nyú* follows our initial analysis

in 4.1.7.1 and 4.1.7.2 above. The illustrations in 33(a)-(f) below contain morpho-semantic manifestations of endocentric M-V compound structures with *V+nyu* composition in Igbo:

33	(a)	gbà-nyù	-	‘switch-extinguish.’
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(b)	fè-nyù	-	‘fan-extinguish’
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(c)	pì-nyù	-	‘squeeze/press-extinguish’
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(d)	zò-nyù	-	‘stamp-extinguish’
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(e)	fù-nyù	-	‘blow-extinguish’
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(f)	mà-nyù	-	‘rain-extinguish’
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V

Having identified and represented endocentric M-V compound verbs in Igbo with *V+nyú* compound formations in 33(a)-(f), the examples in 34(a)-(f) below demonstrate contextual applications of these compound verbs:

- 34 (a) Ó gbà-nyù-rù ókú
He switch-extinguish-PST fire
He switched off the light
- (b) Ó fè-nyù-rù ókú
3sg fan-extinguish-PST fire
She put off the fire by fanning
- (c) Àdá pì-nyù-rù ókú
Ada squeeze-extinguish-PST fire

Ada put out the flames/light with her fingers

- (d) Há zò-nyù-rù- ókú áhù
3pl stamp-extinguish-PST fire that
They stamped out the fire.
- (e) Ó fù-nyù-rù ókú
3sg blow-extinguish-PST fire
He put out/extinguished the fire by blowing it with his mouth.
- (f) Mmírí má-nyù-rù
Water throw-extinguish-PST fire
Rainfall extinguished the fire.

The sentences in 34(a)-(f) above contain canonical sentential constructs with Igbo M-V morpho-semantic structures. The compounding processes comprise V1 verbal lexemes occurring with V2 verbal elements to form a *single* compound unit. In example 34(a) the V1 lexeme *gbá* ‘switch’ combines with the V2 lexeme *nyù* ‘extinguish’ to form the compound unit *gbànyùrù* which semantically encodes putting of light/fire. In example 34(b) the V1 *fé* ‘fan’ co-occur with the V2 *nyù* ‘extinguish’ to form the compound verb *fènyùrù* which semantically specifies putting off fire by fanning. In example 34(c), the V1 *pi* ‘squeeze’ combines with the V2 *nyù* ‘extinguish’ to form the compound structure *pìnyùrù* which has the semantic reading of putting off light/fire by squeezing with fingers. In example 34(d), the compounding process comprises the V1 *zò* combining with the V2 *nyù* to form the compound unit *zònyùrù* which encodes putting off light/fire by stamping. In example 34(e) the compounding process involves the V1 *fù* ‘blow air’ combining with the V2 *nyù* ‘extinguish’ to form the compound structure *fùnyùrù* which means putting off fire by blowing air through the mouth. The same order of analysis follows in example 34(f) where the V1 *má* ‘throw’ co-occur with the V2 *nyù* ‘extinguish’ to constitute the compound formation *mànyùrù* which has the semantic reading of light/fire been put off by rainfall.

As we stated earlier, the analysis of *V+nyù* M-V compound structures also follows the same pattern of description in *V+gbú* and *V+wá* compound formations discussed in sections 3.1.7.1 and 3.1.7.2 respectively. This simply implies that the V2 compounding lexeme *nyù* appears as the semantic head of the compound formations in 34(a)-(f). The V1 compounding constituents of

gbà, fè, pì, zò, fù, and *mà* are analyzed as modifier lexemes specifically modifying the compound head *nyú*. Their semantic significance is quite minimal in juxtaposition with their V2 counterpart. As semantic verbal modifiers, they semantically describe some kind, means, and nature of light/fire extinguishing. However, the compounding lexeme *nyú* appears to inhabit the central information conveyed by the compound units, and this semantic attribute *nyú* justifies its identification and analysis as the semantic compound head.

4.1.7.4. M-V Compositions with the lexeme *chí*

The M-V compound compositions are a class of Igbo V-V compounds with the semantic readings of close, obstruction, or logical end of an event. The illustrations in 35(a)-(f) below contain morpho-semantic manifestations of endocentric M-V compound structures with *V+chí* structural composition in Igbo:

35	(a)	<i>gbá-chí</i>	-	'run-close'
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(b)	<i>kwú-chí</i>	-	do-close
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(c)	<i>mé-chí</i>	-	do-close
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(d)	<i>sù-chí</i>	-	stab-close
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V
	(e)	<i>gù-chí</i>	-	count-close
		V1-V2	-	V1-V2
		M - V	-	M - V

The examples in 35(a)-(e) above represent morphological dispositions of *V+chí* compound verb structures outside context. They show morpho-syntactic and semantic functional distributions of

the compounding verbal lexemes. The contextual utilization of the compound verbs identified in examples 35(a)-(e) above are represented in examples 36(a)-(e) below:

- 36 (a) Ó gbà-chì-rì ùzò
3sg run-closed-PST road
He locked the door
- (b) Ó kwù-chì-rì itè
3sg do-close-PST pot
She covered the pot
- (c) Há mè-chì-rì ọnú
3pl do-close-PST mouth
They kept mute
- (d) Ó sù-chì-rì ọnú òké
3sg pound-close-PST mouth rat
He blocked the rat's hole
- (e) Ézè gù-chì-rì ùzò
Eze count-close-PST road
Eze closed the door

The illustrations in 36(a)-(e) above contain a set of canonical endocentric M-V compound formations in Igbo. The compounding processes involved the V2 compounding lexeme *chí* 'close' occurring with V1 compounding lexemes of *gbá*, *kwù*, *me*, *sù*, and *gù* and the resultant effect of the compounding configuration led to the formation of the following compound units; *gbáchí* in example 36(a) which contextually specifies closing a door by locking. 36(b) contains the compound verb structure *kwùchí* which encodes closing a pot with a cover. The compound formation *mèchí* 36(c) has the semantic reading of shutting the mouth to maintain mute. Example 36(d) represents the compound formation *sùchì* which contextually encodes an event of closing a hole with an object. The compound configuration *gùchí* in example 36(e) semantically specifies an activity of closing a door by pulling.

However, the compound verb formations described above in 36(a)-(e) are endocentric compound verbs. The endocentric relationship that characterized these compound verb units takes the form

of an M-V structure where the ‘M’ is the V1 and the modifier of the compound head and V is the V2 and the head of the compound unit. The verbal lexeme *chì* ‘close’ is identified as the head of the compound formations. The identification of the compound head is based on the semantic readings of the compounding lexemes (V1&V2) in relation to the semantic value of their compound form. In examples 36(a)-(e), the V2 lexeme *chi* is more related to the meaning of the compound units respectively. The V1 lexemes *gbà*, *kwù*, *mè*, *sù*, and *gù* are identified as the modifiers of the compound head *chí*. The unequal semantic value of the compounding lexemes in relation to the semantic readings of the compound verbs satisfies the condition(s) for the endocentric relationship in Igbo compound verbs.

The data presented in examples (29)-(36) demonstrate instantaneous evidence of endocentric M-V compound formations in Igbo. These M-V compound units are syntactically called Head-Last compound verb structures. As stated earlier the identification of compound heads and their corresponding modifiers in endocentric compound configurations are not arbitrary nor introspective but semantically stimulated. And this semantic stimulation is overtly based on the internal semantic properties of the compounding lexemes, and the degree of semantic correlation between the compound units and their compounding constituents.

4.2 Exocentric V-V Compounds in Igbo

The notion of exocentricity is another morphosemantic reality that seeks to account for an internal semantic relationship that exists between compounding constituents during compound formations. Exocentric compound structures are compound formations that do not have compounding elements that function as semantic heads and corresponding modifiers as obtainable in endocentric compound structures. The semantic interpretation of exocentric compound verb structure is practically inconceivable from the individual semantic specifications of the compounding constituents. This implies that the meanings of exocentric compound verbs are explicitly independent of the individual semantic specification of the compounding verbal lexemes. As a result of their translucent semantic nature, the meaning of exocentric compound verb structure is said to be opaque (Katamba 1993:321).

In English and some other related languages, there have been a marginal number of exocentric compound structures. This is contrary to the productive nature of endocentric compound formations in these languages. The examples below demonstrate typical exocentric compound formation in English:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|------------------|
| (a) | daredevil | - | dare + devil |
| (b) | blockhead | - | block + head |
| (c) | butterfingers | - | butter + fingers |
| (d) | turncoat | - | turn + coat |

The morpho-semantic analysis of the above exocentric compound structures in English as shown in examples (a)-(d) shows that *dare-devil* does not encode a kind of devil but a reckless or foolhardy personality. *Block-head* also does not encode a kind of block or head but a stupid person or someone who does not comprehend. The same order of analysis is also applicable to *butter-fingers* and *turn-coat*, where the former does not refer to fingers nor butter but to an individual who drops almost everything he or she picks and the latter is neither a kind of coat nor a kind of turn but a traitor.

In Igbo, exocentric compound verbs lack a conceivable semantic head. This follows our earlier definition where the meaning of an Igbo exocentric compound verb cannot be conceived nor interpreted with reference to the semantic readings of any of the compounding verbal lexemes. With regards to meaning and interpretation, exocentric compound verbs in Igbo exhibit the same semantic nature as idiomatic expressions, where the semantic interpretation of an idiom cannot be conceptualized from its overt morphosemantic dispositions. Exocentric compound formations manifest in three dimensions in Igbo. These include attributive, achievement, and durative exocentric compound verbs.

4.2.1 Exocentric Attributive V-V Compounds in Igbo

Attributive compound verb structures with exocentric relationships describe compound events that lack an overt semantic head. The examples in 37(a)-(b) below contain morpho-semantic realization of this class of compound verb in Igbo:

- 37 (a) gbá-wá - run-break
V1-V2 - V1-V2
- (b) má-pù - throw-exist
V1-V2 - V1-V2
- (c) kù-jà - hit-rumble
V1-V2 - V1-V2

The compound verb formations in 37(a)-(c) above demonstrate isolated exocentric compound structures with attributive readings. The contextual uses of these exocentric compounds are represented in example 38 below:

- 38 (a) Òbí gbà-wà rà Èméká
Heart crack-break-IND Emeka
Emeka is heartless.
- (b) Óbì má-pù-rù Ûjú
Heart throw-exist-IND Uju
Uju was disconcerted.
- (c) Ó kù-jà-rà àkùjà
3sg hit-rumble-IND EMPH
He was shocked

Examples 38(a)-(c) above contain sentential constructs with exocentric state compound verbs in Igbo. In 38(a), the verbal lexeme *gbá* ‘crack’ combines with *wá* ‘break’ to form the compound unit *gbáwá* ‘crack-break’, which can be interpreted to mean a state of heartlessness. The compounding process involves the V1 and activity verbal lexeme (*gbá*) and the V2 lexeme (*wá*) respectively and the resultant effect of the compounding is a state compound verb. The semantic reading of the compound verb *gbàwàrà* in the construction is attributive as it describes a state of affair of *Èméká*. As an attributive compound verb, it describes an inherent feature of its external argument.

However, the morpho-semantic relationship that exists between the compounding constituents *gbá* and *wá* in 38(a) compound unit above is exocentric. The identification and categorization of *gbáwá* as an exocentric compound verb is stimulated by the idiosyncratic semantic readings of the compounding constituents where their meanings have no relativity with the semantic specification of the compound structure. This implies that compound meaning is independent of the compounding constituents' meanings. As a result of this semantic independence, the compound verb structure *gbáwá* lacks a conceivable semantic head. Where there is no head, there will be no modifier. This is an overt feature of exocentric compound verb formation.

In 38(b) above the lexeme *má* 'throw' which is an activity verb combines with the verbal lexeme *pú* 'exist' to form the state compound verb *mápú* 'throw-exist' which has the semantic reading of 'disconcerted' under context. The semantic features that characterized the compounding lexemes follow the same analysis in 38(a).

The compound verb *mápùrù* has shown some level of semantic readings independent of the individual meanings of the compounding constituents. As a result, the internal relationship that exists between the compounding lexemes is said to be exocentric. The idiosyncratic meaning of the V1 *má* 'throw' and the corresponding compounding counterpart V2 *pú* 'exist' has no semantic correlation with the semantic interpretation of the compound verb structure *mápùrù* 'disconcerted' as evidenced under the context of usage. This demonstrates evidence of exocentric interaction between the compounding lexemes and their compound form.

In example 38(c), the same order of analysis in 38(a) and 38(b) is also applicable. The compounding process of the compound structure *kújàrà* 'shocked' comprises of activity verb *kú* 'hit' combined with the compounding verbal lexeme *jà* 'rumble' and the resultant effect of the morphological process is a state compound verb *kújàrà*. The morphosemantic relationship that characterized the compounding constituents has been identified as an exocentric relationship. The identification is based on the semantic behavior of the compounding verbal lexemes where the individual semantic specification of the compounding elements has no relativity with the semantic interpretation associated with their compound structure. As a result of this non-semantic resemblance between the compound unit and the compounding lexemes, an exocentric

relationship is accounted for. However, the compound structures in 38(a)-(c) lack a conceivable semantic head. As a result, they are identified as exocentric state compound verbs in Igbo.

4.2.2. Exocentric Achievement V-V Compounds

The term Achievement is a semantic notion deployed in Van Valin (2005) classification of verbs. It describes events that lack protracted durativity. In Igbo, exocentric achievement compound compositions seek to account for those exocentric compound verb formations that lack durativity, and whose semantic import does not correlate with the semantic specification of their compounding verbal lexemes. Our adoption of the notion of achievement is to account for those exocentric compound verbs in Igbo that exhibit logical endpoints but lack durativity. The examples in (39) below demonstrate morpho-semantic instances of this category of compound verb in Igbo outside context:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|---------|---|------------|
| 39 | (a) | kpò-chú | - | stub-gloom |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | (b) | má-pụ | - | throw-exit |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | (c) | gbá-nyé | - | run-give |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | (d) | ghò-tá | - | pluck-chew |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| | (e) | sé-kpú | - | draw-enter |
| | | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |

The contextual uses of the compound verbs identified in 39(a)-(e) above are represented in example 40 below:

- | | | |
|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| 40. | (a) | Ó kpò-chù-rù ánú |
| | | 3sg stub-gloom-PST meat |
| | | S/he parboiled meat |

- (b) Èméká má-pù-rú ágwó ísì
Emeka throw-exist-PST snake head
Emeka severed the snake's head
- (c) Ó gbà-nyè-rè ókú
3sg run-give-PST fire
He switched on the light
- (d) Ó ghò-tà-rà ànyí
3sg pluck-chew-PST we
He understood us
- (e) Há sé-kpú-rú àlà
3pl draw-enter-PST land
They kneeled down

The sentences in 40(a)-(e) above demonstrate features of exocentric achievement compound verbs in Igbo. The exocentric identity of the compound units is made manifest as the semantic decomposition of the compound verb formations shows that the individual meanings of the compounding lexemes have no semantic correlation with the semantic readings of their compound structures.

The inherent temporal properties of the compound verb structures exhibit a conceivable logical end. In 40(a) the lexeme *kpó* 'stub' combined with the lexeme *chú* 'gloom' to form the exocentric achievement compound verb *kpóchú* 'parboil'. It is called an achievement compound verb because the events conceptualized in the compound formation show an identifiable endpoint. The act of parboiling has a conceivable onset and endpoint. This undoubtedly accounted for telicity. The semantic relationship that exists between the compounding constituents is exocentric. The exocentric relationship is accounted for as the idiosyncratic semantic readings of *kpó* and *chú* are distinct from the semantic specification of the compound formation *kpóchú*.

In sentence 40(b), the compounding lexemes *ma* 'throw' and *pu* 'exist' combine to form the compound structure *mápú* 'severe' (cut off). The compound structure has achievement readings as the event captured by the verbal compound *mápú* has a temporal logical onset and terminal

and this tells the nature of achievement compound verbs. The duration of the event is said to be prompt and instantaneous and this demonstrates punctuality that characterizes achievement compound verbs. As we can observe from the semantic interpretations, the semantics of the compounding constituents have no relativity with a semantic interpretation of the compound structure. As a result, the exocentric relationship is accounted for. A similar analysis in 40(a)-(b) is also applicable to the analysis of the compound verb formation in 40(c), (d) and (e) respectively.

However, the internal relationship that underlies the compounding constituents of the compound verbs in 40(a)-(e) is exocentric. They are identified as exocentric compound verb formation because the compound verbs lack an overt semantic head. Following our earlier orientation of semantics of compound verbs, they are semantically headless. The headless condition of the compound verbs is stimulated by the grammatical situation where the individual semantic readings of the compounding lexemes have no relativity with the semantic specification of the compound structure as a unit.

4.2.3. Exocentric Durative Compound Verb

Just like endocentric durative compound verbs in Igbo discussed in 3.1.4 above, Exocentric durative compound verbs account for some classes of Igbo exocentric compound verbs that exhibit durative readings. The durativity or extended time frame that characterizes exocentric compound verbs makes them distinct from the exocentric achievement compound compositions in Igbo discussed in 3.2.1. As exocentric compound formations, they lack an overt semantic head. The idiosyncratic semantic readings of the compounding elements are semantically unconnected to the semantic interpretation of their compound structures. The examples in (41) demonstrate canonical morpho-semantic structures of the Exocentric durative compound verbs in Igbo:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|------------------|--------|---------------------|
| 41 | (a) | ghò-gbú
V1-V2 | -
- | puck-kill
V1-V2 |
| | (b) | gbà-dó
V1-V2 | -
- | run-thrust
V1-V2 |

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|---|---------------|
| (c) | rù-wé | - | grow-take |
| | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| (d) | dò-chí | - | place-close |
| | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |
| (e) | mè-nyú | - | do-extinguish |
| | V1-V2 | - | V1-V2 |

The sentential construct in example (42) below represents contextual utilization of the exocentric durative compound structures morphologically demonstrated in 41(a)-(e) examples:

- 42 (a) Àdá ghò-gbù-rù há
Ada pluck-kill-PST they
Ada deceived them
- (b) Èméká gbà-dò-rò Újú
Emeka run-thrust-PST Uju
Emeka woe Uju for friendship
- (c) Ñnéká rù-wè-rè dí yá ísí
Nneka grow-take-PST husband her head
Nneka was obedient to the husband
- (d) Ó dò-chì-rì àhù
3sg place-close-PST body
He recuperated
- (e) Há mè-nyù-rù ànyí ányá
3ppl do-extinguish-PST we eye
They dealt with us

The analysis of the illustrations in example 42(a)-(e) above also follows our initial description and analysis of endocentric durative compound verb formations in 3.1.4. The compound verbs in 42(a)-(f) represent events that exhibit inherent temporal properties common to durative compound verbs. The analysis of the compound structures as durative compound verbs follows our order of description where durative compound verb formations demonstrate conceivable temporal boundaries with extended time frames.

In 42(a)-(e) illustrations, the act of deceiving ‘*ghògbù*’, wooing ‘*gbádó*’, obedient ‘*rúwé*’, recuperate ‘*dòchì*’ in their respective contexts are durative. This simply means they are neither instantaneous nor prompt events even as they have verifiable culminating points. This analysis is also applicable to *mènyù* ‘dealt with’ in 42(f). Exocentric durative compound verbs in Igbo share similar inherent semantic features with achievement compound verbs but are only distinct in their punctuality. While durative exocentric events are non-punctual events, exocentric achievement compound events are characterized by punctuality. However, despite the distinctiveness of the two classes of exocentric compound verbs in the area of punctuality, the two exocentric compound-type structures exhibit logical events in their event structure.

Nevertheless, the internal semantic interaction between the compounding lexemes in 42(a)-(e) is characterized by exocentricity. The exocentric relationship is accounted for as the individual semantic specifications of the compounding lexemes have no relativity with the semantic readings of the compound units. As a result of this semantic incompatibility, the compound structures lack a conceivable semantic head. Compound verbs are said to be exocentric when the idiosyncratic semantic properties/features of the compounding constituents cannot in any way be attributed to the semantic specification of the compound forms. This was practically demonstrated in 42(a) where the compounding V1 lexeme *ghò* ‘pluck’ and the corresponding compounding V2 lexeme *gbù* ‘kill’ have no semantic similarity nor expression related to the compound verb structure *ghògbù* ‘deceive’ as contained in the sentential construct. Similarly, in 42(b) and (c) the semantic interpretation of the V1 compounding lexemes *gbà* ‘run’ and *rú* ‘grow’ and the corresponding V2 compounding lexemes *dò* ‘thrust’ and *wé* ‘take’ has no semantic correlation with the semantic readings of their compound forms *gbádó* ‘woe’ and *rùwé* ‘obedient’ respectively. This pattern of exocentric description and analysis in 42(a)-(c) is also applicable to the compound verb formation in 42(d)-(e).

The concept of an exocentric relationship has proven with no doubt to be a morphosemantic reality in Igbo grammar. However, unlike endocentric compound formations, exocentric compound structures are less productive in Igbo. The reason may not be unconnected with the

opaque semantic relationship amongst the compounding lexemes within exocentric compound verb configurations.

4.3 Coordinate V-V Compounds in Igbo

Coordinate relationship in Igbo compound verb structures is an aspect of Igbo compound verb compositions that seeks to account for the inherent semantic relationship that underlies compound verb units and their compounding constituents. The concept of coordinate compound is understood as one in which the compounding constituents share the same contextual semantic status and value. This equivalent semantic relationship among the compounding lexemes contrasts within the kind of relationship identifiable with compounding lexemes of endocentric compounds, which are characterized by asymmetric relationships. Coordinate compound verb is the type of compound verb structure where there is equal semantic value among the compounding constituents. There is attainment of semantic equilibrium by the compounding lexemes. However, the semantic readings of the compounding lexemes are related to the meaning or idea portrayed by the entire coordinate compound formation.

Coordinate compound structures are characterized by semantic complementarity. This implies that each of the compounding constituents has a semantic specification related to the other. Also by being in a complementary semantic relationship, each of the compounding lexemes in coordinate compound structures can be represented as a substitute to the other in a given morpho-syntactic construct without affecting the fundamental meaning of the construction. In a related development, the meaning specified by the individual compounding lexemes can also be a substitute for the compound unit.

In Igbo, coordinate compound verbs are relatively scarce compared with the degree of productivity that characterizes endocentric compound verb formations. *V+nyé* compound structure has been identified as the only compound verb formation that manifests a coordinate relationship among the compounding lexemes.

4.3.1. Coordinate *V+Nyé* Compounds

The *V+nyé* coordinate compound formations belong to the class of endocentric and exocentric compound verbs in Igbo that seeks to account for the internal semantic correlation between compound verbs and their compound elements. It was one of the classificatory criteria expounded in Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) compound verb classificatory model which this work adopted. As we have noted above, the *V+nyé* compound composition has shown to be the only class of Igbo compound verb characterized by a coordinate relationship. By exhibiting a coordinate relationship, the V2 *nyé* ‘give’ shares the same semantic value with its V1 counterpart, thereby making them semantically equal. The examples in (43) are morphological instances of coordinate compound verbs with *V+nyé* structural composition.

43	(a)	bì+nyé'	-	‘loan+give’
		V1+V2	-	V+V
		V – V	-	V - V
	(b)	zù+nyé	-	‘buy+give’
		V1+V2	-	V+V
		V – V	-	V - V
	(c)	bù+nyé	-	‘carry+give’
		V1+V2	-	V+V
		V – V	-	V - V
	(d)	chì+nyé	-	‘carry+give’
		V1+V2	-	V+V
		V – V	-	V - V
	(e)	kù+nyé	-	‘fetch+give’
		V1+V2	-	V+V
		V – V	-	V - V
	(f)	bè+nyé	-	‘cut+give’
		V1+V2	-	V+V
		V – V	-	V – V

The illustrations in example 43(a)-(f) above demonstrate the skeletal internal structure of *V+nyé* compound compositions in Igbo. The V-V as we have demonstrated above indicates equal

semantic value between the V1 and V2. This contrasts with the V-M and M-V which indicate unequal semantic value of V1 and V2 elements obtainable in endocentric compound compositions. The contextual uses of the *V+nyé* coordinate compounds identified in 43(a)-(f) and represented in example 44 below:

- 44 (a) Èméká bì-nyè-rè há égó
Emeka loan-give-PST 3pl money
Emeka lends money to them
- (b) Ó zù-nyè-rè m àkpà
3sg buy-give-PST 1sg bag
He bought a bag for me
- (c) Ó bù-nyè-rè m ùgbó àlà
3sg carry-give-PST 1sg motor land
He gave me a car
- (d) Ó chì-nyè-rè m ákwà
3sg carry-give-PST 1sg clothe
He gave me some clothes
- (e) Há kù-nyè-rè ànyí mímírí
3pl fetch-give-PST 1pl water
They gave us some water
- (f) Ó bè-nyè-rè m ánú
3sg cut-give-PST me meat
He cut some meat for me

The sentential constructs in 44(a)-(f) above contain compound verbs with coordinate relationships. The compound configuration comprises activity verbal lexemes of *bí*, *zú*, *bú*, *chí*, *kú* and *be* as V1 occurring with the V2 lexeme *nyé* in all the morpho-syntactic positions to form the coordinate compound verbs. However, the compounding lexemes in the compound verb structures are in a coordinate relationship with one another. This implies that the constituents have equal semantic value as each of the compounding lexemes has some features of its corresponding compounding lexeme. By this, they can exist in isolation and still retain the semantic readings of their compound units.

In example 44(a) the compounding process comprises V1 *bí* ‘loan’ and V2 *nyé* ‘give’ to form the compound unit *bínyé* ‘lend’. From the native speaker’s intuition, the V1 and the V2 are semantically complementary. They can be substituted for each other without any form of semantic compromise of the semantic readings of their compound unit. The examples below illustrate the contextual utilization of V1.

- 45 (a) Èméká bì-rì há égó
Emeka loan-PST 3pl money
Emeka lends money to them
- (b) Ó zù-rù m àkpà
3sg buy-PST 1sg bag
He bought a bag for me
- (c) Ó chì-rì m ákwà
3sg carry-PST 1sg cloth
He gave me some clothes
- (d) Ó bù-rì m úgbó àlà
3sg carry-PST 1sg motor land
He gave me a car
- (e) Há kù-rì ànyị nmírí
3pl fetch-PST 3pl water
They fetched water for us
- (f) Ó bè-rì m ánụ
3sg cut-PST 1sg meat
He cut some meat for me

The examples in sentences 45(a)-(f) show the idiosyncratic semantic value of the V1 of the compound structures in examples 44(a)-(f). This also demonstrates their semantic equality with the semantic readings of the compound units as contained in 43(a)-(f) illustrations. However, the examples below show the contextual utilization the V2 *nyé* of the 44(a)-(f) constructs:

- 46 (a) Èméká nyè-rè há égó
Emeka give-PST 3pl money
Emeka gave them (some) money
- (b) Ó nyè-rè m àkpà
3sg give-PST 1sg bag

He gave a bag to me

- (c) Ó nyè-rè m ákwà
3sg give-PST 1sg cloth
He gave me clothes
- (d) Ó nyè-rè m úgbò àlà
3sg give-PST 1sg motor land
He gave me a car
- (e) Há nyè-rè ànyí rmmírí
3pl give-PST 1pl water
They gave us some water
- (f) Ó nyè-rè m ánú
3sg give-PST 1sg meat
He gave me some meat

The sentences in 46(a)-(f) above practically demonstrate the semantic significance of the V2 *nyé* in the compound verb units contained in example 44(a)-(f). The illustrations show that the V2 *nyé* has the same semantic specification as the compound verb formations contained in 44(a)-(f). This semantic equivalency between the V1 and V2 and their compound forms accounted for the coordinate relationship. However, the contextual manifestation of the V1 and the V2 of the compound verbs in isolation as illustrated in 45(a)-(f) and 46(a)-(f) respectively, suggest that the compounding lexemes (V1 and V2) are semantic substitutes of the compound verbs of 44(a)-(f) in any syntactic position.

4.3.2 Non-Coordinate V+nye Compounds

In Igbo, coordinate compound verbs as demonstrated earlier show an element of semantic concurrence between the compounding lexemes. However, they take the form of a *V+nyé* compound structure. And this is evidenced in the sentences exemplified in 44(a)-(f). Nevertheless, there are compound verb structures with *V+nyé* compound configuration in Igbo that do not exhibit a coordinate relationship. This implies that not all *V+nyé* compound structures can be conceived as a prototype of coordinate compound verbs. Therefore, a coordinate compound relationship becomes inconceivable in any compound situation involving *V+nyé*

structural composition, where semantic equivalent could not be attained by the compounding constituents. The morphological examples in (47) below illustrate *V+nyé* non-coordinate compound verbs in Igbo:

- 47
- | | | | |
|-----|---------|---|------------|
| (a) | tì+nyé | - | put-give |
| | V1-V2 | - | V - V |
| | V - M | - | V - M |
| (b) | gwù+nyé | - | dig-nye |
| | V1-V2 | - | V - V |
| | V - M | - | V - M |
| (c) | bà+nyé | - | soak-give |
| | V1-V2 | - | V - V |
| | V - M | - | V - M |
| (d) | gbà+nyé | - | pour-give |
| | V1-V2 | - | V - V |
| | V - M | - | V - M |
| (e) | tù+nyé | - | throw-give |
| | V1-V2 | - | V - V |
| | V - M | - | V - M |
| (f) | sì+nyé | - | cook-give |
| | V1-V2 | - | V - V |
| | V - M | - | V - M |

The examples in 47(a)-(f) above illustrate *V+nyé* compound verb formations without coordinate relationship. The contextual utilization of the non-coordinate compound verbs identified in (47) above is demonstrated in example (48) below:

- 48
- | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| (a) | Ó tì-nyè-rè ònú n'ófè |
| | 3sg put-give-PST salt in soup |
| | She added salt to the soup |
| (b) | Ó gwù-nyè-rè yá áká n'ányá |
| | 3sg dig-give-PST 3sg hand PREP eye |
| | He thrust hands into his eyes |
| (c) | Àdá bà-nyè-rè ákwà yá nà òmírí |

Ada soak-give -PST cloth PREP water
Ada soaked her in the water

- (d) Ézè gbà-nyè-rè mmírí n'íkó
Eze pour-give-PST water into cup
Eze poured water into the cup
- (e) Ó tú-nyè-rè òkwúte ná mmírí
3sg throw-give-PST stone in water
He threw a stone into the water
- (f) Àmáká sì-nyè-rè ní n'òkú
Amaka cook-give-PST food in fire
Amaka is cooking food

The sentential constructions in examples 48(a)-(f) contain compound verb formations with *V+nyé* compound configurations. The *V+nyé* compound verb structures 48(a)-(f) are devoid of coordinate relationships. The compounding process involves activity verbs of *tì* 'put', *gwù* 'dig', *bà* 'soak', *gbá* 'pour', *tù* 'throw' and *sì* 'cook', occurring with the verbal lexeme *nyé* 'give' to form the compound verbs of *tínyé*, *gwúnyé*, *bányé*, *gbányé*, *túnyé* and *sínyé* respectively.

The internal semantic relationship between the V1 lexemes and the V2 lexeme 'nyé' in all the morpho-syntactic positions identified in 48(a)-(f) are non-coordinate. They are described as non-coordinate as the individual semantic interpretation of the compounding lexemes cannot be substituted with the compound units in their respective contextual usage. By implication, the V1 compounding constituents are not complementary to the V2 verbal lexeme *nyé*. Also, the semantic readings of the compounding lexemes lack absolute semantic relativity with the semantic specification of the compound forms.

In another development, the V2 verbal lexeme *nyé* in 48(a)-(f) does not exhibit benefactive readings, which is an obligatory feature of *nyé* in all coordinate compound verb structures in Igbo, rather it semantically demonstrates prepositionality. Obiamalu and Mbagwu (20014) use the term illativity to express this situation. However, whereas Obiamalu and Mbagwu (20014) focus on the semantic significance of the V2 compounding lexeme *nyé*, without adequate account of the morpho-semantic disposition of the V1 compounding constituents, this work

considers the morpho-semantic properties of the V1 lexemes and its corresponding V2 compounding counterpart, to establish their internal semantic interaction. This approach to the *V+nyé* compound verb composition has significantly established in this work that not all *V+nyé* compound formations are indeed coordinate compound verbs. In (48) illustrations, they (V1 and V2) are said to be in a non-coordinate relationship because the V2 *nyé* in those constructions modified the V1 lexemes rather than complement them as obtainable in 44(a)-(f) sentential constructs. The V-M compound structure of non-coordinate *V+nyé* compounds demonstrated in example (47) shows that non-coordinate *V+nyé* compound formations are inherently endocentric.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have been able to demonstrate different semantic classifications of Igbo compound verbs with strict adherence to the classificatory model of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998). Our analysis in this chapter also demonstrates the concept of endocentricity, with its V-M and M-V compound compositions in Igbo. Also discussed was the notion of exocentricity and its diverse manifestations in Igbo morphological reality. We concluded in this chapter the discussions on coordinate and non-coordinate compound verb formations. Here it was demonstrated through our data expositions that not all *V+nye* compound formations can be held accountable for coordinate relationships.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

This work examined some aspects of morphosemantic properties of the V-V compound in Igbo and used same as classificatory parameters. Some of these aspects include the internal semantic relationships that exist amongst the compounding verbal lexemes. The V-V compound semantic correlations were established through the systematic exposition of the idiosyncratic semantic features that characterized individual compounding constituents with the semantic readings of their compound structures. The degree of semantic relativity between the compounding lexemes and their compound formations informs our classification of V-V compound formations in Igbo into three semantic categories of Endocentric, Exocentric, and Coordinate compound verbs. These semantic classifications are modeled after Shibatani (1990), and Fabb (1998) compound verb classificatory framework.

Chapter One of this research serves as an introduction to the study. It establishes the bedrock upon which the comprehension and understanding of the concept and manifestation of compounds and compounding in Igbo can be made. The chapter provides comprehensive information on the background of the study, statement of problem, the fundamental purpose of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, as well as the limitations of the study.

In Chapter Two, a systematic exposition of relevant literature on general principles of compounding, compound verbs, and V-V compound formations was carried out. Also explored in this chapter were empirical studies of Igbo compound verbs. Chapter two also introduces the theoretical framework upon which this study is based. The Theoretical framework adopted in this

research was Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) compound verb classificatory model. The combination of these distinct classificatory models into a single theoretical framework significantly enhances our analysis and categorization of Igbo V-V compound compositions into endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate compound verbs respectively.

Chapter Three of this work contains the research methodology. Here the method of data collection and analysis was discussed. Also in this chapter was a systematic exposition of sources of data used in analysis. The principles that guide our method of data analysis were also expounded.

Chapter four of this work contains a semantic classification of Igbo V-V compound formations. Following the classificatory template adopted in this work, V-V compound compositions in Igbo were classified into three broad classes: endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate compound structures. Under endocentric compound verbs, subclasses such as Verb-Modifier and Modifier-Verb compound structures were also discussed. Under exocentric compound formations, subclasses such as attributive, durative, and other compound structures were investigated. The subclasses of coordinate and non-coordinate *V+nyé* compound formations form the pivotal point of discussion under coordinate compound verbs.

However, in examining these classes of V-V compounds, the data analyses focus largely on the idiosyncratic semantic specifications of the compounding verbal lexemes, the internal semantic correlation between the compounding verbal constituents as well as the degree of their semantic relativity to the semantic integrity of the compound structures. However, with reference to the semantic relationship that underlies compounding lexemes and their compound structure in Igbo, our analysis in chapter four shows that this relationship can manifest in three dimensions: endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate relationships respectively. However, the identification and classification of V-V compound formations under these classes of verbs (endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate) were based on the Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) classificatory framework.

5.2 Findings

Based on the evaluation and analysis of the data therein, the following findings were made:

1. V-V compounds in Igbo fall within the three classificatory models of Shibatani (1990) and Fabb (1998) and they are characterized by semantic headedness.
2. In line with the classificatory framework, this study revealed that the compounding units of Igbo V-V compounds manifest three types of internal grammatical relationships. These include endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate relationships.
3. The Endocentric compound verbs are characterized by one semantic head, coordinate compound verbs by two semantic heads while exocentric compound structures are semantically headless.
4. Formations and interpretations of compound verbs in Igbo are the exclusive prerogative of the native speakers' cognition and intuitive knowledge of the language.
5. The semantic readings of exocentric compound verbs in Igbo are not attributed to the individual semantic readings of the compounding constituents.
6. In terms of productivity, our data analyses show that endocentric compound verbs are more productive in Igbo than exocentric and coordinate compound verbs.
7. The *V+nyé* compound verb formation with benefactive readings is the only compound verb structure that manifests a coordinate compound relationship in Igbo. Other classes of the V-V compounds do not show coordinate relationships.

5.4 Conclusion

This study investigated the internal semantic relationships that characterize compounding lexemes in Igbo V-V compound formations. It has contributed to the sparse literature in the study of Igbo compound verbs. The study shows evidence that the idiosyncratic relationship between compounding exponents in Igbo V-V compounds can constitute a classificatory criterion for Igbo V-V compounds. The study also proves the indispensable significance of native speakers' intuition and cognitive knowledge in the formation, interpretation, and conceptualization of compound verbs in Igbo. This study has great implications for Igbo verb studies and Igbo

grammar as it introduces a new approach and perspective to Igbo V-V compound studies as well as language typology in general.

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