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Patterns of Indian Multilingualism

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Introduction

Understanding the pattern of existence and use of languages in a country helps in understanding the sociolinguistic position of that country better. When a country is monolingual, it has one kind of issues to be taken into account, and when a country is multilingual, issues to be understood are multiple.

The *Webster's Dictionary* says that "… using or able to use several languages especially with equal fluency" is multilingualism. However, *Wikipedia* identifies multilingualism as "…the use of two or more languages, either by an individual speaker or by a community of speakers" and it also says that "… multilingual speakers outnumber monolingual speakers in the world's population". Hence multilingualism is considered as the norm and mono-lingualism an exception (Peter Auer/Li Wei: 2008).

Indian Multilingualism

Indian multilingualism and its society is described using many terms such as melting pot, salad bowl, etc. None of these is able to capture the real texture of Indian multilingualism. Indian multilingualism is unique; it has no parallel anywhere in the world.

The Focus of This Paper

This paper aims to analyze the Census data to capture some aspects Indian multilingualism. The major source to understand Indian multilingualism comes from the decennial census conducted since 1872 till 2001. However the language information is collected only from 1881 Census. In general, the Census data provides inputs to various kinds of planning in the country, and language data helps us to understand the sociolinguistic situation of the country. Unfortunately, in my assessment, the data obtained has not been used much in language planning in post-independence India.

Languages in India Today

The Constitution of India today has 22 languages that are classified as Scheduled Languages since they are in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. In the beginning this schedule is treated as a rigid document, resisting any changes to it through Constitutional amendments. However, in recent decades, the Schedule is treated as an open ended list which has got additions whenever the socio-political conditions forced or favored inclusion of a specific language. Hence the information is available in terms of Schedule Languages and Non-Schedule languages. According to latest information, India is endowed with 22 scheduled languages and 100 non-scheduled languages which include English also. These 22 languages have 243 mother tongues embedded in them. The mother tongues spoken by less than 10000 persons are not accounted.

The Question of Mother Tongue in Many Avatars!

From 1881 Census onward, the question on mother-tongue was included in the census though it was used by the enumerators differently in different Censuses. In the Censuses of 1881, 1931, 1941 and 1951, the question was 'Mother-tongue'. The mother-tongue was defined as the language first spoken by the individual from the cradle. In 1891 Census, the question was 'Parent tongue' which has been defined as the language spoken by the parent of the individual. In 1901 Census, 'Parent tongue' was replaced by 'language ordinarily used'. In 1911 the question was 'language ordinarily spoken in the household'. In 1921 the question was simply 'language ordinarily used'. The question on Mother tongue was repeated from Census to Census from 1931 to 1971. In 1971 Census, the mother-tongue was defined as "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 was recorded as the Mother-tongue'.

In Census 2001, mother tongue is enumerated as "…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".

The Census of India reports that in 2001, 96.56% of the population of India is speaking the Scheduled languages and the Non-scheduled languages are accounted to the extent of 3.44% of

the total population of the country. The following is the graphical representation of the linguistic landscape of India in 2001, till the next Census releases its language data.

Indian Languages: 2001
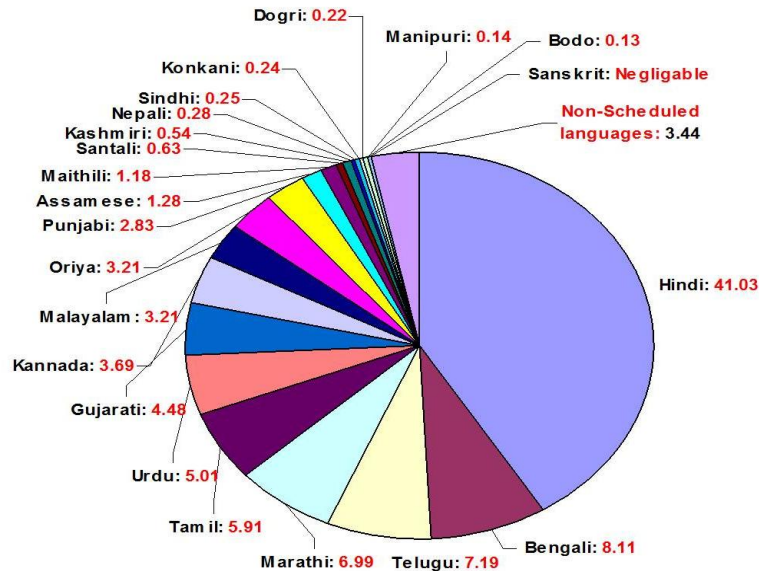
Population Ranking of Indian Languages

It may be seen that Hindi language is spoken by 41.03% of the population. Hindi is a *composite* language having around 50 mother tongues in it. Within this overall percentage, Hindi is spoken as mother tongue by 61.12% and the rest 38.88% speak other mother tongues grouped under Hindi. Hence in India 16.52% of the people speaking Hindi language do not have Hindi as their mother tongue but have some other mother tongue grouped under the umbrella language called Hindi. So, in reality Hindi mother tongue population in India amounts to 24.51%.

Pan-Indian Languages

The Census of India 2001 lists separately fifteen numerically biggest languages state-wise. If we keenly observe the lists, 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 North Eastern Region of the country. Their spread, urban/rural divide are provided in the table given below:

Sl. No.	STATE	HINDI			URDU		
		% of State Total Population	Rural	Urban	% of State Total Population	Rural	Urban

1	Jammu & Kashmir	18.44	88.02	11.98	0.13	47.42	52.58
2	Himachal Pradesh	89.01	90.80	9.20	0.08	65.89	34.11
3	Punjab	7.60	27.01	72.99	0.11	34.98	65.02
4	Chandigarh	67.53	9.78	90.22	0.81	8.51	91.49
5	Uttaranchal	87.95	76.37	23.63	5.86	52.43	47.57
6	Haryana	87.31	71.42	28.58	1.23	87.52	12.48
7	Delhi	80.94	7.67	92.33	6.31	1.77	98.23
8	Rajasthan	90.97	76.92	23.08	1.17	14.79	85.21
9	Uttar Pradesh	91.32	82.37	17.63	7.99	44.87	55.13
10	Bihar	73.06	89.23	10.77	11.39	84.56	15.44
11	Sikkim	6.67	58.90	41.10	0.54	62.49	37.51
12	West Bengal	7.17	35.24	64.76	2.06	19.08	80.92
13	Jharkhand	57.56	76.28	23.72	8.63	64.76	35.24
14	Orissa	2.83	62.55	37.45	1.66	58.03	41.97
15	Chhattisgarh	82.61	80.11	19.89	0.42	32.64	67.36
16	Madhya Pradesh	87.26	73.94	26.06	1.97	17.81	82.19
17	Gujarat	4.71	16.65	83.35	1.09	4.52	95.48
18	Daman & Diu	19.44	81.08	18.92	0.36	45.64	54.36
19	Dadra & N H	15.07	52.22	47.78	0.45	25.75	74.25
20	Maharashtra	11.03	35.45	64.55	7.12	23.86	76.14
21	Andhra Pradesh	3.23	78.62	21.38	8.63	40.38	59.62
22	Karnataka	2.54	63.22	36.78	10.48	36.39	63.61
23	Goa	5.70	23.71	76.29	4.02	14.43	85.57
24	Lakshadweep	0.18	18.52	81.48	0.04	11.54	88.46
25	Kerala	0.08	27.15	72.85	0.04	59.15	40.85
26	Tamil Nadu	0.30	10.76	89.24	1.51	20.66	79.34
27	Pondicherry	0.45	21.23	78.77	0.73	7.91	92.09
28	Andaman & N I	18.23	59.75	40.25	0.45	29.29	70.71
29	Arunachal Pradesh	7.39	52.87	47.13	-	-	-
30	Nagaland	2.86	42.17	57.83	-	-	-
31	Manipur	1.14	54.70	45.30	-	-	-
32	Mizoram	1.19	35.96	64.04	-	-	-
33	Tripura	1.68	77.21	22.79	-	-	-
34	Meghalaya	2.16	37.75	62.25	-	-	-
35	Assam	5.89	68.74	31.26	-	-	-

Decreases in 2001 Census from the Census of 1971

An interesting picture emerges when we compare the language information of 1971 Census with that of 2001 Census. The result is as follows: proportionate percentage of increase in the number of speakers of Hindi is (+4.4), Punjabi (+0.26), Maithili (+0.06), Kashmiri (+0.08), Nepali (+0.02), and Bodo (+0.03).

However, there is significant decrease in the percentage of speakers of some major languages as follows: Bengali (-0.06), Telugu (-0.97), Marathi (-0.62), Tamil (-0.97), Urdu (-0.21), Gujarati (-0.24), Malayalam (-0.79), Kannada (-0.27), Oriya (-0.41), Assmese (-0.35), Santali (-0.06), Sindhi (0.06), Konkani (-0.04), and Dogri (-0.02). The following graph illustrates the same:
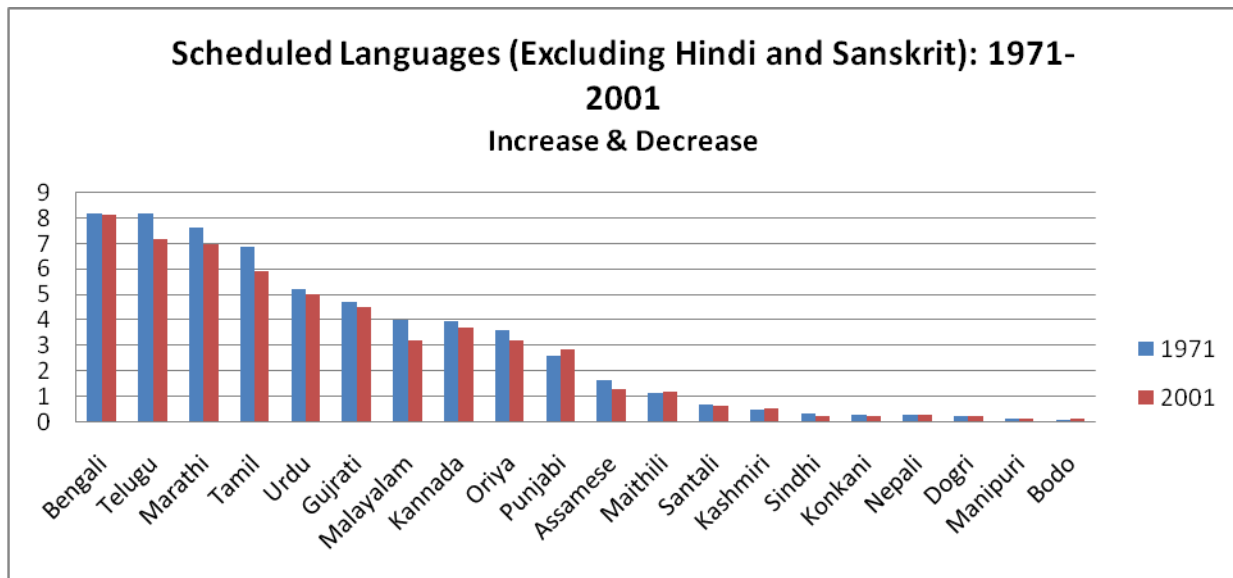
Indian Multilingualism

We speak of a country as multilingual by taking into account the number of languages being used there. Mere presence of more number of languages will not, I think, make a country multilingual, although this seems to be the most widely accepted belief.

What is more important to be a multilingual nation is more number of speakers of a language being conversant with other languages used in that country. I think that this is true multilingualism.

The next issue is how deep multilingualism is.

Depth of Multilingualism in India

In India, more number of people is bilingual and multilingual. But clear information about bilingualism and tri-lingualism is not collected by the Census. I think that the present estimate is an underestimation of ground reality.

The Census has been enumerating and registering information on bilingualism from 1901. Till the 1921 Census, the information was collected to know about the 'knowledge of English' only, since for governance and education British India wanted to know about the spread of English in India. It appears that both the British officials and the Indian elite made it their goal to spread the knowledge of English as *the sole* vehicle for obtaining modern knowledge. As we all know, Macaulay's dictum laid greater emphasis on the teaching and learning of English as means to receive western knowledge of arts and science. Thus bilingual knowledge and use of English became the most significant aspect of bilingualism. Bilingualism in Indian languages was not seen to be something that needed to be cherished and further developed. This attitude could have resulted in the focus on obtaining information on bilingualism relating to English. (Readers may like to read STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND! Campbell's Defense of Indian Vernaculars against Lord Macaulay's Minute by M. S. Thirumalai, Ph.D. and B. Mallikarjun, Ph.D. http://www.languageinindia.com/jan2004/campbell.html.)

Change in the Direction of Gathering Language Data in Census of India

In 1931 and 1941 Censuses the information about 'Other language in common use' was also collected, the Census tried to know the 'name of language' that the person knows in addition to his or her mother tongue. The subsequent Census in 1941 and 1951 the question was restricted to 'only Indian language' and in 1961 Census it was expanded to 'any language' and 'number of such languages' was also expanded to two languages. In 1971 Census, the information on 'Other languages' was again collected from each individual. Changes in information elicitation reflect the linguistic concerns of the nation at that point of time. This is an official recognition of India as a multilingual nation.

Hence, in 1981, information on the number and names of languages known to the person other than his/her mother tongue is collected. It is recorded in "…the order in which he/she speaks and understands them best and can use with understanding in communicating with others. He/she need not be able to read and write those languages. It is enough if he/she has a working knowledge of those subsidiary languages to enable him/her to converse in that language with understanding." The Census of India uses same parameters but uses different terminologies to identify the same concepts. During the year 1981 it is reported as "Persons speaking a language additional to the mother tongue", in 1991as "Persons knowing three languages", in 2001 "First Subsidiary Language, Second Subsidiary language"

It may be noted that Indian multilingualism is 'self declared' by the language users and not a result of any evaluation of language competence against any set parameters.

First and Second Subsidiary Languages

The statistical information on the population by bilingualism and trilingualism as per the 2001 Census are available for researchers to look into the pattern of Indian multilingualism. These statements "first subsidiary language" and "second subsidiary language" are interpreted as for bilingualism and trilingualism for the purposes the analysis here (Series 1 – Bilingualism, Series 2 – Trilingualism).
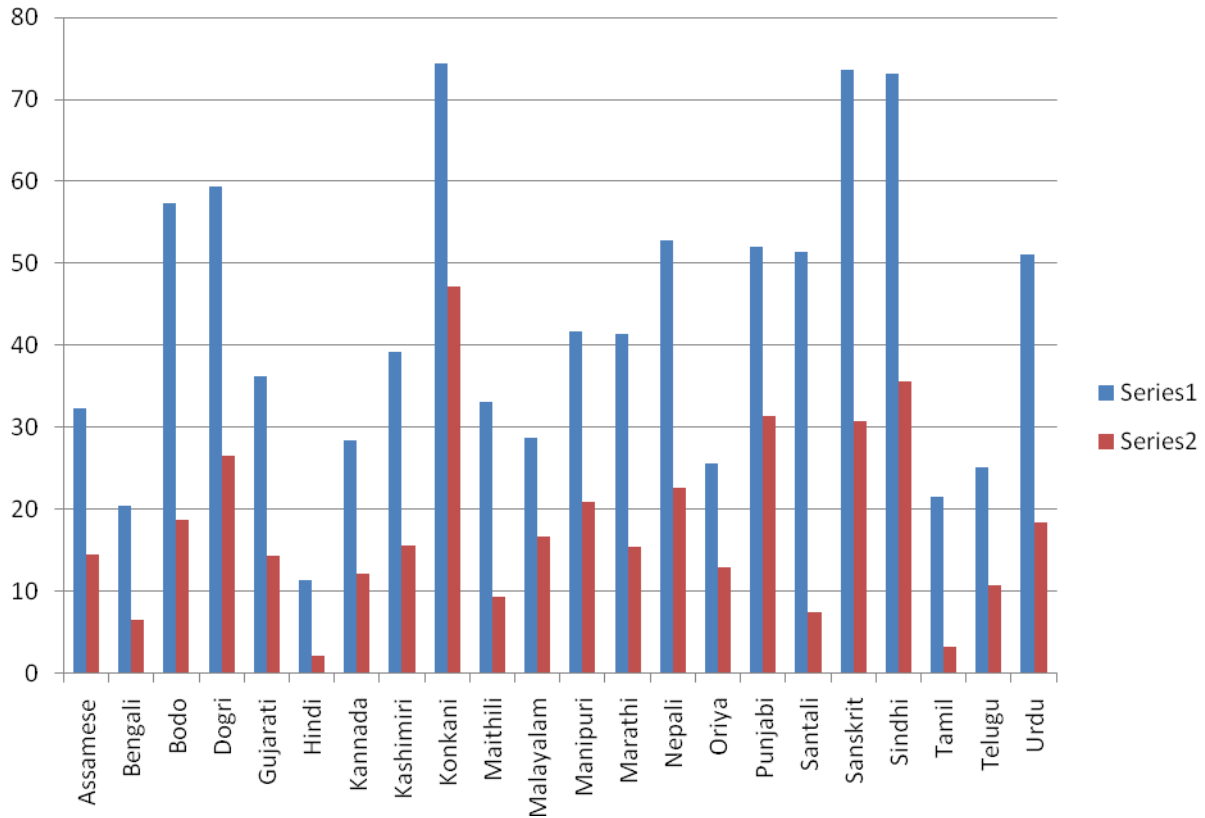
It can be seen that bilingualism is widely prevalent. The following table gives the details of percentage of bilinguals and trilinguals to the total population speaking a particular Indian language. Large number of speakers of Indian languages knows more than one language. Many times they know two languages in addition to their mother tongue.

SL. No.	Languages	% of Bilinguals	% of Trilinguals	SL. No.	Languages	% of Bilinguals	% of Trilinguals
1	Assamese	32.35	14.47	12	Manipuri	41.67	20.81
2	Bengali	20.40	6.52	13	Marathi	41.37	15.45
3	Bodo	57.38	18.64	14	Nepali	52.81	22.54

4	Dogri	59.44	26.49	15	Oriya	25.63	12.88
5	Gujarati	36.25	14.25	16	Punjabi	52.01	31.30
6	Hindi	11.25	2.13	17	Santali	51.43	7.35
7	Kannada	28.44	12.15	18	Sanskrit	73.60	30.80
8	Kashimiri	39.21	15.55	19	Sindhi	73.19	35.58
9	Konkani	74.38	47.18	20	Tamil	21.51	3.19
10	Maithili	33.03	9.25	21	Telugu	25.02	10.69
11	Malayalam	28.75	16.60	22	Urdu	51.03	18.37

A comparative account of three decades of bilingualism and two decades of trilingualism is provided in the graphs below.

It indicates that in case of Kashmiri speakers bilingualism there is decrease in 2001 than in 1991, but there is an increase compared to 1981. In case of Konkani and Malayalam speakers there is hardly any increase or decrease of bilingualism. But, in case of Tamil speakers there is decrease in bilingualism.
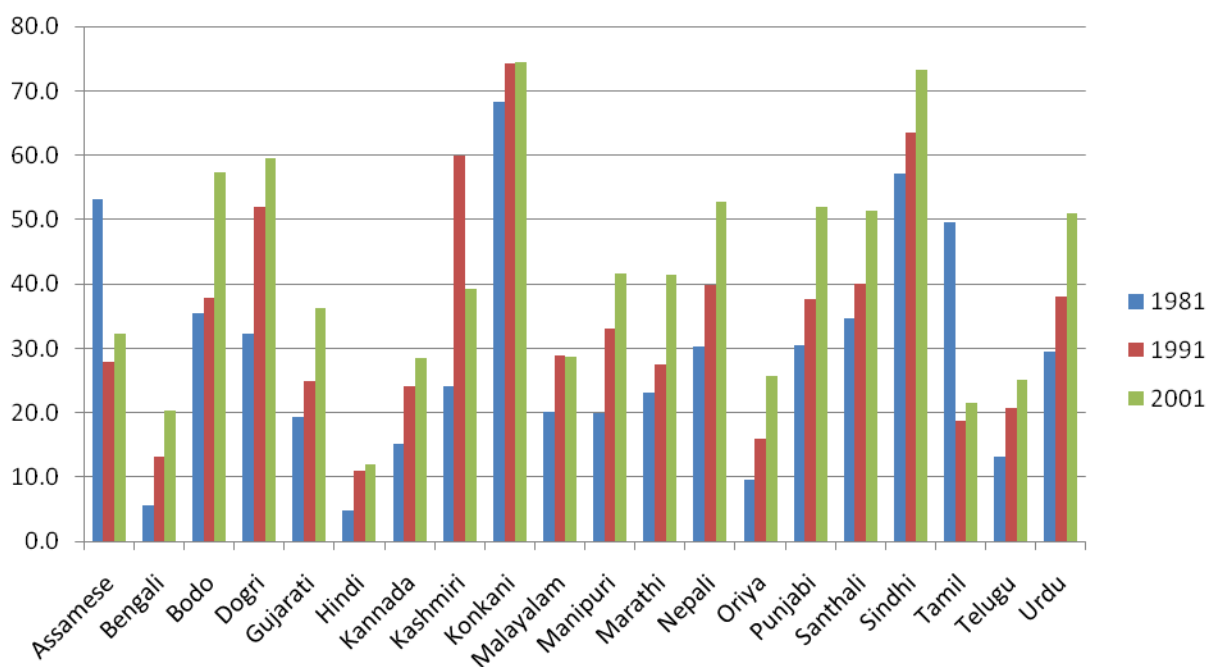
In case of trilingualism, there is negative growth among speakers of Dogri, Hindi, Kashmiri, Malayalam and Manipuri. And increase in trilingualsim is far less among the Tamil and Bengali speakers when compared with that of speakers of other languages.
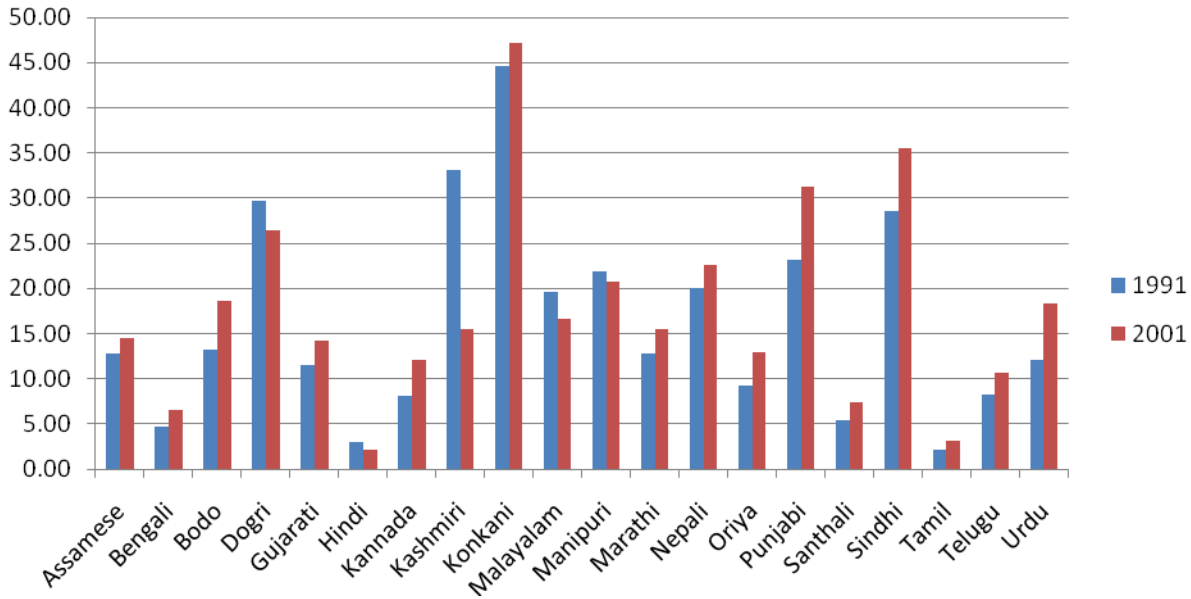
Next important issue is to identify which language or languages other than their mother tongue people have reported that they know. One thing that comes out is that many speakers of the Scheduled languages reported that they know Hindi and English. It can be noticed that more bilinguals (74.38%) and trilinguals (47.18%) are from Konkani mother tongue and least bilinguals (11.25%) and trilinguals (2.13%) are from Hindi language.

Sociolinguistic situation of both these languages is reflected in the nature of multilingualism they practice. Hindi speakers seem to see that there is no much need for them to learn another language. Konkani speakers are concentrated in Goa but spread over in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, etc. Hence there is a social and economic need for them to be multilingual. Similarly Urdu speakers are next in the list of being more multilingual speakers since Urdu is a language which is not predominant over any language in any state, without a state of its own in a linguistically reorganized country. Moreover, the Urdu speakers are spread all over the country and hence they are more bilingual (51.03%) and trilingual (18.37%). Same is the case of another language Sindhi, which has 73.19% and 35.58% of bilinguals and trilinguals respectively.

Language Choice and Multilingualism

In the context of analysis of multilingualism it is essential to look into the way Indian language speakers look at learning Hindi, the Official Language of the Union of India and English the Associate Official Language. Also, Hindi is one of the languages of the education system in most of the states except in two states Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry. English is the contribution of British rule to schooling in India as a subject and also as a medium of instruction at different stages of education. In the Indian context, English is learnt as second or third language due to schooling whereas Hindi is mainly learnt and partially acquired contextually since it is widely

used in the media, as part of entertainment. Most of the other languages are learnt due to their coexistence.

Speakers of Bengali, Kannada, Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Oriya, Tamil and Telugu prefer English as the first subsidiary language. And speakers of Dogri, Gujarati, Maithili, Marathi, Nepali, Punjabi, Santali, Sindhi and Urdu prefer Hindi as the first subsidiary language.
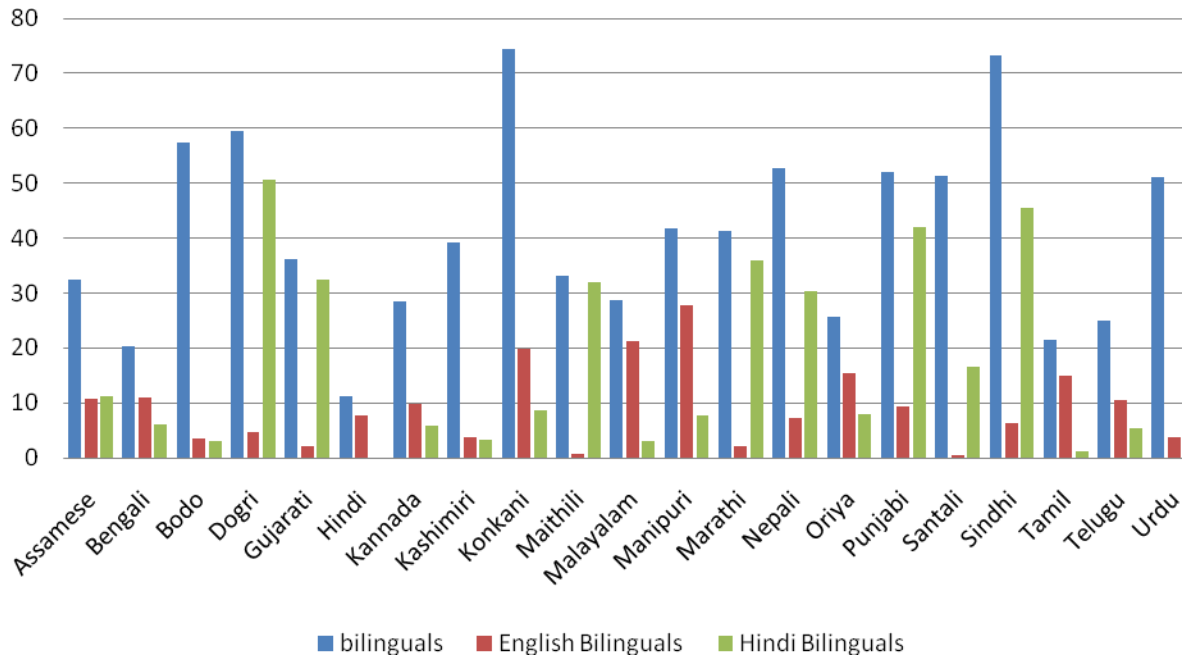
As second subsidiary language Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Kannada,Konkani, Malayalam, Manipuri, Oriya, Telugu speakers prefer Hindi, where as the speakers of Dogri, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Maithili, Marathi, Punjabi, Sindhi speakers prefer English.
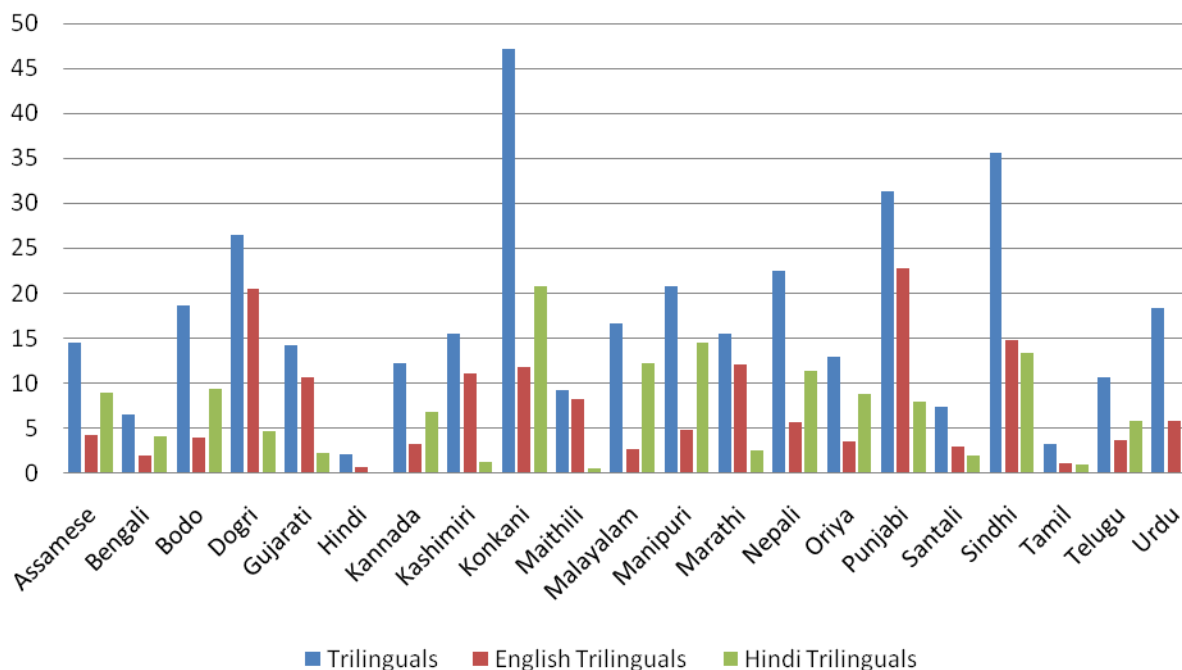
Inductive Multilingualism

Spread of Hindi and English in India among the speakers of other languages is an important factor.

When we observe the bilingual and trilingual figures for Hindi and English comparatively four patterns of multilingualism emerges.

First category is the one in which the languages have more bilinguals and trilinguals in Hindi.

	Languages	% of Bilinguals	% of English Bilinguals	% of Hindi Bilinguals	% of Trilinguals	% of English Trilinguals	% of Hindi Trilinguals
I	Assamese	32.35	10.68	11.13	14.47	4.22	8.91
	Nepali	52.81	7.35	30.27	22.54	5.69	11.39
	Urdu	51.03	3.79	25.45	18.37	5.81	6.33

Second category is the one in which the languages have more bilinguals and trilinguals in English than in Hindi.

II	Kashimiri	39.21	3.86	3.23	15.55	11.02	1.19
	Tamil	21.51	14.88	1.14	3.19	1.10	0.92

Third category is the one where bilinguals are more in Hindi than in English.

III	Dogri	59.44	4.75	50.62	26.49	20.42	4.69
	Gujarati	36.25	2.22	32.40	14.25	10.68	2.22
	Maithili	33.03	0.70	31.92	9.25	8.24	0.56
	Punjabi	52.01	9.31	41.94	31.30	22.82	7.98
	Santali	51.43	0.60	16.64	7.35	2.91	1.97
	Sindhi	73.19	6.22	45.58	35.58	14.74	13.42
	Marathi	41.37	2.22	35.93	15.45	12.00	2.52

Fourth category is the one where bilinguals are more in English than Hindi.

IV	Bengali	20.40	11.09	6.04	6.52	1.92	4.02
	Bodo	57.38	3.54	3.15	18.64	3.87	9.37
	Kannada	28.44	9.82	5.81	12.15	3.22	6.77
	Konkani	74.38	19.86	8.75	47.18	11.81	20.80
	Malayalam	28.75	21.24	3.12	16.60	2.61	12.18
	Manipuri	41.67	27.67	7.81	20.81	4.78	14.55
	Oriya	25.63	15.32	8.05	12.88	3.54	8.74
	Telugu	25.02	10.48	5.37	10.69	3.65	5.84

Intuitive Multilingualism

Apart from the need based, essential, compulsory multilingualism, it is very important to note that other than Hindi and English, it is the neighborhood languages that are learnt by different mother tongue speakers as their second and third languages. Languages in the neighborhood and the details of percentage of bilinguals and trilinguals are given below to illustrate this point.

SL.No.	Languages	Multi-Languages	% of Bilingualism	% of Trilingualism
1	Assamese	Bengali	9.54	0.99
		Nepali	0.19	0.10
2	Bengali	Assamese	2.49	0.21
3	Bodo	Assamese	46.44	2.41
		Bengali	3.92	2.33
		Nepali	0.21	0.42
4	Dogri	Urdu	3.33	0.68
5	Gujarati	Marathi	0.7	0.91
6	Hindi	Bengali	0.5	0.09
		Gujarati	0.24	0.03
		Marathi	0.93	0.09

		Urdu	0.9	0.11
7	Kannada	Konkani	0.15	0.04
		Tamil	2.4	0.57
		Telugu	6.66	0.69
		Malayalam	0.13	0.07
		Marathi	2.62	0.61
8	Kashmiri	Urdu	31.76	3.07
9	Konkani	Gujarati	3.89	0.14
		Kannada	20.78	3.29
		Malayalam	1.26	0.3
		Marathi	16.79	5.83
10	Maithili	Urdu	0.22	0.09
11	Malayalam	Kannada	1.45	0.29
		Tamil	1.59	0.56
12	Manipuri	Bengali	4.44	0.89
13	Marathi	Gujarati	0.36	0.28
		Kannada	1.67	0.27
		Telugu	0.56	0.14
14	Nepali	Assamese	11.35	2.07
		Bengali	2.01	1.98
15	Oriya	Bengali	0.53	0.26
		Telugu	0.85	0.07
16	Punjabi	Urdu	0.45	0.17
17	Santali	Assamese	1.22	0.09
		Bengali	26.92	1.86
18	Sindhi	Gujarati	19.1	3.28
		Marathi	1.6	3.43
19	Tamil	Kannada	2.11	0.39
		Malayalam	0.54	0.13
		Telugu	2.51	0.46
20	Telugu	Kannada	3.83	0.33
		Tamil	3.53	0.47
21	Urdu	Bengali	0.5	0.27
		Gujarati	0.47	0.31
		Kannada	5.52	0.73
		Marathi	1.94	1.78
		Tamil	1.24	0.22
		Telugu	5.64	0.85

Age and Multilingualism

Maximum number of multilingual persons in both the categories of bilinguals and trilinguals is found in the age group of 30-49 years. They are born in India after 1947, the year of her attaining independence. They are products of the new education system.

Age and Bilingualism
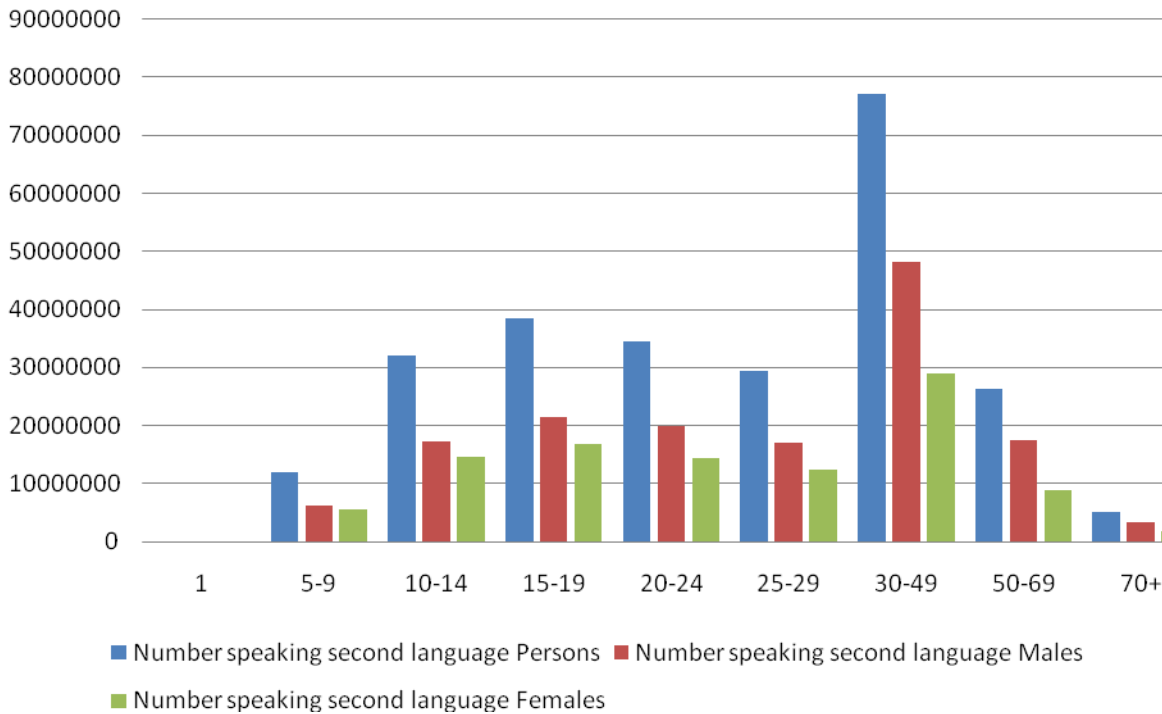
In case of bilinguals other age groups in the descending order are of 15-19, 20-24, 10-14,25-29, 50-69, 5-9 and 70+.

Age and Trilingualism
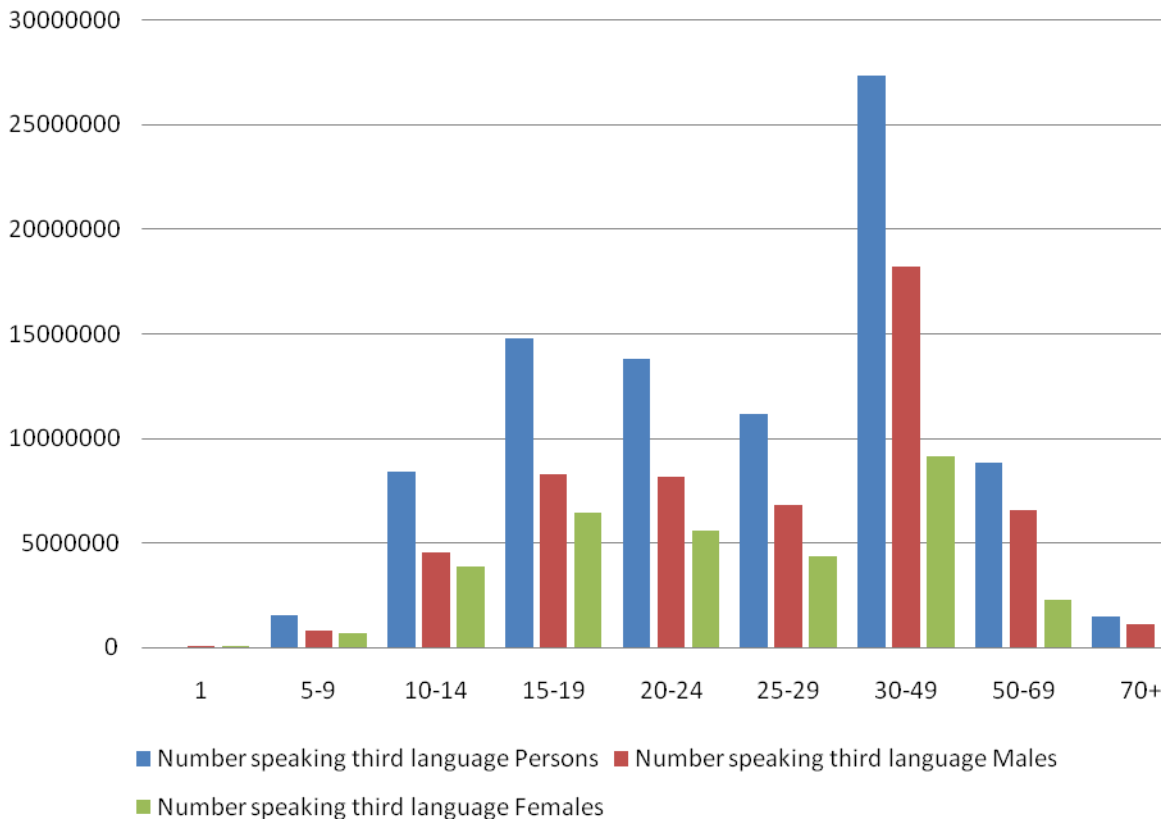
And in the case of trilinguals, other age groups are in the descending order of 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 50-69, 10-14, 5-9 and 70+.

Multilingualism: Urban, Rural and Gender

More bilinguals are in rural areas (53.59%) than in urbanl areas (46.40%). However, in the case of trilinguals, it is reverse. More trilinguals are in urban areas (53.79%) and less trilinguals are in rural areas (46.20%). The table given below clearly illustrates the same.

	Total		Urban		Rural	
Gender	Bilinguals	Trilinguals	Bilinguals	Trilinguals	Bilinguals	Trilinguals
Male	59.40	62.43	57.12	59.15	61.37	66.25
Female	40.60	37.56	42.87	40.84	38.62	33.74

When it comes to genderwise distribution of bilingual and trilingual speakers, it is found that, in general, men outnumber women in being multilingual. Among bilinguals, men amount to

59.40% and women 40.60%. In trilingualism also, it is men (62.43%) who outnumber women (37.56%).

Rural, Urban, Age and Bilingualism

■ Number speaking second language Persons ■ Number speaking second language Males

■ Number speaking second language Females
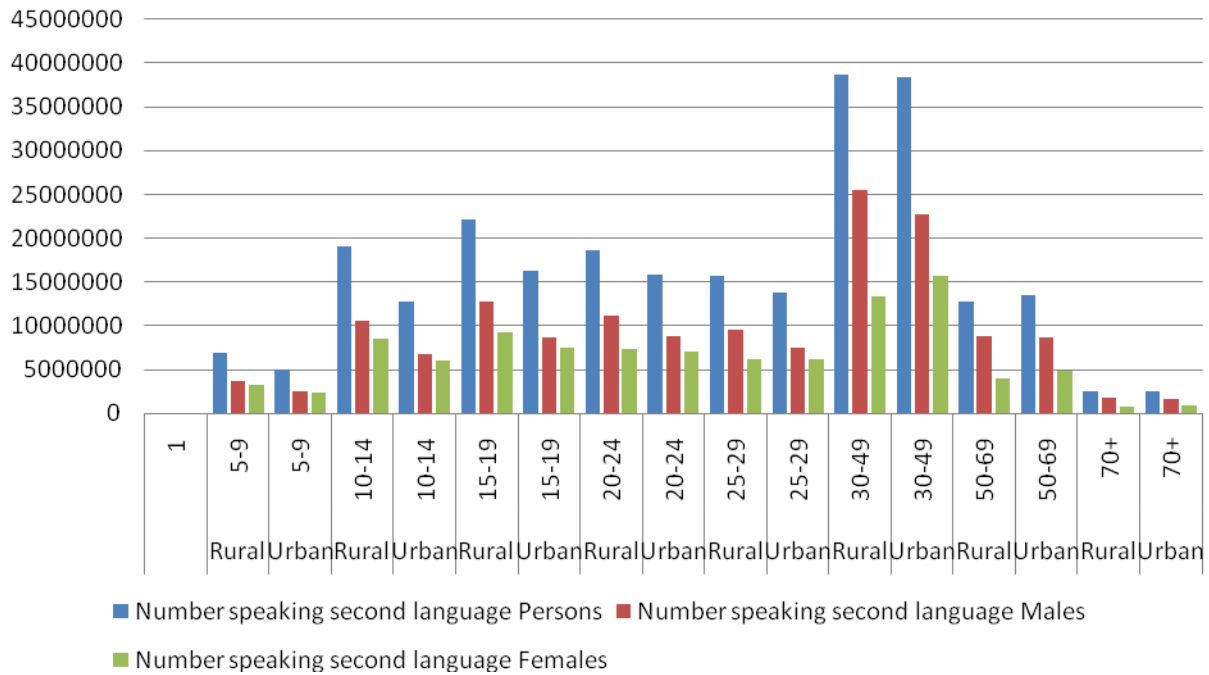
Rural, Urban, Age and Trilingualism

Legend:
- Number speaking third language Persons
- Number speaking third language Males
- Number speaking third language Females
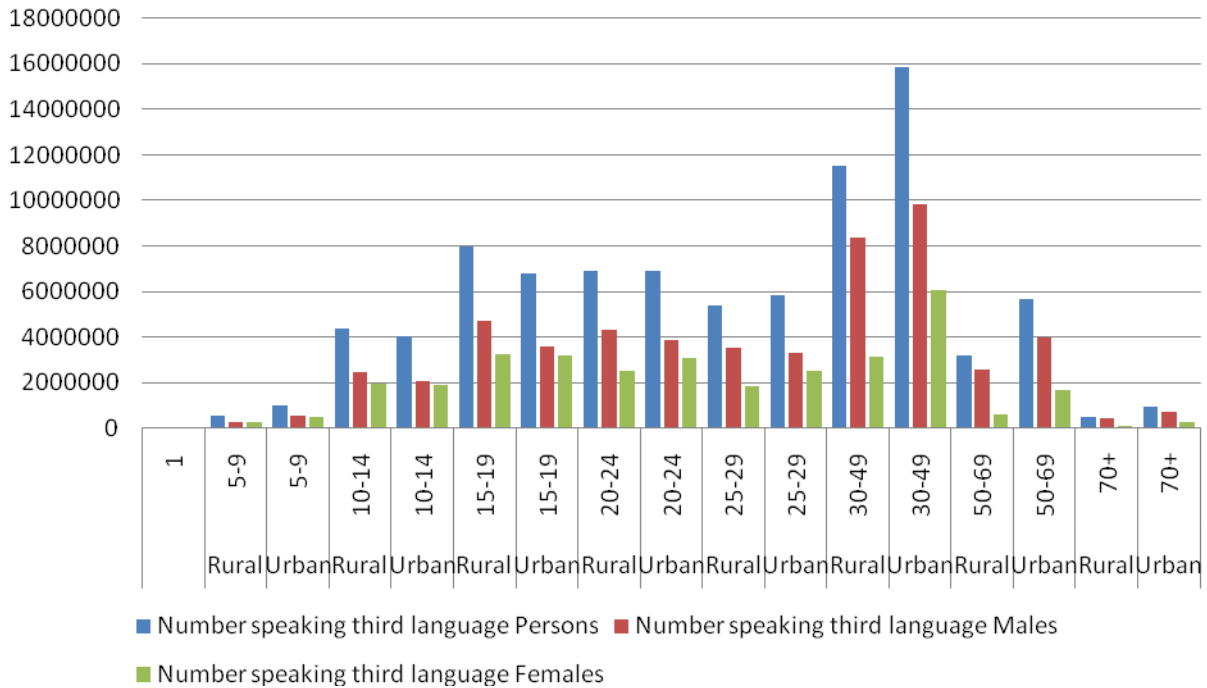
To Conclude

Indian multilingualism demands redefining what bilingualism is. Actual use of two or more languages should come to guide us in defining such concepts. Mere knowledge or temporary and tentative seeking to learn and speak additional languages may not really reveal the underlying currents in a nation. As for India, one notices a continuing effort to cover more aspects of language identity for more than a century. There is some dynamism in this sense in understanding and appreciating the processes of bilingualism in the country. There is certainly some significant growth in multilingual patterns in India since independence in 1947. Formal education, media entertainment extension, and growing population dispersal across the states continue to make the multilingual patterns more dynamic than ever.

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The Use of Catchy Words
A Case Study from Pakistan

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the use of catchy words in communication which do not have any standardized meaning. People who use such words associate multiple meanings with them. The most frequent users of these words are young, educated people. Such words grab the attention of the user as well as the audience.

Because of attractive nature the use of catchy words is increasing day by day. The youth prefers to use such words in place of old and worn; out expressions. The research was conducted on the college as well as university level students to find out the reasons of using such words. The results demonstrate that such words are mostly used by the youth who are Intermediate and Bachelors level students. Moreover, the use of such words varies with respect to gender, medium, qualification, the meaning associated with the words, status and the relationships of the people using these words.

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Introduction

The purpose of this research is to find out the causes of using certain words in communication which are catchy and do not have any standardized meaning. The rate of using such words is increasing to such an extent that soon they will be part of standard communication. Young people use these words while communicating with friends and peers.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language defines catchword or catchphrase (we call it catchy phrase in South Asia) as "A well-known word or phrase, especially one that exemplifies a notion, class, or quality." The examples given for this concept of catchword or catchphrase are rather different from the catchy phrases under discussion in this paper. In the coinage of catchy phrases in South Asia, reduplication plays a dominant role, as seen below.

These words are a mixture of Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, English and other languages. Such words have been devised by the people themselves in such a way that if one part of the word has certain meaning, the other part is mostly without any sense. The origins of such words are arbitrary and their meanings are arbitrary to such an extent that the people use them in different ways. One of the interesting aspects is that these words are mostly used by the educated people. Most of the times these words are used in such a way that it is hard for the target audience to get the meaning associated with them.

Research Questions

Major research questions are the following

1. How do people come to know such catchy words?

2. What kinds of meaning are commonly associated with such words?

3. How do gender, qualification and medium cause difference in the frequency of using catchy words?

4. Why do people use catchy words?

What are catchy words?

These are the words which grab the attention of the audience. They have attractive nature and most of the times create pleasant effect on listening.

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For example the word "pinky" is more attractive as compared to the word "pink". Such words are used in business, literature and many others fields to attract the people. When the use of such kind of words increases they can cause language change as most of them are borrowed or changed from the source word.

Methodology

Quantitative research methodology was used to find out the causes of using catchy words.

The population consisted of the students of ILM College, Lahore as well as the students of University of Management and Technology, Lahore. A random sample of 100 students was selected which consisted of male as well as female students studying at different levels including inter, graduate as well as post graduate level students.

Questionnaires were used to collect data from the students of college as well as the university. Questions were open ended as well as close ended.

The data was analyzed using SPSS.

Results and Discussion

Four questions needed to be investigated on the basis of available data.

Q. No. 1: How people come to know about such catchy words?

In order to investigate this question four parameters were considered. The purpose was to find out which medium has strongly inculcated these words in the minds of the people.

How did you come to know about these phrases?

	Percent
through movies	46.3
through friends and peers	41.5
through newspapers	7.3
any other resource	4.9

The major media are movies, friends, peers and newspapers. The results show that 46.3% role is that of movies. 41.5% role is that of friends and peers while 7.3% role is that of newspapers in conveying these words to the people.

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Q. No.2. What kinds of meaning are commonly associated with such words?

The results show that people associate different kinds of meanings with different words. There is rarely any established standard.

Words	Meaning associated with the words
Chill Pill	Take it easy, Relax, Feel good, Getting cool and calm, Don't worry
Chip chap	Dryness of anything, Something of sticky nature
Hang wang	Time passing, Roaming with friends, Say something without proper idea, Carry out, gathering with friends, Make guess, Going to restaurants
Tilly lilly	Used for someone sweet or innocent, Little bit, Small, Small girl, Silly person, Loser, Cartoon
Ting tang	Vibrating or oscillating, Holding something, Morning call, Juicy, Suspense
Fit fat	Used for smart and healthy person, Completely fine
Boogie woogie	To enjoy or have a party, To dance, Perfect, Funny songs/person
Tip top	Smart and having a sense to dress properly, Wonderful, Everything seems good, Enjoying, Having good health, Something superior
Ding dong	Ringing the bell, In a joyous mood, Chewing something, Funny situation
Lash pash	Modern fashionable and seductive dress, Shining, Elite, Attractive, Something valuable, To spread something, Luxury, Free, Good looking
Tik tak	Pack up, Alarming thing, Noisy, Crispy
Chiggy Wiggy	Dance, Being naughty, Messy
Pinky tinky	Wearing pink dress and pink shoes, Cute, A girl in pink dress, Lovely, Childish Girlish, pleasant
Chicky picky	Having fun, Abnormal, Fat boy, Girl friend, Fast food
Talk shawk	Idle chat on mobile phone for a long time, Having fun by gossiping

This table shows multiple meanings associated with single words. It means that these words do not have any standardized meaning that is why they create difficulty for the target reader or listener. They can get standardized only if they're used frequently and it will lead to lexical change

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Q. No.3. How gender, qualification and medium cause difference in the frequency of using catchy words?

Gender qualification and medium were considered as major variables that affect the frequency of using catchy words.

% of Total Sum

Gender of the repondent	Frequency of using the phrases
male	42.6%
female	57.4%
Total	100.0%

This table shows that the females are the most frequent users of such words as compared to males. The rate of using such words among females is higher that is 57.4% and is lower that is 42.65 % among the males.

% of Total Sum

Qualificaton of the respondent	Frequency of using the phrases
intermediate	37.6%
bachelors	42.6%
higher	19.8%
Total	100.0%

This table shows the frequency of using the words with respect to the qualification of the respondents. Intermediate as well as bachelors level students are the most frequent users of catchy words.

You use these phrases while communicating through?

	Percent
telephone	2.4
letters	14.6
face to face	39.0
sms	43.9

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Most of the respondents use these words while interacting through SMS that is 43.9%. Those who use them in face to face interaction are 39% while least number uses them while communicating through letters that is 14.65 % and through telephone that is 2.4%.

Q. No.4. Why people use catchy words?

Many factors were considered while finding out why people use these words.

Response of family members when you use these phrases

	Percent
they like them	26.8
they are angry sometimes	14.6
they do not show any response	53.7
They hate such phrases	4.9

It was important to find out the response of family members when the respondents used such words. 53.7% of the responses show that parents do not show any response.

Response of friends when you use these phrases

	Percent
they like them	68.3
they are angry sometimes	7.3
they do not show any response	22.0
They hate such phrases	2.4

Friends' response is quite important while using such words. 68.3% responses show that such words are liked by the friends. Only 7.3% responses show that such words create anger while 22% responses are neutral and only 2.45 responses show that these words are disliked.

You use these phrases bcoz they look modern

	Percent
yes	68.3
No	31.7

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It was supposed that the respondents may use these words as they may consider them modern. The modern look of these words cases people to use them as 68.7% responses go in favour of this statement.

High status people use these phrases

	Percent
yes	36.6
No	63.4

Another idea was about the status that may cause people to use these words. 63.4% respondents disagreed that status has any role in the use of these phases while only 36.65 respodents agreed with the statement.

These phrases look polite

	Percent
yes	43.9
No	56.1

Politeness may be a factor behind the use of these words. 56.1% respondents did not consider politeness as a cause to use such words while 43.9% respondents term politeness as a factor behind the use of such words.

These phrases show your friendly nature

	Percent
yes	82.9
No	17.1

It is observed that the people use such words when they are in friendly mood. 82.95 respondents agreed to the fact that such words show their friendly nature while only 17.1% disagreed to the statement.

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I tease others

	Percent
yes	51.2
No	48.8

Some of these words are used when people want to tease others. Hooters also use such words. No major difference was found in the responses of the participants regarding this factor. 51.2% have agreed to the statement while 48.85 have disagreed.

I use these phrases ironically

	Percent
yes	39.0
No	61.0

Sometimes these words are used ironically. 39% respondents told that used them ironically while only 61% disagreed to the statement.

I hesitate when I use these phrases

	Percent
yes	17.1
No	82.9

The nature of these words is such that they are composed of nonsensical items as well. So the respondents were expected to feel hesitation in the use of such words. 82.9% respondents did not feel any hesitation while only 17.1% respondents hesitated to use such words.

These phrases are modernty symbol

	Percent
yes	65.9
No	34.1

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As these words are catchy and modern so the people may use them as modernity symbol.65.9% respondents agreed to the statement while only 34.1% disagreed to it.

Conclusion

The people come to know about catchy words through movies, friends and newspapers. People associate multiple meanings and concepts with such words. There is a marked difference with respect to gender, qualification and medium in the use of these words. The people use these words because of their attractive and modern nature. Mostly these words are used with the friends and peers.

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Reference

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Conquering Psychological Alienation
How Amy Tan Looks at It

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The Concept of Object Relation

Sigmund Freud developed the concept 'Object Relation' to emphasise that bodily drives are satisfied through a medium, an object, on a specific locus. Melanie Klein elaborated on and extended Freud's original theory through her unique insights. Klein felt that the object that one connected to can be either part-objects or whole-objects.

Klein was an Austrian psychotherapist, who was an early pioneer in the use of psychoanlysis with children. The Kleins had moved to Budapest in 1910, and it was there that she first encountered the work of Sigmund Freud. That proved a turning point in her life and she dedicated herself to studying and practicing psychoanalysis. After the birth of her third child in 1914, she became especially interested in studying children.

Klein met Freud in person in 1917, and wrote her first paper entitled "The Development of a Child," in 1919. Klein however got into a conflict with Freud when she laid out her theory that fears and aggression were vital forces in the psychological development of a child. Freud believed that sexual force was the important factor that controlled the psyche. His daughter Anna Freud followed the footsteps of her father and

later concentrated on the psychoanalysis of children. The controversy led to a split between the Freudian and Kleinian groups of psychoanalysts.

Defining Life: An Anomaly Drawn Towards Inorganic State

Phyllis Grosskurth in his book, <u>Melanie Klein: Her world and her work</u> (1995) describes the ideologies that Klein developed. Klein centered her work on the hypothesis proposed by Sigmund Freud, namely that life is an anomaly—that it is drawn towards an inorganic state, and contains an instinct to die. In psychological terms, 'Eros', the sustaining and uniting principle of life, also referred to as libido, is postulated to have a counterpart, Thanatos, or the 'death instinct,' which seeks to terminate and disintegrate life.

Klein examined the aggressive fantasies of hate, envy, and greed in very young children and learnt that the human psyche oscillated between Eros and Thanatos. The psychological state corresponding to Thanatos, she called the 'paranoid-schizoid' position, and the psyche dominated by Eros she called the 'depressive' position.

Object Relations Theory

The 'Object Relations Theory' was developed by Sigmund Freud, W.R.D. Fairbairn, and Melanie Klein. This theory states that the self exists only in relation to other 'objects,' which may be external or internal. The internal objects refer to the internalised versions of external objects, formed basically from early interactions with parents. It meant that the child regarded the caregiver as the first object of desire and satisfied his or her needs through that object. According to the object relations theory, there are three fundamental mental representations between the self and the other: attachment, frustration, and rejection. These representations are universal emotional states, and are the major building blocks of personality.

The central thesis in Melanie Klein's Object Relations theory was that the objects can be either part-object or whole-object, i.e. a single organ (such as a mother's breast) or a whole person (the mother). Either the mother or just the mother's breast can be the locus of satisfaction for a drive. Depending on the nature of the relationship between child and caregiver, the child can develop various disturbances, such as an excessive preoccupation with certain body parts or preoccupation with parts versus a whole person. According to Klein's theory, a situation in which a child does not receive sufficient nurturing care increases the likelihood that the child will retreat into a make-believe world filled with imaginary objects, generated in an attempt to satisfy the need for real objects (New World Encyclopedia).

Infant-Parent Relationship

Research in developmental psychology has supported the thesis that the formation of the mental world is enabled by the infant-parent interpersonal interaction failing which the child in later life becomes paranoid-schizoid or depressive. This is also related to the Attachment theory, originating in the work of John Bowlby, that considers children to have a need for a secure relationship with adult caregivers, without which normal social and emotional development will not occur.

An extreme deficit in appropriate parenting can lead to a lack of attachment behaviours in a child and may result in the rare disorder known as 'reactive attachment disorder'. The difficulty faced by the affected children involves either indiscriminate and excessive attempts to receive comfort and affection from any available adult, or extreme reluctance to initiate or accept comfort and affection, even from familiar adults, especially when distressed. All this is usually set right through psychotherapy.

The Focus of This Study: Novels of Amy Tan in the Background of Object Relations Theory

This paper seeks to study the novels of Tan against the 'Object Relation theory', and the 'Attachment theory' and examine how the mothers in Tan's novels help set right the alienation experienced by the daughters. Tan proves that a strong mother can restore the estrangements experienced by the daughters and help to guide the daughters to the intensity that life offers. This article aims at studying the ability of women to deal with the psychological issues and find solutions within themselves or through the support of other women. The daughters are encouraged to return to their objects of love and this leads them to liberty and peace.

Tan's novels can be laid against this theory because her novels deal intensely with the mother daughter relationships. The daughters face psychological problems as they grow up and ironically it is the mother herself or a mother figure that sets her free in the end.

Amy Tan's Infancy

The Object Relations theory sets out three mental representations between the child and the object and this chapter will examine these problems in the characters as children and as young adults and the therapy that Tan offers, the formidable presence and guidance of the mothers, that saves and leads the daughters onto the path of self realisation and peace.

Tan had a difficult childhood and especially remembered the traumatic period of her life when she lost her brother and father to brain tumour, in a span of a year. The

family then began a haphazard journey through Europe, before settling in Montreux, Switzerland. She had another traumatic experience when one of her closest friends was murdered. This forced Tan to give up her doctoral program and she had to go into psychiatric therapy for being a workaholic in 1985. But this treatment did not work and she quit therapy after the psychiatrist fell asleep for the third time during the sessions. Later it was her mother Daisy who helped Tan regain her confidence and experience life abundantly.

When one relates the life of the author Tan to the Object Relation theory, it is evident that Tan's difficult infancy and childhood had hindered her from facing life as other normal children would have. Paul Gray in "The Joys and Sorrows of Amy Tan" shows how she had reacted on the day The Joy Luck Club was screened.

> My mother was there; she was proud. Everything should have been the formula for somebody being extremely happy. But I cried all day. I felt suicidal. I wanted to jump off the roof. And I said, 'This is not normal. Logically, this does not make sense. Why would I feel this way?'
> The answer, Tan learned, was depression. 'Whatever it is that causes it,' she says, "I think it's just always going to be there. Part of it is having had a suicidal mother and maybe the things that have happened in my life."
> She reluctantly began taking antidepressants: 'Like a lot of people, I had a resistance, thinking that emotional or mental problems are things that you can deal with other than through medication. I also didn't want anything to affect me mentally. But what a difference! And I thought, 'Boy, what a different childhood I might have had had my mother taken antidepressants'. (72)

Children in Amy Tan's Novels

Children, as portrayed by Tan in her novels, are made weak or strong by the impressions created in the early years of their life and these make a definite mark on their character and are difficult to change. In Tan's novel The Joy Luck Club there are two daughters who display attachment, frustration and rejection and the other two who are filled with fear and remain unsure in life. The young girls are revealed to the readers not when they are babies but as young girls who rebel against the mother and her ideologies. These are children born in America of Chinese parents who have migrated in the recent past. Jing mei Woo began her narration speaking of her mother Suyuan, who believed that one could be anything one wanted to be in America and Suyuan was obsessed with the hope that her daughter would become a prodigy.

At first she wanted Jing to become the Chinese Shirley Temple. Later she wished she would be like other remarkable children who knew the capitals of all the countries, or

were good in mathematics or had exemplary memory. Jing was as excited as her mother in the beginning but soon she got disappointed and wanted to rebel against her. She thought "I won't let her change me, I promised myself. I won't be what I'm not"(JLC134). Suyuan Woo however showed no signs of giving up.

Once she saw a nine year old Chinese girl playing the piano on 'The Ed Sullivan Show' and in a couple of days her mother had traded house cleaning services for her classes with Mr.Chong, a retired piano teacher. Jing Mei tried fighting but to no avail. Suyuan Woo arranged for Jing to participate in a talent show held in the church hall. All the other friends of Suyuan Woo were there and Jing put up an awful show and this devastated her mother. Jing waited for her to get angry and blame her, but she simply wore "a quite, blank look that said she had lost everything" (JLC 140). But she would not give up even then. She wanted Jing to practise as usual but Jing strongly opposed the idea. She knew how to weaken her mother and used the right strategy. She said that she hoped she had been dead like the babies her mother had lost in China. It was then that her mother was weakened, "…her face went blank, her mouth closed, her arms went slack and she backed out of the room, stunned, as if she were blowing away like a small brown leaf, thin, brittle, lifeless"(JLC142). Jing mei decided not to follow her mother's decrees.

Detachment from Mother – The Difficult Process of Alienation

Jing had detached herself from her mother and felt she could grow up independently. Her mother had the American dream in her and she wished that her daughter would become the best, but when the mother compelled her into this, Jing moved away and alienated herself from her mother just as the Object Relation theory suggests there is at first attachment and then frustration. This led her into the next step of rejecting her mother and fending for herself. Melanie Klein has through her work proved how such children face difficulties in their lives in the future and Jing Mei also had difficulty, in her work and in her relationships.

Jing Mei Woo grew up and was given the piano on her thirtieth birthday. It was only then that she tried playing the song she had played at the concert many years ago. The piece was called 'Pleading Child' and she could play it with ease. She discovered that there was a lighter melody on the facing page which was titled 'Perfectly Contented'. She realised that they were the two halves of the same song.

It was only later after her mother had died that she really got to know her mother, from her mother's friends, from her father and from the relationships she had maintained. She embarked on a tour to China, confident that she could meet her sisters and tell them all about the mother whom they did not have the privilege of being with.

Jing had dreaded going to China, as she thought she would only lose herself there, but she could fully understand and recognise herself only in China. She recognised that her mother had loved her a lot especially as she learnt more of the Chinese language and the significance of her name. Her mother had found her valuable and credited her much above the other children of the members of the Joy Luck Club though she did not explicitly mention it. The love of her mother led her to a personal understanding and made her feel whole again.

The Story of Waverly Jong

Waverly Jong was just six when her mother taught her the art of invisible strength. She told her "wise guy, he not go against wind"(JLC 89). Waverly remembered how her mother had taught them daily truths so that the children could rise above their circumstances.

One Christmas, Vincent, her brother received a chess set from the missionary ladies. Waverly often watched her brothers playing and soon learnt all the rules of the game. She met a man called Lau Po, and when he saw her interest in chess, taught her new secrets and chess etiquette. Waverly was soon ready to play her first local tournament. Her mother gave her a small tablet of red jade for good fortune. She won the tournament and many victories followed. She became the national chess champion when she was nine. She was given a lot of concessions at home to enable her to practise more.

She was, however, never excused from accompanying her mother to market on Saturdays. Her mother loved to tell anyone who looked her way, that this was her daughter Waverly Jong. Waverly was irritated by this and she retaliated, telling her that she was embarrassed by the way she spoke of her. She also told her that if she wanted to show off she could learn how to play chess herself. She shouted thus and ran away and returned home late that night.

Her mother did not speak to her; she acted as if she had become invisible. Waverly did not want to appear weak so she ignored her. She thought she could stop playing chess. She tried gaining a reaction from her mother by watching television instead of practicing and she decided to sacrifice a tournament. The tournament was over but nobody bothered. "I realized my mother knew more tricks than I had thought"(JLC 171).

Waverly thought that she would make the first move and pretend that her mother had won. She told her mother that she would start playing again, but her mother would not hear of it, she told her that she could not quit and then start playing as and when she liked. Waverly was very upset but she soon won back her mother. She developed a fever and her mother forgot all differences and cared for her tenderly. But after that, she sensed

that her mother had changed. "It was as if she had erected an invisible wall and I was secretly groping each day to see how high and how wide it was" (<u>JLC</u>172). Waverly lost her talent in chess and what she had gained was an alienation from her mother.

Waverly Jong eloped and married Marvin Chen when she was eighteen. She had admired him because she felt he was nearly perfect. But her mother felt otherwise and by the time she had her say about Marvin, Waverly's feelings for him, "went from disappointment to contempt to apathetic boredom" (<u>JLC</u>174). She later felt that it was her mother who had poisoned her marriage. She was therefore determined never to let it happen again. When she fell in love with Rich Schields, she was frightened of her mother and tried her best to save herself and to protect Rich. She could never bring herself to tell her mother directly that she loved him and that she wanted to marry him. She however made up her mind and went to her mother who was fast asleep and for a moment Waverly thought that her mother was dead and grew terrified. Her mother woke up and pacified her and told her that she had known all along that her daughter wanted to marry Rich and that she was also happy at the proposal, but did not know how to explicitly tell her.

Waverly was very happy and it was a very significant moment when her mother also told her of her rich ancestry and heritage. Her mother had restored in her, faith and strength. She blessed her daughter with a strong character that would help her face life boldly. Earlier the attachment had moved to frustration on the part of Waverly who felt that her mother should not be allowed to gloat over her success. When Waverly rejected her mother, she embarked on problems, but she was saved from the difficulties of the future because her mother had not rejected her.

The Story of Rose Hsu – The Basic Attachment

Rose Hsu Jordan as a child admired her mother An-mei Hsu and was very amiable. This is the basic attachment that the "Object Relation Theory" speaks of and it is only when this is disturbed problems do begin and trouble the lives of those involved. As a child she listened to the stories that her mother told her. She told her that it was important that she listened to her because her mother warned her "…my ear would bend too easily to other people, all saying words that had no lasting meaning, because they came from the bottom of their hearts, where their own desires lived, a place where I could not belong" (<u>JLC</u> 185). All the advice and strict conditions however pushed Rose into frustration. She liked the free society that she saw abroad and rejected her mother and her small world.

Klein had rightly laid out her theory that, when there is a break in the object that one relates to in childhood, the individual will have relational problems or become paranoid schizoid. This is seen in the later years of the character Rose. She had fallen in

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love with Ted who was a medical student. Ted's parents were not for the marriage as she was considered a hindrance to his future. Rose's mother also did not want her to marry a foreigner. But it was these problems that brought them closer and they were married. Ted always obtained her opinions on various issues and she revealed her views but it always ended with Ted deciding what he had wanted, and so after a while she just let him decide all matters. He soon mistook it for indifference and was angry because he felt that she was taking no responsibility in any matter.

In Adversity

The problem started in a grave manner after adversity struck his profession. Ted had performed a cosmetic surgery on a lady and it was not successful and he was sued. This troubled him and any provocation from the part of Rose met with a strong vent of anger. Ted soon issued her papers for their divorce. Rose underwent therapy and told the psychiatrist her terrible thoughts of revenge; she told him how she wanted to fix him at a famous restaurant with a voodoo doll. But the psychiatrist appeared bored and disinterested. Rose later told her friends different stories:

> To my friend Waverly, I said I never knew how much I loved Ted until I saw how much he could hurt me. I felt such pain, literally a physical pain, as if someone had torn off both my arms without anesthesia, without sewing me back up…
>
> To my friend Lena, I said I was better off without Ted. After the initial shock, I realized I didn't miss him at all. I just missed the way I felt when I was with him.(JLC189)

The friends and the psychiatrist could not help her much, it was she who had to take a stand and fight her marriage. She tried taking a few sleeping pills but it did not work. Later it was her mother who gave her the necessary strength she needed. She had been the one who had fought the marriage in the beginning, but now she wanted her daughter to fight for it. She told her to stand up and speak for herself, Rose realised that it was time she spoke for herself and told Ted that she would neither move out nor sign the papers as he had wanted. She decided to fight, more for herself than for her marriage or the relationship. In this case too, it was not psychiatric intervention that helped but the object that she was reconnected to, or the mother who helped her face her problems, fight for her marriage and win what she wanted.

Growing Up in an Atmosphere of Fear

In Tan's The Kitchen God's Wife the American born daughter grew up in an atmosphere of fear. Pearl grew up in a home where her mother Winnie seemed to have all

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the answers. It was on the day of the funeral of her father that Pearl's frustration with her mother turned to rejection. She could not bring herself to mourn and her mother had dealt badly with her for this, and Pearl just walked away from the funeral. The mother-daughter relationship did not completely die down, they just tolerated each other. Pearl, as a young woman had to battle with a crippling disease and not with a bad marriage. Weili her mother felt happy when she heard that her daughter Pearl was marrying a doctor, but when she came to know that Phil was a pathologist she became furious. Pearl and Phil however, led a happy life with their daughters, Tessa and Cleo.

After the birth of her first daughter Pearl was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis and Pearl had not told her mother about the disease. Her friend Mary who knew this had revealed this to her mother Helen who happened to be the friend of Pearl's mother. So Pearl was always worried if her mother would come to know the truth. Pearl meant to tell her mother but every time she began, her mother had some other more important story to tell her. Pearl shut herself off when she most needed her mother. She felt it right to stay alienated and rejected any approach on the part of the mother.

Setting Right the Alienation

This alienation was set right when Pearl's mother lent her hand of love and succour. It was a time of reminiscence when Winnie revealed the truth of her past, thereby revealing to Pearl her true identity. Pearl learnt that she was the daughter of the cruel Wen Fu and together they had blamed him for every bad thing that had occurred in thier lives. She told her mother about the sickness and her mother's reaction was absolutely different from what she had ever expected:

> I had imagined all this, and I was wrong. It was worse. She was the furies unbound…
>
> I was going to protest, to tell her that she was working herself to a frenzy for nothing. But all of a sudden I realized: I didn't want her to stop. I was relieved in a strange way. Or perhaps relief was not the feeling. Because the pain was still there. She was tearing it away-my protective shell, my anger, my deepest fears, my despair. She was putting all this into her own heart, so that I could finally see what was left. Hope. (KGW 401-2)

Attachment Theory versus Object Relations Theory

Attachment theorists, agree with the Object Relation theorists and emphasise the need for children to have a secure relationship with adult caregivers without which normal social and emotional development will not be possible. It is a crucial ingredient for the right development and when there is a separation from the object, life turns

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difficult and it is when the characters are able to relate back to the object that they understand the fullness of life. But the matriarchs did not count the break in the relationship as a hindrance, they were able to rescue their daughters from despair and give them a new lease of life. The renewed relationship brought healing and peace in the lives of both the mother and the daughter.

Consequence of Early Disappointment, Fear and Loneliness

Olivia, the American born daughter in Tan's Hundred Secret Senses, was forlorn and lacked the love of the mother and she did not like a replacement in the form of a sister and so Olivia grew up as a lonely child. Her mother never seemed to have time for her and even as a child, she felt the wounds of great disappointment, fear and loneliness was what Olivia grew up with. But from the beginning there was her half sister, Kwan, who took on the role of her mother. She cared for the children, packed their lunches, braided Olivia's hair and looked after them when they were at risk. Olivia was however embarrassed to be with her because she asked dumb questions and all the other children made fun of her. Through the years Olivia felt:

> She's like an orphan cat, kneading on my heart. She's been this way all my life, peeling me oranges, buying me candy, admiring my report cards and telling me how smart I was, smarter than she could ever be. Yet I've done nothing to endear myself to her. As a child, I often refused to play with her. Over the years, I've yelled at her, told her she embarrassed me. I can't remember how many times I've lied to get out of seeing her.

> Mean while, she has *always* interpreted my out bursts as helpful advice, my feeble excuses as good intentions, my pallid gestures of affection as loyal sisterhood. And when I can't bear it any longer, I lash out and tell her she's crazy. Before I can retract the sharp words, she pats my arm, smiles and laughs. And the wound she bears heals itself instantly. Whereas I feel guilty forever.(HSS 23)

Seeking Help

Olivia had lost the object of love that she had, her mother, and she unknowingly connected to Kwan, though she was not ready to accept her completely. Kwan helped her in every way rendering physical help like doing her dishes, washing her clothes, and stocking her refrigerator with food. The psychological help she rendered was invaluable, she was always there to listen whenever Olivia wanted her and it was Kwan who helped her with the major decisions in life. But Olivia always kept Kwan at a distance and never allowed her to come into her life. She was frustrated with her mother and then in turn she did not want to accept the love offered by Kwan.

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The power that Kwan possessed, the <u>yin</u> eyes, was able to draw Olivia closer to her at times. Kwan seemed to have led Olivia in the previous life and was ever willing to help her in the present and unite her to her true love, which she believed was the fulfillment of a vow she had earlier made. Olivia, though at times detested the aid rendered was grateful for the guidance of her sister. It was because of the persistence of Kwan, that Olivia embarked on a journey to China along with her husband Simon, although the couple was on the verge of divorce.

Sense of Guilt

Olivia had fallen in love with Simon when they studied at college together. She had learnt that Simon had loved Elsie Marie Vandervort and that he carried the guilt of her death. Olivia in order to please him began their relationship by often referring to her and living according to how Elza might have wanted to. Soon, however, she grew tired of this charade and it was then that Olivia sought the help of her sister Kwan who had the power of conversing with the <u>yin</u> people and they arranged for a meeting of Simon with Elza, when Kwan translated that Elza assured him that he was at no fault and that she wanted him to lead a normal life without her memory intruding into it always.

This helped Olivia and Simon get on together but Olivia felt that their relationship was very fragile and that she still lived in the shadow of the ghost Elza and so she wished to end the same. She was intimidated when she saw that Simon still had her memory as an integral part and that he had started writing a memoir of Elza. Olivia felt that her life had become routine and offered no sense of companionship that she hoped for. She tried to work out an answer by talking to Simon and he too had made an effort but it was not enough.

Mother's Help

Like the other mothers Tan creates, Kwan worked hard to help Olivia with her life. When there was an opportunity for the couple to travel to China, she helped them decide to take the trip. She was the one who accompanied them to China and helped Olivia recall and relive the past with her. It was in a sense Kwan who sacrificed her life to unite Olivia and Simon. She helped them with a renewed commitment and Olivia believed it was Kwan who after her death blessed them with a daughter in spite of the fact that the doctors had declared that Simon was sterile.

After Kwan went missing in the caves the couple was blessed with a daughter and Olivia believed that it was Kwan who had returned in the form of a daughter. Kwan had led Olivia into a new life of love and happiness. Object Relation Theory states that when there is a break in the attachment in the object created by a child, the child does not grow

well and there are problems faced by the child in life and relationships, but this had been bridged quickly by Kwan who came into the life of Olivia, but it was only when Olivia was able to accept her, that there was a bonding and a healing, that led to a setting right of relationships.

Mothers and Daughters

Tan's next novel The Bonesetter's Daughter is a saga of the lives of the mothers and daughters. Ruth, the American born daughter of LuLing grew up listening to the frightening tales of the curses and the past. She tried to stop her mother from telling her all this. But LuLing took complete control of her daughter and seemed to correct and criticise her at every juncture publicly. The place made no difference to the Chinese mother, the culture and heritage had to be protected. Ruth, who had been born and brought up in America, felt otherwise. She could not accept the hard and disciplined life meted out to her especially because she saw the different life style of the people around. As she grew up she felt it necessary to defy her mother and adamantly refused to give in to all her rules.

As she grew older, Ruth moved in with Art after his first marriage with Miriam had broken down. Art's parents considered Ruth to be the prime reason for the separation of the couple and they still admired Miriam and made no secret of it. The children of Art also loved their father and grandparents and preferred them to Ruth although she did her best for them. Art and Ruth had never married and at times Ruth felt that her life was not alright. She felt that Art was taking her for granted and the children never tried to even show her that they loved her. She felt that she needed some space and time to herself. As a child she had been frustrated with her mother and rejected her completely. As she grew into a young woman she wished to reconnect with her mother but she felt that it was too late as her mother had been diagnosed with dementia.

The mother, LuLing, wanted to share her life with her daughter and establish an understanding and so she had written down the details of her life before she became a prey to mental degradation and Ruth had an opportunity to look into the life of her mother. She understood that she had been a strong person who had had to bear the brunt of life in the form of a terrifying childhood in a home where no one loved her, and then at an orphanage where she found true love for a brief time. After the death of her husband, she had to leave the orphanage and live in the city waiting for a chance to migrate into the United States. LuLing the mother tried to give Ruth the best in America, though always tempered with the rich tradition and culture of China. Although she suffered from dementia in her later life she saved her and rendered strength to her through the chronicle of her life that she had given her. She had been good at calligraphy and the art of writing and she used this to connect to her daughter and bring her into a new understanding of life by which she would get a fuller and a happier life.

Connecting – Failure of Psychotherapy

Melanie Klein and John Bowlby in their theories have spoken of the object that the child connects to in the very early stages of life. The novels of Tan reveal the daughters who were born in American, and were all frustrated with the mother who they felt dominated and cast a shadow over their life. They were unable to face life victoriously and all had problems in their relationships and a few of them also opted for therapy.

But psychotherapy did not help, they are disillusioned by it and they were forced to return to their source and origin of strength that they had thrown away – the mother figure.

The mother in turn held no grudge; she was ever present and willing to lead the daughter in the path of truth and hope. The mother was the only therapy that offered solace and enduring contentment in life. The mothers helped the daughters who had almost all become mothers themselves, to see the genuine feeling that she had for her, which she claimed was twenty four carat pure, that would not even deter them from dying for the sake of the welfare of the child. The novels of Tan highlight this great relationship.

Learning to Save Oneself in Foreign Cultures

These are the lives of the American born daughters and their mothers. Tan is able to portray this great relationship of mother-daughter in the lives of the mothers who had migrated to America. Tan has detailed a few of their lives in detail, and this can be considered in the light of the object relation theory but here the women learn to save themselves. They are very strong, they have been bequeathed this strength by their mothers who lived and died, setting examples for them.

As young children in China they had a very close relationship with the mother but this was not for long. Lindo had a happy childhood with her parents but she had to leave for her husband's house when she was just twelve and then endured physical and mental torture, but she was able to escape this life and sought a new life in America. An-mei Hsu grew up in her uncle's house listening to the bad tales of her mother but she soon learnt that her mother was innocent. An-mei saw her mother giving up her life for the sake of her daughter and this endowed her with strength to meet life. Ying Ying was also blessed with a good mother who taught her values of life when she was very young and this enabled her to fight the bad marriage she went into and look forward to the new life in America.

Winnie in <u>The Kitchen God's Wife</u> had a mother who escaped a bad marriage and was believed to have joined the communists. Winnie was endowed with the same fighting spirit and she received indirect help from the communists that helped her escape her bad marriage. In <u>The Bonesetter's Daughter,</u> Precious Auntie had helped LuLing escape a bad marriage by giving up her life and this helped her find true love and she also learnt to face life in spite of the odds in life.

<u>Saving Fish from Drowning</u> is a novel where Tan has set a new theme and pattern but even there one can trace her first concern. Tan wrote this novel immediately after the death of her mother and she felt that she would not be there to tell her story. Tan says in an interview with Lisa Allerdice in "Voices from Beyond that Speaks Volumes", in The Sydney Morning Herald "When my mother died, I did think that maybe I wouldn't be writing about her any more. But then I heard her say, 'Well, I can still tell the story! I don't have to be your mother in it.' And I thought, OK, you can tell the story, you can be the narrator. So I made the narrator dead just like my mother was dead. I took her voice, and by voice I don't mean her broken English, but the way she looked at the world" (Feb 7,2006). Bibi Chen the narrator of the novel had lost her mother when she was a baby and she carried the mark of this loss for life. Her father's first wife was the one who brought her up. She was called Sweet Ma by the children, Bibi and the brothers, though they detested her. "Whatever emotional deficits I had, they were due to her. My excesses, as I have already said, were from my mother"(<u>SFFD</u>19). Sweet Ma told her how she would have been Bibi's father's only wife but for the fact that she was barren and she always insisted that it was she who forced her husband to take another wife. She told Bibi how her mother had been barely sixteen when she married him "as his breeding concubine"(<u>SFFD</u> 20). Sweet Ma said "…he said I was wife enough. But I insisted that a stallion must have mares, and mares produce broods, so he mustn't be a mule"(<u>SFFD</u> 24).

Sweet Ma used to berate Bibi's mother and threatened to let the rats chew up the children if they grew up like her. She felt that Bibi's mother had been brought up very badly and she did not know how to behave. Bibi lost her father and had to care for her difficult step mother. The influence of the stepmother had put her in a shadow but she emerged when she discovered her passion for art. Bibi put her in a home and cared for her in a respectable manner. She thought that she would not live long but Bibi realised that this was not to be and it was she who had to leave the portals of this world first. At the end of the novel Bibi remembered the last minutes of her life. It had been a very lucky day when she received a few relics of her mother, which her sister was able to get from the daughter of a man who had stolen it from their family. She was enamoured by a comb. "I rubbed my mother's haircomb against my cheek and pressed it near my heart. I rocked it as one might a baby. For the first time, I felt the emptiness of her loss replaced with the fullness of her love. I was about to burst with joy"(<u>SFFD</u> 472). And in the intensity of this joy she fell off a stool and died.

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The Mothers of Tan's Novels

The mothers of Tan are capable of pulling their daughters away from the mire that they were entrapped in. The daughters though they failed to realise this, were nevertheless saved by their mothers who considered it their prime duty to steer their daughters into the right track and empower them with the rich mental stamina that they had brought down through the ages. The daughters were able to trace back to their objects of love that they had as infants and lead life efficiently with this new found source of love and confidence. The Joy Luck Club ends with Jing's reunion with her two sisters, which had been the ultimate dream of the founder of the club, Suyuan Woo. And when they met all differences disappeared and they conquered the psychological estrangement. "I know we all see it: Together we look like our mother. Her same eyes, her same mouth, open in surprise to see at last, her long cherished wish"(JLC 288).

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Ị̀gbò Verbs of Communication

Maduabuchi Agbo

Abstract

This paper investigates the characteristics of Igbo verbs of communication. The study identifies seven sub-classes of Igbo verbs of communication. These classes can be grouped into two broad categories of verbs, that is, those used communicatively and those used non-communicatively. The verbs used communicatively are the Igbo verbs of communication par excellence. The verbs of communication in relation to Igbo vocabulary as a whole fall into the two major classes of Bound Complement Verbs and Inherent Complement Verbs (Nwachukwu, 1984; Emenanjo, 2005). This study establishes Igbo verbs of communication as a semantically coherent class with all the members sharing the meaning of the exchange of information. The study hopes to stimulate interest in this area of Igbo vocabulary.

Key words: Igbo verbs, lexical knowledge, communication, information

1.0 Introduction

Igbo is a major language in Nigeria with about 25 million people speaking it as a first language. The Igbo people are famous for undertaking trading adventures across the West African sub-region and this is why the language is spoken in large markets across the region (Emenanjo, 1998:43).

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Igbo is a tone language with three basic tones viz High, Low and the phenomenon of downstep. The tone pattern of each lexical is provided to underscore the importance of tone. High tone is indicated by a raised accent thus / ´ /. Low tone is indicated by a grave accent / ` /, while the phenomenon of downstep is indicated by a raised macron thus / ¯ /.

The language is classified as a Niger-Congo language, which belongs to the new Benue-Congo sub-branch of languages (Bendor-Samuel, 1989) or the West Benue-Congo (Williamson & Blench, 2000). The language consists of many dialects which are mutually intelligible. The current trend in Igbo linguistics is to classify Igbo dialects based on the common features associated with the States of origin of these dialects. Hence, there exists the Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo and Rivers dialects. This classification is deemed to be more realistic and practical because "Igbo people today associate speakers of Igbo dialects with features common to their states" (Igboanusi & Peter, 2005:60).

The verbs of focus in this study include those verbs that denote how ideas are shared and/or transferred in human communication. For the Igbo language, a study of the syntactic and semantic properties of any class of its verbs can stand as a study of the language (Uwalaka, 1988; 1983). Emenanjo (2005) claims that the Igbo verb is the only source for the derivation of new words in the language. This contrasts with English where the nouns and verbs can be used to derive other words. Nwachukwu (1984) describes Igbo as a verb-language. The reason is that Igbo prepositions and Noun Phrases are 'verb-forms' unlike in English and other Indo-European languages where they appear as semantically empty 'function words'.

The examples in this paper were taken mostly from the daily utterances by speakers of the Anambra and Enugu dialects of Igbo. The examples were tested for grammaticality by five native speakers of these dialects. The author is also a native speaker. The transcriptions follow standard Igbo orthography. The abbreviations are: TNS 'tense', IND 'indicative', PROG 'progressive', AGR 'agreement' 3SG 'third-person singular pronoun' 3PL 'third-person plural pronoun' BEN 'benefactive'

Levin (1983) makes the assertion that 'the characteristic of lexical knowledge is easily illustrated with respect to verbs.' This assertion aligns with the claims by Emenanjo (2005; 1984) and Uwalaka (1988; 1983). The centrality of the verb in any language study is incontestable. The basic clause of any language contains a verb with other grammatical categories subservient to the verb's dominance of the structure of the clause. For Igbo, the knowledge of the meaning of a verb determines its syntactic properties. However, the knowledge of the verb by the Igbo speaker goes beyond its meaning to the possible array of words that can be derived from the verb, since the verb is the only source for the derivation of new words. In other words, the lexical knowledge of the Igbo speaker includes the meaning of the individual verb, the syntactic properties that are derived from

the verb meaning and the relationship between verb meaning and morphosyntactic properties.

This study aims to investigate the aspects of the semantics of Igbo verbs of communication in terms of their position within the structure of Igbo vocabulary. Our hope is that this study may draw attention to the semantic interest of this area of the vocabulary in different languages.

The verbs of communication in Igbo identified for this study is a semantically coherent class with all the members sharing the meaning of the transferring ideas from an addresser to an addressee. The choice of this class of verbs for study is because of the role human language plays in communication and conceptualization and, also, its role in relation to the acquisition of knowledge and culture.

1.1 Methods of data collection

The methods of data collection include introspection as a native speaker, elicitation of data from ten native speakers of Igbo and consulting two linguistically adequate and prominent Igbo dictionaries. Williamson (1972) Igbo dictionary, with over 5000 entries from the Onisha dialect, has been very useful in identifying the Igbo verbs of communication for study. Echeruo (1998) Igbo dictionary has also been helpful. The verbs were isolated and our native speaker informants were asked to use them in basic sentences. These sentences were recorded, transcribed and edited to suit the aim of the study. Some data were derived from a number of Igbo literature texts.

2.0 Verbs of communication in Igbo

In the data available to us, the Igbo verbs of communication have eight sub-classes. These include: *the verbs of the transfer of a message; verbs of speaking*; *chatter verbs*; *complain verbs*; *advise verbs*; *verbs of manner of speaking;oath-taking verbs*; and *consulting verbs*. Section 2 below illustrates the examples of these verbs and their alternations.

2.1 Verbs of the transfer of a message

These verbs show the relay of information or messages from the addresser to a known addressee or to an addressee that is absent at the time of the utterance. The verbs also show the relay of a message from one individual to the general public. The examples of these verbs include:

1.

a. ibú ámúmā   'to prophesy'

b. íjú èsè 'to inquire after someone's health'

c. íjú ọ̀hà 'to inquire after someone's family welfare'

d. ímá ókwà 'to give public notice; to announce'

e. íkpó ḿkpṹ 'to cry out in horror'

f. ígbá àmà 'to leak a secret'

These verbs fall under the class of verbs identified as Inherent Complement Verbs (Nwachukwu, 1984). The transfer of the message usually involves a declarative statement by the addresser to the addressee. It could be done by the use of voice (cf 2, a, b,d, f and j) below or non-voice (cf 2g and i) below. There is no specific manner depicted by the addresser in the transfer of the message but the type of communicated information is usually a message from the addresser to the addressee. The number of participants in the event may be two or more. All the verbs in this subclass are used only in the context of communication. Since communication involves the acquisition of information, these verbs denote the change of possession of information from the addresser to the addressee.

The examples in (2) below show the use of these verbs in sentence constructions.

2.1.1 Sentence constructions involving verbs of the transfer of a message

2.

a. À̀dá   bù-rù   ámúmā
   Ada   carry-IND   prophecy
   'Ada prophesied'

b. À̀dá   bù-ù-rù   Ọ̀bí   ámúmā
   Ada   carry-BEN-IND   Obi   prophesy
   'Ada prophesied for Obi'

c. À̀dá   jù-rù   èsè   Ọ̀bí
   Ada   ask-TNS wellbeing Obi
   'Ada asked after Obi'

d. À̀dá jù-rù   Ọ̀bí èsè
   Ada ask-TNS Obi wellbeing

'Ada asked Obi about his wellbeing'

e. Àdá jù-rù   Ọ̀bí   ọ̀hà
   Ada ask-TNS Obi   household
   'Ada asked after Obi's family'

f. Ńdí ìchíé   kù-rù   mmúó
   Q   elders   call-IND spirit
    'The elders invited the ancestors'

g. Ọ̀bí mà-rà   ọ́kwà
    Obi throw-IND announce
     'Obi has given a public notice'

h. Àdá kpọ̀-rọ̀   ḿkpú
   Ada call-TNS   shout
   'Ada shouted in horror to call for help'

i. Àdá gbà-rà àmà
   Ada V   secret
  'Ada leaked the secret'

j. Àdá gbà-à-rà   Ọ̀bí   àmà
   Ada V-BEN-IND   Obi betrayal
    'Ada leaked the secret to Obi'

2.2 Verbs of communication of propositional attitudes

Verbs of communication of propositional attitudes in Igbo occur in utterances where one makes a claim, in speech, that may be true or false or even a guess. The following are verbs of communication of propositional attitudes.

3.
a. ígbá ákā ébé   'to give evidence'
b. íkà àkà   'to guess
c. ígọ́ ágọ̄   'to deny'
d. ísà n'ọ́nū   'to confess'
e. ísị́ àsị̀   'to lie'

These verbs belong to the class of verbs identified as Bound Cognate Verbs (Emenanjo, 1978; 2005). The mode of communication depicted by these verbs is done by the use of

voice only. The utterances with these verbs usually carry an imperative force. The verbs can be used non-communicatively as shown in sentence (4a) and communicatively (cf. 4b-f). There is no specific manner in which these verbs are used in communication but the type of communicated information includes statement of reality from the perspective of the addresser. There is a change of possession of information in (4a, b and d) but none in sentences (4c and e). There seems to be only one participant (the addresser) in the events denoted by the verbs. The specific manner of communication is emphatic.

2.2.1 Sentence constructions involving the verbs of the communication of propositional attitudes

4.

a. Áyòg ù gbà-a-rà   Ézè áká   ébē
   Ayogu V-BEN-IND   Eze hand   evidence
   'Ayogu has given evidence in support of Eze'

b. Ézè kà-rà   à-kà   íhé   Áyòg ù gà-è-mé
   Eze say-IND AGR-say thing Ayogu FUT-AGR-do
   'Eze guessed what Ayogu will do'

c. Ó   gọ̀-rọ̀   ya
   3SG   deny-IND 3SG (obj)
   'S/he has denied it'

d. Há   sà-rà   n'ọ́nū
   3PL spread-IND in mouth
   'They have confessed'

e. Ọ́   sì-rì   àsí
   3SG say-IND   lie
   'S/he lied'

2.3 Verbs of social interaction

The verbs of social interaction encode activities where there is a steady flow of informal conversation between two or more interlocutors. The conversation usually takes place in The examples in our data include:

4.

a. íkpá nkàtà   'to chitchat'

b. íkọ̀ akụ́kọ́   'to tell story'

c. ímā njàkìrì   'to throw banters'

d. ígbághá   'to argue'

e. íhọ̀ íhọ̀   'to tell fables; folktales'

These verbs fall under the class of Inherent Complement Verbs. The mode of communication is by the use of voice only and there is no specific manner of communication since the atmosphere is informal. However, the verbs are always used communicatively. It seems the verbs can take one participant (addresser) as shown in examples (b, c, e, f and g) or two participants (addresser and addressee) as shown in (5a, d and h). Where the verb takes only the addresser, the addressee is understood by whoever hears the utterance. There is usually a change of possession of information between addresser and addressee, where these occur, and, the type of communicated information includes informal banters.

2.3.1 Sentence constructions involving the verbs of social interaction

5.
a. Àdá nà Ọ̀bí   nà   à-kpá   nkàtá
   Ada and obi PROG AGR-stir conversation
   'Ada and Obi are having a conversation'

b. Há kpà-rà   nkàtà
    3PL stir-IND conversation
    'They had a conversation'

c. Ọ́   kọ̀-rọ̀   ákụ́kọ́
   3SG tell-TNS story
   'S/he told a story'

d. Ọ́   kọ̀-ọ̀-rọ̀   há   ákụ́kọ́
   3SG tell-BEN-IND 3PL story
    'S/he told them a story'

e. Àdá nà Ọ̀bí   nà   a-má   njàkìrì
   Ada and Obi PROG AGR-throw banter
  'Ada and Obi are exchanging banter'

f. Àdá gbághá-rá   ókwú Ọ̀bí
   Ada argue-TNS word Obi
   'Ada argued against what Obi said'

g. Ézè hò-rò̀   íhò̀
   Eze tell-IND fable
   'Eze told a fable'

h. Ezè hò-ò-rò̀   úmù̀   yá   íhò̀
   Eze tell-BEN-IND children 3PL (object) folktale
   'Eze told his children a folktale'

2.4 Complain verbs

The complain verbs denote situations where the addresser feels bad about an occurrence and whines about it to the addressee.

 6.

   a.   íkpésá mkpésā 'to complain openly'

   b. íchí íchí   'to warn'

   c. ínyọ́ ọ̀nyì̀nyọ̀   'to complain loudly'

The defining feature of these verbs is the specific manner of anger that comes with their usage in utterances. They belong to the class of Bound Cognate Verbs. Their mode of communication is through the use of voice only and the type of communicated information is the lodging of a complaint. When they take only one participant in the clause, it is usually the addresser (7a and c) but they can also take two participants (7b and d). The verbs are always used communicatively in speech.

2.4.1 Sentence constructions involving complain verbs

7.

a. Àdá kpè̀sà̀-rà̀   mkpésá
   Ada complain-IND complaint
   'Ada complained'

b. Ọ̀bí chì̀-rì̀   Ézè íchí
   Obi warn-IND Eze warning

'Obi warned Eze'

c. Àdá nyọ̀-rọ̀   ọ̀nyị̀nyọ̀
  Ada grumble-IND   a grumble
 'Ada grumbled'

d. Àdá nyọ̀-ọ̀-rọ̀   Ọ̀bí ọ̀nyị̀nyọ̀
  Ada grumble-BEN-IND Obi a grumble
  'Ada grumbled to Obi'

2.5 Advise verbs

Advice verbs denote the giving of advice by the addresser to the addressee. There are only two examples of these kinds of verbs in our data as shown in (7) below.

7.
a. ídụ̀ ọ́dụ̀   'to advise'

b. ítú álọ̀   'to confer'

They belong to the class of Bound Cognate Verbs and their mode of communication is only by the use of the voice. These verbs carry declarative force in the utterances they occur. They always take two participants (addresser and addressee) and are always used communicatively. The type of communicated information is usually a piece of advice from the addresser to the addressee. There is no specific manner in which this communication is transmitted. The sentences in (7) below indicate the use of these verbs in the language.

2.5.1 Sentence constructions involving advice verbs

7.

a. Áyọ̀gụ̀ dụ̀-rụ̀   Ọ̀bí ọ́dụ̀
  Ayogu poke-IND Obi advice
  'Ayogu advised Obi'

b.Áyọ̀gụ̀ tụ̀-rụ̀   Ọ̀bí álọ̀
  Ayogu contribute-IND Obi confer
  'Ayogu conferred with Obi'

2.6 Verbs of the manner of speaking

The verbs of the manner of speaking encode in them specific manners of transferring of ideas or messages from the addresser to the addressee.

8.
a. ítámū ńtámú 'to mutter'
b. íbá m̀bá   'to scold'
c. ísú nsú   'to stammer'
d. ítú ílú   'to speak in proverbs'
e. ikụ̣ ạ̀kụ̀kụ̀   'to make snide remarks'

These verbs belong to the class of inherent complement verbs and the mode of communication is by voice only. Each of the verbs in (8) above encodes a specific manner of the communication of information. In (9a) below, the information is whispered but it is used non-communicatively. In (9b) there is an exchange of information between the addresser and addressee hence the verb is used communicatively. The verb in (9c) depicts a manner of shouting in anger. The verb is always used communicatively because the shouting and anger is directed to the addressee. For (9) the specific manner of speaking is a stuttering of speech. The verb can be used communicatively (9d) and non-communicatively (9e). The verb in example (9f) is used in a manner depicting performance in the language. The Igbo people speak a lot in proverbs and those who can are adept in the use of proverbs are highly respected. The verb in (9f) is always used communicatively. The verb *ikụ̣ akụ̣kụ̀* 'to make snide remarks' in (9g) is always used in a mocking manner to the addressee. This addressee is usually understood by the hearer of the utterance.

2.6.1 Sentence constructions involving the verbs of the manner of speaking

9.

a. Ọ̀bí tàmụ̀-rụ̀   ntàmụ̀
   Obi mutter-IND muttering
   'Obi muttered (emphatic)'

b. Ọ̀bí tàmụ̀-ụ̀-rụ̀   Ézè ntàmụ̀
    Obi mutter-BEN-IND Eze muttering
    'Obi muttered to Eze'

c. Ọ̀bí bà-rà   Ézè   m̀bá
   Obi scold-IND Eze   scolding
   'Obi scolded Eze'

d. Ọ̀bí sụ̀-rụ̀   m̀   nsụ́
   Obi speak-IND 1SG stammering

'Obi stammered to me'

e. Ọ́bí sụ̀-rụ̀   nsụ́
   Obi speak-IND   stammering
   'Obi stammered'

f. Ọ́bí tụ̀-rụ̀   ílú
    Obi throw-IND proverb
    'Obi said a proverb'

g. Àdá nà-à-kụ́   àkụ̀kụ̀
   Ada PROG-AGR-hit   snide remarks
   'Ada is making snide remarks'

2.7 Swear verbs

Swear verbs encode situations where the participants in an event swear to an oath that is binding on them or meant to harm the addressee. There are few swear verbs in the language and we have identified three of them in example (10) below.

10.

a. Íñú íyí   'to take an oath'

b. Íkpọ́ íyí   'to curse someone'

c. Ígbá ndù̀   'to bind with an oath'

Swear verbs are inherent complement verbs and their mode of communication is by the use of voice and non-voice. The voice is used to make the pronouncement of an oath, and, the non-voice mode occurs when the addresser drinks a magical concoction to bind him to the pronouncement. The illocutionary force is usually imperative. The verb is always used communicatively as there is an exchange of information in the usage of the verb. The specific manner of transmission of this information is grave and the type of communicated information is a solemn pronouncement by the addresser. The number of participants the verb takes varies. In (11a and c) the verbs take only one participant in the clause while in (11b) there are two participants.

2.7.1 Sentence constructions of swear verbs

11.

a.   Ọ́bí ñù̀-rù̀   íyì̀

Obi drink-IND   oath
'Obi swore to an oath'

b.   Ọ́   kpọ̀-rọ̀   m̀   íyì
3SG call-IND 1SG   oath
'S/he cursed me'

c.   Há   gbà-rà   ńdù
3PL   V-IND   life
'They bound their lives with an oath'

Figure 1 below illustrates a summary of this attempt to characterize the sub-class of Igbo verbs of communication.

Verbs class	Mode of communication	Illocutionary force	Class of verbs	Specific manner of the transmission of information	Used communicatively or not
Transfer of message	Voice and non-voice	Imperative	ICV	varied	Used both communicatively and non-communicatively
Communication of propositional attitude	Voice only	declarative	BCV	varied	Used only communicatively
Social interaction	Voice only	Declarative	ICV	cheerful	Used only communicatively
Complain verbs	Voice only	Varied	BCV	anger	Used only communicatively
Advice verbs	Voice only	Declarative	BCV	solemn	Used only communicatively
Manner of speaking	Voice and non-voice	Declarative	BCV	varied	Used both communicatively and non-communicatively
Swear verbs	Voice and non-voice	Imperative	ICV	Grave	Used both communicatively and non-communicatively

Figure 1

3.0. Verbs of communication in the vocabulary of Igbo as a whole

In this paper the verbs of communication in Igbo have been considered from the view point of their classification into the major class of verbs as described in the works of Nwachukwu, (1984) and Emenanjo, (2005). We notice that Igbo verbs of communication fall into the two classes of Inherent Complement verbs and Bound Complement Verbs (cf

Fig. 1 above). The verbs can further be classified into two classes of verbs: the verbs that are used only communicatively and the ones that can be used both communicatively and non-communicatively. Therefore, the verbs that are used only communicatively are Igbo verbs of communication par excellence. These include the *verbs of communication of propositional attitudes, social interaction, complain verbs, and advise verbs*. (cf Fig.1). The verbs of the transfer of a message and manner of speaking can be said to include other forms of applicability in the vocabulary of Igbo.

In terms of the mode of transmission of information the verbs fall into the class of the use of voice only and the use of both voice and non-voice.

A further classification of these verbs in relation to Igbo vocabulary is based on the illocutionary force. In this regard, they fall into two major classes; *imperative* and *declarative*. Igbo interrogative clauses require movement rules that are beyond the scope of this work.

In conclusion, the semantic characteristics of the verbs treated in this paper illustrate their applicability as operational verbs of communication and their relationship to the vocabulary of Igbo as a whole.

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Honorifics and Speech Levels in Meiteiron

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Abstract

Meiteiron has a complex and sophisticated honorific system with its lexical and morphological variants. This study attempts to demonstrate the use of honorifics and different speech levels in different contexts. These levels are marked by the use of various lexical and morphological variants. From the functional point of view it will be shown that at least there are five levels of speech in Meiteiron, namely ultrahigh, high, high plain, plain and low, which are clearly marked by the use of different suffixes and lexical items.

Introduction

This paper attempts an analysis of honorifics and organization of speech levels in Meiteiron, with respect to various social and cultural values.

Meiteiron (known as Manipuri officially) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Indian North-Eastern state of Manipur, It is also spoken in the neigbhouring countries Bangladesh and Burma and neigbhouring state of Assam by the Meitei or Manipuri inhabitants of these places. It is the lingua-franca and official language of the state. It is the only language of Tibeto-Burman family (spoken in India) recognized by the VIII Schedule of Indian Constitution. This language is also known as or written as "Meithei" (Meitei) to the linguistic scholars in the west.

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A clarification is required to be made here regarding the use of the ethnonym Meithei (Meitei) as it is being used wrongly for the language, i.e., Meiteiron. The terminology "Meithei" (Meitei) is the ethnonym while Meiteiron is the glossonym. And Meiteiron and Manipuri are the allonyms of the same language. I have used the glossonym Meiteiron in this paper as it is popularly known by this glossonym.

Variation in Meitei Honorific and Speech Levels System

The analysis of this speech behavior in terms of its ethnographic context shows a significant range of variation in Meitei honorific and speech levels system. The concept of "speech levels" was first propounded by Martin (1964). There have been extensive studies on honorific and speech levels in the language of South East and South Asia, for example, Korean (Sinn 1990; Hwang 1990; Pei 1992) , Japanese (Martin 1964; Miller 1967;Harada 1980; Shibatani 1990; Tsujimuara 1996)' Javanese (Greetz 1960), Hindi (Jain 1969), Tibetan (Agha 1998).

The present study examines the nature of Meitei indexical expression in particular sentence final forms and honorific vocabulary including the use of address terms, second personal pronouns, verb and nouns. Focusing upon the functional aspects of honorific in a speech event the honorifics can be categorized into an "addressee honorific" and "referent honorific" (Choy 1955 cited in Wang 1990). Both axes of honorifics are either morphologically or lexically expressed in Meiteiron with the "addressee honorific" having developed into a highly complex system as in the case of Korean (Wang 1990).

The hierarchical grades of honorific expression towards addressees in Meiteiron can be analytically organized as series of stylistic contrasts each mode of which is identified by the co-occurrence relationship (Gumperz 1964, Ervin-Tripp 1972) among the sentence-concluding endings, the address terms, the second personal pronoun, verbs and nouns. The honorific system characterized by its grammatically systematized expression differs in their level of speech. This can be made further complicated by the addition of some honorific lexical items which eventually leads to further complication of politeness of different levels of speech. Most options of elaborations, deletions and permutations of parts of the polite expressions concern the strategies of status alignment resulting to different levels of speech.

Etiquette System in Meiteiron

The entire etiquette system in Meiteiron is perhaps symbolized in the way Meiteis use their language. The status and degree of familiarity relationship of the collocutors play very significant roles. Status is determined by many things, namely age, wealth, descent, education, occupation, kinship. The choice of linguistic items and speech styles in every speech act is partly determined by the relative status and/ or familiarity. The degree of familiarity is the sense that whether the collocutors are close and/or long established friends from childhood who have been brought up in the same locality or schoolmates etc. It is also observed that traditional respect for elderly continues to exist, although it is tending towards a decline.

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Meitei society has been a culturally vertical and hierarchical society with great emphasis placed on power (kinship, age, sex, rank and status) rather than on solidarity (degree of formality). Due to the decline of aristocracy and shift to democratization however, changes in the language behavior of the younger generation have been observed in contemporary Meitei society. It is possible to describe the present situation as — a younger person socially superior and an older person socially inferior show mutual deference to each other. So, Meitei society can therefore be described as a mixture of traditional vertical social structure with western horizontal structure superimposed as is manifested in the sociolinguistic dynamism.

To greet a person for example, lower than oneself or somebody with whom one is intimate, a speaker says (*nəŋ) kəmdəwri* 'how are you'. Notice in this expression there is no honorific marker and the use the use of second personal pronoun *nəŋ* is optional. But one greets a person superior in age with appropriate terms of address as *tamo(bu) kəmdəwbiri* "brother (H) how are you?". This expression, of course, is more respectful to the listener because of appropriate use of the term of address (elder brother) and also the use of the honorific marker   *-bi-* in the verbal ending. And above all these, note that the *–bu-* marker is suffixed to the form used for the addressees which certainly marks more respect to the listener than without it. The expression *kəmdəwbiri* 'how are you?' with honorific *–bi-* in the verbal ending is used for greeting somebody of the same age group with whom one knows slightly or when the speaker wants to maintain some distance with the addressee who is of the same age group with the speaker.

The Principle of Politeness Axis in Meiteiron

Basically what is involved in Meitei honorifics is that the Meiteis pattern their speech behavior in terms of *thaksi-khasi* and/ or *ləmcət bebhar* the principle of politeness axis around which, they organize their social behavior generally.

This principle is a set of norms of usages to be used to elders and juniors. It is, in fact, a cover expression for a whole range of ceremonial speech. A number of words and some suffixes are made to carry in addition to their normal linguistic meaning what might be called a " status meaning" (Greetz 1969), i.e., when used in actual conversation they convey not only their fixed denotative meaning but also a connotative meaning concerning the status of degree of intimacy between the speakers and listeners. For example, *yum* or *səŋgay* 'house' , *cabə* or *habə* to eat, *cətpə* or *leŋbə* 'to walk', *thəkpə* or *phanbə*, 'to drink', or 'to smoke'.

Therefore, several words may denote the same normal linguistic meaning but differ in the status connotation they convey. A speaker intentionally communicates the level of speech in terms of word selection in accordance with the different sociolinguistic situations.

It is pertinent mentioning here that a language is governed not by grammatical rules but also by sociolinguistic rules; that by considering its social meaning and social function, a linguistic expression could be interpreted and described in terms of "communicative competence" (Hymes

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1972) – the ability to choose an appropriate expression for a given occasion depending on what to speak to whom, when, where and how.

The Complex Honorific System in Meitheiron

The complex honorific system is an aspect of Meiteiron that reflects the nature of Meitei society. In other words, the honorifics are significant and an integral part of the grammatical system. They play very important roles in social interaction resulting to different degrees of speech.

Different levels of speech are regularly distributed through age, rank, status etc. It is found that in traditional Meitei society the aristocrats tend to use more meaningfully distinguished speech levels than the commoners. The values of refinement and elegance traditionally associated with the speech variety are attributable by projection as characteristics inherent to the aristocrats as a social class.

The cultural values of repertoire as well as other aspects of aristocratic behavior reciprocally illuminate and motivate each other thus, naturalizing many aspects of aristocratic identity.

The aristocrats, for example, became the arbiter of linguistic standards, thus, culturally the purest forms or most elegant and sophisticated forms of speech are personified as the speech of the aristocrats.

Hence, the ideal standard for speech as well as for other domains of etiquette in modern Meiteiron has always been derived from the behavior and speech of aristocrats. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the monarchy has resulted into a relatively complex honorific system. Aristocracy was known to heavily employ super-polite honorific forms within the family. Although aristocracy was abolished in 1949, the aristocrats today still maintain a distinctly different vocabulary from the rest of other Meiteis for certain items of food, clothing, special terms and suffixes for addressing king and other matters connected with their life styles.

The Limitations of Synchronic Description

Bearing this in mind, a thorough understanding of speech behavior of Meiteis cannot be understood from a synchronic perspective alone but must be analyzed from a diachronic stand point as well. It is a well-known fact that contemporary speech behavior is ultimately a product of historical change. Thus it is apparent that the complex honorific system prevalent in Meiteiron is an aspect of it that reflects the complex nature of Meitei society and culture.

Method

The data for this study largely come from the observation I made in my daily encounters with my own people in different social situations followed by unobtrusive note-taking at every opportunity to record the expression, words, terms, etc. used by dyads in different situations. The

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information so obtained was supplemented by the author's own introspection as a native speaker of Meiteiron.

Although the paper does not claim to derive from empirical research or cite much objective data it is nevertheless worth exploring the complex intricate relationship between Meitei community and its honorific system as is manifested in Meiteiron. I wish that I could present a statistically based description of the factors and their relative importance. But I must limit myself for the moment to a subjective estimate based on my own observation.

Morphologically Marked Levels

The classification of sentence-concluding endings into distinguishable levels is the major objective of this section. The different grades of speech in Meiteiron are usually shown in the honorific and graded suffixes, nouns, pronouns and verbs. One of the most outstanding phenomena is the use of verbs. Verbs in Meiteiron can be divided into two portions, namely, base and ending, each generally having two states, polite and plain. By virtue of the semantic function of the morphemes, the polite forms can be further categorized into two categories. They are respect and humble forms. Suffixes are attached to a verb root to convert it into a respect forms or a humble form. Similar situation is reported in Japanese (Ogino, et al. 1995).

In Meiteiron, for example, to show respect the suffix *–pi-∼ -bi-* is added to a verb root as *hay-bi-yu* 'please tell (me)' as opposed to *hay-yu* 'tell(me)'. The latter form without *-pi-∼ -bi-* suffix is considered plain. And to make it a humble form the suffix *cə - ∼ -jə* is added to the verb root as

Humble form	Plain form	gloss
əy hay - jə - ge	*əy hay-ge*	'I will'
I tell (H) F	I tell F	tell him/her
əy cət -cə -ge	*əy -cət -ke*	'I will go'
I go (H) F	I go F	

The two types of markers *-pi- ∼ -bi-* an *cə ∼ jə* are suffixal morphemes; they are actually verb roots meaning *pi* 'give' and *cət (<-cə ∼ -jə)* 'go' respectively. That the polite suffixes are related to or have been grammaticalized from the corresponding verb root is very possible although their lexical meanings are highly altered in the suffixes.

A respect form (or a verb root plus respect suffix) is used to refer to the speaker's status. Both the forms, however, convey the speaker's polite attitude to the hearer. Thus, we find quite a

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complicated system of honorific expression towards the hearer thereby constituting a system which, manifest the speaker's treatment of hearer.

If one does not maintain such rules of etiquette, it is considered a serious breach of etiquette. In Meitei words it is termed as *ləmcət naydəbə* and/or *bebhar yawdəbə* and/or *thəksi khasi naydəbə,* which, ultimately reflects one's background and upbringing.

As the people advocate the order of superior and inferior, it is quite natural for them to lay emphasis on hierarchy, namely, the difference between friends and acquaintants, between young and old, between men and women, between officials and non-officials, between teachers and students, between masters and apprentices, between masters and servants, etc.

And also while speaking to someone, Meiteis tend to deliberately flatter others and belittle themselves in order to show their great respect to the person concerned or cultural refinement of the speaker. All these differences in the hierarchical structure are manifested in the language use. So, the organization of speech levels can be understood as a consequence of the honorific system embedded in Meitei culture.

Speakers in Meitei speech community can easily identify differences in meaning among various sentence-concluding endings (although they may not be able to explain the rules governing the usages. They also rank the endings in terms of degrees of deference grouping into different levels. Thus an elaborate system of marking social distance and respect is found in the morphology of Meiteiron. The complexity of morphology involves a range of semantic elements and the variations in the system. Regarding the use of suffixes with respect to addressee honorifics, five different grades of speech may be divided. This is most clearly shown in the use of imperative sentences. Ranking and classification of sentence-concluding endings in Meiteiron:

Forms in imperative sentence	Levels
ca – bi - si	Level I (the ultra high level)
ca – bi – yu	Level II (the high level)
ca – si	Level III (High plain)
ca – w^2	Level IV (Plain)
ca -jəw^3	Level V(Low)

Please note that *ca –* is the verb root of 'eat.' *caw* and *ca -jəw* undergo morphophonemic sound change as the imperative marker *–u ~ -yu* has been changed to *–aw* and *əw* respectively.

Relationship between the Suffixes and Social Categories – Ultra High Level I and Level II

We can now look at the implications of the relationship between the suffixes and social categories mentioned earlier.

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The combination of honorific marker *–bi-* with the imperative form *–si-* that is, *-bi-si* is analytically the honorific ending for the referent or more accurately, the subject of the discourse frame. Where the subject's social status is the same as the addressee, as in the imperative mode, the fixed morpheme functions directly to elevate the addressee to the highest or ultra-high level i.e., Level I. The addition of *–si* furthermore forms a key criterion for distinguishing the ultrahigh level from the high level, i.e., Level II. This level is particularly chosen while speaking to elderly persons in public formal occasions, meetings, etc.

For example:

> ima   ibemə   phəmphəm   laŋdə   leŋsin-bi-si
> mother H   seat   H   move(H) H imp.
> 'Mother, would you kindly take your seat?'

However, the use of this level in actual linguistic interaction is interpreted by the speakers as reflecting a high degree of unequal relationship of interlocutors. So it can be viewed as showing respect form of highest degree of deference expressed by the speaker.

The existence of this level seems to be related to the community's own hierarchical cultural tradition. It is noted that this level was used mostly while speaking to higher status persons - aristocrats, nobles, etc., as a mark of high respect in the traditional Meitei society. The folk conception reflects the ruling class speakers' propensity to differentiate themselves from commoners, thereby reinforcing their linguistic differentiation from commoners.

Thus, the content and semantic of the use of this level is strongly and closely related with the traditional class membership. Therefore, this level is not usually found in daily encounters of the people. Its usage is largely confined to highly formal public meeting, occasion etc. particularly while speaking to elderly and/or highly respected persons in the contemporary society.

Current Situation

Today most of the youngsters in their generation do not seem to be using the level II as this usually means formality and respect with elders and persons of superior status. It is used with all strangers unless they are very young. So, the use of level II does not necessarily signal respect or even politeness but simply social distance with strangers. It can be shown, for example, in enquiring about something by a speaker to another person (of whom both of them are strangers to one another).

Speaker   *tamo*   *kərigumbə*   *əmətə*   *həŋ - jə - ge*
           brother   something   ask (H) F
           'Brother may I ask (you) something'

Listener   *-kəri oy – bi - rə- bəno?*

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What   is   (H) Asp   Inf Q
'What is it?'

The above exchange shows very well that the usages are not necessarily polite but signals only that the parties involved do not know each other well. Note that, in the expression used by the speaker, he uses an honorific morpheme -*jə* (which I have categorized as a humble form) while the listener uses the honorific suffix – *bi* – (which has been categorized as respect form).

These forms usually mean formality with strangers and less acquainted persons and respect with known people. When this form is used for the strangers or less acquainted persons the choice is made according to situations and speaker's mood and listener's age, appearances and manner. It is also observed that these forms are used among "cultured" families in which parents feel the need to cultivate or inculcate good demeanors to their children. In such families, we find children usually speak polite expressions to their parents and elderly persons. Such children who have been taught "good" manners are expected to grow up as well-behaved children. However, in most of the families the use of such form is decreasing to a great extent. We even get the report that the older people express their unhappiness over younger peoples' relaxed use of honorifics.

With change in social vicissitudes, such usage which was once highly valued, now have grown out of date, while a more democratic and liberal form of behavior which reflects the new order emerges. Such usages in the behaviour pattern of politeness expression manifest changes in our social life, in the people's psychological state and current convention of our society. Thus a generation gap in the use of honorific usage of speech is often felt both by elder and younger people.

Age and Gender

As the high forms indicate high respect when used between colleagues it would seem too solemn and serious. Normally two adult speakers of the same sex and about the same age group, with the same kind of job do not address each other with the polite form. When they do adopt this form, it can be ascertained that they do not have a close relationship or the relation between them is rather strained. However, some speakers of older generations use the level II in conversation with speakers with whom they have intimate relationship. Such people are being branded as old-folks by new generations.

Generally speaking, those who are in the 40s with good educational background adopt high forms. A speaker can be judged with respect to his or her profession and level of education, cultivation of his behavior and speech on the basis of form he or she uses. The great discrepancy in using honorific nowadays depends not only on education, age and situational factors but also upon an individual's value system. It is evident from the speech of individuals of "noble descent" who minimize the use of high level, while others, not of "noble birth" place much value upon such usage. It has been mentioned earlier that in cultivated families parents teach their children to use high level accordingly.

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Other Levels

The remaining forms by contrast, have developed into separate distinct levels by elevating or lowering their positions from the plain position in the total hierarchy of speech levels. The use of sentence-concluding endings without suffix *–bi-* that is , with *–si,-u* and *–jɘw* are classified as high plain, plain and low and their levels are categorized as level III, level IV and level V (for example, high plain *ca-si,* plain *caw* and low level *cajɘw*, the verb root taken is *ca-* 'eat'). The expression with *-si* ending, that is, level III, conveys an ambiguous meaning of non-deferential and non-condescending. It is mostly used when speakers, in their view, feel it unnecessary or irrelevant to use the above high levels and also at the same time they do not want to show impoliteness to the addressee. Further, the speaker does not want to put him in an uncomfortable situation. It is mainly used for an addressee with whom a speaker establishes a vague interpersonal relationship.

In such ambiguous or vague situations, participants are social equals in terms of one value scale, but in a subordinate-superordinate position, according to another. Individuals can avoid difficulties or embarrassment involved in either proclaiming their equality or acknowledging their superiority or inferiority by using the suffix *–si.* By doing so, they neither indicate respect or disrespect, or unwanted familiarity or undue advantage, but can avoid stiffness of the expressions. Therefore, it has been leveled as plain high.

The Plain Form – Level IV

The level IV, that is, the plain form is morphologically unmarked in conversation. Semantically, however it is marked as intimate or subordinating. This form is used between age mates. It is also used by adults to children and to adolescents although with older adolescent it will vary depending on the length of the acquaintance. The level IV is generally accepted as indicating a relation between equals. But, in actual use, it can also reflect a hierarchical relationship which, however, is different from those indicated by other forms. If an elderly speaker uses this level to younger person and the latter uses the level II to the former, the level IV used by the elderly speaker implies condescension. The informal grade is used mainly among brothers and sisters within a family. In some families the youngest child would use the level IV to his or her parents, though his or her brothers and sisters use the level II. This is because the youngest child is usually spoiled or pampered.

Level V – The Low Level

The last and final grade that is, the level V is marked by the addition of suffix *-cɘ - ~ -jɘ.* The level V or the low level is also used in indicating hierarchical relationship, which, however, is different from those indicated by the other high levels, in that this level is exclusively used by speakers who have higher status and /or senior persons while speaking to lower status and/or junior persons, particularly in acts of speech which the higher status persons and/or senior

persons favor the lower status addressees to do something or for doing something. Further, the use of this level also may mean that the speakers give permission or approval for doing something.

It is to be noted that this level is never used by the younger and /or lower status speakers to senior and/or higher status addressees with regard to addressee honorifics. It is also worth noting here that the same suffix -*cə*- ~ -*jə*⁻ which signals low level is also used as a humble suffix or self-lowering suffix with regard to "referent honorifics" particularly "subject honorific" as *əy - hay -jəge* 'I will tell (him)'. The use of this suffix on the other hand elevates the status of the addressee.

Ambiguities

Note that we do find some ambiguities regarding the use of this morpheme -*cə*- ~ *je*- which indicates low level in some contexts. Interestingly enough, the same suffix also indicates 'self'. For example, *nəŋ təw - jəw* 'you do it' could be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation of 'you do it' is of level V, of which the addressee or the subject of the sentence frame is being favored or given permission or approval to do something. The expected outcome is that the addressee eventually gets some benifit[4] for performing the act. The second interpretation has nothing to do with the level V but it indicates exclusively that it is a simple reflexive sentence which is manifested in the verb form.

However, such ambiguities and confusions could be disambiguated in two ways. First, by adding 'self' to the sentence in question preferably after the pronoun, for example, *nəŋ nəsanə təwjəw* 'you do it yourself'. Second, the context of the sentence frame and interlocutors concerned help us in deciphering the right meaning of the expression. So, the participants concerned, their background and also background of the speech act are very crucial in deciding the exact and expected meaning when the suffix -*jə*- is used.

Honorific Repertoires and Verbal Endings

The existence of a highly elaborated set of honorific repertoire in Meiteiron seems to be related to the community's own cultural tradition still preserved till today though some of the linguistic items which were closely associated with the monarch, have been disappeared. There seemed to be a close relationship between social classes and honorific repertoires. It is found that the aristocrats and the nobles tended to use more meaningfully distinguished speech levels than do the commoners.

In view of the co-occurrence relationship between the sentence-concluding endings and honorific repertoires, we will discuss the co-occurrence relationship among the sentence concluding-endings, the address terms, the second person pronouns and other linguistic phenomena particularly verbs and nouns.

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In addition to the set of aforementioned linked conjugates there is a group of special words mostly referring to people, their body parts, possessions and actions which co-occur with the conjugates and which act to raise the level of speech indicated by the first inevitable selection one notch higher. In another words, a number of words are made to carry in addition to their normal linguistic meaning what might be called a " status meaning" i.e. when used in actual conversation they convey not only their fixed denotative meaning but also a connotative meaning concerning the status and/or degree of familiarity between the speaker and listener (Greetz 1960). As a result, several words may denote the same normal linguistic meaning but they differ in their status connotation they convey. Thus, for example, for a house there are three forms, namely, *saŋgay, yum* and *khaŋpok* each connoting a progressively higher relative status of the listener with respect to the speaker.

In this regard, one of the most outstanding phenomena is the use of verbs and nouns. Some basic verbs and nouns have honorific and corresponding plain or vulgar forms, which have the same meaning but differ in politeness level. Some sets consist of two or more variants as honorific and plain or vulgar and plain.

Therefore, in Meiteiron, we find the occurrence of honorific forms of several word classes as mentioned above. The multiple honorific lexemes typically can co-occur in utterance thereby resulting into valorizations of speech levels, which ultimately reflects the hierarchical structure of Meitei community. Hence, such lexeme co-occurrences have important consequences for honorific discourse in this language.

The use of honorific words marks relationship of respect, thus typifying speech as a marker of social relationships.   Relying on a native speaker's metalinguistic abilities we can construct a paradigm of correspondence between honorific and non-honorific lexeme as:

bebhar yawbə (Honorific)	gloss	*bebhar yawdəbə* (Non-honorific)
caythəbə	'to bath'	*irujəbə*
habə	'to eat'	*cabə*
phanbə	'to drink'	*thəkpə*
səŋgay	'house'	*yum*
səna həkcaŋ	'body'	*həkcaŋ* etc.

Distinct deference foci are indexically projected from several lexeme positions in an utterance. The constituency of overall deference in discourse depends on the congruence of deference effects marked independently by several honorific lexemes.

For example,

pabuŋ	*kədaydə*	*leŋ*	*-bi-ru-bə-no*	*kəri hani?*
Father	where	go H	(H) Asp. Inf.Q	what eat H

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'Father where have (you) been', 'what would you like to have?'

In the above expression an honored person (father) is clearly motivated in the discourse context provided by the utterance. The honorific noun phrase kin term *pabuŋ* 'father' and topic deferring verbs *leŋbə* H and *habə* H both index deference to the father. It is, therefore, constructed easily as congruent with person deferred to by every other honorific lexeme in the utterances. If deference relations can be projected from several possible locations in an utterance, then, the overall constituency of honorific effects generally depend on the congruence (or lack thereof) of several instances of deference marking, often within the same sentence frame. (Agha 1998)

Choice between Non-honorific and Honorific Forms

As it has been discussed above that the choice between non-honorific and honorific forms (both respect and humble forms) is determined by the relative status between participants. It is also closely related to the choice of address terms and use of second person pronouns. The terms of address, reference and the kinship terms in Meiteiron is so finely differentiated and their choice is governed by complicated sociolinguistic factors.

Along with honorific forms of speech the appropriate use of terms of address is always considered most polite. The appropriate use of polite forms and terms of address always express modesty and humility on the part of speakers. For example, in asking or enquiring about something a speaker asks a person who is much senior to the former (probably in his father's age group) as *kərigumbə əmətə hayjaəge* 'May I tell you something ?' This expression is culturally inappropriate as there is a substantial age gap between the collocutors. The right way would be to use the proper term of address for the person concerned such as *khura* 'uncle' or *pabuŋ* 'father' as the case may be. For example, *pabuŋ kərigumbə əmətə hayjəge* 'Father may I tell–you something?'. If the addressee looks uneducated, unsophisticated etc. the speaker would choose the address form *khura* 'uncle'.

Similarly, if an addressee, from his physical appearances and speech looks educated or as a person with a high status in the estimate of the speaker he would be choosing the address from *pabuŋ* 'father'. There are occasions that if appropriate forms of address are not used the addressee might feel offended and respond in a very crude manner. However, the above expression is a right polite form of asking if collocutors are of the same age group. Hence, age does still play a vital role in choosing and deciding which forms of speech should be used for whom. So, the use of address terms signals power relationship between the speaker and hearer, in addition to expressing respect or deference by the addressee.

Finally, the choice of appropriate forms of address or absence of address term is subject to a complex set of interdependent factors. In conjunction with this usage it is also important to note that the choice of address forms also show some categorization of people. The address forms given above namely, *khura* and *pabuŋ* refer to some distinction of low versus high status.

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Though status and age seem to be of prime importance, other factors also have to be considered including kin relation, degree of familiarity, gender, situational setting (i.e. in public or at home).

In an asymmetrical relationship, the sociolinguistic rule prohibits the lower status speaker from using second person pronoun *nəŋ* 'you(sg)' *nəkhoy~noy* 'you(pl)' to call or to refer to a higher status addressee unless an insult is meant. However, Meiteiron does posses a polite form of second person pronoun that is *ədom or əsom* which actually mean direction 'that side' or 'this side'. Meitei sociolinguistic rule permits that this form is to be used only between two collocutors of the same age group and also who are strangers or less acquainted persons. This is not used between closed circles. If it is used in such circles, the speaker is being ironical with the addressee.

Since Meiteiron lacks universally applicable second person pronoun, it utilizes a variety of address forms such as first name, title, affectionate terms and kinship terms for superiors and elderly addressees. It may be noted that the extensive use of kinship terms in place of pronoun is regarded as a special unique feature of Meiteiron as in Korean (Hwang 1990) Thai (Palakornkul 1975).

With respect to kinship terms, it is a language of relationship in which appropriate terms of address and honorific are determined according to relationship between speakers and addressees. In view of the ideal co-occurrence relationship between the sentence-concluding endings and forms of address the endings are always used without any address form   (that is, zero address term), the verbal skills originally required for the strategic use of such an ambiguous speech are encoded in the local saying as *nəmhay toubə*.

For example, if a sentence *cəwkri sidə leŋsinbiyu*, 'Please be seated in this chair' is used to an elderly person who is as old as one's own father, though the sentence sounds quite acceptable in English, such use of sentence would be considered a breach of etiquette on the part of the speaker as he does not use any suitable address term according to addressee's age, background etc.

In any social encounters those who know each other open their conversation by the appropriate term of address. Addressing a person with the suitable term of address is equivalent to recognition of status or to put it differently addressing is similar to presentation of respect. The addressee so addressed by the appropriate term of address feels elated that his status is recognized and demonstrated by the addressor without his having to do it himself.

It may be argued that even if there is influence of western mode of thinking and life style, the Meitei traditional way of establishing relationship still holds sway. Appropriate use of kinship terms of address does maintain and enhance smooth functioning of the collocutors in particular and the society at large. Thus, the appropriate use of address term and second person pronoun (to whom to use and to whom not to use) does facilitate interpersonal contact by removing conflicts

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and interest between interlocutors thereby promoting their co-operation and respect for one another.

Status

The importance of status in encounters is not only signaled by verbal, lexical honorifics and the appropriate use of terms but also by the suffixation of a morpheme *–bu* to address terms as oja-bu *'teacher* (H)', *mamә-bu* 'uncle (maternal)' and doctor-*bu* 'doctor(H)'. It is possible that this suffix is a grammaticalized form of noun root *–pu* 'master or lord', as the lexical meaning is still retained. It was particularly attached to the address terms while speaking to social superiors such as kings, princesses, nobles and people of advanced age during the monarchy. The function of the *–bu* suffix is of considerable interest as the suffix on human nouns obviously, indicates high respect or dignity of the great to the addressee in direct address.

However, the great discrepancy in using this honorific suffix nowadays depends on newly emerged status, namely educational, occupational and economic status. It is, therefore, attached to the people whom, the speaker thinks he or she deserves to receive it. People such as teachers, doctors, engineers and to some extent elderly persons by virtue of his/her status or by virtue of his/her seniority receives this suffix along with the appropriate address terms.

Co-occurrence of Levels of Address

In terms of the relationship between Meiteiron and Meitei culture, it is of great interest to note that all the levels of speech classified except the low level can co-occur with all the honorific words thereby resulting in the levels into more deferential speech forms. The last level, the low level, as the terminology implies, is indeed a low level. This is evident from the fact that there are certain syntactic constraints which do not permit the honorific words to occur with the low level functionally with regard to addressee honorific.

Socially, speakers who have higher status and/or senior in age will obviously not use the honorific words while adopting the level V to speak to low status and/or junior persons.

Linguistically as this level is indicated by the occurrence of ∼ *cә* -∼ *-jә-* morpheme, its occurrence will predict exclusively the occurrence of ordinary words. With regard to conjugates, the most honorific form of speech or highest level of speech is revealed in the level I and next higher level is expressed in level II.

These two levels can be made more deferential and polite by the employment of honorific or status words. The most polite form of speech therefore is the employment of as many honorific words as a sentence is permitted to take by the Meitei sociolinguistic rules.

For example,

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Level I   *pabuŋ   sənəkhya   luk   ha-bi-rəsi*
            father   H   meal eat(H) Asp. Imp
'Respected father would you kindly take (your) meal'

Level II-   *səna - ibemə   səŋgay-romdə   khoŋsanəbə   leŋkhət-pi-ro*
            madam (H)   house(H) towards   goH   get upH
'Respected madam would you kindly get up for going home'.

Needed - Mastery of Sociolinguistic Rules

It is important to know that the appropriate use of high levels demands mastery of many sociolinguistic rules, the knowledge of large lexicon of honorific and syntactic arrangements. It is also to be noted that the honorific words may co-occur with all levels excepting the low level. So a final look at the aspect of use of high levels reveals considerable differences in the use of number of honorific forms used. As mentioned above, the remaining levels except the last one can also be similarly made more deferential by replacing the ordinary words by honorific words. The example given below demonstrates this.

> *ice   ca   thək –si*
> sister   tea   drink Imp
> 'Sister have tea'

Notice this high plain level or level III can be made more deferential by replacing the ordinary word(s) by honorific word(s) as for example:

> *icemə ca   phan – si*
> sister H   tea   drink (H) Imp
> 'Respected sister, please have tea'

Similarly, the level IV can also be made more deferential by the replacement of ordinary words by honorific words. For example,
> *ice   cət   -lo*
> Sister   go   Imp
> 'Sister go'
>
> *ice mə   leŋ   -ŋo*
> *sister(H)   go(H) Imp*
> 'Sister go'

Notice that the use of this level IV in conjunction with honorific words forms a nice compromise between respect and familiarity.

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For example, a person having high status speaking to friend with whom s/he has intimate relationship or a person with a lower status speaking to his/her friend with whom she/he has intimate relationship, would opt for this level with honorific words.

This level is particularly chosen in order to show his/her intimacy with the addressee and honorific words are employed in order to show him/her (the address) respect for his/her status. In such situation where participants are social equals in terms of one value scale but in a subordinate-superordinate position according to another, individual can avoid difficulties by using honorific words in the level IV. The use of level IV with ordinary words would be too ordinary to use to such addressees. The level IV with ordinary words is, therefore, confined to intimate friend circles where status intervention is not there and among brothers and sisters within families.

It is also important to note that as one moves up the level ladder from low level to ultra high level, the manner of speaking changes too. Like in Javanese (Greetz, 1960), the higher the level one is using, the more slowly and softly one speaks and the more evenly in terms of both rhythm and pitch and also in terms of more employment of honorific words. As on the whole, the higher conjugates tend to be longer than the lower ones. The high levels, when spoken correctly with their permissible number of honorific words have a kind of most elegant and pomp which can make the simplest conversation seems like a great speech. As mentioned earlier the aristocrats are the arbiters of such usages, so they were confined to the aristocrats. One could easily identify that a person belongs to this category of people from his or her style of speech.

Summary and Conclusion

The above description of the speech –levels has emphasized the necessity and importance of treating honorifics in their ethnographic context because a speech system is an integral component of whole socio-cultural system.

It has been shown that different structures of speech levels may be socially distributed according to major social categories, such as kinship, age, sex status. In particular, different distribution of honorific repertories according to class membership is worthy of notice. The aristocrats tend to use more meaningfully distinguished speech levels and more complex and formal rules than do the commoners. The content of honorific speech is strongly correlated with traditional class membership.

In this study, the classification of speech alternates into distinguishable speech levels has been the major objective. The hierarchical levels of honorific expression towards addressees in Meiteiron that addressee honorific has been organized and identified the "co-occurrence relationship" (Gumprez 1964: Ervin Tripp 1969,1972) among the sentence-concluding endings, the address terms, second personal pronoun, other linguistic phenomena , namely verbs and nouns. Among these the morphological variants of sentence- concluding endings occupy the most important position in Meiteiron addressee honorifics.

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There are five graded levels of sentence-concluding endings in Meiteiron, namely ultrahigh (level I), high (level II), high plain (level III), plain (level IV) and low level (level V) in Meiteiron addressee honorifics.

Another discovery concerns the close relationship between social status and honorific repertoire. As it has been observed that in traditional Meitei Society the aristocrats tend to use more meaningfully distinguished honorific repertoire than do the commoners, this fact leads to the conclusion that an adequate description of speech levels must be based upon a socially defined group.

Some shifts in the usages of honorifics have been observed. The gradual shift presupposes the co-existence of old and new systems. The parameters which govern the usages of honorifics in the contemporary society are of different types, namely educational and economic status. The significant role played by age in the earlier system seems to have decreased to some extent. The gradual breakdown of traditional hierarchical system in the Meitei Society has frequently brought about difficult circumstances in which the social relationship between interlocutors is not as clearly defined as it was in the past. For example, age and traditional hierarchical ranked system were undoubtedly more important factors in the past than they are today. In the past even some days difference in age and difference in the traditional ascribed status were sufficient to call for a different level of speech.

Honorific system is used in the contemporary society for enhancing one's own honor rather than that of interlocutors. In this context, the educated, cultured and urban dwellers by adopting the polite expression earlier used by aristocrats differentiate themselves from others, thereby reinforcing their linguistic differentiation from the commoners of the present day society. Thus, highly educated people are expected to use appropriate honorific expression. They use polite expression as means of showing their social status to others.

The crucial point is that people are expected to speak in an appropriate way according to their respective roles in society. Some people, for example, police personnel and contractors are relatively free from these expectations. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the secondary function of honorific usage is to indicate the speaker's social status (Ogino, et al. 1985).

However, admittedly, the pattern of speech levels and highly elaborated honorific repertories in Meitei community is a product of the historical background of the then princely state of Manipur. Its major portion, however, reveals traditional patterns of addressee honorifics found throughout in the speech community.

Notes

Abbreviations used in this paper.

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(H)	-	honorific suffix
H	-	any honorific word
F	-	Furture marker
Q	-	question marker
Inf	-	Infinitive marker
Asp	-	Aspect
sg	-	singular
pl	-	Plural

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Social Functions of Metaphor –
A Case Study Applying Tamil and Telugu Examples

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Introduction

We may use an ordinary language to convey our ideas, thoughts, and feelings to our fellow beings. We may also use metaphors, idioms, riddles, puzzles, proverbs, etc. embedded in the ordinary language. These additions to the bare ordinary language are termed by the scholars as 'figurative speech' in literature.

Previously, traditional scholars like Plato thought that, to use the figurative language, a person needs different cognitive ability. Such use is distinct from true knowledge. These are only ornamental devices and not necessary for effective communication.

But recent researches showed that human cognition is filled with various kinds of figurative speeches. Certainly poet's language is more attractive and creative than ordinary people's language. But much of our everyday speech reflects people's ability to use figurative language in their speech.

Aim of This Paper

The main aim of this paper is to describe metaphor, one of the figurative speeches commonly used in any society. Metaphor is used in various fields like art, science, myth,

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culture, politics, and speech acts, etc. In this paper, the author tries to point out the metaphors which are used in the fields of Arts (especially Cinema), Politics and Communication among the students.

There are specific reasons to select these areas. These three areas are more powerful in their own way. Cinema is the most attractive field all over India. Age is not a crucial factor when it comes to cinema. Cinema attracts persons of all ages, from small kids to very old people. Cinema and theater are used as channels for social change and political power. Cinema is also considered the best vehicle for conveying message to the society. Politics is a major field which attracts people with power and money. Students are free birds who can express their ideas freely and they are 'the citizens' of the future society.

Metaphor

Aristotle defined metaphor: "It consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else, the transference being either genus to species or from species to genus or species to species or on the ground of analogy" (*Poetics* 1457b). *Oxford Concise Dictionary* defines metaphor as 'the use of a word or phrase to indicate something different from (though related in some way) the literal meaning'.

Functions of Metaphor

i)   Metaphor is used mainly for communicating ideas or information.
ii)   It also has some special functions such as intimacy between the speaker and the listener.
iii)   It informs the attitude and belief in indirect ways.
iv)   It also signals formality or hostility.
v)   It also helps to indicate membership in a particular subgroup and to maintain social status (Gibbs 1994).

Martin (1995), in his book *Language and subculture*, refers to metaphors used by the underworld people as 'Antilanguage'. He exemplifies some of the metaphors which used by the underworld people of Calcutta.

Kaacaa keela	unripe banana	Young girl
Daabal dekkar	double Decker	Fat lady
Saain board	sign board	Married lady

Gibbs (1994), in his book *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language and Understanding,* also gives some items which are used among the drunkards and college students. He terms these items as 'metaphors'. For example, use of 'boose' in an informal situation and 'sprit' in formal situation for liquor. He also mentions that college students create thousands of metaphors to talk about their college life.

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Like Martin and Gibbs, in this paper, the author tries to describe the metaphors which are used in the fields like Cinema, Politics, and Communication among the students.

Importance of Cinema - Metaphorical Extension in Movie Domain

Cinema world offers many metaphorical expressions from the title to the end of the movie. The following are some of the titles which have metaphorical meanings. Examples given below are from the titles of Tamil movies.

Title of the movie	Literary meaning	Metaphorical meaning
puu onRu puyalaanadu	A flower turned a cyclone	The heroine who became ferocious due to the injustice meted out to her by the villain.
oru uudaap puu kaN cimiTTukiratu	A blue flower is winking its eyes	The lady who is having enchanting beauty like the blue flower.

tisai maaRiya paRavai kaL   The birds which   The lovers who could not get married and who, thus, changed their directions in life, not united in wedlock with each other.

Some more titles which are used metaphorically are as follows. 'kaTaloorak kavitaikaL', 'suvarillaata cittirangaL', 'niRam maaRata puukkaL', 'azhiyata kolangaL'.

One actor described the director of a movie, the unit members and himself as Krishna, the *Pandavas* and *Arjuna*. The movie is metaphorically described as "Kurushketra War".

The following example depicts the figurative speech clearly. "*arjunudiki srikrishnuDu radha sardhi ayinaTTu nirmaata nagalaxmi krushniDigaa ii harikrushna arjunuDigaa uuniT subyulu panDavulugaa neeTTi rayatu bharatamuloo samasyal pariskaramkoosam ceesina kurushetra yuddame tiger haricandra Prasad*".

In another movie, one actor tried to caution his sister-in-law's mother-in-law and father-in-law that their son married a spoiled girl. The following metaphor is used to describe the particular scene.

"*okatoo namber janta egareesi veltunnaanu. Miiru loo gaDDu praantamuloo unnaaru*". This caution is using the symbol of flood which is compared to that spoiled girl in the movie.

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Some of the scenes are shown metaphorically in the movies. The following are some of the examples:

The falling of *kumkum* (the auspicious powder which is applied on forehead by married women), *puuja* things and the stopping of 'harati' are the metaphoric symbols for the forthcoming inauspicious events in the house.

The cat licks the milk; the cat catches the parrot, milk is spilled on the floor, the wild animals attacking their inferior ones are some the symbol used in cinemas for the villain's molesting the heroine sexually.

The time and the seasonal change are metaphorically shown by revealing the potter's wheel, bicycle-wheel, and the tree with no leaves, and the tree which sprout the leaves.

The stormy ocean is shown to express the mental condition of the character when they hear the shocking news or unexpected news.

The elopement of lovers or the escape of somebody like prisoners or captives is depicted by flying of birds.

The picture of mongoose and snake reveals that close friends have became enemies like snake and mongoose.

Not only the titles and the scenes of the cinemas are metaphorically made but also the hero and the heroines get the titles/names metaphorically.

The hero/heroine whose movies are a great success at the box-office are described as possing 'golden leg' and the hero/heroine who is a flop may get the title 'iron leg'. There are titles also given to the hero/heroines depending on their performance and their mass appeal.

Rajini	superstar
Chiranjivi	mega star
Vijayashanti	lady boss, lady amitabh, dashing lady
Dev Anand	evergreen hero
Amitabh	big **B**
Sushila	ghana ko:kila
Hema Malini	dream girl
A.R. Rehaman	tune maantrikiDu

Movies are categorized in the following manner, depending on their acceptability to a variety of audiences.

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Erra cinema   Red movie the revolutionary movie
Class cinema
Mass cinema
Sentiment cinema

The success of the movies are termed in the following way

Hit
Superduper hit
Netti aTi
duuL
takker
cakkai pooTu

The flops are termed in the following way.

Flap
Balti koTTindi
Bolta koTTindi
Uuttikiccu

Metaphorical Extension in Politics

Now, let us see how metaphorical expression takes place in the domain of politics. Today politics occupies the most important place in the society. People take much effort to compete in the elections and get power through the elections. In this situation, election is compared with so many things like war, gambling, *jatra* (journey, struggle), festival, etc.

Election is framed like war. *Samaram, pooru, kurukhetram* and *yuddam* are expressions used to describe elections, keeping in mind the competition between the parties like the countries at war. The tools of war such as the troops like horse, elephant, warrior's arrows, and sword, etc. are compared to the powerful ballot box, voters' list, votes and the public. Public election is easily felt like a battlefield, with political parities engaging in war.

Election is compared with jatra. In this, how the people make arrangements to celebrate the village deities, the same way the preparations take place before the election. The following examples describe this:

ప్రభుత్వ నిధులతో చేపట్టె అభివృద్ధి ప్రారంభోత్సవాలు కూడా ముందుస్తు ఎన్నికలు జాతరను

తలపింప చేస్తున్నాయి. "The preparation which is undertaken by using the government

money (unlawfully) makes us remember the election jatra."

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In the same way election is treated as 'ఓటుల పండగ' "the festival of votes'' because the political leaders may do some development work in their constituencies and extend some favours to the people in order to get votes as just before festivals begin people start cleaning their houses, doing white-wash of their homes, etc.

Like election, politics is also compared with gambling, war, cancer, chess, suDigundam (whirl pool), etc. In gambling, if luck is there one can become rich. Otherwise one will totally be ruined. Likewise in politics if the person won then his life became more powerful with power and wealth. Otherwise the person will be totally ruined. So, politics is called రాజకీయ జదం. రాజకీయ చతురంగం etc

When a thing loses its identity or if it disappears due to the power of politics, then politics is referred to sudigunDam. ఉదా. 'రాజకీయ సుడి గుండంలో కను మరుగవుతుల్ల బతకమ్మ కుంట' "The temple Badukamma is disappearing in the whirl pool of politics".

To get votes, the political parties will take up some issues. Before the election they will show much interest relating to those issues. One such issue is *singuru* water. The news papers compared *singuru* water issue to vajraayutam (diamond-edged sword) and tarakamantram (life-giving and life-sustaining mantra). Each political party shows great interest in solving such probles as *singuru* water crisis. How vajraadudam is important to Indra *singuru* water issue is like vajraayudam to political leaders to get votes. So they are talking these issues like chanting tarakamatras.

Some of the diseases like HIV AIDS, cancer, diabetes are assumed to be incurable in popular belief. Politics is one such area where one cannot satisfy all the voters with permanent solutions for the problems faced in society, thus goes the popular belief. A person who is in power refers to politics as cancer due to the continuous trouble he faces from his opponents.

அரசியல் என்பது ஒரு புற்றுநோய் அதைக் குணமாக்க எந்தவித மருந்தும் இல்லை

In another incident politics is compared with gutter and *Kurushetra* war. Those who are cynical compare politics as drainage and those who get benefit out of politics compare politics as Kurukhetra war, a fight for justice.

அரசியல் ஒரு சாக்கடை "politics is gutter"
அரசியல் என்பது காய்கறி வியாபாரம் அல்ல.

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"Politics is not a vegetable business."

அது ஒரு குருசேத்திர யுத்தம். "It is a Kurukhatra war"

Political leaders and other prominent personalities also have various names depending on their behaviour. The following are the examples.

Samaraviira simham	Saddam Hussain
Apaddharma mantra	Chandra babu naidu
Mr. Clean	Rajiv Gandhi
Edaarikookila	Asok Gohtli
Abinava Sardar	Advani
Rajakiiya caduruTu	Ajit Jogi
Big bull	Harsa Mehata
Iron leg	Party that will face defeat.
muDupu, suitcase, peTTe	Bribe

College Students and Use of Metaphors

Gibbs (1994) points out that college students are so many metaphors to talk about their college life. The metaphors used by the college students can be divided into three types. 1. Terms used by the boys among themselves to tease girls and lectures. 2. Terms used by girls to tease boys. 3. Some terms common to both boys and girls.

Terms Used by Boys to Refer to Girls

STD	"The girl who is staying in the hostel and studying"
Ruuj party	"The girl who feels shy"
bonjaay	"The girl who has short hair"
pimplekapadiya	"The girl who has pimples"
One day match	"Fixing a lady for a night"

Terms Used by Boys to Refer to Lecturers (Teachers) in the College

Sprinkler	"The lecturer who sprinkles spit while taking class"
Spring	"The lecturer who jumps while teaching a lesson"
Periappa	"Head of the Department"
Jeyalalitha	"Lady's college principal"
Taabeelu meestaru	"The teacher who used to do things slowly"
Gantulu meestaru	"The teacher who jumps while teaching a lesson"

Metaphor Used by Girls To Refer to Boys

Maimoo	"The fellow who followed the girl silently"

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IDimannar	"The boy who touches the girl"
Primitive type	"Old fashioned boy"
Touch me not	"The boy who feels shy"
Buddhaavataaram	"The boy who does not show interest in any girl"

Terms Used to Refer to Both Boys and Girls

Kalaaykalaam	"To tease others
Kadale pooTalaam	"Chatting with girls
Landu pannu	"To tease others

Conclusion

The figurative speech is not only for poets. Even ordinary people use figurative speech in their day-to-day life. The deliberate use of metaphor in groups establishes a new track of speech communication for those who use metaphors. Group solidarity, speech fashion, and apt descriptions are all achieved through this process. People who are not part of the group may not fully comprehend the meaning of such metaphors. In this way the use of metaphor opens a new conversational mode in the society.

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Pragmatic Approaches and Models of Linguistic Politeness

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1. Review of Politeness Theory: Ideas of Leech

Leech approaches linguistic politeness phenomena to set up a model of what they call general pragmatics. Leech does not aim to account for pragmatic competence. Leech conceptualizes 'general pragmatics' as 'the general conditions of the communicative use of language. In addition to 'general pragmatics' Leech assumes two further pragmatic systems, pragmalinguistics, which we consider resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions and socio-pragmatics', to study more specific "local conditions on language use" (1983:11).

To study general pragmatics, Leech takes rhetorical approach, by which he means the effective use of language in its most general sense, applying it basically to everyday conversation.

Leech's approach is centered on the hearer rather than on the speaker. According to Leech (1983) the major purpose of politeness principle (PP) is to establish and maintain feelings of comity within the social group. "The PP regulates the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place which, again, is clear evidence of an evaluative, normative stance despite claims to the contrary" (Leech, 1983:3). According to Leech, politeness involves minimizing the cost and maximizing the benefit to speaker/hearer.

"Like Brown and Levinson, Leech also suggests that the degree of indirectness in the production of speech acts will increase relative to the increase in the cost to speaker and the decrease in the benefit to hearer" (Watts, 2003: 69).

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Leech also uses the two terms 'negative' and positive politeness, although they are defined somewhat different from Brown and Levinson. "Negative politeness with Leech consists of the minimization of the impoliteness of impolite illocutions, and positive politeness consists of the maximization of the politeness of polite illocutions" (Fraser, 1990:226) This involves that some kinds of speech acts are inherently polite such as congratulating, praising, etc, and that others are inherently impolite such as criticizing, blaming, accusing etc, and will be in need of minimization in the form of certain kinds of prefacing formula as:

"I'm sorry to say that, but…"

Important to Leech's theory is his distinction between a speaker's illocutionary goals (what speech acts) the speaker intends to be conveying by the utterance) and the speaker's social goals (what position the speaker is taking on being truthful, polite, ironic, and the like). In this regard, he posits two sets of conversational (rhetorical) principles. Inter-personal rhetoric and textual rhetoric, each constituted by set of maxims, which socially constrain communicative behavior in specific ways.

Politeness never explicitly defined, is treated within the domain of inter-personal rhetoric, which contains at least three sets of maxims those falling under the terms of Grice's cooperative principle (CP), those associated with an Irony Principle (IP). Each of these inter-personal principles have the same status in his pragmatic theory, with the CP and its associated maxims used to explain how an utterance may be interpreted to convey indirect message and the PP and its maxims used to explain why such indirectness might be used.

Leech distinguishes between what calls 'relative politeness' which refers to politeness vis-à-vis a specific situation, and 'absolute politeness' which refers to the degree of politeness inherently associated with specific speaker actions. Thus, he takes some illocutions (e.g. orders) and presumably the linguistic forms used to affect them to be inherently polite.

Within his account, negative politeness consists in minimizing the impoliteness of impolite illocutions. While positive politeness consists in maximizing the politeness of polite illocutions. For example, using 'if it would not trouble you too much….' as preface to an order constitutes negative politeness, while using 'I'm delighted to inform you …' as a preface to announcing the hearer to be the winner constitutes positive politeness for Leech. (Fraser, 1990: 225-26)

According to Watts (2003), the principal criticism of Leech's model, then is that it considers linguistic politeness from the point of view of speech act types, some of which appear to be inherently polite or impolite, but gives the researcher no clear idea of how an individual participating in an interaction can possibly know the degree and type of politeness required for the performance of a speech act.

Leech classifies the politeness principle into six maxims:

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1.The tact maxims: maximize hearer costs; maximize hearer benefit such as ordering, requesting, commanding, advising, recommending, etc. e.g. You know, I really do think you ought to sell that old car, it's costing more and more money in repairs and it uses up far too much fuel.

Solidarity ….. You know.
Hedge………… really.

2. The Generosity maxims: maximize your own benefit; maximize your hearer's benefit such as impositive, commissive. e.g. It's none of any business really, but you look so much nicer in the green hat than in the pink one.

If I were you, I'd buy that one.

3. The approbation maxim: maximize hearer dispraise; maximize hearer praise such as expressive. e.g. thanking, congratulating, pardoning, blaming, praising, condoling, assertive, stating, boasting, complaining, e.g. Dear aunt Mabel, I want to thank you so much for the superb Christmas present this year. It was so very thoughtful of you.
I wonder if you could keep the noise from your Saturday parties down a bit. I'm finding it very hard to get enough sleep over the weekends.

4. The modesty Maxim: expressive, assertive

a. Minimizing praise of self. e.g. well done! What a wonderful performance.
b. Maximizing praise of others: e.g. I wish I could sing as well as that.

This illustrates the illocutionary own abilities in order to highlight the achievement of the addressee

5. The Agreement Maxim: assertive

a. Maximize disagreement between self and others.

In the following examples, the speaker and the addressee are engaged in a political debate. The speaker wishes to make a claim about his political party but minimize the disagreement with the interlocutor. e.g. I know we haven't always agreed in the past and I don't want to claim that the government acted in any other way then we would have done in power, but we believe the affair was essentially mismanaged from the outset.

6. The sympathy maxim: assertive

a. Minimizing antipathy between self and others.
b. Maximizing sympathy between self and others.

The following example illustrates the illocutionary function of reporting in which the speaker makes an effort to minimize the antipathy between himself and the addressee, e.g. "Despite very serious disagreement with you on a technical level, we have done our

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best to coordinate our effort in reaching an agreement, but have so far not been able to find any common ground.

Brown and Levinson (1987:4) see politeness as deviation from rational efficient communication, which they base on Grice's co-operative principle (CP): they state: ' there is a working assumption by conversationalists of the rational and efficient nature of talk. It is against that assumption that polite ways of talking show up as deviations, requiring rational explanation on the part of the recipient, who finds in considerations of politeness reasons for the speaker's apparent irrationality or inefficiency'.

Leech (1983: 133) notes that not all his maxims are of equal importance. He says that the tact maxim is more powerful than the generosity maxim, and that the approbation maxim is more powerful than the modesty maxim. Thus he suggests that this concept of politeness is more focused on the addressee than on the speaker. However it is not very clear in which way one can judge that the tact maxim focuses on more on the addressee than the generosity maxim, and the same with approbation and the modesty maxims. This seems to be culturally dependent, since different cultures are likely to place higher values on different maxims.

Although Leech acknowledges the possibility of cross-cultural variability on this point, his theoretical framework remains unchanged and thus without an appropriate understanding of how the maxims vary cross-culturally it would be impossible to apply them to this study (Reiter, 1984).

2. Perspectives on Politeness

According to Fraser's classification of politeness (1990: 220), there are four models of politeness.

This section is an attempt to briefly present these four perspectives on how to account for politeness: the social norm; the conversational maxim; the face saving and the conversational contract.

2.1. The Social Norm View

This model assumes that each society has a particular set of social norms consisting of more or less explicit rules that prescribe a certain behavior, or a state of affairs, or a way of thinking in a context. This perspective is based on norms sometimes described at length in etiquette manuals, held by a society about ways of talking, behaving and even thinking. In this view, politeness correlates with formality. One example of these rules is the distinction some languages make between formal and informal forms of address. Although this view has few adherents amongst researchers it can be evidenced in parental efforts to educate children in socially acceptable ways (Blum-Kulka et al., 1990).

The social norm view of politeness reflects the historical understanding of politeness generally embraced by the public within the English speaking world. A positive evaluation (politeness) arises when an action is in congruence with the norm, negative evaluation (impoliteness – rudeness) when action is to the contrary (Fraser, 1990: 220).

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2.2. The Conversational Maxim View

The conversational maxim perspective relies principally on the work of Grice (1975).
It postulates a politeness principle together with Grice's co-operative principle. The main adherents to this view are Lakoff (1973-1989), Leech (1983) and to less extent Edmondson (1981) and Kasper (1986).

In an attempt to clarify how it is that speakers can mean more than they say , Grice argued that conversationalists are rational individuals who are , all other things being equal , primarily interested in efficient covering of messages. These conversational maxims are guidelines for the "rational" use of language in conversation and are qualitatively different from the notion and the linguistic rule associated with grammar. It serves to provide a set of constraints for the use of language for the use of linguistic forms in conversation. This view has developed out of Grice's cooperative principle and maxims. They function as constraints on language behavior; flouting them signals speaker's intentions through conversational implicatures. A rational analysis would cause the hearer to arrive at the conversational implicatures that a speaker, making a request indirectly, was doing so to avoid offense, thus to be polite.

2.3. The face-saving view

This view is derived from Brown and Levinson's model of politeness (1987), which is itself based on Grice (1975) and Goffman (1967) notion of face. It has been up to now the most influencial politeness model. The 'conversational contract view' was presented by Fraser and Nolen (1981) and Fraser (1990) and converges in many ways with the 'face-saving view'. It has been said to be the most global perspective on politeness (Kasper, 1994:3207). The underlying concept is that politeness strategies – negative and positive are used to soften the potential face threat to the hearer, or both of certain acts occur in interactions.

Brown and Levinson (1987:62,101,129) characterize two types of face in terms of participant wants rather social norm:

i. Negative face:

"The want of every competent adult member, that his action be unimpeded by others" the want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded"

ii. Positive face:

The want of every member that his wants to be described to at least some others' perennial desire that his wants or the actions, acquisitions, values resulting from them should be thought desirable. The organization principle for their politeness theory is the idea that "some acts are intrinsically threatening to face and require softening…." To this end, each group of language users develops politeness principles from which they derive certain linguistic strategies. It is by the use of these so- called politeness strategies that speakers succeed in communicating both their primary message(s) as

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well as their intention to be polite in doing so. And in doing so, they reduce the face loss that result from interaction (Fraser, 1990: 229).

Whereas Leech proposes that certain types of acts are inherently polite or impolite, Brown and Levinson propose that such acts are inherently face threatening – to the speaker, to the hearer or to both. They propose the following four way analysis:
Acts threatening to the hearer's negative face: e, g.. , ordering, advising, threatening, warning,

Acts threatening to the hearer's positive face e. g., complaining, criticizing, disagreeing, raising taboo topics,

Acts threatening to the speaker's negative face: e. g., accepting an offer, accepting thanks, promising unwillingly,

Acts threatening to the speaker's positive face: e. g., apologizing, accepting compliments, confessing.

2.4. The Conversational Contract View

The fourth approach to politeness is that presented by Fraser (1975-1981) who argues that during the course of time, or because of a change in the context, there is always the possibility for renegotiation of the conversational contract: the two parties may readjust just what rights and what obligations they have towards each other.

Politeness, on this view, is not a sometime thing. Rational participants are aware that they are to act within the negotiated constraints and generally do so. When they do not, however they are then perceived as being impolite or rude. Politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation; participants note that someone is being polite. This is the norm-but rather that the speaker is violating the CC. Being polite does not involve making the hearer not 'feel good,' all Lakoff or Leech, nor with making the hearer not 'feel bad', a la B & L. It simply involves getting on with the task at hand in light of the terms and conditions of the CC.

> The intention to be polite is not signaled, it is not implicated by some deviations from the most efficient bald on record way of using the language. Being polite is taken to be a hallmark of abiding by the CP being cooperative involves abiding the CC. Sentences are neither facto polite, nor are languages issue of less polite. It is only speakers who are polite, and then only if their utterances reflect an adherence to the obligations they carry in that particular conversation (Fraser, 1990: 233).

The main point that distinguishes this approach from others is that the rights and obligations of speaker and hearer are negotiated a new for each interaction, based on a variety of factors such as a history of previous encounters, participants perceptions of states, power, and roles and other features of context of situation.

In short, Fraser (1990) concludes that we enter into a conversation and continue within a conversation with the understanding of our current conversational contract (CC) at every

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turn. Within this framework, being polite constitutes operating within the then – current terms and conditions of the conversational contract (CC).

He adds, " politeness is a state that one expects to exist in every conversation, participants note not that someone is being polite- this norm – but rather that the speaker is violating the CC. Being polite does not involve making the hearer "feel good.   Summing up, while there are certain differences between the face –saving and conversational- contract perspectives, they share the same orientation: choice of linguistic form is determined in part by the speaker's appreciation of responsibility towards the hearer in the interaction. As such they deserve to be pursued.

3. Lakoff's Rules of Politeness

By the end of 1960s, many pragmatic approaches of linguistic politeness in relation to speech act theory have been developed by Grice and Lakoff who have documented great contribution of pragmatic studies and speech act theory as well as semantic theory. At the same time Lakoff became increasingly involved the American feminist movement of the late 1960s and 1970s and published a pioneering work on language and gender entitled language and woman's place.

Lakoff (1973) was among the first linguists to adopt Grice's universal construct of conversational principles in order to account for politeness phenomena. She claims that pragmatic rules will allow us to determine which utterances are deviant and respond neither to a semantic nor to a syntactic problem but to a pragmatic explanation. Thus Lakoff integrates Grice's conversational maxims with her own rules of politeness in order to account for pragmatic competences and thus fall within the domain of linguistics.

Lakoff (1973) claims that the Grice's maxims fall under her first pragmatic rules, since they mainly concentrate on the clarity of the conversation. However, she later claims that 'clarity' falls under her first rule of politeness: 'don't impose' and that the rules of conversation can thus be looked at as subcases of her first rule since the goal is to communicate the message in the shortest time possible with the least difficulty, without imposing on the addressee. Thus, she is implying that the rules of conversation are one type of politeness rule and since Grice considers his rules of conversation to be universal, Lakoff would be suggesting here, that this type of politeness is of universal applicability (Reiter, 2000: 8).

When it comes to reformulation of her rules of politeness, she does not provide a definition she uses; instead she appears to equate formality with aloofness, camaraderie with showing sympathy. However, without a definition of how aloofness, deference and camaraderie work in a particular society it is very difficult to see how politeness will be expressed in that particular group and thus one cannot make claims for the universality of the concept.

In this regard, politeness as seen far from being a 'set of strategies for building, regulating and reproducing forms of cooperative social interaction' is beyond the immediate control of individual and is therefore not strategic.

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Lakoff suggests setting up pragmatic rules to complement syntactic and semantic rules and adding a set of rules of politeness" to Grice's cooperative principle, which she redefines as the 'rules of conversation'.

Grice's fleeting comment about the need for a politeness maxim was thus taken up seriously. Lakoff also makes the strong prediction for pragmatics that there is no reason why such rules couldn't, in the future, be made as rigorous as the syntactic rules in transformational literature' (Watts, 2003:59).

Lakoff suggested two simple rules for what she calls "pragmatic competence". These rules serve as language guidelines for not only communicating something to the target, but also for maintaining good relations with the target throughout the interaction. The first rule is that the actor should be clear". The actor should choose utterances that communicate his or her message directly to the target without any unnecessary confusion.

Lakoff's second rule of pragmatic competence is that a person should "be polite" in the making of his or her utterances. By "being polite" the actor indicates his or her evaluation of not only the relationship between the actor and the target, but also the status of the target in the actor's opinion. Lakoff argued that if a conflict arises between the actor's attempt to be clear and his or her attempt to be polite, it is more important for the actor to be polite and avoid offending the target than achieve clearly in communication. She saw most informal interactions as attempts not necessarily to exchange information and ideas, but rather to reaffirm and strengthen relations between two parties. By being polite, a person can realize this conversational goal.

Lakoff's first rule of politeness explicitly stated that the actor should not impose or intrude into "other people's business". Lakoff's second rule of politeness dictated that an actor's utterance should give the target options. By following the target to make his or her own decision concerning how to react to the actor's utterance, the actor conveys his or her desire not to assert himself or herself unduly and risk offending the target. In order to be polite, Lakoff would argue that the actor should say to target, "It's time for us to leave, isn't it?" rather than "It's time for us to leave now". Lakoff's third rule of politeness was that an actor should make the target " feel good" by either being friendly towards the target or by making the target feel wanted. The pragmatically competent actor should choose utterances that convey a sense of equality or camaraderie with the target (Strohmetz, 1992:5).

In 1975, Lakoff posited the rules of politeness as follows: In her late work (1979, 64) she describes politeness as a tool used for reducing friction in personal interaction.
She (1975) proposes three rules of politeness which, she claims, are universal, although different cultures will consider these rules of different priority, or applicable under different conditions. Here three rules of politeness are categorized in the following manner:

3.1. Formality: keep aloof

3.2. Deference: give options

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Hesitations, hedges and euphemisms and lack of assertive behavior are all considered to be applications of this rule.

3.3. Camaraderie: show sympathy

The politeness intended in this rule is the desire to make the addressee feel that the speaker likes him and wants to be friendly with him is interested in him and so on.
Brown and Levinson (1978) renamed Lakoff's notion " don't impose " as " negative face" (freedom of hearer from imposition) and her notion of "rapport" as " positive face"(respected of self image or wants of both speaker and hearer).

4. Politeness Strategies

Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to the four highest level strategies (bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off record) as 'super strategies, to the strategies that emanate from these as "higher order strategies," and to the final choice of linguistic means to realize the highest goal as "output strategies –

4. 1. Bald on record

The prime reason for bald on record usage may be stated: in general, whenever S wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy H's face, even to any degree, he will choose the bald on record strategy. There are however, different kinds of bald on record usage in different circumstances, because S can have different motives on his wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency. Direct imperatives stand out as clear example, of bald on record usage.

Another motivation for bald on record FTA is found in cases of channel noise, or where communication difficulties exert pressure as speak with maximum efficiency. E.g. come home right now. (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 97)

Brown and Levinson pointed out that three areas where one would expect such preemptive invitations to occur in all languages are these (i) welcomings (or post greetings), where S insists that H may impose on his negative face; (ii) farewells, where S insists that H may transgress on his positive face by taking his leave; (iii) offers where S insists that H may impose on S's negative face.' To make it clear, let's cite some examples of greetings, farewells and offers from Brown and Levinson (1987:100)

Sit down
Come in
Please come in (sir)
You must have some more cake.
Don't bother, I'll clean it up.
Leave it to me.
I'm staying, you go.

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These three functional categories are all potential FTA; there is a risk that H may not wish to receive such invitations where this risk is great, we would expect some other strategy than bald on record to be utilized. Thus S will not say 'come in' to persons who are clearly more important than he and are clearly in a hurry.

4.2. Positive Politeness

Positive politeness is redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions acquisitions / values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable.

Positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image that claims for himself. Positive politeness is approach based; it 'anoints' the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants its wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an in group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked).

Unlike negative politeness, positive politeness is not necessarily redressive of the particular face want infringed by the FTA; that is, whereas in negative politeness the sphere of relevant redress is widened to the appreciation of alter's wants in general or to the expression of similarity between ego's and alter's wants.

Positive politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purpose of the interaction, as some how similar. For the same reason, positive politeness techniques are usable not only for FTA redress, but in general as a kind of social accelerator, where S, in using them, indicates that he wants to (come closer to H (Brown and Levinson, 1987:103).

Brown and Levinson (1987) classify positive politeness into fifteen strategies:

Strategy I**:** Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs goods)
Strategy 2**:** Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy to H)
Strategy 3**:** Use in group identity markers
Strategy 4**:** Intensify interest to H
Strategy 5**:** Seek agreement
Strategy 6**:** Avoid disagreement
Strategy 7**:** Presuppose / raise / assert common ground
Strategy 8: Joke
Strategy 9**:** Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants:
Strategy 10: Offer, promise
Strategy 11: Be optimistic
Strategy 12**:** Include both S and H in the activity
Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons
Strategy 14**:** Assume or assert reciprocity
Strategy 15**:** Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding cooperation).

4.3. Negative Politeness

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Brown and Levinson (1987: 129) state that negative politeness is redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: His want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded.

> Negative politeness on the other hand, is oriented mainly toward partially satisfy H's negative face, his basic want to main claims of territory and self determination. Negative politeness is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint with attention to very restricted aspects of H's self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded. Face threatening acts are redressed with apologies for interfering or transgressing, with linguistic and non-linguistic deference, with hedges on the illocutionary force of the act, with impersonalizing mechanisms (such as passive) that distance S and H from the act, and with other softening mechanisms that give the addressee on rent; a face saving line of escape, permitting him to feel that in response is not coerced." (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69-70)

Having chosen a strategy that provides an appropriate opportunity for minimization of face risk, S then rationally chooses the linguistic (or extra linguistic) means that will satisfy his strategic end. Each strategy provides internally a range of degrees of politeness, so S will bear in mind the degree of face threat in choosing appropriate linguistic realizations and in constructing and compounding verbal minimizing expressions (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

They classify negative politeness into ten strategies.

Strategy I: Be conventionally indirect
Strategy 2**:** Question, hedge
Strategy 3**:** be pessimistic
Strategy 4**:** Minimize the imposition, Rx
Strategy 5**:** Give deference
Strategy 6: Apologize
Strategy 7**:** Impersonalize S and H
Strategy 8**:** State the FTA as a general rule:
Strategy 9: Nominalize
Strategy 10**:** Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H

4.4. Off Record

A communicative act is done off record if it is done in such a way that it is not possible to attribute only one clear communicative intention to the act. Such off record utterances are essentially indirect uses of language, to construct an off -record utterance one says something that is either more general or actually different from what one means. In either case, H must make some inference to recover what was in fact intended (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 211).They also state that the degree of off-recordness varies in relation to the viability of another interpretation (literal meaning or conveyed meaning) of the utterance, as meeting the maxims in the context equally well.

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"Doing an act baldly, without redress, involves doing it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (for example, for a request, saying do X). Normally, an FTA will be done in this way only if the speaker does not fear retribution from the addressee, for example in circumstances where (a) S and H both tacitly agree that the relevance of face demands may be suspended in the interest of urgency or efficiency; (b) where the danger to its face is very small, as in offers, requests, suggestions that are clearly in its interest and do not require treat sacrifices of S (e.g., 'come in' or do its) and where S is vastly superior in power to H, or can enlist audience support to destroy its face without losing his own.

By redressive action we mean action that 'gives face' to the addressee, that is, that attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by doing it in such a way, or which such modifications or additions, that indicate clearly that no such face threat is intended or desired.

Brown and Levinson (1987) classify off record speech act into 15 strategies.

Strategy 1: Give hints
Strategy 2: Give association clues
Strategy 3: Presuppose
Strategy 4: Understate
Strategy 5: Overstate
Strategy 6: Use tautologies
Strategy 7: Use contradictions
Strategy 8: Be ironic
Strategy 9: Use metaphors
Strategy 10: Use rhetorical questions
Strategy 11: Be ambiguous
Strategy 12: Be vague
Strategy 13: Over generalize
Strategy 14: Displace H
Strategy 15: Be incomplete – use ellipsis

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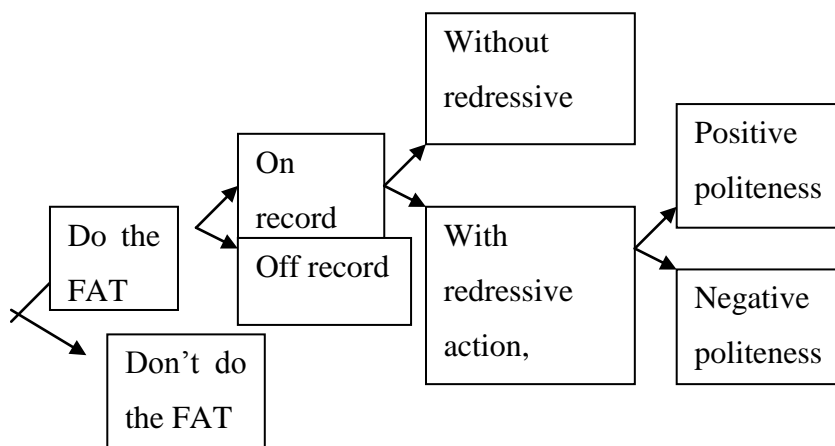
Fig (1)   possible politeness strategies for FTAs
(Adopted from Brown Levinson, 1987:60)

In conclusion, Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) propose taxonomy of possible strategies for performing FTAs summarized as follows:
Performing an act on record, but (baldly) without redress, entails doing it the most clear, unequivocal way 'stop a moment') on record with redressive action.

Redressive strategies may involve positive politeness roughly, the expression of solidarity, ' Since we both want to hear the announcement…'), or Negative politeness (roughly, the expression of restraint, e. g., 'If it wouldn't be too much trouble…). Off-Record politeness roughly the avoidance of unequivocal imposition) requires a more complicated inference, e.g., 'It would help me if no one were to do anything for just a moment'. Use of an off-record strategy may be motivated by factors other than politeness, for example, evading giving a direct answer to a question, or playing with language.

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1987:74) claim that a speaker must determine the seriousness of a face-threatening act in terms of three independent and culturally – sensitive variables which they claim subsume all others that play a principled role:

(i) Social Distance (D) between the speaker and hearer; in effect, the degree of familiarity and solidarity they share;

(ii) Relative power (P) of the speaker with respect to the hearer; in effect, the degree to which the speaker can impose on the hearer;

(iii) Absolute Ranking® of impositions in the culture , both in terms of the expenditure of good and/or services by the hearer, the right of the speaker to perform the act , and the degree to which the hearer welcomes the imposition.

In their attempt to produce' face or self-image ', speakers follow certain politeness strategies that vary from one culture to another (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Therefore, cross-cultural communication might result in misunderstanding and making wrong

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decisions (varonis and Gass, et al., 1985). There is evidence that even native speakers may misunderstand each other in case of going highly indirect in addressing their superiors for the sake of politeness (Linder, 1988).

5. Criticisms of Brown and Levinson's model

Brown and Levinson argue that positive, negative ,and off-record super strategies can be seen in ranked order, with off-record being the most face-redressive, followed by negative , and then positive politeness. This view has been criticized by Blum-Kulka (1992) and some other critics, who when analyzing data gathered from questionnaires to Israeli respondents, found that there was no clear ranking of these strategies.

Sifiannou (1992:119) argues where indirect and off-record utterances are conventionalized within a culture, they should not be regarded as more polite than other forms of politeness. (Cited in Mills, 2003:75) For example, indirectness is considered more polite than directness in British culture whereas in some cultures is not. For example, in Morccan Arabic, if you wished a member of your family to bring you an ashtray, you would say 'jeeb liya tafaiya'(Bring me an ashtray); any indirectness, for example using a phrase concerning the ability of the interlocutor to perform the act as in English' can you / could you', would be considered impolite, because you would be deemed to have assessed your relationship with the interlocutor incorrectly.

One such problem is that some politeness phenomena are beyond the descriptive scope of B & L's framework. For example, discernment rather face is said to be the motivating face behind Japanese politeness. Another problem is that both FTAs and politeness strategies cannot be identified using the same criteria. For example, as Meier (1995: 383) correctly points out, apologies as negative politeness strategies in B & L's framework, but they are regarded as positive politeness strategies by Leech (1983) and as both negative and positive strategies by Holmes (1990). (Cited in Ji, 2000: 1061)

Several critics argue that Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is constructed on the basis of European Anglo-Saxon culture and does not have any room for variability among individual culture.

Negative and positive politeness are generally characterized in Brown and Levinson's work as diametrically opposed strategies, but in several points in their work they are close to acknowledging that they are not so much opposed tendencies but different in kind'.

Harris (2001:200) also questions the notion that negative and positive politeness strategies should be seen as polar opposites. In her work on parliamentary debate, she finds that elements of positive and negative politeness are employed as the time, within the same utterance, (cited in Mills, 2003:76-77).

Eelen (2001) has critiqued the theoretical assumptions of Brown and Levinson and the theorists influence their work. She has addressed issues concerning these scholars'

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reliance on Speech Act Theory, their heavy focus on the speakers and their assumption that all politeness is strategic.

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Emerging Paradigms in Language Communication in India and Their Impact on the Corporate Competencies

Tanu Kashyap, M.Phil., Ph.D.

Regional Varieties of English in India

With the changing contours of the corporate culture, language barriers also need to be checked. The Indian corporate now has to interact with the global players. There is no dearth of highly capable managers in India but communication plays a major role in negotiations and finalizing deals with international companies. We need to view the use of regional varieties of English in this context.

The Indian subcontinent has several regional varieties of English, each different from the other in certain ways and retaining, to some extent, the phonetic patterns of the Indian language spoken in that particular region. These regional varieties are sometimes not even mutually intelligible. We cannot, however, dismiss the reality that there are people who are successful in shaking off their regional accent and speak a more 'neutral' form of English. We can decipher 'good' and 'bad' English speakers depending on the degree of approximation to the native and Standard Indian English. It also refers to the qualities of clarity, effectiveness and intelligibility.

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Participation in a Communication Process

As communication is a dynamic and collaborative process, both communicator and communicate invariably contribute to any break through or slowdown. There are many roadblocks that make our communication slow and inefficient. There are seven major barriers that hinder a productive communication:

- Difference in perspective
- Differences in knowledge level
- Lack of common language
- Adoption of stereotypes
- Strong emotions
- Self- centeredness
- Laziness

Difference in Perspective

Several factors contribute to one's perspective: the socio- cultural milieu has its strong influence on one's perspective, interpersonal experiences, temperament, personality, values, and position in life, religious and political beliefs. This perspective works as a two-way filter. Our perception towards people and things are shaped by our personal and cultural experiences.

We can explain this with the help of an illustration. Parents have difficulty in understanding their own children, especially teenagers. In a way this is strange because the parents have been through the same stages. The perception of the parents change, they evaluate them with parental eyes. They expect to see their offspring displaying wisdom at that age which they themselves lacked but which they acquired later. They disapprove of several things that their children do. And the children, instead of listening to their parents as well wishers, respond by regarding them as people who are totally out of touch with reality. A huge gap grows between them - this is called generation gap.

Differences in perspectives are probably the most treacherous of all communication roadblocks for they are difficult to detect. Everyone is convinced about their own world view. Scientists are supposed to be rational and are guided by their rationale which is based in hard facts. Thomas Kuhn in his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962-1970) documented how even the leading scientists tend to cling to their paradigms.

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Difference in Knowledge

Learning is always an ongoing process and it is virtually limitless, an amorphous thing. It is said that it is impossible to learn everything but it is possible to learn something from everyone for everyone knows something.

If we evaluate the knowledge which is made available to us under the varied branches- take medicine for instance - Ayurveda, Allopathy, Homeopathy, Unani - all impart knowledge towards curing diseases, but there is contradiction in all of them. This is so because there are different levels and schools in each branch of medicine.

If we talk about communication, the difference in knowledge level does pose a hindrance for comprehension and application of thought process of an expert and average person. The problem may grow out of proportion if the communicator is unable to put across the concept within the limits of the comprehension level of the listener. If we talk from the corporate point of view, the company will also look for an expert who has a fair amount of knowledge on the deal that has to be finalized. If for any reason there is difference in knowledge level the whole project can run into trouble.

Failure in Vertical Communication

It is not only in scientific or technical fields that wide variation in knowledge levels causes communication problems. In an organization, vertical communication in both directions may get distorted because of serious differences in knowledge levels. The employees may not make sense of the statements of vision and mission emanating from the top management. Workers may disappoint the top management with their lack of response to something that, in the opinion of the management, deserves their enthusiastic acceptance. This lack of interest was purely because of lack of understanding.

Lack of Common Language

The Indian subcontinent has numerous languages and dialects. The language, accent and dialect change after every 100 miles or so. People who speak the same language may experience difficulty when faced with different varieties associated with different knowledge systems. For instance, if a South Indian is made to listen to a discourse in Hindi, which happens to be an alien language for him since he has never been made to learn, there are bright chances that he may not pick up a single syllable, and hence understanding the concept is definitely a far cry. If we take up the case of the Indian Corporate, if a Spanish or Latin American company is the client and it deals in IT equipment, the company will have to arrange for either an interpreter or look for an in-house expert in the Spanish language.

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In addition to the fact that even the same people who speak the same language may experience difficulty when faced with different knowledge systems, the language of law, the language of computer software, the language of commerce, etc. - all have common words but they acquire new meanings if they are used as part of a particular profession or trade. Such words form a stumbling block in communication.

Tendency to Adopt Stereotypes and Jump to Conclusions

By birth an individual is unique in many ways. Later his environment, his friends, his caste, his profession, social status and experiences classify him in a category. This categorization helps others to understand him and treat him accordingly. Our notions of these categories guide at least our initial behavior. In the long run these categories turn into stereotypes. For instance, politicians are stereotyped to be manipulative, calculative and cold blooded; we somewhere deny the space to the people who are "unclean" as far as image goes, and yet we declare our willingness to work for the betterment of the people. We can categorically say that stereotypes simplify complexities of social life.

Such notions do affect the communication with the individuals we meet. Once our notions are built around stereotypes, we jump to conclusions fast. Such conclusions may not do justice with the individual who has been stereotyped.

Strong Emotions

Man is an emotional being and emotions can play havoc in our lives if unchecked. Strong emotions can make us turn blind eye towards things and situations that exist. They can affect the verbal and nonverbal symbols. We may use right words, but due to our strong emotions we may contradict through non verbal communication-the person to whom we are supposed to convey, will get mixed reactions. He will not be in a position to understand the meaning of the confused communication. Those who know us may learn to ignore these gestures but people, who are new to us, might be in a dilemma to understand what is being said to them. This situation is very common in corporate world where work pressure is high and time is less, stakes are high and brand value is at stake. Communication, if hampered, can be harmful to the company and the individual as well.

Self-centeredness

Man is emotional and egocentric being. There is nothing unusual in thinking about oneself and looking out for one's self interest. But, here too, certain limits need to be taken care of. We accept the fact that we cannot keep our interests at bay and look at the world objectively. The problem starts when we start thinking and protecting our own self interest and forget that it is not possible to promote our interests in isolation. We need to believe that man is social animal also.

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Enlightened self interest clearly perceives the need for appreciating and protecting others' interests. Crude self interestedness will not think this way. Unbridled self interestedness makes us blind just as strong emotions do. Self-centeredness makes us believe that others enjoy what we enjoy, others attach the same value to things we things we treasure and if they disagree with us they show their foolishness. Such measures distorts the communication that is about to take place. We are unable to see things impartially and it makes us myopic. On the other hand, some of us can see the speck in others eyes but cannot see beam in their own eyes. Varying degree of self centeredness can seriously weaken our role as communicator and communicatee.

Plain Laziness

To be a communicator is a tough job. It requires a lot of hard work. Even passive work of listening requires active work. Communication is hard work because of its inferential nature, because of the uncertainty about the meaning of the symbols, and because of the various constellations of symbols employed in each act of communication. But most of us allow the laziness to creep in. While preparing a speech we take little care as to find out the intellectual bent of mind of the audience, what kind of illustrations will be suitable to be quoted in the speech to make it lively.

In fact, it is laziness at the root of our general reluctance to write as well. We find it difficult to write down and elaborate the language symbols to make up for the inevitable absence of several helpful non-verbal symbols and instance feedback- the characteristics of face - to -face communication. Our choice of an inappropriate channel or our failure to display stems largely from our laziness. We may display the symbols that come naturally to us rather than seek out the ones that will make sense to the communicatee.

Emerging Paradigms to Overcome the Road Blocks

Oscar Wilde once said, "I can resist everything except temptation" has relevance in terms of temptation for sloppiness in communication. It may be business communication, verbal communication, drafting of business letters, memos, minutes or inter office communication, we usually display a cavalier approach in our communication. Though we do agree that no one can be perfect communicator or communicatee but there are paradigms that can be employed to overcome the sloppy mode of communication.

If we talk from the Indian perspective, we are a nation with diverse cultures, rituals, language, castes and creed. Communication is definitely a stumbling block for us, but still there are measures that can enhance the linguistic competencies.

Get to Know People We Communicate With

Sometimes statements or symbols do not have a fixed meaning. For example, if we give cash to someone and he says, "I will return the money on the first of the following month." He may mean that I will get back the money in a few days or that I should forget about the money. In this situation it may be advisable to have certain knowledge about the speaker. It is the same type of knowledge about the communicatee that helps us to determine what kind of symbols should be put forth to have a reasonable amount of chance to infer roughly what we actually want.

If we talk from the corporate point of view, it is paramount for us to identify what kind of person is our boss. Is he a verbal person or visual person? Would he act faster on a memo or a phone call? Would a colleague like to work alone or in a group? Would he require detailed written instructions or just the goals to be achieved?

If we understand the nuances of communication, we will be able to strike a balance and communication will become easy. We are too engrossed in our own world and there is little time to understand the people around us. The practical question that comes to our mind is: There are billion people in our country, leave alone the world – Is it practical to know so many people? How can we understand them? How will we know about their interests, likes and dislikes?

The answer to this question is affirmative. We need not know billion people but we need to communicate in a meaningful way with people like - friends, relations, neighbours, co-workers, superiors, subordinates, customers and so on. We should not have superficial knowledge but instead have deeper knowledge of the dreams, ambitions and aspirations of those people.

Are there any risks in doing so? The answer is yes. We may be influenced by the information. Our orientation towards the communicatee might change. That might be uncomfortable and unsettling. It is surprising but true that we know very little about the people we work with us. Our communication with them is shallow. That is why occasionally our calculations about them go wrong giving us both pleasant surprises and rude shocks.

Knowing the people we communicate with is a slow continuous process because everyone is undergoing continual change. Their perceptions change, values change, knowledge also changes. We have to keep up with these possibilities.

Looking through Other's Perspective

Looking through other's perspective is the hardest thing. Though it is against our instincts, this is a mantra that good communicator and communicatee use. We do agree that our perceptions grow from our roles and experiences. Getting into somebody's shoes is not easy - when a fifty year old

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man says he cannot understand his teenage daughter, the problem is not of language but that of perception. The man is unable to put aside the baggage he has acquired in the last five decades. His concerns and anxieties are no more those of a teenager. His wisdom has grown over fifty years. She cannot accept his wisdom. She is convinced that his wisdom is old fashioned, irrelevant. She is sure that he does not possess any idea of what is a teenager now. With neither side unwilling to see things from other's perspective, there will be a communication gap.

Looking at the things from the other's perceptive does not mean that we accept it. It means that we respect differences. Once we respect the differences we find it easier to understand the symbols they put up to communicate with us. Choosing the right symbols to display our meaning also becomes easier. On the whole it makes communication easier and on target. Trying to look at things from others perceptive prevents us from jumping to unfair and unsustainable conclusion.

Seek and Offer Feedback

''If anything can go wrong, it will" states one of Murphy's Law. This law is more applicable to communication. The very nature of communication invites misunderstanding. Only a fool will be sure that he is very good in communication, that he understands everyone well, and that everyone understands him without difficulty!

One of the ways to do this is to seek feedback, not only asking others what they have understood the presentation correctly. This, of course, has to done tactfully. When you give a child two or three instruction, it may be all right to put them in his own words what he is going to do. Such an approach would, however, insult a colleague. He might think that you treat him like a moron. More indirect feedback is called for in this situation.

When you are given complex instructions or explanations, it is useful to rephrase in your own words what they have told you and then ask if you have understood them correctly. This is really offering you feedback. Public speakers often rephrase their questions from the floor and check to avoid embarrassment of being told at the end of elaborate answer, '' That is not what I asked.''

Offering your feedback as a way of checking if the communication has been reasonably successful can take many shapes. You might offer to summarize a discussion at the end as a form of feedback. You might repeat the decisions at the end of negotiations. Minutes of meetings are a form of written feedback. You might repeat the decisions taken at the end of negotiations. Minutes of the meetings are a form of written feedback to all the attendees. Follow- up action also is another form of offering feedback. Seeking and offering feedback are essential safeguards against miscommunication.

Choose the Right Medium, the Right Channel

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There are three types of medium of communication - spoken, written and non-verbal. There are several channels: face-to-face, one-to-one, and one-to-many (public speaking), telephonic conversation, word of mouth, radio, television, video, letters, memos, notes, e-mail, newspaper, billboards and so on. Choice of the wrong medium or the wrong channel or both can ruin communication. If we take the spoken medium, it is not appropriate when detailed and accurate information, instructions or descriptions have to pass on. Many technical presentations without visual aids leave the audiences bewildered and confused. The presenters fail to communicate well because they have used a wrong medium.

Even simple instructions or directions can confuse a communication if there are several of them and they are given orally. Relative complex written instructions how to operate a machine may confuse a reader unless a demonstration or at least illustrations accompany them. In other words some communication needs multimedia involvement to be effective.

A wedding invitation card may not be taken as genuine invitation if not accompanied by an oral invitation given at the invitees place. A card that is not supported by the telephonic invitation if not face-to-face –may be understood nothing more than just information.

A notice put up at the bulletin board does not carry the same message as does individually distributed memo with the same text. Especially those occupying higher positions in an organization never stop to look at the notice board. Announcements at the notice boards have rarely had same level of importance as notes sent to them individually. So economizing on stationery will be unwise if the message is unwise if the message is important and is intended to reach everyone in the organization.

In organizations, vertical and horizontal movement of messages through the oral medium can cause severe distortions. So it would be wise on our part to choose the medium and channels for our messages.

Be a Careful Listener

The requisite of becoming a good orator is to a good listener. Ability to listen actively and emphatically is essential for becoming a good speaker. Listening provides feedback or vital clues how the communicatee is restructuring one's message. Even when the knowledge and language are required to holding the audience, other factors such as hostility, indifference, pre occupation, distractions can prevent the process. A good communicator is a good listener. He adjusts and readjusts the constellation of symbols depending on the feedback he gathers through simultaneous listening.

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Mark McCormack, author of the celebrated book, *What TheyDon't Teach You at Harvard Business School*, puts listening at the top of the essential qualities a manager needs in order to be successful.

The ability to listen, really to hear what someone is saying has far greater business implications, of course, than simply gaining insight into people. In selling, for instance, there is probably no greater asset. But the bottom line is that almost any business situation will handled differently, and with different results, by someone who is listening and someone who isn't (p.8)

In fact, five out of McCormack's seven-step plan (pp.22-24) is about listening: listen aggressively: observe aggressively: talk less: take a second look at first impressions and be detached (to heighten your powers of observations.)

Plan Your Communication Carefully, Especially the Difficult One

If communication is a leap in the dark, it is but natural that we miss the mark from time to time. Therefore it is imperative that we plan it as well as we can. There is no guarantee that we can put up the right symbols for the communicatee to recreate our message without serious distortions. Planning helps us reduce instances of gross mismatch between what we display and what the communicatee really wants.

Planning is asking ourselves what would be the best constellation of symbols for a given communicatee or group of communicatee to reconstruct our message from the minimum distortion. We might not always get the right answer but it is always worth trying, such as in difficult circumstances like public speaking and writing. Absence of feedback renders those situations dicey.

Planning is twofold- long term and short term. The long term process is essentially perfecting an approach to the people we need to communicate with. It consists of it consists of taking interest in them, in learning about them and learning tom look at things from their perspective. It is getting out cozy, egocentric world and getting into the world of the people we need to communicate with.

The short term approach is specific to the act of communication. It consists of asking ourselves specific question about the possible symbols to display for a given act of communication. Overconfidence and a cavalier approach are sure to lead to minor and major communication disasters.

The French queen Antoinette wondered why people around her clamored for bread didn't try cake. The ignorance and pathetic naiveté and ignorance shock us. The long term approach towards better communication is to make a habit to take interest in and get to know people we

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need to communicate with. Communication is therefore, hard work. If we talk about corporate competencies, we are forced to work with a variety of people- customers, co-workers, superiors, subordinates and public.

The emerging paradigms will definitely help us come across the hindrances in our day –to-day situations in our professional as well as personal life. Strong communicative skills will see us through in rough weather as well as in comfortable times.

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Role of Encoding Temporal Fine Structure Cues in Time Compressed Word Recognition

Vidit Vidyarthi, Ritika Mittal, Imran Anwar Ali Dhamani, and S.G.R Prakash

Abstract

With traditional envelope cues and limited spectral and temporal information it's quite challenging for a Cochlear implant listener to understand rapid speech. A deficit in temporal processing may further contribute to difficulty understanding fast speech by a Cochlear implant listener. Hence the present study was aimed at investigating the benefit of encoding temporal fine structure information in understanding rapid speech.

32 normal hearing adults with an age range of 18 to 30 years participated in the study. Two experiments were conducted. In Experiment 1 - Words were compressed to 30% and in Experiment 2 – words were compressed to 50% of their original length. Vocoding of words was done in MATLAB 6.5. In one condition, only envelope cues were given while in the other, fine structure cues were extracted using phase orthogonal demodulation. Low pass filtering was done for getting 400 Hz modulation rate and FM bandwidth of 500 Hz with an envelope cutoff of 500 Hz. Word recognition was measured in both the conditions and subjected to further statistical analysis.

A paired t-test revealed statistically significant improvement in word recognition scores with temporal fine structure cues in both the conditions. (Exp-1: t=6.984, p<0.000 & Exp-2: t=4.399, p<0.000) with a mean difference in the scores in Exp-1 = [1.875] & Exp-2 = [1.0625].

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Based on the mean difference in the scores obtained and our clinical observation in both the experiments, we can conclude that in spite of getting statistically significant improvement in the scores (p<0.00) with temporal fine structure information, the improvement is not clinically significant. This may be due to the adequate spectral information (22 channels) provided along with the envelope and fine structure information. Hence, with good spectral resolution there is not much effect of encoding temporal fine structure information on perception of rapid speech.

Introduction

Cochlear implants allow most patients with profound deafness to successfully communicate under optimal listening conditions, with good users being able to communicate on the telephone. Although much progress has been achieved in the design and performance of the cochlear implant systems, much remain to be done. A signal can be discomposed into its amplitude modulation and frequency modulation components. At present most of the cochlear implant signal processing devices are encoding temporal envelope (AM) cues into a restricted number of channels. These devices allows adequate speech perception in quiet environments for most of its users (Stickney et al 2005) but the utility of these temporal envelope cues is seriously limited to only optimal listening conditions (high context speech materials and quite listening environments) (Zeng et al., 2004).

Most of the recent studies showed that encoding fine structure (FM) information could improve CI listener's speech understanding in more realistic listening situations especially when background noise is one of the confounding variable. According to Zeng et. al., 2004, Frequency modulation serves as a salient cue that allows a listener to separate, and then assign appropriately, the amplitude modulation cues to form foreground and background auditory objects. Frequency modulation extraction and analysis can be used to serve as front-end processing to help solve, automatically, the segregating and binding problems in complex listening environments, such as at a cocktail party or noisy cockpit.

Nie et al., (2005) measured sentence recognition in presence of competing voice in 40 normal hearing adult subjects and showed that amplitude modulation from limited number of spectral bands is sufficient to support speech recognition in quiet listening situations but performance deteriorates in presence of competing voice and then it is important to encode frequency modulation along with traditional amplitude modulation (AM) cues to improve speech understanding.

According to Stickney et. al., (2005), FM is responsible for providing the formant transition and voice-pitch cues and is critically important when speech is severely impoverished as in Cochlear implants, In addition, it is plausible that fine-structure cues could-play a role in speech comprehension under conditions in which some of the other

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redundant cues are absent (e.g. Stickney, Nie & Zeng., 2002) such as might be the case of sensorineural hearing loss.

All these studies clearly indicated that fine structure encoding plays an important role in the improvement of speech perception in realistic listening situations especially in presence of noise, but realistic listening situations are not only confined to noisy backgrounds but can vary from noisy, reverberant environments to distorted speech signals in terms of either frequency or time.

When signal is distorted in temporal domain it could be either time expanded or time compressed. Time stretching can be used to compress the rate of presentation of speech without any changes in pitch, articulatory properties, or prosody of the original speech material. Time stretching preserves the pitch cues while only compressing the time domain. Artificial time compression of speech is mostly useful for the purpose of fast playback of long recordings, e-mails or voicemail messages and more commonly in making disclaimers.

Fu et. al., (2001), conducted a study to find out the effect of time compression and expansion on sentence recognition by normal hearing subjects and recipients of Nuclues-22 device. Results showed that majority of the CI listeners performed poorer in recognizing time compressed speech and also on simple temporal gap detection tasks. They concluded that the difficulties faced by the CI listener in recognizing time compressed speech are due to reduced spectral resolution and deficits in auditory temporal processing. Furthermore sensorineural hearing loss may be associated with a reduction in the ability to use fine temporal information that is coded by neural phase-locking (Buss et al., 2004).

Earlier lot of research work has been done and proved the effectiveness of encoding fine structure cues in noisy backgrounds, but still some areas are scantly explored i.e time compressed speech perception and need further investigation especially in Indian languages. Hence, present study took a step further and tried to explore the effect of encoding fine structure cues on time compressed word recognition.

Aim

The present study was aimed at investigating the effect of encoding temporal fine structure cues on time compressed word recognition.

Method

A. Subjects

A total of 32 adult (7 females and 25 males) normal hearing native Hindi speaker's with a age range of 18-30 years participated in the study. All the participants were high school pass with some pursuing their graduation while rest of them was doing their Masters degree

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in their respective discipline. Their pure tone audiometric threshold was within 20 dB with no indication of any middle ear infection.

B. Instrumentation

For the recruitment of subjects calibrated clinical audiometer (MAICO MA53) alongwith calibrated Immitance meter (Amplaid A756) were used to confirm normal hearing sensitivity in the test subjects and to rule out any middle ear pathology. Adobe audition 1.0 software installed on a Dell laptop (Inspiron 1420) was used for recording of words, generation of noise and further mixing of noise with the recorded words. Further processing and creation of acoustic simulation of CI were done in MATLAB-6.5. Presentation of test stimuli during the experimental tasks were done via good quality Logitech headphones connected to a Dell laptop (Inspiron 1420) with inbuilt sigmatel high definition audio card.

C. Test material

All the recording and generation of stimuli were done in Adobe Audition 1.0 software. Twenty standardized Hindi phonetically balanced words (taken from Indian speech, language and hearing tests - the ISHA battery, 1990) were recorded from male native Hindi speaker in a double wall sound attenuated booth. The words were uttered at a comfortable level and recorded with a microphone at a distance of about 12 cm from mouth. Recording was done at a sample frequency of 48 KHz with 16 bit. Words were time compressed to 30% and 50% of their original length in Adobe Audition 1.0 software.

D. Testing environment

All the testing for subject selection was performed in an air conditioned, acoustically treated room with taking care of the ambient noise level which was within the permissible limits (ANSI S3.1 1977). Experimental tasks were performed in a quiet environment.

E. Signal processing

MATLAB 6.5 software was used for the processing of the recorded stimuli. All stimuli were pre-emphasized with a first-order, high-pass Butterworth filter above 1.2 kHz. The analysis filters were fourth-order elliptic bandpass filters with 50-dB attenuation in the stop band and a 2-dB ripple in the passband. The speech signal processing bandwidth was 80 Hz - 8000Hz. Signals were processed through 22 band pass filters using 6th order Butterworth

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filters. The length of the noise/masker signal was always kept greater than the speech signal. The filter bank parameters were kept according to the Greenwoods map (Greenwood., 1990) to mimic cochlear filters.

The AM was extracted by full-wave rectification of the output of the bandpass filter, followed by a low-pass filter in each band pass using 6th order Butterworth filter. The low pass cutoff frequency for AM was kept at 500 Hz. Phase orthogonal demodulation technique was used to extract FM from each band by removing the centre frequency at each band.

The group delay between AM and FM pathways were compensated. Low-pass filters were used to limit the frequency modulation range. Instantaneous frequency was then calculated from the in-phase signal and the out-of-phase signal. The instantaneous frequency was further band-limited and low-passed to limit the frequency modulation rate at (400 Hz) and bandwidth at 500Hz, additionally, an amplitude threshold device was used to remove artificial frequency modulations exaggerated by a differential process in the algorithm.

The center frequency was re-introduced and the instantaneous frequency integrated for the recovery of the original subband phase value. In the last stage of the synthesis part, the recovered bandpassed signals were summed to form the synthesized speech containing the processed slowly varying amplitude and frequency modulations.

The AM-only stimuli were obtained by modulating the temporal envelope to the subband's center frequency and then summing the modulated subband signals. The AM+FM stimuli were obtained by additionally frequency modulating each band's center frequency before amplitude modulation and subband summation. Before the subband summation, both the AM and the AM+FM processed subbands were subjected to the same bandpass filter as the corresponding analysis bandpass filter to prevent crosstalk between bands and the introduction of additional spectral cues produced by frequency modulation.

All the frequency bands were then summed to produce the acoustic simulation of the cochlear implant and the processed stimuli was saved on a CD and played back during the experimental tasks in random order.

F. Procedure

All the subjects performed experimental tasks in a quiet environment. Each word was assigned to both of the strategies. Two experiments were conducted. In Experiment 1 - Words

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were compressed to 30% and in Experiment 2 – words were compressed to 50% of their original length. Over all set of stimuli comprised of 80 processed words [Experiment-1=40words {20(AM) & 20(AM+FM) and Experiment-2=40{20(AM) & 20(AM+FM)}].

In each trial, presentation of processed words was done through good quality (Logitech) headphones connected to a Dell laptop (Inspiron 1420) with an inbuilt sigma tel high definition audio card. A selection trial with unprocessed speech was offered prior to testing to screen out subjects who scored below 80%. Following this selection trial, a practice session was given to familiarize the subjects with the processed speech. No score was calculated for this practice session. During the main experiment subjects were asked to repeat the words after hearing them. The listeners were not familiar with the speaker whose speech samples were used.

Results

As shown in the table 1.0, in general with fine structure information an overall improvement of 9.37% percent was obtained in Experiment-1 (30% time compression) as compared to 5% improvement observed in Experiment 2 (50% time compression). A paired t-test was administered on the word recognition scores obtained in both the experiments to find out the significance of effect of encoding temporal fine structure cues on the word recognition scores. Results revealed statistically significant improvement in word recognition scores with temporal fine structure cues in both the experiments. While with traditional envelope encoding a mean score of 14.87 in Experiment-1 and 15.15 in Experiment-2 was obtained, temporal fine structure encoding yielded a mean score of 16.75 in Experiemnt-1 and 16.21 in Experiement-2 (Exp-1: t=6.984, p<0.000 & Exp-2: t=4.399, p<0.000) with a mean difference in the scores in Exp-1 = [1.875] & Exp-2 = [1.0625].

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SUBJECTS	30% COMPRESSION SCORES			50% COMPRESSION SCORES		
	AM	AM+FM	DIFFERENCE(%)	AM	AM+FM	DIFFERENCE(%)
1	17(85%)	18(90%)	5%	16(80%)	17(85%)	5%
2	14(70%)	18(90%)	20%	18(90%)	18(90%)	0%
3	17(85%)	18(90%)	5%	15(75%)	17(85%)	10%
4	14(70%)	16(80%)	10%	17(85%)	17(85%)	0%
5	16(80%)	18(90%)	10%	16(80%)	16(80%)	0%
6	16(80%)	19(95%)	15%	20(100%)	20(100%)	0%
7	11(55%)	16(80%)	25%	13(65%)	15(75%)	10%
8	10(50%)	12(60%)	10%	12(60%)	14(70%)	10%
9	14(70%)	16(80%)	10%	17(85%)	17(85%)	0%
10	18(90%)	18(90%)	0%	18(90%)	18(90%)	0%
11	17(85%)	18(90%)	5%	17(85%)	17(85%)	0%
12	11(55%)	15(75%)	20%	14(70%)	15(70%)	0%
13	17(85%)	17(85%)	0%	17(85%)	19(95%)	5%
14	14(70%)	16(80%)	10%	11(55%)	17(85%)	30%
15	19(95%)	20(100%)	5%	18(90%)	19(95%)	5%
16	18(90%)	19(95%)	5%	18(90%)	18(90%)	0%
17	12(60%)	15(75%)	15%	9(45%)	11(55%)	10%
18	13(65%)	18(90%)	25%	14(70%)	16(80%)	10%
19	19(95%)	19(95%)	0%	16(80%)	16(80%)	0%
20	15(75%)	15(75%)	0%	12(60%)	14(70%)	10%
21	16(80%)	19(95%)	15%	17(85%)	18(90%)	5%
22	13(65%)	15(75%)	10%	15(75%)	15(75%)	0%
23	16(80%)	16(80%)	0%	14(70%)	14(70%)	0%
24	17(85%)	18(90%)	5%	18(90%)	18(90%)	0%
25	15(75%)	19(95%)	20%	17(85%)	19(95%)	10%
26	13(65%)	15(75%)	10%	12(60%)	12(60%)	0%
27	12(60%)	16(80%)	20%	16(80%)	16(80%)	0%
28	12(60%)	13(65%)	5%	14(70%)	14(70%)	0%
29	17(85%)	17(85%)	0%	13(65%)	15(75%)	10%
30	12(60%)	14(70%)	10%	13(65%)	16(80%)	15%
31	15(75%)	17(85%)	10%	14(70%)	17(85%)	15%
32	16(80%)	16(80%)	0%	14(70%)	14(70%)	0%

Table 1.0, showing the word recognition scores obtained in the two experiments.

SUBJECTS	AGE	SEX
SI	25	F
S2	23	F

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S3	25	M
S4	26	F
S5	27	M
S6	27	M
S7	23	M
S8	26	M
S9	25	M
S10	27	M
S11	22	M
S12	23	M
S13	25	M
S14	26	M
S15	24	M
S16	23	F
S17	19	F
S18	23	F
S19	19	M
S20	20	M
S21	23	F
S22	22	M
S23	21	M
S24	21	M
S25	21	M

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S26	24	M
S27	31	M
S28	18	M
S29	24	M
S30	29	M
S31	27	M
S32	24	M

Table 1.2 showing total number of subjects with their age and sex. Total 7 females and 25 males participated in the study.

Discussion

Recent studies have shown that temporal envelope cues with limited spectral information are sufficient for good speech perception for the current Cochlear implant listeners in quiet listening situations (Stickney et al 2005). But problem occurs, when a Cochlear implant listener has to listen in a more realistic listening situation. Earlier research work has proved that only envelope encoding is not sufficient to understand speech in noisy listening environment, and there is a need to encode additional temporal fine structure cues to improve the CI listener's performance in such kind of listening situations (Zeng et al., 2004, Stickney et al., 2004, Nie et al., 2005) but when we talk about realistic listening situation, it is not only confined to noisy backgrounds but can vary from noisy reverberant environments to distortion in the speech signal either in temporal or frequency domain.

There was a need to further assess the utility of encoding these fine structure cues on speech perception in other kinds of realistic listening situations. Hence, present study took a step forward by investigating the effect of encoding temporal fine structure cues in perception of temporally distorted speech. A technique called time stretch was used to compress the speech signals without altering the frequency component of the signals. Speech recognition was measured in two time compression ratios (30% and 50% time compression) with only temporal envelope encoding and with both temporal envelope plus fine structure encoding.

The results of the present study imply that the improvement in the word recognition scores in the two experiments with the encoding of fine structure information is statistically highly significant ($p<0.000$). But from our clinical experience, overall percentage

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improvement in the word recognition scores with the encoding of fine structure information (Experiment.1 = 9.37% and Experiment.2 = 5%) and the mean difference in the scores obtained in both experiments (Experiment1 = 1.875, Experiment2 = 1.0625), it is quite clear that although the improvement in the scores is statistically highly significant but not much significant from clinical point of view. As showed by Fu et. al., (2001) that understanding of time compressed speech is also dependent upon the spectral resolution and with improvement in spectral resolution, speech recognition also improves, we can contribute the clinically non significant improvement in the scores with the fine structure encoding in the present study to the good spectral resolution (22 frequency bands) provided in both the experimental conditions. Hence in future research work could be carried out to investigate the effect of encoding fine structure cues in time compressed speech recognition with varying number of frequency bands.

Conclusion

Results were quite conclusive and indicated that by providing good spectral resolution in the present day cochlear implant speech processors alongwith traditional envelope cues a good listening experience can be facilitated to its users especially when listening to rapid speech. Additional fine structure encoding may be beneficial in presence of restricted spectral resolution alongwith traditional envelope encoding, but this is still a question for future research and need further investigation to arrive at any final conclusion. Hence, in future research work could be carried out to find out the effectiveness of encoding fine structure information in perception of time compressed speech with varying number of channels.

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Negotiating Boundaries: Arab-American Poetry and the Dilemmas of Dual Identity

Abraham Panavelil Abraham, Ph.D.

Abstract

Like postcolonial literature, Arab-American literature also has its origin in the credibility and acceptance of the principles of change: social, psychological and linguistic changes. To absorb these changes involves an immense effort on the part of these people to break with the old in search of the new, to break with establishment and the tradition. They struggle to establish an alternating identity; feeling the conflict between the old and the new.

This article will focus on some of the contemporary Arab-American poets like Sam Hamod, Naomi Shihab Nye, Mohja Kahf and Nathalie Handal who address these issues in a direct, even confrontational manner to delineate their concerns.

Caught between two worlds, the characters negotiate a new social space, caught between two cultures and often languages, the writer negotiates a new literary space. "Doubtlessness" is the essence of their writings. What unites this body of Arab-American writings into one literary system are partially the recurring themes, often in binary oppositions, which permeate it: acculturation, duality, discrimination, alienation between parents and children, memories of wars, poverty and prosperity.

In the final analysis, these writers indirectly remind us that stereotypes and prejudices, war and genocide are overcome only by bridges of dialogues and not by walls of separation.

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Who is Arab-American?

Many travelers find themselves saying of an experience in a new country, that it wasn't what they expected, meaning that it isn't what a book said it would be"- Edward Said in *Orientalism*

Coming to America, I have felt on my own heart what W.E.B Dubois invoked: two souls, two thoughts in one dark body.' But now at the tail end of the century, perhaps there are many souls, many voices in one dark body- Meena Alexander in *The Shock of Arrival*

Who is an Arab-American? In simple terms the name Arab-American is part of the group of immigrants living in America, people of diverse background with stories of war, exile, lost language, cherished tradition and the need for reinventing home and self. An Arab- American is an immigrant or American born, a Muslim, Christian or Jew.

Nowadays, an Arab-American is sometimes a person faced with negative stereotypes especially after the 9/11 and the Iraq war, a turning point for Americans and those people of Middle Eastern origins.
Many Arabs and Muslims experienced increased hostility and suspicion after the September 11th. Many a time they are targeted on the basis of skin color, dress, name, accent and other characteristics. This has become institutionalized in the pervasive racial profiling in places like the US Airports and border crossings.

But these along with the other political events that culminated with the 9/11 and beyond forced Arab-Americans to grapple with their identity. They realized that they had to "write or be written". You have to "define yourself or others will define you". The result is that Arab-American writers are now carving out a new role in America just like African Americans or Asian Americans. Now these writers are coming to the foreground, creating new spaces for their voices and new urgencies of expression.

Some Characteristics of Arab-American Diasporic Writings

Arab-American writings share much with post colonial/diasporic writings. Like them, Arab-American literature also has its origin in the credibility and acceptance of the principles of change: social, psychological and linguistic changes. To absorb these changes involves an immense conscious effort on the part of these people to break with the old in search of the new, to break with establishment and the tradition. They struggle to establish an alternating identity; feeling conflicted between the old and the new. The writers address these issues in a direct, sometimes in a confrontational manner through their poems and stories.

It is not merely a matter of adapting to a new environment, or adjusting to customs, of learning a new language. It is much more profound, a displacement so far reaching. It is an agonizing process of alienation and displacement on the part of an Arab-American.

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Negotiating a New Social and Literary Space

Caught between two worlds, the characters negotiate a new social space, caught between two cultures and often languages; the writer also negotiates a new literary space. "Doubleness" is the essence of their writings. Like the post colonial, diasporic literature, Arab-American writings capture the two invariables of their experience: exile and homeland. All diasporic literature is an attempt to negotiate between these two polarities. These writings undertake two moves, one temporal and the other spatial. It is as Meena Alexander puts, 'writing in search of a homeland' (1993:4).

The temporal move is a looking back at the past and looking forward to a future. According to Pramod K Nayar, "It produces nostalgia, memory, and reclamation as literary themes… [Here] the writer looks forward to the future, seeking new vistas, new chances. This produces themes of the ethics of work, survival, and cultural assimilation" (2008: 188).

Poetry and Arab-American Writers

Poetry is the fundamental Arab literary form and it has continued to provide some of the most powerful Arab-American voices. In ancient times poems were committed to memory and recited by nomadic tribes. A major theme was the lament for the desert encampment that had been abandoned or left behind, a recurring theme even today as these writers long for a homeland they may have been forced to leave.

Most of the poems written by Arab-Americans are of personal nature. They centre on culture, race and ethnicity. On the one hand they see themselves as Americans. On the other hand they still identify them with their countries of origin and try to cling proudly to their native lands.

Sam Hamod

Sam Hamod, Naomi Shihab Nye, Mohja Kahf, Suheir Hammed and Nathali Handel are some of the Arab-American poets who have tried to examine the essential Arab identity that had been lost during generations of assimilation. Since the 1960s, Sam Hamod has published poetry about his country of origin, Lebanon, as well as the Middle East in general. He was one of the first writers who have given a literary voice to Muslim Arab-American experience.

In the poem, "Dying with the Wrong Name" a landmark poem that has been translated into over twenty different languages for what it says about Arab-American, and all others who lost their names upon arrival at Ellis Island in the late 1800's and 1900's. The poem communicates the dramatic effect of loss and identity for the immigrants, their children and grandchildren. To quote from the poem:

> Na'aim Jazeeny, from the beautiful valley
> Of Jezzine, died as Nephew Sam,
> Sine Hussein died without relatives and

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Because they cut away his last name
At Ellis Island, there was no way to trace
Him back even to Lebanon… (Lines 1-7).

Your Identity is Sealed with the Wrong Name!

Your name, your identity is "cut" off. But it is not merely your name that is removed. To quote from the poem again, "the loss of your name/cuts away some other part, /something unspeakable is lost" (21-23) "There is something lost down to the bone/in these small changes" (11-13). A man in a dark blue suit at Ellis Island says with /tiredness and authority, "You only need two/names in America' and suddenly – as clearly /as the air you've lost/your name' (Dying with the Wrong Name, 19). Hamod uses the second person to identify an Arab-American: "you move/about as an American" (19-20). You drive your Ford, You run your business 'a cigar store in Michigan City, and /in the back room a poker game with chips and/bills…" (27-29). You may procure employment at a factory, one of the "packinghouses in Sioux Falls/and Sioux City, "before ending up in Gary, Indiana (32-33). You work hard, conform to the "American dream" and may even develop a degree of prosperity, "from/nothing to houses and apartments worth more than/a million- in each sweaty day in Sioux City" (33-35). You listen to the same kinds of music as other Americans, "B.B. King and T-Bone Walker" (39). You "buy time": "each dollar another day mixing names and money" (40). And then you die to be buried "under/a stone carved in English" (47-48). But the language is not right, and neither the names:

…the Arabic of Hussein Hamod Subh,
Na'aim Jazeeny, Sine Hussein
Lost
Each one sealed away
With the wrong name (48-52)

Fusion Within Bifurcated Identity

In the final analysis, the "world comes together". American and Lebanon fuse within the immigrant's bifurcated identity:

Sine Hussein is still sitting in that
Old chair, upholstered in brushed maroon wool…
You know the smell, the smell of this room, meat and fried onions,
Fresh garlic on the salad, tartness o lemon
Twists into the air, and an ease toward evening
As you walk in
All the silence splits into hellos and hugs
While the world comes together
In the small room (56-72)

Slowly you get assimilated. You find that English words (i.e. "Hello") are useful. You start enjoying the new land, food and the rift is somewhat healed. All of a sudden, you

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remember eating "fatiyah" with your forebears who came to America in 1914. Two realities exist; one is America and the other Lebanon, "that other reality, where his name, that /language.

The Hybrid Identity and Grape Leaves

In Hamod's "Leaves", anthologized in *Unsettling America*, he uses concrete images to show the hybrid identity in an American family. As the poem opens, Sam and "Sally" are cooking a traditional Mediterranean dish: stuffed grape leaves. The leaves are depicted as icons of heritage; cultural emblems, which must be cherished:

  …we get out a package, its
  Drying out, I've been saving it in the freezer, it's
  One of the last things my father ever picked in this life…
  We just kept finding packages of them in the
  Freezer, as if he were still picking them (lines 2-8)

Here, Hamod is drawing a parallel between ethnicity and grape leaves. Just as heritage goes on and on, so do the grape leaves; they are symbolic. His father, defender of the "faith", takes extra precautions for their preservation, "packing them/carefully. "So they don't "break into pieces" (9-11).

Besides this, Hamod's father himself emerges as a figure representing an entire culture. The truth is that there is that very little about him is American. He speaks and writes broken English in a heavy accent: "To my Dar Carnchildn/David and Laura/From Thr Jido" (12-14). On the contrary, his Arabic letters are strewn everywhere in the upstairs storage.

But the marks of Americanization are still found in him. To quote him again, "English lettering/hard for him to even point" is" one of the few pieces of American/my father ever wrote" (lines 17-21). The language is described as "American" rather than English. It is actually culture, the hybrid identity, that is being depicted here, though his father's "American" qualities are rather inadequate, compared to his Lebanese background.Hamod ends the poem with a strong sense of ethnic identity: "Even now, at night, I sometimes/get out of the Arabic grammar book/Though it seems so late" (32-34)

Visiting and Revising Dual Identity

Hamod's "After the Funeral of Assam Hamady", also anthologized in *Unsettling America* depicts this hybrid/dual identity again. Here, Hamod breaks the traditional poetic form in providing a voice for several characters with the structure of a screen play. The cast of 5 characters is unique with all the characters speaking in the poem, with clarity as to who is speaking and when, each with their own characteristics. The poem begins like a play:

  Cast:

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Haj Abbass Habhad: My grandfather
Sine Hussain: and old friend of my father
Hussein Hamod Subh: my father
Me

6 p.m
Middle of South Dakota (lines 1-7)

The Process of Losangelization

The opening line suggests the impact America has upon the "cast'. Therefore being patt of a film suggests 'Losangelization' has taken place. However, it also points out something unnatural, unreal, or fake about the roles that the cast plays. Here the Arab-American is not a real American but merely an actor who tries to imitate. The idea of being part of a movie recurs throughout the poem, with short stanzas that emphasize the quickness and scene-like quality of the scenario, like a fast-paced movie that slips from one piece of action to another.

The narrator is driving a 1950 Lincoln, an American car. Significantly the model is named after the famous President Abraham Lincoln. The narrator carries a "Navajo blanket" with him. Although Navajo may not typically seem "middle American" to most readers, they are part of the broader category that represents the oldest residents of the land, and they certainly have nothing to do with Hamod's country of origin, Lebanon; he has adopted an American emblem.

Differences between Generations

But a difference exists between Hamod and the older generation. They are not as americanized as he is: their ties to the home land remain stronger. As they drive back from the funeral, they demand that Hamod pull over along the side of the road so that they can get out and pray, which is the main action of the poem:

   "STOP THIS CAR RIGHT NOW!" Hajj Abbass
                   Grabbing my arm from the back seat
   Hysht Iyat? (What're you yelling about?)" – My Father
   : Shu Bikkee?" (What's happening?)- Sine Hussin

   I stop
   "It's time to pray" – the Hajj (17-21)

While the older generation begins to pray, the narrator does not join them and instead remains, "sitting behind the wheel" while "car lights scream by" (29-31).

Loasangelization (Americanization) has influenced him so much that he cannot endure the nuisance of maintaining the inconvenient traditions from his homeland. They urge him to join, but he refuses: "Hamod! Get over her, to pray! /No, I'll watch /and stand

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guard" (41-43). In this stanza, punctuation disappears, building suspense and quickening the pace of the action.

The whole scene is punctuated with irony and humor. Hamod writes:

Three old men
Chanting the Qur'an in the middle
Of a South Dakota night
Allah Akbar
Allah Akbar
In high strained voices they chant
More cars flash by…
I'm embarrassed to be with them (58-73)

Faith Transcendent

In contrast to his youthful embarrassment at the scene, in retrospect Hamod views the faith of the older men as something transcendent and redemptive. "I always liked trips, travelling at high speed," he writes, "but they have surely passed me/as I am standing here now/trying so hard to join them/on that old prayer blanket- /as if the pain behind my eyes/could be absolution" (Dying, 16).

While the narrator is embarrassed by this incident, even to the family patriarchs maintaining the old ways seems to be difficult. Their voices are "strained". Continuing old traditions are not easy in the new world. The choice of the word "strain" recurs further in the poem, but this time it is applicable to an American: "people stream by, an old woman strains a gawk at them" (76).It is significant that she too is of an older generation. Hamod suggests that older people get "set in their ways" and lose the freedom to look at the world and at each other objectively, to try new things and to try for fresh ideas. In an ironic way, in spite of their cultural differences the lady and Hamod's older companions are very much alike in this respect.

Ameen (Amen) to the Transition to the Past to the Present

The word "Ameen" uttered at the end with a heavy accent reminiscent of the Middle East, signals a transition from the past to the present. Here, Hamod re-evaluates the past and concludes that he has missed something cultural. Some parts of his roots are gone and it fills him with longing and a desire for some degree of restoration.

I hear them still singing
As I travel half-way across
America
To another job
Burying my dead
I always liked trips, traveling at high speed
But they have surely passed me
As I am standing here now

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Trying so hard to join them
On that old prayer blanket-
As if the pain behind my eyes
Could be absolution (95-106)

Assimilate or Retain? Linguistic Aspects to the Fore

Here the tension between the need to assimilate and the need for one's own ethnic identity is delineated. The poet feels that his ancestors have outdone him, "passed" him along the road of life. He regrets missed opportunities to partake in the cultural practices of his countrymen and now those chances are lost forever. He wants to regain some of the old traditions but he cannot. Two realities exist side by side; one is America and the other Lebanon, "that other reality, where his name, that /language, Hussein, Sine Hussin, I'm a Brahim, Asalmu Aleikum/all of these sounds were part of his name, this was that other /edge of Lebanon he carried with him, that home" (86-89).

Even the sounds in names, each individual phoneme, are important. These linguistic aspects are a significant component to one's cultural identity. Hamod in the poem indirectly emphasizes that the Lebanese identity has not been lost despite other changes; rather, the two identities have been merged. The poem, in fact, captures a very strange state of the diasporic/immigrant individual as the poet seeks to two cultures and languages without abandoning either. A central theme in diasporic writings including the Arab-American writings is the negotiation of new identities.

Identity in Limbo

Another poem by Hamod in the anthology is entitled "from Moving" where the poet says that the hybrid identity forces one into a sort of limbo where one never stops moving. The character develops a split-consciousness of being an Arab-American and American.

The poem uses extended metaphor of being lost at sea to describe the experience of emigrating from one country to another. The poem's title, "from Moving", indicates the after effect of moving from one's native land to another, the agony of "uprooting and re-rooting". The poet has used spaces between select words:

So we move now
My new wife and I, my children
Move further away   like lost
Shipmates crying to me for help (Lines 1-4)

Hamod uses italics and quotation marks to emphasize key terms. The poem ends with extra spaces between words that continue to play up the idea of separation:

Before them
Everyone   everything stuck together   things stayed
And when they moved   grandmothers   fathers (26-29)

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Here the poem ends abruptly indicating that the family members have lost contact for good now. They have floated away in the currents, out of sight of each other. "Out of sight, out of mind" This indirectly means that when one immigrates to a new country, one leaves behind many things that had been very dear.

Naomi Shihab: Making Space for Change

Palestinian American Naomi Shihab is another poet who affirms and gives voice to Arab culture and tradition while at the same time making space for change. Nye, daughter of a Palestinian Muslim father and an American Christian mother, is one of the most well known Arab-American authors: a prolific writer who has earned an avid readership among Arab-American and mainstream American audiences, children and adults, Nye has managed to bring Arab culture and politics into the US sphere in a deeply humanistic fashion.

According to her Arab-American identity "is not something to be preserved or denied or escaped or romanticized: it is just another way of being a human. In language that is readily accessible to a mainstream US readership, Nye creates spaces in which Arab and Arab-American experiences can be articulated, not through nostalgic reclamation, but by honoring the diversity of experience and the necessity of change.

The Process of Becoming

In her poetry, Nye dismantles the idea of a self that is static and stable, and insists instead on a selfhood as a process of becoming and discovering. In the poem "Half and Half", for instance, she addresses the dynamics of bifurcated identity. The poem closes with a resonant image of inclusiveness: "A woman opens a window – here and here and here- She is making a soup from what she had left/in the bow, the shriveled garlic and bent beans./ She is leaving nothing out" (19, Varieties, 97)

Palestinian Experience of Tragedies

Nye also addresses the darker side of Arab-American and Palestinian experience – stereotypes, racism, political tragedies – exploring what it means to have a cultural inheritance that is not always easy or positive. In the poem "Blood" she narrates a childhood experience: "a girl who knocked on her door and "wanted to see the Arab". Nye says they didn't have one. After that she says, her father told who he was: "Shihab"- shooting star'-/ a good name, borrowed from the sky" (19 Varieties, 136).

What Does It Mean to be a True Arab?

But the poem then moves from a light hearted consideration of possibilities offered by her father's folktales of being a "true Arab" to a deeply troubled questioning of the implications and responsibilities of this identity. What does it mean to be a "true Arab", especially in the context of political tragedy (in the case of this poem, the 1982 massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Chatile camps in Beirut).

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As Nye asks at the end of the poem, "What does a true Arab do now?" (137). The painful resonance of this final question lies precisely in her inability to answer it. The gift of heritage, Nye makes clear, is also a warning; notions of "true" identity are easily reified into the hard lines of absolutes that lead to bloodsheds. What matters, she suggests, is not one's ethnic identity, as much as the cares and concerns one human extends to another. Through her poetry, Nye creates spaces in which Arab and Arab-American experience can be articulated, not through nostalgic reclamation, but by honoring the diversity of experience and the necessity of change.

Cultural Schism Experienced by Children of Immigrants

Mohja Kahf, a Syrian American poet has also emerged as a vibrant voice representing the Arab-Americans. Kahf's poems explore the cultural schism experienced by the children of immigrants.

In a poem called "The Passing There" that refers to the Robert Frost poem "The Road Not Taken" Kahf describes crossing an Indian field with her brother in search of raspberry bushes. The farmer who owns the field is "no Robert Frost/although he spoke colloquial". He curses the children, his epithets "express[ing] his concern /about our religion and ethnic origin" (Emails, 18).

This childhood incident becomes, for Kahf an emblem of her life in the new world- her positioning in, but not quite of, the American landscape. In the Syrian life, she might have had, "other purples waited, a plum tree had our name on it"; the vineyard watchman "chases away/children whose names he knew- our parallel- universe Syrian selves among them" (19). But in Indane, "My brother and I crossed through a field. Its golden music weren't ours" (19).

Caught between the competing requirements of memory and amnesia, the conflicting pull of the old and the new land, the children navigate mutually exclusive worlds.

A Difficult Co-existence

What Kahf takes from this duality is not just the wrenching apart, but also a necessary, if difficult, co-existence. The Indiana field is superimposed on the Syrian field; cornfield choirs and Arabic anthems come together in unlikely but vibrant counterpoint. At the poem's conclusion, the echoes of Frost make clear that the new world's claims are ineluctably present, imbuing the structures of language as well as of identity: 'My brother knows this song:/How we have been running/to leap the gulf between two worlds, each/with its claim. Impossible for us/to choose one over the other, /and the passing there/makes all the difference" (20)

Here Kahf does not just absorb and reflect the Frost dictum: she transforms it. For her, as for other Arab-Americans, it is not a matter of choosing one world over the other, Arab or American. She insists that Arab-American identity exists at the point of crossing: the hyphen linking cultures, the gulf between two worlds. Hers is not the

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dream of univocal identity, feet firmly rooted on one side of the divide, but rather the messy reality of hands strained with American berries, shoulders limned Syrian dust. Kahf knows that it is not the choosing of one path as Frost would have it, but the passing between both that makes all the difference.

Integrating Arab and American Identities in the Individual through Language

Kahf's integration of Arab and American identity occurs partly through language. Her writing draws on both American colloquialisms and Quranic suras; it is informed by American free verse, with its tendency towards tonal subtleties and understated imagery, yet is imbued with an energy that draws on the heart of the Arabic oral tradition and Arabic poetry.

At times, Kahf is very explicit about her intention to sue Arabic influences to revitalize the English language. In "Copulation in English" she writes : "We are going to dip English backward/by its Shakespearean tresses/arcing its spine like a crescent/We are going to rewrite English in Arabic" (`71).

Drawing on Arabic not just for specific images and words, but also for its sheer exuberance, Kahf celebrates Arabic language and culture and identity even as she creates a new language that can negotiate the passage between Arab and American making space for both without any apology. Although the lyric mode preferred by older writers continues, contemporary writers are increasingly creating a new diction for the expression of Arab- American realities.

Suheir Hammad: Linking National and International Contexts through Justice

Suheir Hammad is yet another Arab- American contemporary voices. Her writing links national and international contexts, moves from rage against sexual violence to anguish over Palestinian suffering to Arab- American experiences to social justice issues in the U.S. Narrating the violations which Palestinians have endured as well as the racism encountered by Arab- Americans, she also engages directly with cultural self-criticism, critiquing sexism and racism within Arab communities. And she insists that U.S readers acknowledge their own historical legacies of violation against Native Americans. In her poem "In America" she writes, "Right now you are standing on stolen land no matter where you are reading this poem" (http://www.suheirhammad.com;accessed Jan.21, 2007).

An Enduring Search for Home

Like many Arab- American writers, Hammad also articulates a search for home – a home located beyond the dual legacy of violence in the Middle East and exclusion in the U. S.and a search for an identity in a foreign land. In a poem captioned "Broken and Beirut", she focuses on the connections between a history of violence and oppression, and the need to recreate both self and world.
The poem begins by invoking the Palestinian experience of war and massive destruction: "people blown apart burned alive/flesh and blood all mixed together/a sight

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no human being can take/and yet we take and take…" Yet out of this horror of piecing together body parts from the rubble, she holds out the possibility of finding- or creating- some vision of home and self.

Tired of "taking fear and calling it life," as he puts it, she longs to go home to a place beyond pain, bombs and wars. "I want to remember what I've never lived," she writes, "a home within me within us/where honey is offered from my belly---return to what we've forgotten…/to the drum the hum the sum of my parts.". This is not an escapist notion: it requires work, imagination and memory. But out of it comes something fruitful and hopeful: "honey/on the lips of survivors" ("Born Palestinian", 97).

Nathalie Handal: On Arab Exilic Experience Around the World

Nathalie Handal is yet another Arab-American poet of Palestinian origin who is worth considering. Like Hammad, she also brings an extra dimension of exile that is covered by Palestinian experience. She also negotiates questions of identity, community and selfhood within the framework of Palestinian exile. Her poetry is different from Hammod in the sense that she deals with the question of dual identity not just on U.S. soil but also in the whole world.

Her first collection of poems, *The Never Field* deals with the classic journey of the exile through memory and history in search of both home and selfhood, arriving eventually at an imaginary home where language holds up the hope of transfiguring historical and personal realities. Her second collection, The *Lives of Rain*, shows the different faces of exile and Palestinian experiences. The book's opening poem, "The Doors of Exile" is a portrayal of the tragic condition of exile: "the shadows close a door/this is loneliness:/every time we enter a new room" (1).

Other poems talk about the traumas of war and occupation especially on the survivors and mental agony that of those who suffer when they speak of their own historical and personal realities. In the poem "Twelve deaths at Noon", the narrator asks, "When was the last time we looked at our reflections/and saw ourselves, not jars of eroded bones/not the small child in us looking for our burnt eyelashes. /When was the last time we slept without dreaming we died,/without wishing the killed dead, without looking for our gun/while making love?"(15)

From Palestine, the poem moves to North Africa, South and North America. Languages and places shift and collide, creating a sense of both gain and loss: Arabic and Spanish and French and English, Morocco and Mexico and the Caribbean and the Balkans and Miami and New York. However, these linguistic and cultural shifts provide only some stop-gap arrangements: as she "travel[s] and move[s]/from one continent to next, move, to be whole"(36). According to Handal"Home is who we are" ("Baladana, 33) but home keeps moving and it is not within one's grasp. She stands "at the corner of a small road somewhere between my grandfather and what seems to be my present, "her identity remains something just out of reach: we write a ballad to celebrate ourselves, baladna, and wonder, is that what it's like/to dance in Arabic?" (33).

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City of Lights and City of Black-outs

In the poem "Amrika", Handal asks, "does one begin to understand the difference/between Sabaah el khyr and bonjour, /the difference between the city of lights and black-outs"? (58). In the face of throats "swollen with history"(59), it is a question without answer. Yet in the final section of the poem, "Debke in Ne w York" there is a sort of homecoming. She says, " I arrive…I wear jeans, tennis shoes, walk Broadway, pass Columbia, read Said and Twai…recite a verse by Ibn Arabi/and between subway rides to the place I now call home, listen to Abel Halim and Nina Simone" (63-64). The arrival seems to be of fragmentations but the resonance is cumulative. The poem concludes: "It is later than it was a while ago…and I haven't moved a bit,/my voice still breaking into tiny pieces/when I introduce myself to someone new/and imagine I have found my way home" (64)

Recurring Themes Unite Arab-American Poets

In the final analysis what unite this body of Arab-American poets into one literary system are partially the recurring themes, often in binary oppositions, which permeate it: acculturation, duality, discrimination, alienation between parents and children, memories of war, poverty and prosperity. They all reflect both the diversity of the Arab cultural roots on which they draw and the diverse ways in which these cultural roots play out in the U.S. For some writers, Arab-American literature will always be about the narrative of leaving behind one identity and acquiring a new one. For others, Arab-American literature has global implications where there is a possibility of a cultural reinvigoration. All of them agree on one thing that Arab- American ethnicity and expression is a matter not just of the past, but of the present and the future

Arab-Americans have been writing stories and poems for more than a century, and increasingly the stories that they make seek to remake the world they live in. The world that emerges is a multicultural one, made of many cultural strands. In her memoir, the language of Baklava, Diana Abu-Jaber asks, "Why must there be only one home?" (328). It seems to be a question that echoes throughout Arab-American literature.

As one examines the evolution of Arab-American literature over a century, it is obvious that Arab- American authors have moved from a stance of defensiveness to self-assertion, producing literary texts that speak to their own realities and chart a space for their voices. In their work it is evident that if "home" is finally only possible in the imagination, it is nonetheless a space with infinite possibilities even when the Arab-Americans are negotiating the boundaries.

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The Role of Self-Directed Learning Strategy in Higher Education

Rajesh Bojan, M.A., M.Phil.

Abstract

If there is any difficulty or dilemma in choosing a right path, the teacher is there to support and guide. The teacher could show you, make you understand which is right and suitable for you and it is your duty to begin the journey from which point you become the authority of every step of yours. Instead, if you wish your teacher to hold your hands and walk along, I am afraid there is no justice preserved. It is to say, as a learner you have misunderstood what real learning is and your master has misapprehended what true teaching is. Neither of you have discovered anything at all.

It is primarily the aim of this paper to examine the necessity for self-directed learning in higher educational context especially in India. Additionally, it will also present some useful suggestions on how to facilitate the self-directed learning strategy in our day-to-day teaching.

Introduction

Learning could be extremely rewarding if observation is attentive and properly utilized. There are many who possess multi-disciplinary knowledge and talents. Such individuals have qualified themselves for such merits by years of self-education and immeasurable practice.

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What is to be learnt is first of all observed well. The nuances and dimensions are comprehended one after another and digested. Initially, the ability to imitate produces a great effect in the process of building our learning. Thus, after sufficient practice the potential to produce a product of originality is attained. For instance, no bird is ever taught to fly, it is by observation the young ones make their progression. It is the same observational skill that makes the cubs to develop the strategy required to catch a prey. We would never have got Shakespeare if he had not closely observed the stage of his day or if he had considered himself ineligible due to the lack of formal education.

Self-directed Learning

It is the capacity to be self-directed that makes one qualified to be successful in any individual's attempts. In such an autodidactic learning structure, observation is just one of the components. Self-directed learning or autodidactism has been a popular area of study for several years. According to Malcolm Knowles, Self-directed learning is a process in which:

> individuals take the initiative, with or without the help of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies and evaluating learning outcomes (Knowles, 1990).

Need for Self-Directed Learning in India

Most of the learning condition in India, whether it be elementary, high school or college level, is neither effective nor educative. This is especially true in terms of analysing the learners knowledge and competence in English. It has become very usual to see so many individuals with postgraduate and even research degrees unable to produce a grammatically right sentence of their own in English. The main cause for it in my point of view is the lack of quality in the educational system that we follow. Moreover, the condition is such that anyone with an eligible degree could step into the teaching profession whether he is qualified to it or not. For a mere reason of securing employment many enter into the teaching field and most of them have no passion for teaching. It is not my purpose to complain, but it is simply unavoidable to question the educational standards for the benefit of the learners.

Some teachers are so traditional and not aware of modern developments that they still follow the same old procedure in handling their subjects. I have directly come across many tutors who have been dominant and authoritative in their teaching that they never even care about the requirements of the learners. Such a military teaching which is merely informative and never allows the learners to be independent and original is not going to be helpful in anyway. Such teachers create a mindset or impression on the learners that they have no other way than to be dependent followers of them. Even if the learners are talented they hesitate to come forward as an independent learner since they have been deprived of such opportunities.

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Such a kind of repeated instruction shapes the learners as machines that could only work when operated. They keep listening, listening and listening until they get bored of the whole thing and ultimately loose interest in the end. Though in recent years the way of teaching has moved from traditional to communicative, the growth is still unsatisfactory specifically in India. Teachers must take prime interest to create an atmosphere in which learners could maximum work on their own. They need to support, motivate and trigger the learners's ability to be independent, creative and original in their learning process.

Learners could enrich their knowledge and boost their experience by experimenting things on their own. If learners are trained to be dependent it would without doubt affect their growth in both academic and public context. Learning in India could be an excellent experience to growing learners if the educational institutions could reconsider their approach to teaching especially in the elementary level through implementing suitable self-directed learning exercises in their curriculum. By facilitating self-directed learning strategy at the elementary level itself, it is possible to bring an exceptional difference in the quality of education.

Learners and Their Self-directed Learning

In a self-directed learning situation, learners take complete control of their learning. They fulfill their learning needs by participating in self-learning with or without depending on others. While formal learning cannot be ignored, self-directed learning plays an important role in our lives. The ability to attain our goals depends on the fact how well we apply the principles of self-learning in our day-today actions. In order to understand why self-directed learning is important and necessary, it is essential to learn the distinction between the teacher-directed and self-directed environment.

Major Differences between Teacher-directed and Self-directed Learning

The following table lists the major differences underlying the concepts of teacher-directed and self-directed learning:

	Teacher-Directed Learning	Self-Directed Learning
Process	The process of learning is controlled by the teacher and learners are supposed to strictly adhere to the regulations laid by the institution or teacher throughout the learning process.	In the self-directed learning condition, the learners have full control of their learning. Depending on the requirements they manage their learning.

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Limitations	In a formal educational situation learners are mostly enrolled in a particular course in which limitations are present and the only objective is to complete the course through a project, test or examination.	The concept of self-directed learning does not restrict to anything. Based on what the learners want to learn, the amount of learning could extend as much as it is needed. Learners have the liberty to learn what they want to learn in their own way and style.
Actions	Learners have less or no opportunities to decide their actions. They are to blindly follow the pre-established framework of learning as well as the directions of the instructor.	All or most of the actions and decision-making is associated with the learners. It is they who decide the what-how-when matters of learning.
Goal	Goal is determined and set by the course providers. Learners are required to learn the content selected and prescribed.	In the self-directed learning situation, it is the learner who determines what is to be learnt depending on the nature of goal he wishes to attain.
Monitoring	In the teacher –directed learning condition, the performance of the learners is monitored by the teacher who is the only source of feedback, suggestion and motivation.	Learners monitor their performance, make necessary changes in their course of actions and adapt to the learning situations on their own. They are self-motivated and in most cases fulfill all learning needs on their own.
Evaluation	Learners lack opportunities to evaluate themselves. For the most part it is the teacher who identifies and corrects the problems of the learners.	Learners are able to self-evaluate the outcomes of their learning process. Such an experience paves a splendid way for the learners to identify and analyse what went wrong and take the necessary steps to overcome difficulties on their own.

When learners have the independence to choose their learning matter and manage the learning process on their own, an immense difference is visible in their performance level. It is primarily because, these learners are learning what they wanted to learn and in the way they wanted it to be learnt. Unlike a formal learning condition where there is no room for independency, here, learners could actually do what they want and take decisions suitable to them on their own or collaborating with anyone. Right from the selection of the content or subject, choosing appropriate resources, setting objectives and goals, fixing the learning strategies and up to

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monitoring, managing and evaluating the whole learning process the responsibility lies entirely with the learners.

Benefits of Self-Directed Learning

Self-directed learning is a great tool for both in-class and out-class context. Normally, learners under a teacher-directed situation remain passive as they have been trained to act according to the instructions. The case is just similar to the traditional teacher belief that learners are incapable to learn on their own, handle situations for themselves and eventually lack the necessary skills and knowledge to act independently. It was commonly believed that learners could succeed in their tasks only under the direction of the teacher.

After the proposal of the communicative principles, the entire perspective of learning and teaching experienced a change. Teacher was not anymore considered to be the controller of the class, learners were not anymore mere listeners instead they were active participants. Teaching strategies moved from mere book- reading to a lively environment facilitating more interaction. Such a change was in fact a contributing factor for the innovations in the field.

Now, things have changed better. Teacher-direction has become limited and learners are given full priority to establish their own learning. The ability to self-direct has created confidence, learners have learnt how to determine what is important to them, they are good in selecting that which is appropriate from the different possibilities available to them, and they have also understood how to deal with complicated situations in the learning context. Self-directed learning has made it possible for the learners to develop observational, cognitive and processing skills enabling them to be successful self-directed learners.

Work Place and Self-directed Learning

Not just in a classroom context, it is indeed a great advantage to be self-directed in nature even in the workplace. It is difficult to be a successful self-directed worker all of a sudden. People who have failed to experience self-direction in their early life show lots of difficulties in their progression both in education and profession. Employers are very concerned regarding the workmanship of their employees. They are highly selective and seek for individuals who have multi-talents. Employers are in constant need of workers who are capable:

  a. To handle their work successfully
  b. To be successful in individual and cooperative conditions
  c. To communicate effectively at any given situation
  d. To identify and solve problems
  e. To apply their learning in their places of work
  f. To learn from their experiences and improve their work performance

Being autodidactic in nature is highly helpful in all walks of our life. Self-directed learning strategy has attracted great attention over the number of years from its initial implementation

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with the adult learning context which has in the course of time progressed and influenced the elementary and the working environment as well.

Components of Successful Self-Directed Learning

Proper and timely functioning of the following components are necessary for any self-directed learning process to be successful. Unless every organ in our body functions in the way it has to be, it is not possible to be healthy and normal. Similarly, self-directed learning could become an accident and waste of time leading to failure if the components are improperly managed. It is very important to comprehend the components well and develop what is necessarily lacking in us. The outcome depends on how effectively the components are handled by the learners.

1. **Ability to Observe**

Observation makes matters easier to understand. It is the key element through which we familiarise with the world around us. Learners who fail to observe, obviously encounter difficulty, confusion and misunderstanding. To develop the ability to observe well it is important to learn to be focused, interested and distraction-free.

2. **Information Processing**

Unless there is an action there cannot be a reaction. All our reactions are indeed answers to some actions. The information acquired by us must be processed to be understood. If the information is processed, filtered and digested well, it is possible to react effectively.

3. **Precise in Selection**

It is depending on what is essential to him, a self-directed learner selects a subject for study. For instance, it is insane if a language learner wishes to master the languages of every nation. First of all, such a task is not practical. In case, he is genius enough to make it practical, it is of no valuable use. A successful self-directed learner chooses his content precisely depending on the nature of what he wishes to achieve.

4. **Ability to Analyse**

The knowledge to analyse things is highly important. Our learning experiments may go ineffective or wrong if we fail to analyse our course of actions properly from time to time.

5. **Decision-Making**

Learners should know how to make proper decisions. Most often we are thrown in situations in which there are necessity to make decisions. We would land up on something worse if we are unable to make any decisions or by mistake take any wrong decisions. However, learners should

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also learn not to jump to sudden decisions. The success behind a self-directed learner lies in his ability to take right decisions in the right time in all of his learning actions.

6. Goal-Setting

Learners should be able to pre-determine their goals. They ought to know what would be the outcome before they have begun the actual learning process. They should also have a clear idea on how to progress successfully in order to attain the goal.

7. Self-Confidence

The process of self-directed learning could sometimes be difficult and may require much hard work. There are possibilities of conditions that we may even feel it is no more possible to continue. Learners may feel disinterested and dejected at times worrying about their learning outcomes. In order to tackle all such problems, learners should learn how to deal with such difficulties confidently. Improving self-confidence could be an effective measure against the pressures of the obstacles.

8. Self-Awareness

Learners should monitor their progress frequently. They should be aware of their learning process. Learners should posses the knowledge to know what is suitable to them and need to have a complete understanding about their weaknesses and strengths.

9. Managing Resources

Self-directed learners must be able to manage their learning resources systematically. Finding the apt resources could be somewhat complicated, but learners by all means try to get access to variety of resources to shape their learning into a quality one.

10. Motivation

No matter how difficult, how uninteresting the process of learning may be, learners should take care not to let down their spirit and motivational level.

11. Self-Evaluation

It is only by self-evaluation learners will be able to know if they have succeeded in their learning attempts. In order to judge how far they have gained the areas of knowledge and skills, it is crucial for the learners to become skilled at evaluating themselves.

Conclusion

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Learning is definitely not very effective if learners are teacher-dependent. Especially concerning the higher educational context in India, there is an increasing necessity for the learners to develop the capability to complete tasks on their own. There are exceptionally few who come out as talented individuals in spite of many years of formal education.

To provide better experiences, instructors should guide the learners as minimum as possible encouraging them to work on their own. They should stop spoon-feeding and allow the learners to handle all situations independently. Specifically, concerning the evaluative measures like assignments, tests or examinations, it is not of a convincing level. In what way do they really enhance learners' performance and promote real independent learning is a question to be answered.

Majority of the assignment works are merely reproduced either by copying from various texts or borrowing the contents from the internet. Since, resources have become pretty easier to access, learners have adequate amount of information available to them. Examinations on the other hand have always been the most unproductive operations on testing the learners' knowledge. Simply reproducing whatever we have studied is in no way going to make us extraordinary.

We need to be formally taught to settle in a profession, but it is only with the help of self-learning even the average ones have reached extraordinary heights. What is really needed for our learners is the sole ability to self-direct themselves. As mentioned earlier, it is in the hands of our teachers to encourage the learners to develop their capacity to understand a situation, identify and investigate the problems associated with the particular learning situation and apply proper self-directed measures to overcome all difficulties.

Whether it be in matters of learning, in matters of occupation, or in matters of anything related to life, one has to have superior skills to successfully administer his own actions. It is the duty of teachers to make the learners aware of this self-directed strategy and should include as much as self-directed exercises as possible. Through self-directed tasks, learners would be well-exposed to autonomous environments where they would start operating on their own by involving in independent study, formulating learning objectives, developing their own knowledge of the subject, locating resources to support their learning, making personal judgments regarding their learning process, selecting and altering the methods as needed and finally ending in self-evaluation. Involving the learners in self-initiated learning shapes them as individuals with extraordinary talents. Self-directed learning process is in real sense never ending. Learners who are self-direct in nature keep on learning different things depending on their interests.

It would be better if educational institutions in India come forward to conduct special workshops frequently to discuss about various things like the inadequacies of our educational system, matters related to the redesigning of curriculum, proper implementation of global methodologies and take up the responsibility to encourage and train the teachers well so as to update their knowledge of the new developments. Only then teachers will be able to show interest, be committed to their profession and routinely engage their learners in variety of tasks and challenges knowing that their learners are to be shaped for the world and not just for the

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classrooms. If more emphasis is laid on self-directed learning and if teachers are supportive enough to facilitate the learners to master the techniques of self-direction, learners would definitely perform better than our expectations.

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Attitudes toward Women Expressed in the Speech of Male College Students

B. A. Mahalakshmi Prasad, M.A.

Primary Focus of This Paper

This paper attempts to study the attitude of college going boys towards women, as seen in their use of language, in the city of Mysore, Karnataka in South India.

The modern college-going student uses the language he has acquired. In the case of a college student studying in Mysore, Karnataka, India, the predominant languages are Kannada, English and Hindi. The student uses these languages to convey his status, group that he identifies himself with, his education and thinking through the creative use of terms and by giving extended meaning to lexical terms that are in no way connected to the original meaning of these words. The paper's primary focus is on the attitudes that the college going boys portray towards women that is enumerated in the language used by the students.

Crimes against Women in Karnataka

Among the states of India, Karnataka State heads the list of crimes against women as per the records of State Crime Records Bureau (SCRB) reported in the *Times of India* newspaper dated February 16, 2010. Gang rape, molestation, abduction and murder for

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dowry are few of the crimes committed against women. The report also recorded the significant rise in rape cases — up to 486, of which six are of gang rape. As many as 2,186 women were molested last year. The husband or his relatives have committed the highest numbers of crimes against women. About 3,185 such cases were reported.

Language Use Revealing the Status of Women

The language used by the people living in a particular society can gauge the outlook of the society towards women. The society passively encourages the use of such language by people, which is portrayed in movies, television serials and other popular cultural effects.

This Study

The study was carried out in colleges in the city of Mysore. Karnataka, India. Fifteen minute recording of conversation of fifty students studying Bachelors of Commerce and Bachelors of Business Management was made. The students were also given a questionnaire to answer to gather information about their socio-economic background.

Results from the Data Collected

Some examples from the registers of these students is given in with their explanations.

> **item** : a prime example for the objectification of women in modern society.
> Eg: *maga, nam classnalli ondu bombaat item idaaLe, urvashi anta.*
> Translation: Yo Man! In my class there is a wonderful item called Urvashi.
>
> **piger** : a crude corruption of the word 'figure'. Usually used to describe good looking girls, it is sometimes used to describe allegedly snobbish or haughty women also.
> Eg: *aa veeNa doDDa piger taraa aaDtidaaLe.*
> Translation: That Veena behaves like big piger.
>
> **dove**: Dove is a term given to a girl whom the guy fancies. Note the analogy to a white(representing innocence) bird(representing that she is out of reach).
> Eg: *naveen dove sumati gE maduvE fix aaytantE!*
> Translation: Naveen's dove Sumati is getting married
>
> **aunty**: This is a derogatory term used for older women. Sometimes used for younger women who act in a mature way or dress conservatively.
> Eg: *pakkad manE aunty kenchangE kaNNu hoDdlantE!*
> Translation: The neighboring aunty winked at Kencha

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Dagaar: This term was popularized by the vile and crude Jaggesh movie called **tarlE nan magaa**. A Dagaar is a female with loose morals. If a girl wears even slightly revealing clothes, she is labeled a Dagaar.
Eg: *aa Dagaar geetha mini skirt haakonDu hogtidaaLe, swalpa nu maana maryaadE idya?*
Translation: That dagaar Geeta wears a mini skirt when she goes out.

gowramma: In contrast to Dagaar, a gowramma is one who wears too conservative clothes and acts in an old-fashioned manner. Often used to describe rural women.
Eg: *aa gowramma noDu, disco-gu seerE haakonDu bartaaLe.*
Translation: Look at that Gowramma, she wears a saree to a disco

bomb, paTaki: literally means 'explosive'. used for 'mind blowing' women.
Eg: *aa film-nalli yaana gupta full bomb, magaa!*
Translation: in the film Yaana Gupta is a bomb man!

maal: yet another example of women being considered as sex objects. means 'goods for sale'.
Eg: *forumnalli sakkataagiro maal noDdE, full sexy aagidlu!*
Translation: In the mall I saw a very sexy maal

petromax: used rarely. means mistress. made popular by the 'golmaal' movies of Anantnag.
Eg: *iro ondu henDtina saakakke kaasilla avanigE, petromax bErE keDu!*
Translation: he cannot take care of his wife and yet he wants a petromax

hakki,bulbul,myna: various words which refer to birds.
Eg: *MCC college mundE hakkigaLannu noDta idde, ashTralli police bandu baida!*
Translation: in front of the MCC college there are beautiful birds before I could see them the police arrived.

Sl.no	Word	New meaning	Original meaning of the word	Sentence.	Translation of the sentence
1.	Gedde (K)	Aged person/ old lady	Root as in potato (alu gedde)	E avalu gedde kanappa.	She is a gedde
10	Solle (K)	Thin person	Mosquito	Ava solle kanappa	That person is a mosquito
13	Piece(E)	A sexy girl	A sample	Wow, ane	Wow, what

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				piece le	a piece man!
14	Bomb(E)	A sexy girl	An explosive	Avalu bomb kanappa	She is a very sexy girl
15	Bakra (H)	Foolish person/ dumb girl	Goat	Adu ondu bakra	That girl is a goat
16.	Garam Masala (H)	A sexy girl	A condiment	Avan girlfriend garam masal	His girl friend is a very, very sexy girl
	Awaz (H)	Threaten/bully someone	Voice	Arigu neenu awaz hakodu	Who are you trying to bully?
	Battery bidodu (E,K)	To stare at a girl/ Lady	combination of apparatus for producing a single electrical effect	Yaakou ashtu battery bithiya	Why are you staring at that girl man!
	Colour (E)	Girl	the aspect of the appearance of objects and light sources that may be described in terms of hue, lightness, and saturation for objects and hue, brightness, and saturation for light source	Channagidde avan colouru	His colour is very pretty
	Pertomax(E)	A prostitute	Petromax is a company that manufactures gas burners.	Your girlfriend is a petromax	
17	Figure (E)	A sexy girl	Graphical representation	What a figure	

The words that are written in the word column are words used by the students in their daily conversations to describe the events in their daily life. Words followed by (H) are words borrowed from Hindi [1], Words followed by (K) are Words borrowed in Kannada [2] and words followed by (E) are words borrowed from English. The second column

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shows the new meaning or extension of the meaning of the word made by the students. The third column is the original meaning as gleaned by adults in the standard language that is still used today. The fourth column is the example of the word used in a sentence. Most of the sentences are in English and some in Kannada.

Observations

The students developed these expressions to be a part of a group. The more derogatory the term of address the more the student became a respected member of the group. Most words used by the students attempted to describe the physical appearance of the girl and vulgarity in expression is encouraged. The girls were invariably compared to objects like condiments and matchbook or animals of sacrifice like a chicken or a goat. The conversational tones used always were loud with threatening gestures.

The girls meanwhile either had the option to report abuse to the authorities; however, doing so always exposed the girl to further and future abuse and harassment by other members of the group. Most of the students tried to ignore the harassment due to reason of fear of harassment by other students and from the families who would blame the girl for inviting the harassment meted out to them by ways and means expressed in their behavior. Reporting to the college authorities resulted in the suspension of the perpetrator. However, after the perpetrator returns to the college the other male students of the college hail him as a hero, thus the encouraging more and more boys to misbehave with the girls in the college

Conclusion

Language is an indicator of the social behavior of an individual. Most often, a person's language conveys a person's attitudes and beliefs. The word used by the college students to describe the opposite gender is an indicator of the views that the young people have about women. The culture of respecting women and treating them as equals exist in a few places most of the time a girl has to put up with many insults and derogatory words used to describe them at home or outside. It is evident from the rampant use of these words in media and aped by the young students paves a path of creating a belief in the that women must be treated as dumb sacrificial creatures who are devoid of any talent. As Benjamin Disraeli says "On the education of the people of this country the fate of the country depends." If the country has to change then the attitude of its youth has to change and this can be achieved when people stop, being passive to the violence depicted in the media.

List of Abbreviation

E- English

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H- Hindi
K- Kannada
U- Urban; indicating students who come from urban areas
R- Rural; indicating students who come from the rural areas

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Teachers' Professional Development in ELT at Tertiary Level: ELTR Project of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan – A Case Study

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Abstract

The study describes impact analysis of the English Language Teaching Reforms (ELTR) Project of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan. It seeks to explore the perception of the concerned ELT population about the effectiveness of the Commission's professional development courses.

The study was carried out mainly with the help of a detailed questionnaire administered to the randomly selected 740 trainees, asking them about different aspects of the courses such as the course content, the adopted methodology and knowledge of the resource persons, and about the overall impact of the courses on their teaching.

The researchers found that teachers' professional development courses were quite effective; however, the ELTR Project could have made these courses far more successful if it had selected the trainees or got them nominated on merit or need-basis and if the project had made the trainees accountable by telling them that they would be followed-up for any internal or external

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evaluation. The researchers had asked the trainees to give suggestions to help improve upon the future teachers' professional development courses under the ELTR Project. Keeping their valuable suggestions at forefront coupled with considering the major research findings of the study, some recommendations have been made for bettering the teachers' professional development courses and also for bringing in positive changes in terms of planning and implementation of the future ELT Projects.

1.0 Introduction

Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan launched a project on English Language Teaching Reforms (ELTR) for bringing qualitative improvement in English Language Teaching and for building capacity for effective and sustainable development of English language teachers in higher education in the country (July 2004). A National Committee on English (NCE) was constituted due to concerns shown by Mansoor (2003) regarding the declining standard of English in Higher Education. The Committee decided to achieve the goals of the ELTR project through six subcommittees. These six subcommittees were:

- Faculty Development Programmes
- Curriculum and Material Development
- Testing and Evaluation
- Research and Publications
- Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL)
- Reorganization of Departments/Centres of English Language.

Source: English Language Teaching Reforms Project: An Unpublished HEC Report

2.0 Teachers' Professional Development Courses of the ELTR Project

Higher Education Commission (HEC) has been conducting professional development courses for English language teachers from postgraduate colleges and universities under the ELTR Project since 2004. It is important to make it clear that these professional development courses range from short-term activity based certificate courses/workshops (i.e. English for Academic Purposes

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(EAP), English for Specific Purpose (ESP), Study Skills Courses, CALL Courses, Research Methodology Courses and Testing and Assessment Courses) to long-term teachers' professional development in the form of diplomas and degrees (i.e. MS/PhD, Two year Masters in TESL, TEFL, and Linguistics and One year PGD in TEFL, TESL, and ICELT) for English language teachers.

Moreover, it is also a fact that since the HEC has been giving only fellowships / scholarships (i.e. financial support) to trainees in long-term teachers' professional development courses, taking care of the academic aspects (e.g. setting Course Content, providing Resource Persons and adopting Teaching/Training Methods) of these courses have been the responsibility of the host institution. On the other hand, for short-term courses, the commission provides both academic as well as financial support to the host institution. The HEC has been equally claiming both form of the courses in black and white, however.

Unlike long-term diploma/degree courses, the short courses/workshops were generally limited to addressing the proximate pedagogical needs of the English teachers where in they could develop certain strategies and techniques for the transmission of their professional responsibilities at workplaces. Again unlike the long-term ones, these short-term workshops dealt very little with the theoretical underpinnings of the teachers' professional development. But on the other hand, the long-term teachers' professional development courses carried both theoretical and practical components.

3.0 Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the study were:

1. To evaluate the effectiveness of the teachers' professional development courses offered by the HEC under the ELTR Project.

2. To observe the extent to which the trained teachers make use of the knowledge and training imparted to them under the ELTR Project.

3. To measure the attitude of the resource persons / trainers and the trainees' towards the teachers' professional development courses of the HEC under the ELTR Project.

4. To evaluate the selection standards of the HEC for the trainees as well as the resource persons / trainers for the teachers' professional development courses under the ELTR Project.

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5. To recommend changes, if required, in the existing system of teachers' professional development courses offered by the HEC under the ELTR Project.

4.0 Population

The following was the target population of the study:

1504 teachers from various colleges and universities who had participated in the teachers' professional development courses of the HEC under the ELTR Project between 2004 and 2009 (Shown in the Table A below).

- Faculty Development (751 teachers professionally developed)
- Research and Publications (290 teachers professionally developed)
- Testing and Evaluation (192 teachers professionally developed)
- Curriculum and Material Development (136 teachers professionally developed)
- Computer Assisted Language Learning (135 teachers professionally developed)
- Reorganization of the Departments / English Language Centers (No teachers' professional development courses conducted)

Teachers' Professional Development Courses under the ELTR Project						
Subcommittees	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	Total
Faculty Development	110	171	176	264	30	751
Research & Publication	20	20	45	65	140	290
Testing & Assessment	95	40	30	N.A	27	192
Curriculum & Material Development	24	46	66	N.A	N.A	136
Computer Assisted Language Learning	21	39	50	N.A	25	135
Total:	270	316	367	329	222	1504

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Table A: A Consolidated view of Teachers' Professional Development Programmes in English Language Teaching 2004 to 2009 (Source: HEC Five Years Unpublished Report)

There were more than 45 resource persons of the six sub-committees of the ELTR Project.

5.0 Sample

The sample of the study comprised the following:
1. Of the overall target population of 1504 professionally developed teachers under the ELTR project, I randomly selected 740 professionally developed teachers under the short-term courses/workshops from the following four sub-committees as a sample of the study:

   (a) Faculty Development (440 teachers),
   (b) Testing and Assessment (100 teachers),
   (c) Research and Publication (100 teachers),
   (d) Computer Assisted Language Learning (100 teachers)

2. 20 Resource Persons were taken as sample.

5.0 Justification for the Selection of the Short-term Courses

We selected the short-term teachers' professional development courses of the ELTR Project, for these courses could be called entirely the effort of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. As described above, the Commission would hold the stake of conducting these short-term courses at host institutions. It would make efforts for selection/nomination of the trainees, appointment of the resource persons, finalization of the course content/material, scheduling of the sessions and it would also arrange for the refreshment and transportation etc. of almost all the concerned. We think all this makes the courses theirs.

On the other hand, unlike such short-term courses, for the long-term professional development courses of the teachers, the Commission would offer only fellowships/scholarships to the trainees. It would not get involved in the academic aspects of the courses. Thus, it can be said that the short-term courses/workshops of the delimited four sub-committees were relatively more representative of the whole ELTR Project.

According to an HEC's official report, the basic aim of the these sub-committees was to identify strategies for facilitating faculty development in order to improve the qualification as well as enhance skills of English language teachers working in higher education in the public sector. This aim also resonates in the general objectives of the ELTR project as the HEC's official

website suggests that the project will focus on faculty development through the courses / workshops / seminars / national and international conferences.

Moreover, we selected the short-term courses, for the teachers trained under the short-term courses/workshops of these sub-committees were easily accessible. The detailed record of the names and addresses of the trained teachers could easily be obtained. And fore-mostly, the trainees trained under these sub-committees were mostly active teachers and thus they could easily be followed up at their respective colleges and universities for evaluation purposes after the completion of the courses.

6.0 Mixed Methods Research

Until the recent past, research was categorized as either quantitative or qualitative. The two paradigms were considered diametrically opposed. However, in recent times, there has been a sort of reconciliation between the two paradigms and now it is quite common for the practitioners to integrate the two (Bryman, 2006).

Similarly, the related literature shows that no one design is sufficient in all evaluation cases. Alderson (1992), Pawson and Tilley (1997) and Fitzpatrick et al. (2004) suggest that a valid design should match the evaluation objectives, participants and project criteria.

Evaluation presupposes a rigorous research procedure to enable the researcher to delve deep into the research problem, identify the strengths and the grey areas and frame suitable recommendations for further research. Mixing the research methods and thereby collecting data through various means allows the researcher an opportunity to undertake research in a rigorous manner (Creswell and Clark 2007).

Alderson and Scot (1992), Mitchell (1992), Weir and Roberts (1991) and Low et al (1993) undertook evaluation studies of different teacher education programmes using mixed methods research.

As the present study was aimed at evaluating the impact of teachers' professional development courses offered by the HEC, we considered it opportune to collect data through different means so as to converge data and ensure internal validity.

6.1 Research Design: Triangulation

Triangulation of data is currently a very valid approach being used to research in applied linguistics. It is classified as a method under the group of component designs of mixed method evaluations (Greene 2007), referring to the procedure of using multiple methods in order to assess the construct. In component designs, the methods used remain distinct throughout the

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evaluation procedure and the combination occurs at the level of interpretation and conclusion (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004). Triangulation describes the approach where different methods are implemented in order to evaluate the same phenomenon toward increased validity.

Research literature supports the choice of triangulation as an evaluation method for education and learning. If the purpose of an evaluation is to increase the validity in measuring a construct, as in the present case, then measures with different biases should be selected for increasing validity (Ruhe and Zumbo, 2009). As educational procedures are generally found to be extremely complex, ideally different methods should be used to completely understand the issues under investigation (Briggs and Coleman, 2007).

Again, the triangulation of evaluation methodologies can reveal contexts that a narrower approach might fail to illuminate, and this approach comes closest to satisfying both the positivist and the phenomenological traditions. Moreover, as these dimensions give an in-depth perspective, triangulation permits a deeper view of the phenomenon under evaluation (Towns and Serpell, 2004).

Educational procedures are multidimensional and our understanding may be inadequate if we approach them only along a single dimension (Mason 2006). Additionally, the findings from two or more different methods enable researchers to conclude whether or not an aspect of a phenomenon has been accurately measured. This claim is based on the assumption that if different research methods produce similar results, then accurate measures have been used (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006).

The present study used a triangulation design. Both the qualitative and quantitative data were collected to reach at valid and reliable conclusion and also ensure an in-depth analysis of the teachers' development programmes of the Higher Education Commission. Different types of data were collected from different participants simultaneously. This helped us in converging data. Convergence of data, in terms of triangulation, means the construction of data in a way that cancel out threats to the validity of data (Flick, 2007).

6.2 Research Instruments

In the light of the above, we used triangulation design as a research approach mainly to evaluate the teachers' professional development courses in ELT offered by the HEC under the ELTR Project. The study had both the qualitative and quantitative aspects. The qualitative approach was adopted for interviews and observation, whereas the quantitative approach facilitated the collection of responses from the questionnaires. In simple sense, the triangulation design comprised the following research tools:

- Questionnaire

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- Interviews (Semi-Structured)
- Observation of the Courses

7.0 Findings of the Study

Following are the research findings from the analysis of the data got through administration of the different research tools:

7.1 Findings from Questionnaire

Through the descriptive analysis of the questionnaire administered to the sample trainees, following research findings have been got:

1. The selection / nomination procedure adopted by the ELTR Project for the trainees is not up to the mark. Most of the trainees were not sure of their selection / nomination being on merit on one hand where as on the other it was found that some trainees from non-English disciplines also attended the teachers' professional development courses under the ELTR Project. In short, proper need analysis before the teachers' professional development courses was missing.
2. Majority of the trainees was keen to attend the teachers' professional development courses and therefore they enjoyed being there.
3. Majority of the trainees believed that the teachers' professional development courses had been effective enough to develop them professionally.
4. The content of the teachers' professional development courses had been reflective of the trainee teachers' academic needs. However, under the CALL sub-committee, the reflection of the trainees' academic needs was relatively less found.
5. The content of the teachers' professional development courses helped the trainees achieve sound theoretical background in ELT. However, under the Faculty Development sub-committee, the trainees' theoretical background in ELT was relatively less developed for some of the sample trainees were from other than English discipline.
6. The content of the teachers' professional development courses helped the trainees develop practical skills for teaching. However, under the Research and Publication sub-committee, the trainees' pedagogical skills in ELT were relatively less developed for mostly the course content there was theoretical and secondly the trainees usually did not have to teach research components at the colleges.
7. The teachers' professional development courses under the ELTR Project helped the trainees develop proficiency in ELT through the course content to the great extent.
8. The content of the teachers' professional development courses reflected the proposed objectives of the ELTR project to the great extent.
9. The content of the teachers' professional development courses was found to be up to date and interesting.

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10. Though the content of the teachers' professional development courses was found to be applicable or implementable, however under the CALL sub-committee it was relatively less applicable as the ground realities at the trainees' workplaces denied the content materialization.
11. Majority of the trainees could utilize the content of the teachers' professional development courses at their respective workplaces.
12. The content of the teachers' professional development courses catered to the Higher Education ELT needs.
13. The teaching methods adopted by the resource persons at the teachers' professional development courses were quite effective as with these they could focus on the course content and the trainees' academic needs.
14. The teaching methods adopted by the resource persons at the teachers' professional development courses were quite effective and appropriate as these would let them encourage the trainees for feedback and provide them the opportunities to practice.
15. The practical aspect of the teachers' professional development courses had been quite useful.
16. The resource persons neither told the trainees to keep diaries nor did they tell them about their possible evaluation at any time at their respective workplaces.
17. The resource person's knowledge and ability, his / her expertise as a trainer, his / her commitment and dedication, his / her readiness for welcoming the trainees' feedback, his / her awareness of the modern teachers' professional development trends, his / her method of delivering teachers' professional development, his / her management of time and his / her interpersonal skills have been found more than satisfactory.
18. The ELTR Project could not advertise the teachers' professional development courses properly as most of the trainees came to know about these through their personal contacts and similar channels.
19. Mostly the trainees were keen to attend the teachers' professional development courses to improve and develop themselves as professional teachers.
20. Trainees found the academic aspect of the teachers' professional development courses to be responsible for their showing keenness.
21. Except a very few trainees from non-English disciplines, the majority of the trainees considered the teachers' professional development courses to be quite successful and effective.
22. The resource persons were open to design the course content as per the demand of the session or activity and also according to the level of the knowledge of the trainees.
23. The targeted short-term teachers' professional development courses / workshops could not bring any positive change in the professional careers of the trainees. These could only orient them with some pedagogical techniques and strategies.
24. The trainee teachers turned more confident, more interactive and student centered and felt themselves better equipped with pedagogical skills after undergoing the teachers' professional development courses however.

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7.2 Findings from Resource Persons' Interview

Through the analysis of the recording and transcription of the interviews from the sample resource persons, following research findings have been got:

1. Most of the resource persons got associated with the ELTR Project through their personal contacts.
2. The resource persons were not happy with the selection / nomination criterion for the trainees adopted by the ELTR Project.
3. The resource persons found the trainees not motivated and keen at the start of the teachers' professional development courses; however, they found the latter more eager over the progress of these courses.
4. A limited number of resource persons were available to the ELTR Project to conduct the teachers' professional development courses.
5. The resource persons enjoyed optimum autonomy in designing the course content for the teachers' professional development courses.
6. The content of the teachers' professional development courses they designed reflected the academic needs of the trainees.
7. Some of the resource persons were not aware of the proposed objectives of the ELTR Project for the teachers' professional development courses.
8. The content of the teachers' professional development courses they designed reflected room for application at real classroom setting.
9. The resource persons were divided in their perception regarding the professional development of the trainees through the teachers' professional development courses that they imparted.
10. The resource persons adopted interactive teaching methods for developing the trainees professionally that accordingly used to let them focus on the content, the trainees' needs and also used to help them ask for their feedback.
11. The resource persons could neither conduct proper formative and summative evaluation of the sessions nor did they ever beware the trainees that they might be evaluated at any time at their respective workplaces.
12. The resource persons were not happy with the nonexistence of the proper and effective co-ordination among the six sub-committees of the ELTR Project on one hand; whereas on the other, they were quite dissatisfied at the absence of long term planning on the part of the Project.

7.3 Findings from Observation

Through the analysis of the observation of the course sessions done at the CALL course of the ELTR Project, following research findings have been got:

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1. The resource persons had been well skilled with good knowledge and most of them started off the session in an appropriate way.
2. The resource persons enjoyed command over the communication skills and they were utilizing the technology very effectively.
3. The resource persons had been focusing on theoretical in-put more than on practical aspect despite the CALL course basically had to be more practical than theoretical.
4. Motivation level of the trainees was not up to the mark; however, the resource persons seemed motivated.
5. The content of the teachers' professional development courses was not overtly related to the academic needs of the majority of the trainees, however, there were a very few who could feel at home about the course content as these were reflective of their academic needs.
6. The participation of the trainees at the teachers' professional development courses had not been up to the mark.
7. The resource persons did not appropriately provide the trainees with hand-outs during or after the sessions.
8. The resource persons could not evaluate the sessions either formatively or summatively.
9. The overall sessions were interesting and the milieu there at the CALL room was feasible and appropriate for the teachers' professional development course.
10. Some of the sessions were repetitive and were not delivered in proper sequence.

8.0 Conclusion

In the light of the above stated findings, it is beyond any doubt to assert that the ELTR Project has been quite effective in its efforts. The teachers' professional development courses have been found quite successful at least on the respective course venues.

The content of the teachers' professional development courses had been reflective of the trainees' academic needs to a great extent, the resource persons' adopted methodology and their expertise had been found quite effective, and moreover the overall milieu of the teachers' professional development courses had been quite good.

However, there had been a few loopholes in the overall conduct of the teachers' professional development courses under the ERLTR Project. These are related to the selection / nomination criterion of the ELTR Project team that they had been adopting for the trainees as well as the resource persons. There was no attention paid to the words *need* and *merit* in the case of the trainees and appropriate academic area, skills and knowledge in the case of the resource persons.

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Secondly and the most importantly, the trainees were never made accountable to the impact that they had to cast on their post-courses teaching profession. Similarly, the resource persons, too, were not feeling the burden of accountability either. Both the trainees and the resource persons will always consider the closing of a teachers' professional course to be the ending of their responsibility or duty until and unless they are asked to follow that course up as well. It is due to this absence of the responsibility-taking that in some cases, the trainees had not been practising the course content at their workplaces due to whatever reason(s) and therefore they could not feel themselves professionally developed or positively changed after the courses.

Moreover, the resource persons' adopted methodology lacked incorporation of proper time management, conduct of the frequent formative and summative evaluation of the sessions, and the initiation of practical techniques of teachers' professional development like the use of diaries for the trainees, and also the resource persons' reliance on more practice based activities for the trainees. The resource persons felt that the trainees were not given proper attention by the ELTR Project in terms of incentives.

9.0 Recommendations of the Study

In the light of the above summarized findings from the present study, the following recommendations could be made for even better and more effective conduct of the professional development courses and other academic activities under the ELTR Phase 2 of the Learning Innovation Division of the HEC.
1. The HEC being the sole funding agency of the ELTR Project should hold the stake of making proper, merit and need-based selection / nomination of the trainees in future.
2. The HEC should do proper need analysis of the trainees before proposing any area for the teachers' professional development. These should neither be conducted in a haphazard manner nor for the sake of conducting the courses and for putting up on record.
3. Teachers' professional development courses need to be tailored in the way that the environments created by resource persons must be congruent with trainees' needs and abilities.
4. Teachers' professional development courses need to be made more interactive in a sense that persons, behaviours, tasks, and environments are assumed to be interdependent.
5. Teachers' professional development courses need to be made more contemporaneous in the way that it must enable resource persons to be familiar with the immediate conditions of teaching and learning of ELT in the public sector universities and colleges.
6. Teachers' professional development courses be these short- or long-term ought to be made more developmental-- it must be concerned with the growth of a teacher over time.
7. Teachers' professional development courses need to be made more reciprocal, not one way. Just as trainees may be affected by environments created for them by resource persons, the latter can also be affected in turn by the trainees.

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8. Teachers' professional development courses need to be made more of practical use. The resource persons who are not active teachers may, for instance, need to temper their thinking and their action with a sense of what is important to trainees and their students.
9. The college and university teachers should not be put together for any teachers' professional development course where their academic needs may obviously differ especially in terms of syllabi and examination system. For instance, the difference in Semester and Annual system prevalent in universities and colleges respectively may not allow a teachers' professional development course in testing to be an effective one.
10. The HEC should make the task of teachers' professional development more effective by appointing skilled, committed and expert resource persons.
11. The HEC should arrange training sessions for the resource persons where mechanics, logistics and academics are explained and discussed before conducting any teachers' professional development course.
12. The HEC should clarify the role of the resource persons and the course co-ordinators as the latter should manage the non-academic affairs related to the teachers' professional development course where as the formers' responsibility must be restricted to the academic aspect of the teachers' professional development course only.
13. The resource persons should try to relate their course content to the academic needs of the trainees on one hand, whereas on the other, they ought to manage time; always try to do formative and summative evaluation of their sessions and also to help the trainees develop themselves professionally in all possible ways.
14. The resource persons and the course co-ordinators should try to make the trainees accountable even after trainees going back to their respective workplaces. For this, the ELTR Project team could either arrange monitoring visits or then they could ask the concerned department to report about them.
15. Teachers' professional development courses should not be arranged at the prime time of the session as the HODs very reluctantly let their teachers attend the courses.
16. Like the long-term professional development of the teachers in the form of foreign scholarships, the HEC should also send a few resource persons abroad to further chisel their expertise in certain fields. The target fields, in this regard, can be the Testing and Assessment, Curriculum Development and CALL.
17. Teachers' professional development courses in ELT should be made a regular and even more frequent feature for the overall professional development of English teachers at higher education level not at the pretext of the quality though. Summer vacation may be more often used for conducting 6 to 8 weeks teachers' professional development courses.
18. The HEC should plan and arrange teachers' professional development courses by keeping at forefront the available resources for the trainees at their respective workplaces.

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The Changing Image of Women in Indian Writing in English - A Study of Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*

T. Marx, Ph.D.

Women in Indian Postcolonial Literature

Among the women writers of Indian English fiction, Arundhati Roy has earned a separate space for her particular attention towards plight of women and social injustice. Her sensitive portrayal and understanding of intrinsic human nature makes her writings conspicuous and captivating. Arundhati Roy's Rahel in *The God of Small Things* helps to establish the ever-changing role of a colonized woman in Indian postcolonial literature.

The roles of women in literature are often quite wide in spectrum. Women are often portrayed as secondary characters to the greater men who carry the story line along, while the females simply offer a supporting role in the midst of the action. However, in the turbulent times of colonization, a great and powerful woman has arisen, rather, a form of feminine strength that has risen from the ashes of pitiful literary damsels.

Arundhati Roy's Rahel

Rahel, the woman representing India in the aforementioned literary work is remarkable and incredibly strong-willed. A sense of self and reason has perpetuated the

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actions of Rahel, and, while merely fictional, helps to represent the new birth of a culture via oppression.

The literary women of the postcolonial movement are all affected in different ways, but the qualities that define them as women helps to tie them together. Their determined, independent and strong-willed peace of mind perpetuated their culture despite Imperialistic power, and women of their stature have helped to mold subcultures out of communities and form femininity from the dust. While the postcolonial movement has had a great impact of the women of each culture, the strong female perspective has helped to shape the ever-changing and radical world of today.

Rahel in Roy's *The God of Small Things* represents a very different type of strong woman having an incredible intellect which became apparent, even at a young age. Rahel has the power to see past the everyday, to look beyond borders of family, postcolonial oppression, and gender. Rahel's pervasive imagination allows her to lead two lives, one completely inside her head and the other as an unfortunate young Indian woman with an increasingly decrepit family. While her twin brother, Estha, merely accepts the fate that has been chosen for him, Rahel dares to defy the odds and think outside of the box. She is strong-willed, independent, and never sees herself as a victim.

Mother and Daughter

Many of Rahel's qualities mirror that of her mother, Ammu's. Ammu also did not accept the life that was handed to her; rather, she embarked on a journey with a man she loved - an Untouchable - that begged more trouble than ever anticipated. While her lover had already been oppressed, Ammu chose the road he had been set upon in order to be with him, and it resulted in her demise.

The strong-willed mother set an example for her independent daughter, and at a young age, Rahel was able to see past the boundaries of death, circumstance, and fate. While Estha, who had lived much the same life as Rahel until their young separation, moped around mutely and lived in a closed-off world, his twin sister dared to dream and let herself go. She imagined what she could not conjure; she believed what she could not see. Rahel's willingness to see the good in people inherently brings out her feminine qualities, and the relationships she embarks on, much like her mother, reflect this. She has become a product of postcolonialism but decides not to let it shape her, and in this, she defies the movement altogether.

Autobiographical Nature of Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*

Roy presents the most believable and relatable woman in Rahel because her book is slightly autobiographical. Roy herself grew up in similar conditions to Rahel and in the

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same region, giving an air of authenticity to her protagonist. Flavia Rando, in The Essential Representation of Woman, writes, "Both poststructuralists and cultural feminists can be seen working in reaction and in relation to the Western cultural ideal, 'man, a rational individual with free will'" (48). Roy embraces her heritage and her femininity as well as the concept of woman versus man which she expertly illustrates as she juxtaposes Rahel and Estha.

Close to Her Roots and Defining Paradigms

Of the emerging female post-colonial authors, Roy remains close to her roots and stands out amongst the her male peers. "Women writers have become involved in literary work to the extent that the conditions of their lives, as women, have permitted. From the days when women writers were small in number and restricted to one sector of society to the diversity of contemporary creators, the journey has been long but fruitful" (Araujo, 217). Roy is, in fact, one of those writers.

Roy is one who provides a window through which Indian womanhood can be explored and interpreted. In reviewing *The God of Small Things* certain recurring paradigms are identified which personify Indian women. These pivotal defining paradigms are grouped as the family and marriage, education and the workplace, and the female body.

An elaboration on these defining paradigms necessitates an understanding of the underlying perspective of reference, specifically regarding the role of literature. In this literary reconstruction of Indian womanhood I draw on social constructionist thought. A social constructionist account of gender facilitates comprehension of how gender is modeled and understood by and within the social structures of a society (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2003). Of particular importance is the understanding of the constructive and destructive roles literature plays in the creation and obliteration of life and reality.

Life as Entwined Stories

Life could be viewed as a network of infinitely entwined stories. We narrate stories to explicate the vicissitudes of life and our narrations offer meaning, not only to our lives, but also to the lives of others. Miller Mair eloquently describes the delicate relationship between people, life and stories:

> Stories are habitations. We live in and through stories. They conjure worlds. We do not know the world other than as a story world. Stories inform life. They hold us together and they keep us apart. We inhabit the great stories of out culture. We live through stories. We are lived by the

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stories of our race and place. It is this enveloping and constitution function of stories that is especially important to understand more fully. We are, each or us, locations where the stories of our place and time become partially tellable. We are in the story, and the story is in us (Doan 1998: 381).

A story is more than just a reflection of life; it creates life and ultimately becomes a reality. "A story is itself a situated action, a performance with illocutionary effects" (Gergen, 1994 p. 247). The world we inhabit is a story world in which "[…] the self continually creates itself through narratives that include other people who are reciprocally woven into these narratives" (Freedman & Combs, 1996 p. 17). Narrative realities nurture our experiences, believes and the meaning we attribute to live, ourselves and others (Sluzki, 1992).

Realities and the Self

The relationships between interpersonal realities (stories) and the self (which could also be described as a story) correlate with the (re)presentation of history. In general, history could be regarded as a version of the past through which we acquire knowledge for the future. For a presentation of the past to be comprehensible it has to conform to certain literary conventions such as the 'natural' progression of the plot. These conventions change over time and our understanding of the past comes to depend on contemporary literary traditions.

According to Gergen (1991) the past does not determine the historical narrative. Instead, cultural writing practices contour our understanding of the past. Comprehension of gender relations in India could therefore be understood in terms of the evolving literary tradition. This tradition is subjectively situated and influences the narrative process.

Never Neutral

Similarly to the literary tradition, narratives are never neutral: "[they] are always constructed by and within a context or tradition" (Bennett & Royle, 1999 p. 6). Literature is thus a very subjective endeavour providing us with a subjective account of gender realities. Reading the construction of womanhood from a social constructionist perspective reduces the risk of viewing gender merely as a sociological variable.

Gender is not a fixed category of stratification moulded into the context of a specific history. "A shift to recognizing gender as a structure of subjectivity, which can vary greatly in different social locations, means that gendering can be seen as a *process* rather than as a 'role'" (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2003 p. 79). During the narrative process stories create and report on the evolving gendering process.

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Creating Reality

The notion that stories create realities presumes that the world does not have a predisposition to a predetermined order. Stories relentlessly narrate their way through history into the future in an attempt to systematise and contextualise the world. By creating one reality a story suggests a course another reality could take.

Does a story therefore create or unveil worlds of reality? If it only unveils worlds of reality then a story assumes a pre-existing order that it imitates or duplicates. An empirical test for a good story would therefore be to determine how much a story actually relates to reality, as it does for instance in diaries, travel journals or (auto)biographies.

Importance of Subjective Meaning

The purpose of this paper is quite the opposite of such an empirical pursuit. Of paramount importance is the reader's subjective meaning making process and the socio-literary conceptualisation of Chinese womanhood. It is not important to establish how true an author reflects on a historical event. This does not mean that history is not significant and reference shall be made to relevant historical contexts.

To Understand Women in India

Consequently, in an attempt to understand what it is to be a woman in India means that one has to understand the contexts and implicit social relations of this society. Vigorous patriarchal gender relations have dominated Indian culture for millennia.

Territorial expansion and tighter rule over the populace re-enforced unequal gender relations exercised by warlords for much of this history. Gender relations were inseparably interrelated with the hierarchical social and political order. All aspects of life, politically, socially, economically and religiously, were dominated by male supremacy. Male supremacy even permeated the most intimate of relations. For instance, falling in love and marrying at a young age were considered anti-social behaviour. Not even in marriage could a woman expect love.

Reconstructing Social Relationships through Description of Gender Inequalities

If the gender inequalities discussed in this paper could be salvaged and explicated by the stories women wrote, then ever-new stories have the ability to reconstruct social relationships and, as a first step, create awareness of gender inequality. Writing new lives into being would set a course for the construction of new tolerant engendered postures and the destruction of exploitive patriarchal attitudes. The stories referred to illustrate the

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command narratives have over the creation and obliteration of life and reality. We cannot live lives other than verbally expressed lives because:

> [l]ife is a matter of telling ourselves stories about life, and of savoring stories about life told by others, and of living our lives according to such stories, and of creating ever-new and more complex stories about stories – and that this story making is not just about human life, but is human life (Freedman & Combs, 1996 p. 30).

Growing Changes in the Image of Women in Fiction in Indian Writing in English

The image of women in fiction has undergone a change during the last four decades. Women writers have moved away from traditional portrayals of enduring, self-sacrificing women toward conflicted female characters searching for identity, no longer characterized and defined simply in terms of their victim status. In contrast to earlier novels, female characters from the 1980s onwards assert themselves and defy marriage and motherhood.

Recent writers depict both the diversity of women and the diversity within each woman, rather than limiting the lives of women to one ideal. The novels emerging in the twenty-first century furnish examples of a whole range of attitudes towards the imposition of tradition, some offering an analysis of the family structure and the caste system as the key elements of patriarchal social organization. They also re-interpret mythology by using new symbols and subverting the canonic versions. In conclusion, the work of Indian women writers is significant in making society aware of women's demands, and in providing a medium for self-expression.

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Learning English During the East India Company Rule

The Administration of the East India Company:

A History of Indian Progress

by John William Kaye

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, London. 1853.

(Second Edition)

We reproduce here an interesting narrative of how, during the East India Company rule, western model of education was introduced in India and the Subcontinent. While some of the sentiments and opinions of the author relating to Indian religions, etc., will not be agreeable to us, the author's report on the problems faced in establishing western model of education in the Indian subcontinent, with emphasis on English, reflects the current thinking in several quarters on the need to teach English. John William Kaye supports vernacular education unambiguously, while emphasizing the need to learn English. There is more to learn about Macaulay in this chapter. Thanks are due to Google Books www.google.com/books for including this valuable book as

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NATIVE EDUCATION.

PART V.

CHAPTER I.

Native Education—Parliamentary Enactments — Encouragement of Oriental Literature—Rise and Progress of the Hindoo College—Substitution of the English System—Lord William Bentinck's Measures—Native Agency—Education in the North-Western Provinces—In Bombay—The Jubbulpore School of Industry—The Roorkhee College—Missionary Efforts—Statistics of Education.

IN the two preceding books, I have treated largely of what may he called the institutional crimes of India. I have shown how human wickedness, on a gigantic scale, has been fostered by error and superstition; and how the servants of the Company have brought all their humanity, all their intelligence, and all their energy, to the great work of rooting out the enormities, which from generation to generation have grievously afflicted the land. I have shown how they have toiled and striven, and with what great success, to win the benighted savage to the paths of civilisation, and to purge the land of those cruel rites which their false gods were believed to sanction. There is nothing in all history more honorable to the British nation than the record of these humanising labors. It is impossible to write of them without a glow of pleasure and of pride.

But noble as have been these endeavours, and great as has been the success, which up to a certain point has attended them, there is something incredibly painful in the thought that, after all, they are fixed upon an insecure basis; that

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hitherto the action has been rather from without than from within; that we have not generally made an abiding impression upon the native mind; and that, therefore, there is always danger of relapse. In many of the cases which I have selected to illustrate the great victories of European civilisation, it will have been seen that it was the weight of external authority and personal influence which, more than anything else, enabled our countrymen to push forward their civilising measures to anything like a successful termination. The grand obstacle to complete and permanent success, was the gross ignorance of the people—that twofold ignorance which includes the darkness of the intelligence and the deadness of the moral sense. It was hard to awaken the heathens to a living belief in the absurdity of the superstitions to which they bowed themselves, and the wickedness of the practices which they observed.

In most cases, I say, the people yielded to the influences of authority, or were moved by self-interest, to conform outwardly to the wishes of their masters—but they were seldom convinced. It was a great thing to bring about even a diminution of the great crimes which had inflicted so much misery upon countless thousands of our fellow-creatures. But having achieved this amount of success, our officers by no means thought that the work was complete. They felt it might often happen that the people, withdrawn from the immediate sphere of these good influences, would subside into their old evil ways—that, indeed, we might be only casting out devils, to return again to find their old habitations swept and cleansed for their reception, and to wanton there more riotously than before: and they one and all said that the only certain remedy, to which they could look for an abiding cure, was that great remedial agent—EDUCATION.

In many cases, the men of whose benevolent labors I have spoken, did their best, with the slender means at their disposal, to employ this great remedy in furtherance of their more substantial outward measures ; but such educational efforts were necessarily local and accidental, and of limited application. Thus Sleeman had established Schools of Industry, at Jubbulpore, for the children of the Thugs; Outram had put to school in Candeish, the little Bheels, whose fathers he had reclaimed; and Macpherson had turned to similar account his opportunities in favor of the victims whom he had rescued from the hands of the

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sacrificing Khonds. And, doubtless, these benign endeavours will bear good fruit in their season. But the disease, at which we have to strike, is eating into the very life of the whole country; and it is only by a great and comprehensive effort that we can hope to eradicate it.

It is only within a comparatively recent period that the education of the people has taken any substantial shape in the administration of the British Government in the East. There was a sort of dim recognition, in some of the early charters, of the Christian duty of instructing the Gentoos; but it was not until the year 1813 that there was anything like a decided manifestation of the will of the Government in connexion with this great subject. The Charter Act, passed in that year, contained a clause, enacting that "a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." *[Act 53rd George III., chap. 155, clause 43]* What this might precisely mean was not very clear; but it seemed to point rather to the encouragement of Oriental than of European learning, and those were days in which the former was held to be of prodigious account. Nothing, however, for some years, of a practical character emanated from this decree of the Legislature. The money thus appropriated, was left to accumulate, and not until ten years after the Act had passed did the local Government take any steps to carry out its intentions. Then a Committee of Public Instruction was established in Calcutta, and the arrears of the Parliamentary grant were placed at their disposal.

Such, in a few words, are all the noticeable officialities of native education up to the year 1823. But there was a movement going on of which no record is to be found in official papers. All that the Government even at this time thought of doing for the education of the people, was through the agency of Pundits and Gooroos; but there were men then in Bengal who held Oriental learning at its true worth, as an instrument of civilisation, and thought that better things were to be found in the writings of the great masters of the English language. First in time, and foremost in enthusiasm among these, was Mr. David Hare. He was a man of a

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rude exterior and an uncultivated mind —by trade, I believe, a watchmaker. He lacked the power of expression both in oral and written discourse. But for these wants a large infusion of earnestness and perseverance in his character did much to atone; and he achieved what learned and eloquent men might have striven to accomplish in vain. He originated the Hindoo College of Calcutta. He stirred up others to carry out his designs. The seed which he scattered fell on good ground. Sir Hyde East, then Chief Justice of Bengal, took up the project with hearty good will; and on the 14th of May, 1816, a public meeting was held in his house for the furtherance of this great object. The scheme was fully discussed by European and native gentlemen—and a few days afterwards, at an adjourned meeting, it was resolved that an institution should be founded to bear the name of the "Hindoo College of Calcutta" A committee and certain officebearers were then appointed to give effect to the resolution.

Institution of the Hindoo College

It is generally the fate of great undertakings to be assailed by difficulties at the outset, and to struggle slowly into full success. The Hindoo College of Calcutta, in its infancy, put forth nothing but indications of a complete and humiliating failure. In January, 1817, the school was formally opened in the presence of Sir Hyde East, Mr. Harrington, and other influential gentlemen. Upwards of 6000/. had been raised by private contributions to give effect to the benevolent views of the projectors. But for some time there were thirty members on the committee, and only twenty pupils in the school. After the lapse of a few months the number on the books rose to seventy, and there for six years it remained. Every effort was made to render the institution acceptable to the natives of Calcutta. All sorts of compromises were attempted. The Bengallee and Persian languages were taught in the school—but still the people hung back, awed by the efforts to make their children familiar with the dangerous literature of the Feringhees. The college, indeed, was almost at its last gasp. European and native supporters were alike deserting it, when Mr. Hare came to the rescue. He sought the sustaining hand of Government; and he obtained what he sought.

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This was in the year 1823, when, as I have said, the local Government first turned their serious attention to the subject of Native Education. They acceded to the request that was made in behalf of the Hindoo College; and stretched out their hands in time to save the institution from the premature extinction that menaced it. They had money then at their command for educational purposes, and although the encouragement of Oriental learning was uppermost in their thoughts, they consented to contribute towards the funds of the new institution, and undertook to erect a building for its use.*[That is, it was resolved to construct a building which would answer the pur poses both of a Sanskrit and a Hindoo college.] But having granted this material support, they naturally desired to exercise some authoritative control over the proceedings of the managers. It was proposed therefore to appoint, on the part of Government, a Visitor ostensibly to see that the money-grant was properly appropriated, but really to watch over and direct the management of the institution. This at first the Baboos resented; but there were some among them who were ready candidly to acknowledge, that after seven years' operation the college had produced nothing better than a few " krannees," [A *krannee* is a clerk, in a Govern ment or other office—but the word is hardly translatable into our language, as it by no means represents the high intelligence of the clerks in our own public establishments, or in our banking and mercantile firms.] and that little in the way of enlightened education was to be expected, except from a larger infusion of European energy and talent into the agency employed to carry out the designs of its founders.

The native managers yielded; and a medical officer in the service of the Company was appointed in the capacity of Visitor to give effect to the wishes of the Government. The Indian medical service, from that remote period when Joseph Hume called himself an assistant-surgeon, down to the present time, when the science of "William O'Shaughnessy is about to annihilate space between the Indus and the Cauvery, has been bright with the names of distinguished men. But I do not know that there is one member of that profession who has earned for himself a wider European reputation than Horace Hayman Wilson. He it was who, a quarter of a century ago, was appointed by authority to bring into good working order the fast-failing institution. A man of very varied

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accomplishments, [The following sketch of Professor Wilson's varied accomplishments is really not overcharged. It is written by one who differs widely from him on many essential points, and is uninfluenced by personal friendship :— " Perhaps no man since the days of the ' admirable Crichton,' has united in himself such varied, accurate, and apparently opposite talents and accomplishments. A profound Sanskrit scholar, a grammarian, a philosopher, and a poet, he was at the same time the life of society and a practical clear-headed man of business. On the stage as an amateur, or in the professor's chair as the first Orientalist of our time, he seemed always to be in his place. He has written on the antiquities, the numismatology, on the history, literature, chronology, and ethnology of Hindostan; and on all these subjects not even - Colebrooke himself has written so much - and so well. His works show all the erudition of the German school, without its heaviness, pedantry, and conceit - and his style is the best of all styles, - the style of an accomplished English gentleman."—*[Calcutta Review.]* but with a predominant taste for Oriental literature, he was not likely to push to an excess the great educational reform which was now beginning to take shape in Bengal. But he threw no common amount of energy into all his proceedings. Under his hands paralysis became activity; exhaustion, strength; decadence, stability. The institution was soon in a state of vigorous energetic action. The Hindoo College became the fashion. Even the old bigoted Hindoo Baboos sent their children there without reluctance ; and in the course of a few years, under Wilson's auspices, the class-lists contained the names of four hundred young Bengallees, many of them of good family and position, and all eager for the new knowledge which was opening out its fascinations before them.

But still there was nothing like a decided movement in favor of European learning. The Orientalists were paramount alike in the Vice-Regal city and the Provincial towns, [The oldest educational institution in India supported by Government, is the Mahomedan Madressa, established - in 1781, under the auspices of Warren Hastings. About ten years afterwards the Sanskrit College, at Benares, was founded by Jonathan Duncan.] and Wilson himself was among the chief of them. "Previous to 1835," says Mr. Kerr, the present principal of the Hindoo College, in his Review of Public Instruction in Bengal, " all the larger educational

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establishments, supported by Government, with the exception of the Hindoo College of Calcutta, were decidedly Oriental in character. The medium of instruction was Oriental, The mode of instruction was Oriental. The whole scope of the instruction was Oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices, and to propagate old ideas." Professors and teachers of the Oriental languages were liberally paid. Stipends were given to the students in the Oriental Colleges. Large sums of money were spent on the printing and the translation of books. But under the influence of such a system, little progress was made in the enlightenment of the natives of India. Such efforts did not rouse them from the sleep of apathy, or stimulate their appetite for knowledge. The whole thing, indeed, was a dreary failure, consummated at a large expense.

Measures of Lord W. Bentinck

Nothing was clearer than this fact. It was as clear in Leadenhall-street as it was in Calcutta, The Court of Directors, before the close of 1830, had openly recognised the expediency of a vigorous movement in favor of European education, and had written out simultaneously to the Government of all the three Presidencies, clearly enunciating their views on the subject.* The letters which were then despatched to [See, for example, the following pas sage of the letter of the 18th of February, 1829 , to the Bombay Government:— " It is our anxious desire to afford to the higher classes of the natives of India the means of instruction in European science, and of access to the literature of civilised Europe. The classes possessed of leisure and natural influence, ultimately determine that of the whole people. We are sensible, that it is our duty to afford the best equivalent in our power to these classes for the advantages of which the introduction of our Government has deprived them; and, moreover for this and other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil character which may be given to the government of India, than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible."] The letters to the Bengal and Madras Governments are in the same strain.] India were conceived in a liberal and enlightened spirit. There was no reservation of the truth in them. They admitted that our assumption of the administration of the country had so far been injurious *to the* higher classes of the

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people of <mark>India</mark> as that it had deprived them of official employment; and urged that it was, therefore, the duty of the State to afford them "the best equivalent in their power." Nothing better could be offered than that sound European instruction which would gradually qualify them for restoration to much of the official employment of which they had been deprived. Lord William Bentinck was at this time at the head of the Government of <mark>India.</mark> His own unaided judgment had led him to similar conclusions; and he was well prepared to lay the axe to the trunk of the great tree of Oriental learning, with all its privileges and patronages, its monopolies and endowments. But it was not until 1835 that, thinking that as the old Charter of 1813 had been buried, the errors to which it had given birth might die with it, he gave the deathblow to the Oriental system, and in a famous minute, dated March 7, thus declared his opinions:—

" His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of <mark>India,</mark> and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

" It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

" His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, 'which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies ; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

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" It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

" His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language."

Never was any reformation more complete and irresistible than this. The Orientalists stood aghast before it, for there lay their idol broken at their feet. The President of the Educational Committee, Mr. Shakespear, had thrown up his office in anticipatory disgust. But there were men of higher intelligence on the other side —men who had prompted Lord William Bentinck, and were now eager to support him. Foremost among these were Macaulay and Trevelyan.* [I had written this before the appearance of Mr. Cameron's "Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the Education of the Natives," made me acquainted with the language of Mr. Macaulay's minute of the 2nd February, 1835, in which he reviews in a masterly manner, the whole question of Government patronage of education. I cannot refrain from quoting the conclusion of this paper:

"I would strictly respect all existing interests. interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books. I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanicallearning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit College at Benares and the Mahometan College at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and in Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be

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placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies, of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well *and thoroughly taught.* " If the decision of his Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be a the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain un changed, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel, also, that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the sent system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious. " T. B. MACAULAY."]

The former seated himself in the vacant President's chair; and from that time English education has been as dominant in the chief Government schools throughout India, as before it was languid and depressed .

The Vernacular

But by the reader ignorant of all the bearings of the great educational controversy which twenty years ago agitated the learned world of Bengal, and was echoed in the other presidencies of India, it must not be supposed that Lord William Bentinck and his supporters ever contemplated the degradation of the

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vernacular. The blow which they struck was aimed not at the living but at the dead languages of the country —at the Sanscrit and the Arabic—at languages which were not employed as vehicles of intercommunication, and which contained little in their books to elevate the mind, to invigorate the understanding, or to facilitate the business of life. The importance of the vernacular language as a medium of instruction was admitted; perhaps, with no great heartiness and sincerity. The Court of Directors, however, had consistently urged upon the local Governments the expediency of promoting the extension of indigenous education.* [See the Court's letter to Bengal, written in September, 1829: "We must put you on your guard against a disposition of which we perceive some trace in the general Committee, and still more in the local Committee of Delhi, to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the natives, through the medium of books and instruction in their own languages. That more complete education, which is to commence by a thorough study of the English language, can be placed within the reach of a ==very== small proportion of the natives of ==India== ; but intelligent natives, who have been thus educated, may, as teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers and translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature, and to the minds of the native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped, they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments." — [*The Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, September* 28, 1830, *quoted in Mr. WiUoughby's Minute.']]* And now the educational authorities declared themselves in nowise willing to deprive the people of the most ohvious means of acquiring information through the spoken languages of the country; and directed that in all the Government colleges and schools the cultivation of the vernacular should go hand in hand with that of the English language.*[* See the following manifesto on the subject put forth by the Committee of Public Instruction:

" The general committee are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. That they do not consider that the

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order of the 7th of March precludes this, and they have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties; and the questions submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other."]

Mr. Adam's Report

It was in furtherance of this great object of encouraging the study of the spoken languages of the country, that in the beginning of 1835, Mr. William Adam, a gentleman of considerable local experience, and of a thoughtful inquiring mind, who had originally gone out to India as a Baptist missionary, but who had lapsed into Socianism, and become the editor of a Calcutta journal, was despatched by Lord William Bentinck on a special commission, to inquire into the state of indigenous education in Bengal and Behar. He prosecuted his inquiries with great earnestness, and amassed an immense store of information relating to the state of the vernacular schools, and, indeed, the general condition of native society in those provinces. The reports which he furnished to Government are as interesting as they are instructive. The great fact which they set forth, clearly and unmistakeably, was, that there was very little education of any kind in Bengal and Behar, and that that little was lamentably bad. In some thannas, or police divisions, the per centage of educated youth—taking the period of education to lie between the fifth and the fourteenth years—was as low as two-and-a-half. In others it was much higher. But it was shown, at the same time, with equal clearness, that the percentage of adult education was considerably lower. And Mr. Adam arrived at the conclusion, " that within a comparatively recent period, certain classes of the native population, hitherto excluded by usage from vernacular instruction, have begun to aspire to its advantages, and that this hitherto unobserved movement in native society has taken place to a greater extent in Bengal than in Behar. Such a movement apparently will have the effect which has been found actually to exist—that of increasing the proportion of juvenile instruction as compared with that of adult instruction, and of increasing it

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in a higher ratio in Bengal than in Behar." This mission did something for vernacular education ; but, doubtless, it was not much.

The system established by Lord William Bentinck has been maintained with little variation by his successors. The Committee of Public Instruction, now known as the Council of Education, has numbered among its members some of the ablest and most enlightened men who have ever braved the damp heats of Bengal.* [* The Council of Education is an honorary Board with a salaried secretary. It is composed partly of European gentlemen (some of them not in the Company's service) and partly of natives.]

Under their superintendence, encouraged alike by the local and the home Governments, they have given due effect to this system, and the result has been, that with the aid of a highly-cultivated staff of educational officers, they have rendered a large number of Hindoo and Mahomedan youths familiar with the amenities of European literature. The proficiency attained in the principal scholastic institutions is such as is very rarely acquired by boys of the same age in any other country in the world. I do not believe that there are half a dozen boys at Eton or Harrow who could explain an obscure passage in Milton or Shakspeare, or answer a series of historical questions, extending from the days of Alexander to the days of Napoleon, with as much critical acuteness and accuracy of information, as the white-muslined students who, with so much ease, master the difficult examination-papers which it has taxed all the learning and all the ingenuity of highly-educated English gentlemen of ripe experience to prepare, and who in any such trial of skill would put our young aristocrats to confusion.

All this is past dispute—the proficiency is admitted. But there has seldom been much more than the proficiency of the clever boy. A very few exceptional cases, just sufficient to prove the rule on the other side, might be adduced to show that European education *has* struck deep root in the native mind; but the good seed commonly fell by the way-side, and the birds of the air devoured it. All the enervating and enfeebling environments of Indian life, at the critical period of adolescence, closed around the native youth, to stupify and to deaden both the intellectual faculties and the moral sense. The Hookah and the Zenana did their

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sure work. And in a year or two there was little left of the bright-faced, quick-witted boy who could put the Penseroso into good English prose, tell you who were Pepin and Charles Martel, and explain the character of the "self-denying ordinance" as accurately as Hallam or Macaulay.

Scholarships

The children of India were, perhaps, the most impressionable—the most teachable children in the world. But, left to itself, the impression was soon effaced; the teaching soon became profitless. The mere mechanical power of reading and writing remained. The native students became expert penmen, and remained expert penmen to the last. Much of the copying work in the Government offices had long been done by them. But it was impossible to read any number of documents so copied without the conviction that the copyist had brought the smallest possible amount of intelligence to bear upon his work. The eye seemed to communicate directly with the hand; there was no intervention of the brain. The process was merely that of the machine. The member was instructed—but the mind was not cultivated. The intelligence of the well-tutored boy was seldom carried into the practicalities of actual life.

It was mainly to remedy this evil—to check the retrograde tendency of which I speak—that under the administration of Lord Auckland, certain scholarships were founded in the principal Government institutions. It was obvious that any system which would have the effect of riveting the knowledge, which we imparted, on the minds of the students, and preserving their literary ardor from early extinction, would confer great benefits on the people. Of infinite moment was it that the native student should not glide away from beneath the eye of his preceptor, just at that most important stage of life when the boy passes over the bridge to manhood. The scholarship system was designed to render the effects of all this good Government teaching rather an abiding influence than a transitory impression. And as far as its advantages have extended, I believe that there is a solid reality in them. In all the Presidencies of India scholarships have been founded, both in connexion with the English and the Vernacular schools. And this

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alone is sufficient to associate the administration of Lord Auckland honorably with the cause of native education.

But the good effect of this encouragement was necessarily limited. Something more was required to give a general impulse to native education, even among the more influential classes of society. The Court of Directors, it has been seen, had always associated native education with official employment, and the local governments had, partially at least, given effect to the wishes of the Court. But it seemed that a more authoritative declaration of the views of Government should now be put forth, with respect to this important matter of public employment—that something, indeed, in the shape of a pledge, should be given to the educated natives, that their claims would be duly regarded. Lord Hardinge, before he was compelled to push aside the portfolio and take the sword into his hand, had given his mind earnestly to the subject of native education. Regarding it both in connexion with its general effects upon the elevation of the national character, and upon the qualification of the people for employment in the public service, he came to the conclusion that conformably both with the decrees of the Legislature, and the expressed desire of the Court of Directors, those objects would be best attained by a more authoritative enunciation of the views of Government—by a specific declaration that it was then intention, thenceforth, to recognise a certain educational test of qualification for the public service, and by so doing, both to encourage the diffusion of knowledge, and to raise the character of the native agency employed in the service of the State. Whether education were to be promoted that this agency might be improved, or whether these inducements were to be offered that education might he promoted, was in reality of little consequence, so long as the reciprocal action of the two was secured. Lord Hardinge believed that both ends could be attained by an authoritative enunciation of his views and intentions; and he prepared a minute, which has since become very famous in the later history of native education, wherein, under date, October 10, 1844, he thus declares the intentions of the Government:—

Lord Hardinge's Minute

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" The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service; and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved, that in every possible case, a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment."

To the Council of Education, as the general educational executive, it was left to carry out the details of a scheme at once liberal and wise; but it often happens that the wise liberality of an original project, passed through the filtre of mechanical detail, is purged of all its heartiness and sincerity, and weakened and reduced to something narrow and exclusive, and most unlike the first design. Lord Hardinge's minute was subjected to this process of filtration; and all its catholicity was left behind in the machine. The Council of Education prescribed a test, based entirely on the educational system of the Government colleges,* [* The examination was to be similar senior scholarships at the Calcutta and to that to which candidates for the Hooghly colleges were subjected.] so that the pupils of those institutions which had been established "by private individuals and societies" were practically excluded from the competition.

The Court of Directors entirely disapproved of this decision. "It appears to us," they wrote, "that the standard can only be attained by the students in the Government colleges, and that therefore it virtually gives to them a monopoly of public patronage." " We are also of opinion," they added, " that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage the general acquisition of the English language. Those who cannot hope to pass this test will not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon learning the English language, at least with a view to employment in the public service." And they argued that men might be

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well qualified by their general character and attainments for public employment, although they were but imperfectly acquainted with the writings of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, or, indeed, with the English language at all. " Where from local circumstances," they said, " the persons whom it would be most desirable to employ are found deficient in that knowledge, we would not, on that account, peremptorily exclude them from employment, though other qualifications being equal, or nearly so, we would allow a knowledge of the English language to give a claim to preference."

Want of Employment

Nothing could have been heartier than the wish of the Court to have ever " at their disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share, and occupy higher situations in civil administrations than had hitherto been the practice." But this liberal desire soon overleapt itself. For the native students, encouraged by the known wishes of the Court, and the declarations of the local Government, so strove to qualify themselves for office, and so eagerly sought Government employ, that many were necessarily disappointed. Employment could not readily be found for them. And this discouraging, though inevitable fact, was emphatically pointed out by some of the heads of colleges to the superintending authorities. Thus, in the report of the Delhi College for 1850, it is stated, that " several of the more advanced students had, during the past year, been attending the civil courts, with the view of familiarising themselves with the forms of official business. The officiating principal, in noticing this, remarked, that from the press of competition, it not unfrequently happened that youths, whose qualifications were undoubted, remained long after quitting the college without any provision. He therefore proposed that any *eleve* of the college who could procure a certificate of his fitness for official employment from the officer whose court he had been attending, should at once be appointed a supernumerary, on a small salary, till such time as a vacancy might occur. " The principal of the Benares College also observed, that much difficulty was experienced even by his best pupils in their" search for employment after quitting the college. He therefore proposed that the passing of an examination of some fixed and high standard should entitle the

successful student to immediate employment under Government, on a salary of 30 rupees (per mensem) or thereabouts: should no vacancy exist at the moment, the passed candidate might be directed to prosecute his studies at the college, and to employ himself under the direction of the committee in the preparation of translations and treatises in the vernacular."—" A class," it was added, " like that of the fellows of our English colleges would thus be formed, the members of which might be drafted off as their services were required, into the educational or other departments."

But these proposals did not altogether meet the approbation of the authorities. It was declared that there was no reluctance on the part of heads of departments to employ the passed students of the Government colleges and schools—that on the other hand every practicable effort would be made to afford them the encouragement which they sought; but that it was clearly impossible to find employment in the Government service for all candidates urging the claims of a collegiate education ; and that it was inexpedient that a general impression should obtain among them that such education conferred upon them any *right* to official employment. No Government in the world could afford systematically to recognise such claims. It is one thing to hold out an inducement to exertion by showing that successful efforts will strengthen the chances of obtaining official employment; another, to admit that such efforts constitute a prescriptive right to office. All that Government could possibly do was to hold out encouragements of the former class. It was clearly impossible to pledge themselves to the latter.

Public and Private Employment

   It would appear from these statements that considerable difficulty has attended the efforts which have been made to give practical effect to the wise and benevolent intentions of the Court of Directors. The design was one of a reciprocal beneficial action—the hope of public employment giving an impulse to education, and education mightily improving the character of the public service. But there was a defect in the national character which did much to embarrass the practical working of this admirable design. The natives of India, when once their

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expectations are raised, lean with child-like helplessness on the strong arm of Government, and, instead of exerting themselves, believe that everything will be done for them. Instead of something conditional, they thought that they saw something absolute in the promises of Government, and believed that they had only to conform to a certain test to secure official employment. The tendency of this was to give them narrow and exclusive views of the advantages of education, and greatly to limit private enterprise.

It was clearly mischievous that the natives should look upon official employment as the one great aim and end of education. Mr. Cameron, therefore, did wisely when he cautioned the native students of Bengal against this dangerous delusion. " Do not imagine," he said, " that the sole or the main use of a liberal education is to fit yourselves for the public service; or rather do not imagine that the public can only be served by the performance of duties in the offices of Government . . . Besides the public service and the pursuits of literature and science, there are open to you the learned professions, law, medicine, the highly honorable profession of a teacher, and that which has but lately become a profession, civil engineering."* [* Address of the President (Mr. Cameron) of the Council of Education to the students under its superintendence — [Cameron's *Address* to *Parliament*)].

It was a great thing that the natives should be encouraged to cultivate their minds by the promise of the high reward of official employment; but it was a still greater thing that they should learn to rely on themselves—to look to education as the means of independent advancement in life. So often is it that in the very best of human designs, there is some germ of failure at the bottom.

In the mean while a great experiment was going on in the North-West. In 1845 circular letters were addressed to all the revenue-collectors, calling their especial attention to the subject of education. These letters are a model of sound practical sense combined with the purest benevolence. They set forth a general admission that " the standard of education amongst the people is very low;" and then they proceed to show that " causes are at work, which tend rapidly to raise the standard and improve the intellectual state of the whole population." These

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causes were mainly to be found in the operation of the new settlement. "The people of Hindostan," continues the secretary of the North-Western Government, " are essentially an agricultural people. Anything " which concerns their land immediately rivets their " attention and excites their interest. During the late " settlement a measurement has been made, and a map " drawn of every field in these provinces, and a record " formed of every right attaching to the field. The " 'Putwaree's' papers, based upon this settlement, constitute an annual registry of these rights, and are regularly filed in the collector's office. They are compiled on an uniform system, and are the acknowledged groundwork of all judicial orders regarding rights in land." The case thus stated, as between the Government and the agriculturist, the former proceeded to show the direct interest which every man had, under such a svstem, in the education of himself and his children. " It is important," they wrote, " for his own protection that every one possessing any interest in the land should be so far acquainted with the principles on which these papers are compiled as to be able to satisfy himself that the entries affecting himself are correct. There is thus a direct and powerful inducement to the mind of almost every individual to acquire so much of reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration, as may suffice for the " protection of his rights; until this knowledge be " universal, it is vain to hope that any great degree " of accuracy can be attained in the preparation of *' the papers."* [* Three years afterwards it was declared that the progress of time had tended to confirm these views of the system and the education of the country:— " Subsequent experience has confirmed the lieutenant-governor in his opinion that those features of our present revenue-system, which affect the registration of all landed property, afford the proper means by which the mass of the people may be roused to a sense of the importance of sound elementary instruction. If the people at large continue as ignorant as they now are, they cannot work out for them all connexion between the revenue-system the advantages it is calculated to produce. These advantages are so palpable to their minds, that when rightly apprehended they form the strongest incentive to any exertion which will secure their attainment."—[*Government of North- Western Provinces to Government of India, April* 19, 1848.] (- *Ibid*]

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Movements in the North-West

Thus, for the first time, was it plainly manifested to the people, that the maintenance of their individual rights was dependent upon their own power of ascertaining them—that without the rudiments of education they were liable to be wrongfully dealt with—that, in short, the power of reading and writing was essential to the very life of an agricultural population. An appeal was thus directly made to the self-interest of the people. It was something that every one could understand ; and was far more likely to be responded to by the rude peasants of Upper India than any abstract propositions regarding the value of learning and the duty of improving the mind. But although this was to be the beginning, it was not to be the end. It was believed that if self-interest were to lead them a little way along the paths of learning, they would be induced by higher motives to advance further in the march of mind. " When the mind of the whole people," it was said, " has thus been raised to a sense of the importance of knowledge, it is natural to suppose that many from the mass will advance further, and cultivate literature for the higher rewards it offers, or even for the pleasure which its acquisition occasions.

For the furtherance of these ends the collectors were exhorted, above all things, to endeavour to carry the people with them—not to think of introducing novel and barely intelligible systems among them—but to accommodate themselves, as far as possible, to existing institutions. " Judicious encouragement," it was said, " would promote the formation of village schools, and enlist in the work of education the persons whom the people themselves might select as their teachers and support for that purpose." The preparation of a series of village school-books was commenced for circulation among the people. Detailed instructions were given to the Tehsildars, or native revenue-officers, who were to be employed as the immediate agency for the prosecution of this scheme; and the utmost endeavour was made to collect, from all parts of the provinces, detailed educational statistics wherefrom to construct the groundwork of their operations. It was not the design of the Government to establish schools of its

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own, but to encourage the maintenance of old institutions, and to stimulate the people to extend the Benefits of the existing system.

The statistical inquiries, thus directed, were pushed forward with hearty good-will. To the majority of those concerned in the new settlement it was a congenial task. A valuable series of reports was thus prepared, and a vast mass of information was collected. The aggregate result was a deplorable picture of the state of education in Upper India. It was ascertained that " on an average less than 5 per cent, of the youth who are of an age to attend schools obtain any instruction, and that instruction which they do receive is of a very imperfect kind."* [* *Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of India, November* 18, 18-16. In the preface to the "Memoir on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency "to which I am indebted for the information contained in this and some of the following pages. Mr. R. Thornton, the compiler, says: the —" Out of a population, which numbered in 1848, 23,200,000 souls, and in which were consequently included more than 1,900,000 males of a school-going age, we can trace but 68,200 as in the receipt of any education whatever. In Prussia nine-tenths of this portion of the population is stated to be under the population is stated to be under instruction. In Russia, the most barbarous of the European monarchies, the proportion is as one to nine. In India, even with a large allowance for those receiving domestic and private education, it is of as one to twenty-five. Low, however, as this proportion is, it is only when considered in connexion with the degree of information imparted, that it conveys any idea of the extent of the deficiency to be supplied." But it was not only that the percentage was very low in comparison with that exhibited by the educational statistics of Europe, but that as compared with the state of the Lower Provinces of Bengal—the darkness of the Upper seemed to be very apparent. " Assuming," said the Agra Government, "boys from commencement of their fifth to the end of their fourteenth year to be of an age best adapted for receiving instruction, it is calculated that, in the Lower Provinces, the percentage of such boys now receiving instruction varies from 32 in Bengal to a little more than 5 in Behar. In Bombay it appears to vary - from 7 to 13. In Agra, one of the most favored districts in these provinces, it is only 5 1/2."]

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Mr. Thomason's Proposal

To supply this grievous want, Mr. Thomason now proposed the endowment of a school in every considerable village. The plan which he desired to carry out he helieved to be in accordance with the feelings of the people and the character of their institutions. He suggested that the endowment should he secured by small grants of land—that jagheers of from five to ten acres each, yielding a rental varying from twenty to forty rupees per annum, should he granted to the village communities for the purpose of maintaining their schoolmasters. But this proposal* [* The proposal was supported by an argument of a general kind, worthy of notice. " It is the standing reproach of the British Government," wrote the Agra secretary, " that whilst it continually resumes the endowments of former sovereigns, it abstains from making any, even for those purchases which it considers most laudable. The present measure will in some degree remove this reproach, and that in a manner most acceptable to the feelings of the people at large."] did not meet the approbation of the Court of Directors. They acknowledged, in the most unqualified manner, " the necessity for giving some powerful impulse to elementary education in the North-Western Provinces." They declared themselves " prepared to sanction the adoption of some more comprehensive plan of extending and improving the means of popular instruction throughout the country;" but they doubted the expediency of sanctioning the proposed plan of landed endowments.

"It has, no doubt," they wrote, "the advantages " ascribed to it, and is apparently the most economical " arrangement for effecting the object proposed. Endowments of land are, however, open to obvious " objection. They have an inherent tendency to assume " the character of permanent and hereditary property, " independent of any reference to the tenure by which " they were originally held. An actual occupant, even " should he prove inefficient, would think himself deprived of a right if he was removed, and a son would claim to succeed to his father whether he were competent or not. The evil would be

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aggravated by the "extreme difficulty of exercising a vigilant control " over such numerous establishments, and in one or " two generations it might happen that the alienation " of revenue would be of little avail in securing the " education of the people."* [* *Despatch of Court of Directors, August* 25, 1847.]

The Visitation Scheme

Moved by these considerations, the soundness of which is not to be denied, the Court declared themselves in favor of the expediency of moneyed payments. They were ready, they said, to give their attention to any plan inviting the payment of monthly stipends to the village schoolmasters, or a direct expenditure of money in any other manner most likely to secure the great end of the diffusion of knowledge among the people. " Too thankful for the liberality of these concessions to lay any stress on the rejection of his particular scheme," Mr. Thomason now set himself with earnestness to devise a plan which should meet the wishes of the Court. He frequently discussed the best mode of accomplishing this object with all the officers of Government with whom he came into communication in the course of his annual torn. And the result of this discussion was a strong conviction that the system of moneyed payments to village schoolmasters was open to very grave objections. He proposed, therefore, that the ordinary village schools should remain as before, self-supporting institutions ; but that in every tehseldarree, or revenue-district, a model school should be established at the general expense, " to provide a powerful agency for visiting all the indigenous schools, for furnishing the people and the teachers with advice, assistance, and encouragement, and for rewarding those schoolmasters who may be found the most deserving."* [* *Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of India, April* 19, 1848.] To each district was to be attached a Zillah visitor and three Pergunnah visitors—the system being one of visitation and superintendence—and these officers were to be emphatically enjoined " to conduct themselves with the greatest courtesy both to the people at large and to the village teachers." They were carefully to avoid anything that might offend the prejudices or be unnecessarily distasteful to the feeling of those with whom they

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have communication. "Their duty," it was added, "will be to persuade, encourage, assist, and reward, and to that duty they will confine themselves."

It was calculated that this scheme, when carried out in all its completeness, would necessitate an expenditure of about 20,000/. per annum. A partial experiment was proposed in the first instance; and it was suggested at the same time that a Visitor-general should be selected from among the civil servants of the Company to communicate with the subordinate agency, to direct and control their operations, and secure the efficient working of the entire scheme. The Court of Directors sanctioned the arrangement; and a Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, dated 9th of February, 1850, formally inaugurated the plan.

Turning now to the general statistics of Education it would appear from the most recent statement that there are in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency 30 Government colleges and schools which English is taught—that these schools are conducted by 283 masters, and that the number of pupils receiving instruction in them is 5465 ; and that these 291 scholarships, of the annual value of 50 in all, are held up for competition. In the same … of the country there are 33 Government Vernacular schools, with 104 pupils, and 4685 scholars. The annual expenditure upon English and Vernacular schools in Lower Bengal is about 38,000*.*[In the last Report of Public Instruction in Lower Bengal (1853), prepared since these statistics were made out it is stated "during the past year (1852) there were in the government institutions of Bengal, including the Vernacular schools, … 11,000 pupils, of whom 103Christians, 791 Mahomedans, 189 Thugs… and the rest Hindoos.]

In the North-Western Provinces there are 7 colleges and schools, supported by Government, in which English is taught. In these there are 112 masters, 1 pupils, and 232 scholarships, of the value of at 2300*. .. Besides these are 8 model schools, of origin and intent of which I have spoken. The expenditure in the North-Western Provinces amounts to 13,350*.

It appears from the same official record that, in the Madras Presidency, there is only one school in which English is taught—the Madras University E School—with

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13 masters and 180 pupils. The number of Vernacular schools seems to be uncertain. The gross expenditure is 4350*. Education is in a more dep… condition in Madras than in any other part of Company's territories.

Progress of Education

From Bombay the reports are more encouraging …appears that there are 14 Government colleges and schools in which English is taught, with 62 masters and 2066 scholars, amongst whom 84 scholarships of the aggregate annual value of 588/ are divided. Besides these there are 233 Vernacular schools, with the same number of masters and 11,394 students. The total expenditure, on account of education in this Presidency, is 15,000/.

It would appear from these statements that the annual expenditure on account of education in the three Presidencies is about 70,000/. The Madras returns being imperfect, the actual number of pupils under instruction in the Government schools cannot be given. Perhaps it may be estimated at about 30,000.

The number of scholars in the Government schools has, with a few exceptions, steadily increased. Thus, in the Hindoo College of Calcutta, in 1833, there were 318 pupils; the last returns (1851) exhibit a total of 471. In the medical college of Calcutta the advance has been rapid and striking. In 1835 there were 67 students on the books; the last returns show that the number had risen to 228. In the Dacca College the number has risen from 144, in 1835, to 383 in 1851. In the Midnapore School the number was 45 in 1836, and 125 in 1851. In the Chitagong School there has been an advance from 61 in 1837, to 125 in 1851. In Sylhet, from 62, in 1843, to 114 in 1851. These cases are all taken from the returns of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.* [* In the last Report of the Committee of Public Instruction.] There are no comparative tables to the same extent in the reports from other parts of the country. The last Bombay reports give the returns of Vernacular education for the last two years, from which it would appear that in 1851 there were 10,965 pupils, and in 1852, 11,088. I can only gather the progress in the North-Western Provinces from scattered fragments in the different detailed reports. Thus, from Saugor, it is reported that " the applications for admittance to the English class had exceeded in number those of any previous

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year, and the desire for English knowledge was evidently on the increase, whilst the institution generally appeared to be appreciated by the inhabitants of Saugor, and was resorted to by the children of all classes." From Jubbulpore it is reported that " the constituency of the school had increased during the past year by 94 pupils, a result which the head master attributed to the increased favor with which the institution was regarded by the inhabitants of Saugor and its vicinity." From the Delhi College it is reported, that in 1848 the number of pupils in the English departments was 218; and in the following year 234. From the last report of the Madras University, it would appear that the number of pupils had risen in the last year to 180 from 173, the number in the preceding year.

Medical College

It is clearly beyond the scope of a mere chapter on Native Education to treat in detail of the different institutions established and supported by the East India Company. But there are two or three, of an exceptional and so interesting a character, that I must devote a few pages to them before the chapter is brought to a close. I think that the foundation of the Medical College of Calcutta is one of the greatest facts in the recent history of Indian Administration. Half a century ago, a project for the establishment of an institution, intended to convey to the natives of India instruction in European medical and surgical science, would have been scouted as the chimera of a madman. Even a quarter of a century ago, when Lord William Bentinck first arrived in India, men of sound judgment and long experience shook their heads and said that the natives of India, to whom the touch of a corpse is the deadliest contamination, could never be brought to face the science of anatomy as European students face it in the dissecting-room. But the experiment, under his auspices, was tried. It was tried and it succeeded. The Medical College of Calcutta was founded; and Hindoos of the highest caste learnt their lessons in anatomy, not from models of wax or wood, but from the human subject. The beginning was small; but the progressive advancement was striking. In 1837—the first year, of which a record was kept— sixty bodies were dissected before the students. In the next year the number was precisely doubled. In 1844 it had risen to upwards of 500. The college was highly popular. There was evidently a strong desire on the part of the native youths for medical and surgical

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knowledge, and their prejudices gave way beneath it. But a greater victory, even than that which was to be seen in the dissecting-room, was now soon about to be achieved. In 1844, that liberal and enlightened native gentleman, Dwarkanath Tagore, offered to take to England and to educate at his own expense two students of the Medical College.

The proposal was communicated to Dr. Mouat, the secretary of the college—a gentleman of a large and liberal mind, to whose energy and intelligence the cause of Native Education is greatly indebted. In the assembled school he made the announcement, pointed out the advantages the proposal offered, and asked whether any were inclined to profit by the liberality of their distinguished countryman. On this, three native students volunteered unconditionally to cross the black water. They were all, with a fourth fellow student, enabled to proceed to England,* [* Dr. Goodeve, one of the professors of the college, offered to take a third pupil at his own expense, and raised an additional sum, by private subscription, which enabled him to take a fourth. "The four pupils who accompanied the professor and started in the steamer Bentinck on the 8th of March, were Bholonath Bose, a pupil of Lord Auckland's school at Barrackpore, who was supported at the medical college by his lordship for five years, and was considered by the late Mr. Griffith, the most promising botanical pupil in the school—Gopaul Chunder Seal—Dwarkanath Bose, a native Christian, educated in the General Assembly's Institution, and employed for sometime as the assistant in the Museum – together with Surprice Comar Chuckerbutty, a Brahmin, native of Comillah, a junior pupil, and a lad of much sprit and promise" –*Report of the Medical College for* 1844.] and in our English colleges, competing with the best scientific scholarship of the West, they earned great distinction and carried off high rewards.

Of an equally practical, but of a different kind, is the Engineering College of Roorkhee, in the Northwestern Provinces. It was suggested by the progress of the great public works in the Doab, of which I have spoken in detail. Its object is to afford a good education in practical science both to Europeans and natives —to train up a new race of public servants, by whose aid these great works may be successfully prosecuted to their completion. For many years past there has

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existed a large demand for skill in every branch of practical engineering. Efforts were made for some time to find the means of special scientific training in existing institutions, but they were found to be inadequate to such a purpose ; and on the 25th of November, 1847, Mr. Thomason published a " Prospectus of a College for Civil Engineering," which is now established at Roorkhee, and on the first day of the following year the first pupils were formally enrolled. By the middle of 1848 the establishment was completed, the buildings erected, and the classes opened.

The Roorkhee College

An institution of this kind is calculated to be of immense advantage, both to the Government and the people. It is estimated that the expenditure on public works,* [“The problem then, for the Government to solve is, how they can most economically manage this large expenditure. Many civil engineers, artificers, and laborers must be employed in the disbursement. Whatever will increase the science, skill, and character of these agents, will cause a material saving in the expenditure. Whatever tends to multiply the number of well qualified agents, will facilitate the operations and cheapen the supply. It cannot be an unthrifty course which appropriates less than one and a half per cent of the whole estimated minimum expenditure to training up an efficient agency and sending them forth with all the appliances which may make them intelligent and trustworthy servants of the State.” – [*Report on Roorkhee College, printed by the order of Government of North-Western Provinces in 1851.*] in the North-Western Provinces, including those the cost of which is defrayed from the road and ferry funds, is not less than 580,000/. It is of the first importance to secure an efficient and economical agency for the execution of these works. In no way can this great end be so well secured as by raising a class of engineers on the spot under the eyes of British officers. A great impulse will thus be given to Native Education. Few things are so much wanted as honorable professions attractive to the youth of the country; nor are the only advantages those which immediately occur to the employers and the employed. "It is evidently impossible," to use the words of the official exposition of the scheme, " that an agency, such as it is designed to connect with Roorkhee College, should be brought into exercise in the midst of the dense population of

the Northern Doab, without materially improving the social condition of the inhabitants. The certain discoveries of modern science would be substituted for the crude and mistaken notions which now prevail on all subjects connected with natural philosophy. The people would have daily before their eyes some of the greatest achievements of scientific skill, and they would be taught the steps by which that skill is acquired, and the means by which it is brought into operation. A stimulus will be given to the native mind, which cannot fail to be highly beneficial. This is in itself an object worthy of the aim of a great Government. It is a purpose for which the State has appropriated large sums of money in all parts of the country."*[* *Report of Roorkhee College, printed by order of Government of North-Westarn Provinces in* 1851.]

   Of one other institution I must briefly speak. It is one of peculiar interest. When Sleeman and his associates had stricken down Thuggee, it seemed to them that it would be a great thing, and, as it were, set the crown upon their work, if a school were to be established, not only for the education of the children of these convicted murderers, but also for the instruction of such of the criminals themselves as had been induced to become approvers. With this object, a school of industry was established at Jubbulpore. I believe that the idea first took shape in the mind of Lieutenant Brown, and that he was the originator of the institution. It had, like other great works, a small beginning ; but it has now become an important establishment, viewed with regard both to its material and moral results. Within a factory, enclosing a space of 350 feet by 224, are to be seen continually at work, blacksmiths, dyers, spinners, tape-makers, chintz-printers, carpenters, carpet-makers, tent-makers, and other artisans. None of them knew any trade but that of robbery and murder when the school was established in 1837.* [* J. *Colonel Sleeman to Government, July* 23,1846 *MS.*] All now work with the greatest cheerfulness, and even rivalry; manufactures of great variety and excellent quality are produced in abundance. . . The whole exhibits a scene of industrious activity which is highly refreshing, and cannot but exercise a most beneficial influence on its inhabitants." [*Police Report of Mr. Mcleod,MS.]* During a part of the day the children are instructed in reading and writing, and instead of

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becoming habituated to murder from their boyhood, there is every likelihood of their growing up to be not only peaceful and well conducted men, but skilled artisans, able to gain a livelihood for themselves, far in advance of that which is procured by the common labor of the country. [*Records.* See for some further information, relative to these schools, Appendix G.]

Alexander Duff

I am writing of the administrative efforts of the Company and their servants; and in this chapter it only comes within my original design to give some account of the educational system and institutions of the Government. But I cannot refrain from turning aside in this place to bestow a few words on the great and successful exertions of private bodies to diffuse, principally through missionary agency, the light of knowledge among the people. It would be pleasant to write in detail of what has been done by different religious communities to disseminate European learning in the large towns, and to promote Vernacular Education in outlying districts, but I cannot do more than illustrate and exemplify the good that has been done by the private efforts of these Christian men. It is not difficult to select an illustrative example from among the many Protestant communities who are now earnestly and diligently laboring in the great cause of Native Education ; there is, perhaps, not one that would not cheerfully acknowledge that the foremost place amongst these educational benefactors of India is due to Alexander Duff and his associates—to that little party of Presbyterian ministers who now for more than twenty years have been toiling for the people of India with such unwearying zeal, and with such wonderful success.

It was in the month of May, 1830, that Alexander Duff, a minister of the Church of Scotland, arrived at Calcutta. He was then a very young man, but his wisdom was far in advance of his years. Never was purer zeal—never sturdier energy devoted to a high and holy calling. He went out to India charged by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with the duty of establishing an educational institution for the purpose of conferring on native youths all the advantages of sound and comprehensive European Education—an education, indeed, of the

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highest order, " in inseparable conjunction with the principles of the Christian faith." It was a great experiment—a few years before it would have been a dangerous one. But Duff never so regarded it. He began his work and he waited. … pupils; and ere long he had 1200. There was … any reservation on the part of Duff and his associates. It was openly and unequivocally avowed that the Scriptures were taught in the schools. But the children came freely to the Christian institution regarded their Christian teachers with affection. There are missionary schools scattered over all India, and freely the children come to be taught. There is not one which, either for the magnitude … the success of the experiment, can be compared those presided over by Duff and his associates. Bombay and Madras share worthily in these honors; an educational achievements of their Scotch divine serve to be held in lasting remembrance.

There are some, perhaps, who, reading this, feel disposed to ask, why cannot the Govemment likewise—why, if the natives of India flock to Bible-schools, is the Bible so rigorously excluded the Government institutions? My individual op… is, that the Bible might be safely and profitably … mitted into the Government school-rooms, like other class-book. But there are very many a right-minded men who think differently on this important subject, and there are some who say … would be unworthy of our Government to … such a compromise, and that the Gospel ought be taught like algebra in the schools. I know there is a vast difference between the use of the Bible in a private school and in one under the superintendence of the servants of the Government and that what in one case would be regarded wil… difference, in the other might create irritation and alarm in the native mind. I shall touch briefly on the general subject of Government interference in the next chapter. But it is not the object of this work to deal with controversial matters, or to attempt to settle vexed questions of so delicate a character as this.

Its Present State

It will have been gathered from this rapid sketch of Native Education, especially as it has progressed under the Bengal Presidency, that public instruction is as yet only in its infancy. I cannot doubt, however, that very much has already been

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done by means of this great regenerative agent to advance the progress of civilisation among the people. It is true that when the entire number of pupils under education in the Government schools is compared with the population of the British provinces, it will be seen that our educational schemes are making very little direct impression upon the minds of the great mass of the people. But this is very far from the view which any reasonable man would take of this great question. *"We* can only hope to work upon the uninstructed many through the agency of the instructed few.* [Col. Sykes, in a very valuable paper on the "Statistics of Government Education" published in 1845, gives a table showing "The employment of the students who have left the Government schools and colleges (in Bengal) up to 1839-40;" from which it appears that the largest number, except that embraced by the comprehensive term "Miscellaneous," went out into the world to teach: 83 became English teachers; 33, Arabic teachers; 50 Sanscrit teachers; 20, Bengallee teachers; 4, Hindoo teachers; and 5, Urdu teachers.] We must trust, as it were, to the contagion of education. It is hard to say how many are indirectly benefited by the blessings conferred directly upon one pupil educated at the public expense. There is a reproductiveness in knowledge—a diffusiveness in truth —which renders it impossible for us to calculate the results of such instruction as is being conferred upon the people of India by the Government and the Missionary schools.* [* Since the publication of the first edition of this work, it has been stated in Parliament by Mr. Macaulay, that during the time of his connexion with the Indian Government, "every important measure which was adopted— every measure of which History will hereafter make mention, was taken without any authority whatever from home." " I believe," he added, " that every one of those measures or acts was regarded with disapprobation at home. That was most eminently the case with respect to that great reform, which was made in 1835 by Lord William Bentinck, on the subject of Native Education." On such a question it need not be said that Mr. Macaulay is a great authority. But broad assertions of this kind seldom convey the exact truth. It is impossible to read such passages as that given from the Court's letter of Feb. 18, 1829, at page 594, *ante,* without perceiving that the views of the Home Government were substantially identical with those of Lord William Bentinck, and that the Company had been long recommending the extension of

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European Education. But the home authorities thought that they perceived, at the time to which Mr. Macaulay refers, a tendency to run into extremes, and were fearful lest the Bentinck and Macaulay system should become too exclusively English in its character. The importance of Vernacular Education at one time seemed likely to be overlooked—and it may be doubted whether even now it is sufficiently recognised. I should be gl.. to see a little more attention given to Vernacular Education, and the No .. School principle well carried out. It appears, from an admirable Minute on Native Education, drawn up by M Willoughby shortly before leaving Bombay, that in the principal institutions here the Vernacular languages are hel.. of less account even than they are in the Bengal colleges. The writer says : ' But to revert to the subject of Vernacular education, I would now inquire why, when a boy is admitted into the English college or school, should instruction in his mother tongue cease? Why, in 1…, should not the study of English and Vernacular be combined ?—a system which, I understand, has been successfully introduced into the plan of education pursued in the Hindoo College at Calcutta. By compelling the student to give his undivided attention to the new language, there must be a great risk of his losing the knowledge, at the best but superficial, he had previously acquired of his own language. I see no reason for this, but, on the contrary, think the study of both languages, being proceeded with *pari passu,* would in several respects be exceedingly advantageous to the student. Indeed, I am happy to observe that the system of combined instruction has recently been introduced here, though not to the extent which appears to me advisable."]

Teaching English Language and Literature in Non-Native Context

Smita A. Mujumdar M.A.

The Goal of This Paper

There are varieties of English but English literature produced by the native speakers or writers has remained an important, original, standard and accepted variety of English.

At the same time, teaching English literature and literature written in English by non-native writers also has gained importance and worldwide recognition. This literature has become an important phenomenon of English in current global scenario.

Literature has been included in the syllabi of higher education since long time and it is continued even now. In many parts of the world today, there is a great demand for English language learning as it is a language of international communication of business, commerce, science, technology and higher education. However, the fact is that English language teachers face certain difficulties and problems in non-native contexts.

Therefore, recognizing the need of the significant role of an English teacher and literature, this paper attempts to discuss the need, difficulties and remedies in teaching English literature in non-native contexts and finally makes a statement on the importance of literature.

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Teaching of English Literature: Need, Purpose and Importance:

It is seen that all over the world, the study of English literature is included in educational system even in non-native English-speaking countries such as India. It would be better to examine first, why English literature is studied and being taught even in their non-native identities**.**

The reason for the need and purpose of study of English literature may possible in its increasing reputation as the literature of world language. With this, the native English Literature is considered essential and important as part of the learning process of the English language. It might be learned and studied for its literary aspects, to know and enjoy, English in original native expressions and to be acquainted with the works of great literary masters.

English literature has always been looked upon with high regards for its variety of subjects, style, reflection of life and magnitude. Mostly the aesthetic beauty and the utility of language proficiency is the main reason behind the inclusion of literature in language study.
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Difficulties, Problems: Facts:

But In teaching English Literature in non-native contexts, the teachers and learners face certain difficulties and problems due to cultural, racial and linguistic differences. British or English cultural references are not known or familiar to the learners and hence many times they do not understand the matter as is viewed by the author.

This cultural aspect includes all such factors like geography, topography, climate, history, religion, social and personal relationships, habits of thoughts, social values, moral codes, arts, sports and entertainments and so on.

Next is racial difference or difference of attitudes and of certain assumptions. Racial prejudices about the writer or about his country may become an obstacle in having proper understanding and learning of English Literature or literature of any non-native language.

Then the literature produced in long past with past references and ideas may create misunderstanding in the minds of learners as to the relevance of such materials. Such works are seen to be outdated topics to learn.

In addition, if the learner is not familiar with the history or social upheavals of that country (England), with such references he may feel it all strange and even out of his range of understanding.

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Moreover, on the part of learner, if his linguistic ability is not much developed, he faces difficulties in following the meanings and usages at the syntactic, verbal, lexical & other linguistic and other stylistic levels in that work.

Sometimes the huge size of the original work, and the obscurity and clumsiness of expressions in the literature prescribed become an impediment. Some other times, the inability of teachers to deal with the prescribed book hinders the process of comprehending and so learning it properly.

With all such reasons, problems arise and teaching of English literature can become a challenge in non-native contexts. For example, snow, frozen ponds, winter and craze for spring are common in the description of English literature that are not shared by Africans. Likewise the biblical references and Latinized words and allusions in Milton's poetry, social & royal occasions of 18th century England in Pope's poetry and bombastic language use of classic writers may create aversions of English literature in an inexperienced foreign learner.

The Question: How to Overcome This?

Then the question arises how within the total field of education, can the study of literature make its maximum contribution? How far is the study of literature significant and relevant in the process of education?

The answer can be made positive, provided certain precautions are taken and improvements are made in the methods of teaching, learning and selection of works for study. Teaching literature can develop language skills and perceptional ability among the learners if it is taught properly or with willingness to change methods as per new demands.

Teaching Methods and the Role of Teacher:

The traditional methods of teaching are lecture methods wherein we find one-sided discourse of the teacher and passive response or blind acceptance by the students. Much is left to the imagination of the teacher and the students, and, if possible, upon the interpretative ability of the students.

In new methods, the teacher's skill in making the learner feel the experience of the writer contributes to effective learning. The teacher has to have ability to apply new techniques suitable to the learning of English literature in content-oriented and language-oriented aspects. The teacher has to train the minds of the learners to grasp the writer's vision, approaches and the beauty of language as well as the use of new words; he requires such new skills.

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The teacher must have an ability to connect the non-native aspect in the content and language with real life situation.

Changes in Focus of Learning

In the new world of changing global requirements, the methods are to be modified by the teacher while educating the students. Teaching English Literature in non-native contexts involves the linguistic skills competence and the human value systems of the concerned society. Globalization now has altered the objectives of teaching English into skill based, self- learning, professional and unicultural concerns.

Relation between Language and Literature

There is close and firm relation between language and literature. Teacher must understand this relation and be ready to change the traditional methods. The modern techniques, use of materials like audio-video, participations in seminars, live interactions, preparing students for diverse source of information on their own, developing the skills of synthesis of knowledge among them, such methods are to be followed to remove the cultural and linguistic barriers and make the learning more fruitful.

Use of Video aids can give visual information of unseen places and references to make them more familiar. The advanced information of the topic on Internet enriches the teacher and learner to equip himself before dealing with the topic.

For this, the teachers and institutions must have new perspective and vision, new approach and readiness to change. Teaching thus can become easy and interesting even in non-native contexts.

Importance of Literature – Its Study and In the Syllabi

English language is no more the asset of native users or writers only. Non-native groups, crossing the national, racial and cultural borders, have been generating a kind of sensibility and yet a separate identity in the use of English language and in creative writings. A sense of ownership of this language has grown. In such non-native perspective, English is not a monopoly of only the native speakers and writers. Although English literature by English native speakers is great, literature produced in English by non-natives is of no less value. It has global and universal quality and circumstantial significance.

In the view of Prof. C.D. Narasimhaih, the pioneer of Commonwealth literature studies and Scholar-critic, "Marvels of creativity during past hundred years are seen which has slowly reversed the literary traffic from Euro-centric world capitals to the unsuspected nooks and

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corners of dark countries of Africa & densely peopled India, where anyone can feel a country belongs to him by right of vision" (Narasimhaiah: 1995:7).

Literature is Universal

In fact, literature is such a phenomenon with its wonderful universal appeal and artistic literary qualities that it needs no exact knowledge and information of the culture or the society it belongs to. Literature could be enjoyed for its great literary values and universality.

The teacher has to become a good communicator, for example, in the teaching of the famous poem *Daffodils* by Wordsworth. Even if the flowers Daffodils are not seen by people from other countries, the gaiety and the scene of golden flowers dancing merrily can be shared by anybody. The reader of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* needs not to go to the sea or to South Pole to see the bird albatross. Real work of art and proper selection and effective methods of teaching can make the learning interesting and comprehensive. if one learns literature with perception, he can learn even more.

> "The real great work of art achieves a higher result and acknowledgement by readers and learners. A work of art worth the name awakes nine principal emotions (sthaibhav) in us and any number of fleeting emotions through its causative imagination and ultimately generates 'rasa', the legitimate end of work of art. It may be seen that 'Alhada' (pleasant experience) is the immediate purpose of literature and then the reader reaches to transcendence." (Narasimhaiah,1995:8).

The Utility of Literature

This is the purpose (Prayojana) of literature and literature renews this function from time to time; the work of art achieves a higher quality. Such work of art goes beyond all cultural, racial, linguistic barriers to be enjoyed.

The teacher must aim to achieve this purpose of literature fully. The students of languages and literature in college and universities have to learn to perceive through alternative readings. They must be taught to read with proper perception.

The study of literature can be used to extend the range of perceptions of all senses of sight, smell, touch, hearing etc. In the field of drama, literature can make a fundamental contribution to 'sensory & motor' (physical) activities, through which human body can be trained to expose itself.

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The teacher has to train the minds of learners. The training of emotion and intellect is possible through learning literature. Literature enables learners, readers to develop their feelings in an appropriate way. It also creates social awareness, religious sense and morality sense.

The study of literature develops keen sense of value. "Literature thus provides unlimited fields of experience. Its study is useful as it confronts the student with the opportunity of dealing with an endless stream of fresh and   unpredictable experience. It is an excellent preparation for later life." (Moody: 1971:13). Above all, if humanity is the subject matter of literature; it transcends any cultural or linguistic level.

Students in Developing Nations

The students in developing countries are now willing to cross cultural and linguistic boundaries in the process of globalizing. Thus, work of art of higher quality has the power to remove these differences and enable people to think of literature and give holistic view of life. It is wisely said in Uganda some years ago, "Through the great writers you will inherit more fully the spirit not of white men or brown men or black men but the spirit that has no colors, the spirit of man" (Warner: 1990).

Thus though the functional and technical aspect of the English language is much thought and considered of greater significance than the study of literature, the raw material of literature, is language itself, literature thus has all the functions that can be performed by language. Literature is something more than language Therefore, the inclusion of literature in the courses of higher education in both literary and linguistic points of view is essential even in native and non- native contexts.

Insufficiency of Language Skills *sans* Values through Literature

In this world of mixed cultures, attitudes, and ideologies; only teaching language skills at practical or commercial level are not sufficient. In order to create and promote human qualities, philosophical mode of thinking, ethical and moral literary outlook and holistic view of life, teaching of literature is must.

The processes of creating new icons in different languages and of developing new connections between countries culture, races, and colonial societies have been started. The aim is now to have the ideal and holistic view, through the study of literature for any discriminate learner who values imaginative experience regardless of country or culture.

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1

Importance of Descriptive Grammar in Preserving and Enriching a Living Classical Language

Students and teachers view grammar more as a static list of rules that every one must follow. These static rules or ''authoritarian" instructions are best studied, they seem to think, using established works of grammatical treatises. This approach to the teaching and learning of grammar is easily evident in learning every Indian language, including English.

While studying time-honored classical languages such as Sanskrit, Latin and Greek may greatly benefit from this approach to maintain their system of rules, studying a living-classical language such as Tamil requires a different approach. Older rules of grammar are needed to learn and interpret the early stages of such a living-classical language. But newly evolved and evolving rules of usage become indispensable to connect oneself to the best use of a living-classical language.

An important feature of a living-classical language is its continuity in its grammatical base, and this continuity must be understood, cherished and put to use, according to Thirumalai (personal communication). He also argues that while literary forms will be added in much greater variety, with each generation of creative writers adding new forms and dynamic literary nuances, addition to grammatical patterns are usually limited in any living-classical language such as Tamil. This basic reality makes a living-classical language distinct from other varieties of classical languages.

This distinction must be recognized and exploited in any teaching program for *Chemmozhi* Tamil. While the most of the rules of grammar noted in traditional grammars such as Tolkappiyam and Nannuul are relevant even today, the need to continuously update our knowledge and understanding of the grammatical operation of Tamil should be recognized.

We want our language Tamil to be alive and dynamic to meet our current and future needs. Lexical items are continuously added and these additions have brought in some variations in rules, especially in the areas of compounds, spelling and inflections. Verb inflections have undergone changes, and the need to develop bias-free style of writing that would eliminate caste-prone expressions, prejudicial gender expressions, etc., must

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be recognized and such trends in current speech and writing must be recognized and taught. Innovations in language use need to be encouraged to reflect the current state of art of modern living. Business and other office communications need to be developed fully.

All these require an understanding of the patterns of language use. This understanding comes from a descriptive study of current use even as such study relates to the continuity and other sociolinguistic goals.

I enjoy reading *Tolkappiyam*, *Nannuul* and other traditional grammatical treatises. We all see how grammar and sociolinguistic decisions are closely related to each other when we read these grammatical treatises. We also see how attempts were made later on to impose elements and patterns of use not native to Tamil. Some of the later grammatical works are simple reproductions and distractions of earlier grammatical works. These assumed a more prescriptive approach in presenting the patterns of grammar. This trend of prescriptivism is unfortunately well entrenched in our Tamil grammar classes.

The portions of "grammar" in our Tamil textbooks need to be based more on living language, not the earlier stages of Tamil. At the same time there should also be provisions to learn, master and even use classical variations for stylistic purposes.

I believe that describing Tamil as it is used in current standard written Tamil will help improve our language use. In the pages that follow I've made initial attempts to describe some aspects of elements of Tamil grammar. My focus here is on reduplication, nominal compounds, lexical opposites, auxiliary verb and agreement. Descriptions of these aspects will help write appropriate grammar lessons with an eye on acquiring and using that will impart modernity and continuity.

Another focus of this work is to compare some of the aspects of Tamil grammar with two other Dravidian languages, namely, Kannada and Telugu. Additional information derived from these two languages will help decide on the selection, gradation and presentation of grammatical elements for the teaching of Tamil to bilingual populations in Tamilnadu.

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2
Tolkaappiyam – Kaviraajamaarga
A Brief Note of Comparison

Introduction

This paper tries to compare the first grammatical work of Tamil *Tolkaappiyam* and the first grammatical work of Kannada *Kaviraajamaarga*. These two works are not contemporary products but these occupy very important positions in the development of Tamil and Kannada respective.

A comparative study of grammars of two different languages helps us to appreciate their commonness and specialty. The main aim of this paper is to bring together these two grammars and briefly see the similarities and differences between them. Even though the two languages belong to the same language group within the same language family, there are some differences.

Tolkaappiyam

Tolkaappiyam is the earliest available grammar in Tamil. It belongs to third century B.C. There are three main divisions in this grammar. Each division has nine chapters. In total, there are 27 chapters with 1611 *nuuRpaa* or *sutra* or aphorisms . Tolkaappiyam is a grammar of both the common usage and the literary usage (*vazhakku* and *ceyyuL*). Tolkaappiyar deals not only with phonology, morphology and syntax but also poetics and rhetoric and the way the world is categorized (poruL). The division on poruL is a special feature of this grammatical work. This is a part that deals with, among other things, how one enters into wedded life.

Tolkappiyam makes several references to the dialects of Tamil and other adjacent languages. It is largely a grammar of written Tamil, but takes into account the possibilities of variation through the spoken medium. The grapheme-phoneme interconnection is highlighted. Graphemics is also part of the grammar within phonology. Morphophonemics is described in great detail even as morphology and syntax are dealt within the same division, highlighting the interconnection and interdependence between the two. Semantics and discourse are also dealt with.

The language of Tolkaappiyam is amazingly simple, straightforward and full of content and analysis. There are references to various religious or sectarian practices, but the

writer seems to adopt a sort of neutral position relating to deities, but deals with principles of nature and the world with many significant thoughts.

The descriptive and explanatory power of the grammar presented and the technical terms coined and used are distinctly Tamil with very little dependence, if any, on other sources.

Tamil textbooks taught their grammar lessons based on information from Nannuul, not from Tolkappiyam. Early modern syllabus framers and textbook writers relegated Tolkappiyam to advanced courses for students who specialized in Tamil grammar and literature and used verses from Nannuul for lower classes in high school.

Kavirajamarga

Kavirajamarga is the earliest available writing on grammar, rhetoric, and poetics in the Kannada language. It is a *lakshana grantha* and it is the first attempt of writing the grammar of Kannada. The author of Kaviraajamarga was King Nripatunga Amoghavarsha I (850 AD).

It is the earliest existing literary work in Kannada. It is based partly on an earlier Sanskrit writing *Kavyadarsa*. It is an interesting piece of writing on literary criticism and poetics meant to standardize various written Kannada dialects used in literature in previous centuries.

The author of this treatise has mentioned many references from the pre – Kannada Ramayana and Mahabharata and also his own poetry references (references to Kannada works by early writers such as king Durvinita of the 6th century and Ravikriti, the author of the Aihole record of 630 AD).

From the references made in this writing to earlier Kannada poetry and literature it is clear that a considerable body of work in prose and poetry must have existed in the preceding centuries.

Kavirajamaarga makes important references not only to earlier Kannada writers and poets but also to early literary styles in vogue in the various written dialects of Kannada. The aim of this writing was to standardize these written styles. The king mentions two styles of composition, the "Bedande" and the "Chatthana" and indicates that these styles were recognized as earlier styles.

The name 'Kavirajamaarga' means literary royal path for poets and scholars (*Kavishiksha*). It is an important milestone in the literary growth of Kannada and is a

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guide book to the Kannada grammar that existed in that period. It laid a royal road of guiding many aspiring writers. This treatise helps us to know more about the Kannada country, people and their culture.

Regarding Kavirajamarga, Dr. A. Murigeppa is of the opinion that the reference to Kannada grammar made in this study, here and there, is not a full-fledged work on grammar. It is a work of prosody. Apart from that, it has helped the growth of a variety of literary traditions. K. Venkatachalam (*Kaviraajamaarga*, 2002, preface vii) mentions that a person who is well versed in pre-old Kannada can understand *kavirajamaarga* clearly.

Tolkaappiyam and Kaviraajamarga: A Comparison

Tolkaappiyam is the earliest available grammar which is a 'muula nuul' – "primary Work". Regarding Kavirajamarga, some persons are of the opinion that it is the translation of the Sanskrit Treatise *taNDi's kaaviyaadarsam*; and some persons are of the opinion that *kaaviyaadarsam* is the primary work and *kavirajamarga* is the "Secondary Work".

Divisions or Parts of Tolkaappiyam and Kavirajamaarga

Tolkaappiyam contains three parts and they are:

i) Treatise on phonology (Ezhuttathikaaram). This part with nine chapters deals with the pronunciation, positions, combinations usage, etc., of the letters of the Tamil alphabet in 483 aphorisms.

ii) The treatise on Morphology (Collathikaaram) with nine chapters deals with the formation of words, cases, nouns, verbs, verbal suffixes, qualificatives etc. of Tamil words in 463 aphorisms.

iii) The treatise on literary study (PoruLathikaaram) also contains nine chapters which speak about the themes of literature and methods of literary appreciation. It contains altogether 665 aphorisms.

Like Tolkaappiyam, Kavirajamaarga also contains three 'paricceethams' (taNdi's three main divisions 'carukkam', 'ilampakam' and 'paricceetham').

Each paricceetham contains padyams. First paricceetham, that is the introductory part of the grammatical work, presents the praise of the king Nirubhatunga, the goddess

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Saraswathi and the poets, the grammar of kavya and its divisions 'poetry' style and the 'prose' style, the description of the Kannada county and its boundaries, four errors of a treatise, nine common errors, country errors, common preface, etc. It contains 150 padyams.

The second paricceetham deals with the prosody of words. The prosody of a kavya, and the methods of expressing it, combination of foot, combination of words, some words, case markers lengthening, repetition, prasaas, grammatical rules, Sanskrit rules and the Dravidian rules, ten main rules, nine rasas, picture poems, one letter songs, two letter songs, rare words, yamakam, nuDi, varNac cudhakam, etc. It contains 155 padyams.

The third paricceetham deals with 36 kinds of alankaaraas (prosodies) and ends with the praising of the king Nirubhatunga. It contains 231 padyams. Apart from these, five additional padyams are also available in Kavurajamarga.

On Rhymes

Tolkaappiyam talks about 'Etukai rhyme'. Tolkaappiyar keeps etukai rhyme as one among the four divisions of 'toDai'. 'Etukai rhyme' means the rhymes of the second letter of all the lines in the stanza.

But Kavirajamaarga divides six kinds of prasas and explains it clearly with suitable examples. i) Vinutha prasa vinutha etukai that is the second letter of all lines is same; ii) Shantha prasa (shaantha etukai) that is the two consonants combine with different vowels; iii) Varga prasa (varga etukai) means the related letters of one particular letter. (the letter 'ka' has the related letters as 'kha', 'ga'. and 'gha'); iv) Shamya prasa (shamya etukai), that is the letter 'sa' has the letters 'sa' and 'sha'; v) Anugatha prasa (anugatha etukai) means the coming letters are repeatedly coming; and vi) (Anthya prasa) (iRuti etukai), means the ending letter are the same. Examples: 'kuttam', 'pattam' 'yuttam'. It also deals with the 'maatre' – "time duration of a phoneme" of prasa. In the additional padyams, Kavirajamaarga deals with the other varieties of prasa. That is, the 'Dvitiyakshara prasa'(iirezhuttu etukai), punaruktaartta prasa (irucol etukai), 'thryakshara prasa' (muuvezhttu etukai) and the 'Aadi prasa' – 'Antya prasa ' (mutal-iiRRuetukai).

Tolkaappiyar describes several types of rhymes, which include the 'Moonai Rhyme' (the rhymes of the initial letters in the foot of each line), 'MuRan Rhyme'(differing in words and meanings), 'Iyaipu Rhyme'(the identity of sounds, letters or syllables or words) at the end of each foot in a verse), 'ALapeTai rhyme' (is the elongation of letters in every line), 'Pozhippu Rhyme'(agreement in second letters in the alternate feet of a line) and 'ORRu Rhyme' (agreement in the feet of line with the intervention of two feet in

between). The expansions of rhymes are around thirteen thousand and ninety nine (13699). Moonai rhyme 1019; etukai rhyme 2473; muRan rhyme 2; iyaipu rhyme 182; aLapeTai rhyme 159; pozhippu rhyme 654; oruuu rhyme 654; (non rhyme) centoDai 8556; in total it is 13699. But Kaviraajamaarga is not dealing with the above mentioned rhymes and Moonai Rhyme is not used in Kannada.

Elements of Prosody

Tolkaappiyam deals with the relevant elements of poetry in one particular part 'ceyyuLiyal' "Literary Compositions."

1.Maattirai – time duration of a phoneme,
2. Ezhuttu iyal – letter (Phoneme) kinds,
3. Acai – the metrical syllable,
4. Ciir - themetrical foot,
5. ATi – the metrical line,
6.Yaappu – metrical structuring,
7. Marapu – Traditional usage, poetic diction,
8. Tuukku – related to melody or rhyme,
9. toTai – rhyme patterns, rhetorical elements,
10. Nookku – The total import of verse,
11. Paa – is the verse form,
12. ALaviyal – line limit of verse,
13. tiNai – conduct of human life,
14. KaikkooL – Secret and wedded phases of love,
15. KuuRRu vakai – utterances of characters,
16. KeeTppoor – hearers,
17. kaLan – the place where all theforesaid things are happening,
18. kaalam – divisions of time and seasons,
19. Payan – effect,
20. MeyppaaTu – Physical manifestations,
21. Eccham – that which is left to be understood,
22. MuNNam – is facial expression, not speaking from the mouth, but showing through face,
23. PoruL – deals with the universality of the conten t matter,
24. TuRai – subthemes,
25. MaaTTu – Syntactical linkage,
26. VaNNam - Specific sound features in verses.

Besides these twenty six elements, the following are also dealt with:

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27. Ammai – verses which are composed in a harmonious succession of mellifluent words of fewer in number is ammai.

28. Azhaku – Choice of four kinds of words with proper rhyme,

29. ToNmai – antique literary source interspersed with prose,

30. Tool – speaks noble ideas inmelliflous diction, and composed in many lines at wide range.

31. Viruntu – composition of newness and novelty,

32. iyaipu – narrative poems ending in n, N, n, n, m, y, r, l, v, L, zha.

33. pUzhan – compositions in the popular language that lend to easy comprehension with no discernment of the mind needed.

34. iLaipu – easy flowing style keeping off hard consonants composed in the five kinds of lines. But Kavirajamarga is not dealing about this.

Treatment of Simile

Tolkaappiyar deals with the 'uvamaiyaNi' and the five kinds of 'ULLuRai uvamai' – "Implied Simile" in one chapter 'uvamaiyiyal' – "Simile". But kavirajamaarga deals with 36 kinds of 'Alankaara' (aNi) in Kannada, elaborately with suitable examples and Upame Alankara is one among them. He also describes 26 kinds of 'Upame Alankara' (uvamai aNi). He gives good examples for that also. Moreover, he also deals with 'Upame Doosha'/ 'Upame Skalitya' (uvamai vazhu) and 'Upame Doosharahita'/ 'Upame Skalityarahitha' (vazhaa nilai).

Noverbal Expressions

Kavirajamaarga deals with nine rasas in the second paricceetham padyams (98 – 102) 'Veera' (viiram), 'Karune' (karuNai), 'Adbutha' (aRputam), 'Srungaara' (kaatal), 'Shanta' (caantham), 'Hasya' (nakaiccuvai), 'Bhibatsa' (iLivaral), 'Bhayanaka' (accham) and 'Rowdra' (vekuLi) with suitable examples. But Tolkaappiyar in the chapter 'meyyppaaTTiyal' "Physical Manifestations" mentions eight kinds of 'meyppaaTukaL' as 'nakai' "Laughter", 'azhukai' "Crying", 'iLivaral' "Disgust", 'maruTkai' "Wonder", 'accham' "Fear", 'perumitam' "Pride", 'vekuLi' "Anger" and 'uvakai' "Joy". He also mentions that beyond the eight principal emotions there are thirty-two emotions which can be seen among the people for various reasons.

Grammatical Case

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Tolkaappiyar deals with the cases elaborately in the second division Morphology in three sections as 'veeRRumaiyal' – "Case Systems", 'veeRRumai mayankiyal' – "Case Markers Interchanges" and 'viLi marapu' – "Vocative Conventions".

But Kavirajamaarga deals with prathamas (Cases) in four or five padyams. The padyam number 114 points out the prathama vibhakthi and the other six kinds of cases (prathamaas) in the first paricceetham; the padyam numbers 15, 16, 17 and 18 of second paricceetham mention about the prathama marker's lengthening and the mistakes of the markers lengthening and shortening. The padyam number 23 of the same second paricceetham deals about the vocative case.

Tolkaappiyar deals with the vocative case elaborately. He clearly points out the four endings of the vocative case human class 'i', 'u', 'ai' and 'oo' (Aphorism: 605). He also gives the changes of the about said vowels as i>ii, ai>aa/aay, oo, u>ee. (Aphorism: 606, 607). Tolkaappiyar says that scholars are of the opinion that the other vowels in the human nouns will not take the vocative case (Aphorism: 609). . He not only points out the vowel endings of the vocative case but also the consonant endings 'n', 'r', 'l' and 'L' of the vocative (Aphorism: 613). Like vowels, the other consonants will not take vocative case. Tolkaappiyar also mentions that the Demonstrative Pronouns ('aval' "She" (Remote), 'ivaL' "She" (Proximate) and the interrogative Pronouns ('yaavaL' "Who is she?") will not take vocative case (aphorism: 633).

Vocative Case

Kavirajamaarga does not deal with the 'Sambhodhana vibhakthi' (vocative case) as elaborately as Tolkaappiyam. It mentions that in the vocative case the lengthening is possible but if the lengthening is too much then the sweetness will go and it is very horrible to hear.

Compounds

Tolkaappiyam mentions six kinds of compounds. But kavirajamaarga is not dealing with the compounds.

Euphonic Repetition

Tolkaappiyam deals with the Euphonic repetition, immediacy repetition and the limit of repetition for the euphonic and the immediacy. The limit for euphonic repetition is four and the limit of repetition of immediacy is three. It also deals about the euphonic particles. Kavirajamaarga just mentions that the repetition is not a mistake.

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Homonyms

The Homonyms are described in three ways as 'neeyaarttam' 'oor nudi' and 'cileeDai' in Kavirajamaarga. Kavirajamaarga doesn't mention synonymy. But Tolkaappiyam refers to this Homonym as 'pala poruL kuRitta oru col/ kiLavi,' and synonymy as 'oru poruL kuRitta pala col/kiLavi'.

Phonological Changes

Kavirajamaarga left out things like 'uTampaTumey' "Consonantal Glide', 'kuRRiyalukaram' "Shortening 'u'", 'poozhi' "Dipthong" 'caariyai' "Euphonic Particles" 'puNarcci "Coalescence," etc.

Conclusion

Tolkaappiyam presupposes a vast body of literature and number of grammatical treatises, which unfortunately have not come down to us. It is a product of great and rich tradition which was in vogue in Tamil Nadu in early times. Kavirajamaarga on its part reflects the great traditions of grammatical and prosodic analysis in Kannada and Karnataka. Both these works contribute greatly to an understanding of Indian grammatical traditions.

Application

Tolkappiyam offers a worldview of ancient times as well as possibility of application in modern times. So, syllabus framers and textbook writers should study the text with practical application in mine. For example, there are interesting grammatical rules for compounds, rules for borrowing and acceptance of borrowed items into Tamil, interesting exposition of regional dialects and literary devices. Literature is seen via geographical landscape, relating the physical landscape to the interior landscape of human psychology and values.

Tolkappiyam thus offers many items for adoption and incorporation into modern Tamil teaching. Concept and definition of errors in speech and writing and errors in prosody, ideas relating to what constitute literature and how literature mirrors human values adopted in the society are some of the items that should be included in the Living-Classical Tamil language teaching.

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3

Lexical Opposites in Tamil

Introduction

The study of Tamil Semantics is a neglected field. This may be due to the fact that semantics is in a state of flux and that it has not attained the status of rigorous methodological discipline, like other major branches of linguistics. As Lyons states in his major work on semantics (1977), there is so much vagueness, ambiguity and confusion about various concepts in semantic studies and, hence, we had to examine them afresh and to redefine them.

This chapter takes Lyon's treatment of the sense relations of

  i)   Opposition and Contrast and
  ii) Directional Orthogonal and Anti Podal Opposition

as a model and relate some of the illustrations given for English by Lyons to Tamil.

But my goal is to describe the lexical opposites and use this concept in developing syllabus and textbooks for the teaching of Chemmozhi Tamil. Once again, my goal is to achieve continuity even as I would like to take care of and use modern developments.

Tradition and continuity mark semantics as well in Tamil. We are greatly surprised when we find that many words used in Sangam and other classics such as Tirukkural are still current in Tamil. Two-thousand years have passed by and yet words of ancient heritage still are preserved and actively used in Tamil.

Application

How many Tamil words do we know? How many Tamil words a child entering First Standard knows? How many of these words are active and how many are passive words? What semantic domains are emphasized while acquiring words in initial stages in childhood? Does our textbook reflect these stages?

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Study of Tamil vocabulary acquisition is not a strong streak in educational research in Tamil. Tamil linguists need to show greater interest in identifying children's vocabulary, based on gender, region, socio-economic criteria, parental background, etc.

Regional words have been identified in large numbers and have also been published. However, use of these words in textbooks is not done enthusiastically. We need to select words and use these in textbooks to bring them into popular usage.

Remember that Chemmozhi does not close its door to receive new words through various means. If we conceive our Tamil language a living phenomenon then we should be willing to receive and use newly created and/or borrowed words from various sources while adapting these to the lexical patterns of Tamil.

Lexical Opposites

As in other Dravidian languages, in Tamil also, vocabulary contains a large number of opposites. The standard technical term for "Lexical Opposites", that is, oppositeness of meaning between Lexemes is *antonymy*. The term *antonymy* was coined in the nineteenth century to describe oppositeness of meaning which was itself conceived as the opposite of synonymy.

Antonymy, in its broader sense, has often been thought of as referring to the opposite extreme from identity of meaning. But this is obviously wrong as when two objects are compared and contrasted with respect to their possession or lack of some property, this is done generally on recognition of their similarity in other respects. The standard term antonymy has become as imprecise as the term oppositeness because all kinds of dichotomization are referred as antonymy.

Lyons (1983:68) suggests that "the fact that antonyms not only have polarity relative to one another, along the dimension that they constitute, but differ in their privilege of occurrence and in the relations that they contract with other lexical items may be thought of as contributing to the very definite sense which we have as native speakers that some lexical items have a "positive" and others a "negative" ring about them.

Binary opposition is one of the most important principles governing the structure of languages. Lyons draws up a workable and convenient classification and this will be the basis for the present paper. Oppositeness will be restricted to dichotomous or binary contrasts. Antonymy will be restricted still further in to gradable opposites. Ungradable opposites will be termed complementariness. To be distinguished from both antonymy and complementarity is converseness.

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Lexical Opposites in Tamil

Lexical opposites in Tamil can be classified as:

Lexical Opposites

Gradable   Ungradable

Antonymy   Complementarity   Converseness   Directional

Orthogonal   Anti podal
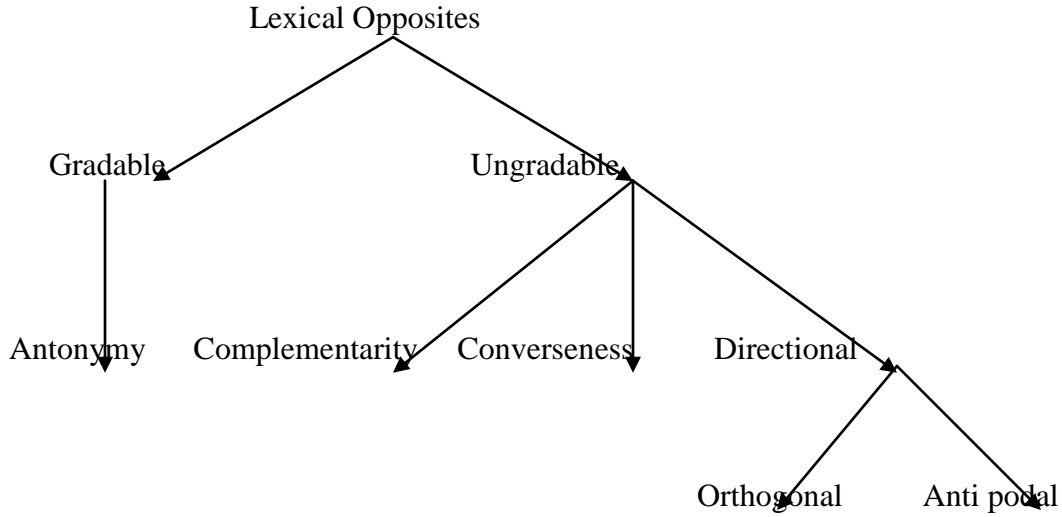
Gradable Lexical Opposites – Antonymy

In Tamil, the gradable opposites reflect the real polarization in sense relations. For example one can ask,

   i)   inta viiDu anta viiDu poola periyata?
         "Is this house as big as that house?"

         The fact that one can say

   ii)   inta viiDu anta viiDu poola periyatu
         "This house is as big as that house"

                    (or)

   iii)   inta viiDu anta viiTTilum periyatu
         "This house is bigger than that house"
Depends upon the gradability of periyatu.

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The predication of the one implies the predication of the negation of the other; but not vice versa. The expression

cuuTaana paal "Hot Milk" implies aaraata paal "Not Cold Milk" and
aaRina paal "Cold Milk" implies cuTaata paal "Not Hot Milk" not generally imply 'aaRina paal' "Cold Milk". The traditional logical categories of contraries correspond in this oppositeness but it applies more widely.

Grading (Term given by Sapir) is bound up with the operation of comparison. The comparison may be explicit, implicit or semi-explicit. Explicit comparison involves two types of comparison i) two things may be compared with respect to a particular 'property' and this 'property' predicated of the one in a greater degree than it is of the other.

For Example

iv)   enkaL viiDu unkaL viiTTilum/viTa periyatu
        "Our house is bigger than your house"

ii) two states of the same thing may be compared with respect to the property in question.

For Example

v)   enkaL viiDu saataaraNamaana viiTTai vita/ilum periyatu
        "Our house is bigger than the normal house"

These utterances (without context) may be ambiguous between the two types of comparison. The substitution of one pair of a gradable antonym for the other and the transposition of the relevant nominal expression with in a comparative sentence results in a semantically equivalent sentence.

This grading may also be implicit and semi-explicitly.

For Example

vi)   ennuTaiya aRai periyatu   "My Room is big"

We are ascribing the property or 'periyatu' "bigness/size" to the referent of our room. Here the grading is made implicitly with some norm which is generally understood. We are implicitly comparing the room with something else and asserting that it is bigger.

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The standard of comparison may here been explicitly introduced in the context where the sentence is uttered. We say then,

  vii)   enkaL viiDu periyatu   "Our house is big" will usually mean something like

  viii)   enkaL viiDu cumaaraana viiTTilum periyatu
           "Our house is bigger than the ordinary house"

                     (Or)

  ix)   enkaL viiDu oru viiTTukkuriya aLaviLum periyatu
          "Our house is bigger than the normal house"

Failure to recognize the logical properties of gradable, antonyms can
give rise to a number of pseudo-problems.

By semi-explicitly grading is meant the use of some comparative
construction without explicit mention of standard of comparison.

For Example

  x)   ennuTaiya viiDu rompap/mikap periyatu
         "My house is very/too big"
is graded semi-explicitly and the standard of comparison will usually have been previously introduced in the context.

Ungradable Lexical Opposites

This type of Lexical Opposites is not possible in the comparison.

For Example

     aaN   "Male"   peN   "Female"
     aaciriyan   "Male teacher"   aaciriyai "Female Teacher"
and so on. In each pairs "not only the predication of either one of the pair implies the predication of the negation of other, but also that the predication of the negation of either implies the predication of the other" (Lyons: 1977:272).

These ungradable lexical opposites can be classified in to three types namely i) Complementarity ii) Converseness and iii) Directional.

Complementarity

It deals with the ungradable opposites. For example aaN "Male"
peN "Female", a typical pair of ungradable opposites.

For Example

  xi)   kaNNan oor aaN   "Kannan is a male" implies
         kaNNan oru peN illai   "Kannan is not a female"

This dichotomization is due to the difference of sex which can be further illustrated from
Tamil usages where both members of a pair are marked for Masculine and Feminine
genders respectively.

For Example

  xii)   maaNavan   "Male Student" maaNavi   "Female Student"
  xiii) aaciriyan   "Male Teacher" aaciriyai   "Female Teacher"

Tamil Language has no common singular term to cover each of those pairs. Honorific
singular form like 'maanavar' "Student" 'aaciriyar' "Teacher" can be used when one
does not want to state the sex of the person concerned. In such cases there is a
neutralization of oppositeness. This relationship is also illustrated by the following pairs
of words.

For example

  xiv) maNamaana   "Married" maNamaakaata   "Un Married"
  xv) uyiuTan iru   "Be alive"   iRa   "To die"

The pair kanni verses maNamaanavaL expresses the complementarity in the case of a
woman of marriageable age.

Converseness

Opposition different from antonymy and complementarity is converseness exemplified
by pairs like kaNavan "Husband" manaivi "Wife" which may be regarded as two-place
predicates while Lyons suggests the term *converseness* for such type of relations. Palmer

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(1976:82) points out their essential relational characteristics and thus prefers the term relational opposites.

The comparative forms of explicitly graded antonyms and the corresponding active and passive forms of transitive verbs operate within the sentences as converses.

For Example

    xvi)   ravi kaNNanai vita uyaramaanavan
            "Ravi is taller than kannan"   is the converse of

    xvii)   kaNnan raviyai viTak kuLLamaanavan
            "Kannan is shorter than Ravi"

    xviii)   raaman siitaiyai virumpinaan
            "Rama loves sita"

    xix)   siitai raamanaal virumpappaTTaaL
            Sita was loved by Rama"

Provided the appropriate grammatical changes are carried out after the transposition of the nominal expressions. Pairs of sentence containing converse lexemes or expressions can be so written that the two members of each pair of sentences will be equivalent.

Converse relations between lexemes which may be used as two place predicative expressions are especially common in areas of the vocabulary having to do with reciprocal social rules.

For Example

xx)   maruttuvar/vaittiyar "Doctor" X nooyaaLi "Patient"
xxi) mudalaaLi   "Boss"   X tozhilaaLi "Servant"
xxii) guru   "Teacher" X siiTan   "Follower/Student"
xxiii aaNTaan   "God"   X aTimai   "Slave"

The idea of presupposition and expectancy is expressed by some pairs.

For Example

 xxiv)   vinaa "Question" viTai/patil   "Answer"

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Directional Lexical Opposites

The directional lexical opposites can be further divided into two types as i) Orthogonal and ii) Antipodal. It is also a major category of lexical opposites. John Lyons (1977:211) states that "though the directional lexical opposites cannot always be distinguished from the other three types of lexical opposites, that is, antonymy, complementarity and converseness is sufficiently important in language to be given a separate label". This type of opposition is seen most clearly in the relationship which holds between

'meelee'	"Up"	'kiizhee'	"Down"
'vaa'	"Come"	'poo'	"Go"
'vantatu'	"arrived it"	'puRappaTTatu'	"Departure it"
'iTa'	"Left"	'vala'	"Right"
'munnaal'	"Front"	'pinnaal'	"Behind"

The directionality of 'meelee' X kiizhee in the vertical dimension is absolute in a way that the directionality of 'iTam' X 'valam' and 'mun' X 'pin' is not absolute.

Orthogonal

The oppositions which holes with in the set 'vaTakku' "North" 'teRkku' "South" 'kizhakku' "East" 'meeRkku' "West" each of the four members of the set is opposed in this way to 'kizhakku' and 'meeRkku'; 'kizhakku is opposed to 'teRkku' and 'vaTakku'.

Antipodal Oppositions

This opposition which holds with in the set, that is, in the four directions, is to be opposed to one another. 'vaTakku' is thus opposed to 'teRkku' and 'kizhakku' is opposed to 'meeRkku'.

The antipodal oppositions are dominant than the orthogonal oppositions. In Tamil 'vaTakku' X 'teRkku' and 'kizhakku' X 'meeRkku' are opposites rather than 'vaTakku' and 'kizhakku' or 'teRkku' and 'meeRkku'. This opposition also seems to operate to some extent in the area of colour. John Lyons (1977:286) neither concludes "nor is the distinction between orthogonal and antipodal opposition always as clear in the vocabulary as might appear to be the case".

Unlike in English, opposites in Tamil are usually expressed by suffixes. Loan words opposites are usually expressed by native prefixes.

For Example

  xxv) 'dharmaa'   "Justice" X 'adharmaa'   "In justice"
      'niithi'   "Justice" X 'aniithi'   "In justice"
      'niyaayam' "Justice X 'aniyaayam' "In justice"

Lexical opposites in Tamil may be morphologically related or unrelated irrespective of the fact that whether they are gradable or ungradable.

As in English and many other languages the most commonly used opposites in Tamil tend to be morphologically unrelated.

Fro Example

xxvi) 'nalla'   "Good"   X   'keTTa'   "Bad"
      'uyaram' "Tall/height" X   'taazhvu'   "Low"
      'azhaku' "Beautiful" X   'avalaTshaNam' "Ugly"
      'mutiya' "Old"   X   'iLaiya'   "Young"
      'vanmai' "Hardness" X   'menmai'   "Softness"
      'tuuram' "Distance" X   'kiTTa'   "Near"

Morphologically Related Opposites

In the case of morphologically related opposites the base form of one member of the pair is derived from the base form of the other by substituting the negative suffix.

For Example

xxvii)   'aRivuTaiyaar'   "Knowledgeable people"

                    X

      'aRivilaar'   "Knowledge less people"

      'maNamaana'   "Married"

                    X

      'maNamaakaata'   "Un married"

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'naTppaana'   "Friendly"

                           X

'naTppillaata'   "Un friendly"

Morphologically Reduplicative Unrelated Pairs

'aTikkaTi'   "Frequently"   'iTaiiTai'   "Not frequently"
'UTanukkuTan' "At once"   'mellamella' "Slowly"

Private Opposition

A privative opposition is a contrastive relation between two lexemes one of which denotes some positive property and the other of which denotes the absence of their property.

For Example

xxviii) 'uyiruLLa' "With Life" 'uyirillaata'   "Without life"
                'acaiyum' "Movable" 'acaivillaata' "Immovable"

Equipollent Opposition

An equipollent opposition is a relation in which each of the contrasting lexemes denotes a positive property.

For Example

xxix)   'aaN' "Male"   X 'peN'   "Female"

Conclusion

1. In Tamil the gradable opposites, that is, the antonymy is possible.

2. Grading is possible in Tamil by explicitly, implicitly and semi-explicitly.

3. Ungradable Lexical Opposite is not possible in the comparison.

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4. Ungradable opposites other than comparison, that is, the complementarity, Converseness and Directional are possible in Tamil.

5. The two types of Directional opposites, that is, the orthogonal and the antipodal are possible in Tamil.

6. Morphologically related opposites, morphologically reduplicated unrelated opposites, private and equipollent opposition are possible in Tamil. In Tamil the opposites are suffixed to the words.

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4
Relative Compounds in Tamil

Introduction

Relative compounds are very common in Tamil. We find them greatly used in literary compositions, commentaries on didactic works, inscriptions and, in modern times, day to day speech. Political speeches abound in relative compounds, and textbooks use them greatly.

It is also true that excessive use of relative compounds becomes a stylistic feature in classical writing adopted by Tamil scholars. Excessive and obscure combinations do help the comprehension of the texts that abound in relative compounds.

Early grammars in Tamil have expended great energy to describe and delineate the sturcure and use relative compounds in Tamil.

Definition of Compounds

Compounds are the combination of two words. In grammar, nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. are combined together to form compounds. Tolkaappiyar in his traditional grammar Tolkkappiyam classified the compounds into six types. In Tamil, there is another compound which is named as *Doublets* by P. S. Subramanyam (1984), *Relative Compounds* by K. Rangan, and *ina aTukkuccoRkaL* by A. Srinivasan.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the syntactic structures of the Relative Compounds and the semantic meanings conveyed by them.

Relative Compound Construction

In the Relative Compound construction, the combination of the words may be Noun+Noun, Noun+Verb, Verb+Noun and Verb+Verb. The following are the examples for this type of compounds.

  i) viiDu vaasal - Noun+Noun viiDu means "House" and vaasal means "the front portion of the house". These two are combined together to frame a compound to give the meaning "Property," which is new to the basic meaning of the component words.

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ii) uppu cappu - Noun+Verb. Uppu means "salt" cappu means "To lick." These two are combined together to frame a Relative compound which means "Taste," which is completely different to the basic meanings of the

constituent words.

iii) koTTu meeLam - Verb+Noun. koTTu means "To beat or tap with knuckles." meeLam means "One kind of musical instrument used in various celebrations". These two words are combined together to frame a compound which gives the meaning "The publicity for the celebration".

iv) ONDi Othunki - Verb+Verb. ONDi means "To hide or be alone." Othunki means "To leave aside". These two are combined together to frame a Compound, which indicates the meaning "Without oneself getting involved in anything".

Noun + Noun Construction

The Noun+Noun construction is further divided into

i) Parallel Nouns combination,
ii) Opposite Nouns combination,
iii) Related Nouns combination
iv) Small + Big Nouns combination
v) Big + Small Nouns combination
vi) Body parts Nouns combination
vii) Resultive nouns combination
viii) Different nouns combination and
ix) Opposite nouns combination etc.

Verb+Verb Construction

Like the above, the Verb+Verb construction also has sub divisions as

i) Parallel verbs combination
ii) Related verbs combination
iii) Different verbs combinations and
iv) Resultive verbs combination etc.

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The combination of Noun+Verb and the vice versa combination are very rare occurrences. So they do not have any subdivisions.

Meanings Conveyed by Relative Compounds

The above types of Relative compounds convey Idiomatic meaning, Totality meaning, Adverbial meaning, and Adjectival meaning, etc.

The following present the examples for the above:

avaL vaayum vayirumaaka iruntaaL
"She is pregnant"   (Idiomatic meaning)

avanukku kaaDu karai ellaam irukku
"He owns so much of wealth" (Totality meaning)

 kaLLam kapaDam illaatavan
"He is innocent"   (Adverbial meaning)

antap puuvellaam vaadi vathankip pooyiRRu
"The flowers are fathered away" (Adverbial meaning)

The sections that follow explain the remaining constructions elaborately.

Further Divisions of Noun+Noun Construction

 Noun+Noun construction is further divided into

> i) Parallel Nouns combination,
> ii) Opposite Nouns combination,
> iii) Related Nouns combination,
> iv) Small + Big Nouns combination,
> v) Big + Small Nouns combination,
> vi) Body parts Nouns combination,
> vii) Resultive nouns combination,
> viii) Different nouns combination and
> ix) Opposite nouns combination, etc.

i) In the parallel noun combination, both the nouns are parallel to one another.

Examples for the parallel Nouns combination

      1. IiDu iNai   "Comparison"
AtaRku iiDu iNai eethumillai   "There is no comparison for that"

In this compound the first part Noun iiDu means "Equal" and the second part Noun iNai means "Pair" but the compound in total means that "Comparison" which is different from the basic meaning of the words.

      2. Miccham miidhi   "The remaining"
AvaLukenRu miccam miidhitaan irukkum   "The last one or the wasted one is for her"

In this, *miccham* means "Remaining one" and miidhi also means "Remaining one" but the combination of these two words gives the meaning "wasted one".

      Like this the nouns iivu irakkam "Pity-ness"

      ii) In the Related noun compound both the nouns are related to one another.

Examples for the Related Nouns combination

      3. ViiDu Vaasal   "The house and the portico"

In it viiDu means "House" and vaasal means "the front portion of the House" These two combined together to frame a compound viiDu vaasal and give the meaning in the sentence avanukku viidu vaasal ethuvum illai "He doesn't have anything (Wealth)"

      4. TuNi maNi   "The dresses and the ornaments" In it TuNi means "Cloth" and MaNi means "Ornaments" both are combined to frame a compound TuNi maNi and give the meaning in the sentence avan tunimaNi ellaatthaiyum eTuttu vai "Take all of his things"

      Like this cooRu taNNi, "the food and the water"

      iii) In the small+big noun combination the first part of the noun is the small one and the second part of the noun is the big one.

Example for the small+big noun combination

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5. Kaasu PaNam   "The rupee and the change" In it kaasu means "Change" and PaNam means "Rupee" Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avanukku kaasu paNamellaam kiDaiyaadu "There is no money for him" means "Money"

6. CaTTi MuTTi "The small vessel" and the big one" In it CaTTi means "The small vessel" and MuTTi means "The big vessel" Both combined together to frame a compound Pooliisukaaran caTTi MuTTi ellaam uTaittaan "The Police broke all the things" Here CaTi MuTTi means things.

Like this kallu karaDu "The stone and the rock", paayum paDukkaiyum "The mate and the bed", veyilum venkanalum "The day light of the sun and the heavy fire"

iv) In the Big+Small nouns combination the first part of the compound is the big one and the second part of the noun is the small one.

Examples for the Big+Small nouns combination

7. Kaalam Neeram "Time" In it Kaalam means "the time and the season" Neeram
 means "the particular time" combined together to frame a compound in the sentence which means "Particular time" avanukku kaalam neeramellaam keDaiyaadu "There is no particular time for him"

8. Nakai NaTTu "The ornaments and the etc things" Here Nakai means "Ornaments" naTTu means the "Screw or bolt" both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence PoNNukku nakai naTTellaam pooTTaaccaa? "Did you wear the ornaments and the other things to the bride?"

Like this the compounds mazhai tuLi "The rain and the drops", MuuTTai muTiccu "the big package and the small package", uur Deesam "The village and the state", maaDu kannu "The Cow and the small cow" kulam koottiram   "The caste and the particular division of the caste".

v) In the body parts Nouns combination both the parts of the compound are the body parts which give completely different from the basic meaning of the parts.

Examples for the body parts nouns combination

9. vaayum vayirum   "Both the mouth and the stomach" In it vaay means "Mouth" and vayiRu means "Stomach" both are combined together to frame a compound

in the sentence avaL vaayum vayiRumaa irukkiRaaL which means "She is pregnant" . This meaning is completely different from the basic meanings of the parts which are idiomatic meaning.

10. muukkum muzhiyum "Both the nose and the eyes" In it muukku means "Nose" and the muzhi means "Eye" both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avaL muukkkum muzhiyumaaga irukkiRaaL "She is very beautiful" which is different from the basic meaning of the body parts. (Idiomatic meaning)

vi) In the Resultive noun combination either the first part of the noun may be the result of the second one or the second part of the compound may be the result of the first one.

Example of the Resultive compounds

11. Contam pantam "The relatives and the relation among them" In it contham means the "Relatives" pantham means "the connection between one to the other". Both are combined together to frame a compound which means "Relatives" in the sentence contham panthamellaam vantu vaazhttunkaL   "All the Relatives Come! and bless". Because of the relatives the relation will come.

12. Kuttam KuRai "The fault and the remaining thing" In it Kuttam or kuRRam "The fault" and kuRai "The in completed one" both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan kuttam kuRai eethum ceyallee "He is not committing any mistake or the other thing" which is different from the basic meaning of the parts of the compound.

  Like this, cottu sukam "The property and the convenience"

vii) In the different nouns combination Nouns of different kinds are joined together to frame a compound.

Examples for the Different nouns compound

13. kaNNum karuttum   "Most consciously" In it kaNNu means "Eye" and karuttu means "Content" Both are combined together and frame a compound in the sentence avan kaNNum karuttumaagap paarttaan "He looked it very carefully or consciously" which is different from the basic meaning of the nouns.

14. maNNum mayiRum "The sand and the hair" In it maNNu means "sand" and

mayiRu means "Hair" both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence athilee ore maNNum mayiRumaaga irukku "In it full of dirties"

viii) In the opposite nouns combinations both the nouns are opposite to one another.

Examples for the opposite Nouns compound

15. kuNTum kuzhiyum "The Up and Down" In it the first noun KuNDu means the Upward portion of the path" and kuzhi means "The downward digging portion" Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence.

intap paathai kuNtum kuzhiyumaaga irukkiRatu. "The path is not a regular one."

16. TaNNiir Venniir "Cold water and the Hot Water" The first noun TaNNiir is opposite to the second Noun venniir . Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan TaNNii Vennii illaamal cettaan "He died without taking anything"

The Verb+Verb Construction

The Verb+Verb construction also has subdivisions as

- i) Parallel verbs combination,
- ii) ii) Related verbs combination,
- iii) Different verbs combinations,
- iv) Resultive verbs combination
- v) Opposite verbs combination, etc.

The combination of Noun+Verb and the vice versa combination are very rare occurrences. So, they are not having subdivisions.

i) In the parallel verbs combination both the parts of the compound are the same meaning but each one is parallel to one another.

Examples of Parallel verbs compound

1. muuTi MaRaittu "To hide" muuTi "To cover" and maRai "To hide". These two are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan ethaiyoo muuTi maRaittaan "He hided something" (Idiomatic Expression).

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2. puuci mezhuki "To made neat" puuci means "To smear" and mezhuki also means "To smear". These two are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan puuci mezhukinaan "He manages the thing" (Idiomatic meaning).

Like this, muTTi moothi "To Hit" muTTi means "To hit" moothi means "To hit"

ii) In the Related verbs combination, both parts of the compound are related to one
another.

Examples of Related verbs compound

3. kazhuvi mezhuki "To make neat and clean" kazhuvi means "To clean by water" and mezhuki means "To smear by cow dong or some other smearing things". These two verbs are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avaL viiTTaik kazhuvi mezhukinaaL "She cleaned the house neatly".

4. KiNTi kiLaRi "To mix it nicely" KiNTi means "To mix" KiLaRi means "To mix" These two verbs combined together to frame a compound in the sentence poolisu kiNTikkiLaRi uNmaiyai vaankiyadhu "Police tried so much and get the truth" (Idiomatic meaning).

iii) In the different verbs combination both parts of the compound are completely different from one another and conveyed a meaning which is different from the basic meaning of the verb when they occur as individually.

Examples of Different verbs compound

5. kuuDi kulaavi "To gether and enjoy" kuuDi means "To gather" or "To join" kulaavi "To enjoy". These two verbs are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avarkaL kuuDik kulaavinaarkaL "They combined together and enjoyed like anything".

6. AaDippaaDi "To enjoy" aaDi means | "To dance" paaDi "To sing". These two verbs join togeher and frame a compound in the sentence avaL aaDipaaDi makizhntaaL "She enjoyed like anything".

iv) In the resultive verbs compound the first part of the verb compound or the second part of the verb compound may be the result of the other one.

Examples of Resultive verbs compound

7. tappi tavaRi "Incidentally". tappi means "wrongly" and tavaRi means "Wrongone" Both the verbs combined together and give the meaning in the sentence raaman tappittavaRi ceytiTTaan "Rama has done it incidently". The conveyed meaning by this compound is adverbial.

8. vaaDi vatanki "withered away". vaaDi means "To dry" vatanki "To fry". Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence puu vaaDi vatankippooccu "The flower withered away completely". Here it conveys the adverbial meaning.

v) In the opposite verbs compound, both the parts of the compound are opposite to one another are combined together and give a separate meaning which is not related to the basic meaning of the verb.

Examples of opposite verbs compound

9. oTTiyum veTTiyum "Intelligently" In it oTTi means "Relatedly" veTTiyum means "Differently". These two are combined together and frame a compound in the sentence avan oTTiyum veTTiyum peecinaan "He is talking very cleverly."

10. kuuTTi kuRaittu "Not in a proper way" the first verb kuuTTi means "adding to" and kuRaittu means "by deleting". Both are combined together to frame a compound in the sentence avan kuuTTik kuRaittu visayattaic connaan "He reported the news with some additions and deletions." That is, not in a proper way.

The compounds of the type Noun+Verb and verb+Noun are very rare in Tamil.

The above types of Relative compounds convey the Idiomatic meaning, Totality meaning, Adverbial meaning Adjectival meaning, etc.

The following are the examples for the above:

AvaL vaayum vayirumaaka iruntaaL "She is pregnant" (Idiomatic meaning)

Avanukku kaaDu karai ellaam irukku "He owns so much of wealth" (Totality meaning)

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KaLLam kapaDam illaatavan   "He is innocent"   (Adjectival meaning)

Antap puuvellaam vaadi vathankip pooyiRRu "The flowers are fathered away"
                                                (Adverbial meaning)

It is possible from the above four types of compounds that both the parts of the compound may have meaning; only the first part may have some meaning; only the second part may have some meaning and both the parts may not have any specific meanings.

The following are the examples for the above said types:

1. Avanukku viiDu vaasal ellam irukku   "He owns all kinds of wealth" In it the first part viiDu means "House" and the second part vaasal means "The front portion of the house". This is a Noun compound. aval puuci mezhukinaaL "She filled the house by smearing and covering". In it both the first part and the second part have meanings. Puucu means "To cover" and mezhku means "To smear". This is a verb compound.

2. vaNDi vaasi vantaalum poogalaam "If the cart and the remaining or the etc is coming, we will go". Here the first part VaNDi has the meaning "Vehicle" but the second part has no specific meaning.

3. avan veLLaiyum coLLaiyumaa kiLampiTTaan "He goes neatly." Here the second part does not have any specific meaning. The first part veLLai means "White" But the compound VeLLaiyum coLLaiyum means "Neatly" which is an adverbial meaning.

4. avan kaaccumuuccunnu kattinaan "He shouted like anything". Here both kaaccu muuccu do not have meaning. But the compound kaaccu muuccu has the meaning "terribly" or "noisily"

Conclusion

Relative Compounds have found a special niche in the colloquial language. Perhaps such compounds carry information that could not be easily conveyed without such compounding. But this needs further investigation.

In any case, as I wrote above in the beginning of this chapter, relative compounds are found throughout the historical stages of Tamil in all its domains: literature, grammar,

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prose, prosody, inscriptions, day to day speech and so on. Accordingly, our textbooks should pay adequate attention to the acquision and elegant use of this feature. Exercises to develop this are not many in the textbooks that I viewed. Perhaps those who are in charge of developing Living Classical Tamil textbooks and syllabus should bear this in mind.

We must recognize that each language may have some preference for one or the other creative aspects of language use. For example, English probably shows greatest ease in accepting and adopting words from other languages. Tamil, I believe, has a preference for relative compounds. Modern political speeches have further popularized the dominant use of this feature both in writing and speaking.

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5

Relative Compounds in Tamil and Kannada

Introduction

Compounds are the combination of two words. In grammar, Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, etc. are combined together to form compounds.

Tolkaappiyar in his traditional grammar Tolkkappiyam classified the compounds into six types.

1. VeeRRumaitokai (Casal Compounds),
2. Vinaittokai (Compounds of verbs),
3. PaNputtokai (Compounds of quality),
4. Uvamattokai (Compounds of Comparison),
5. Ummaittokai (Compounds of Conjunction) and
6. Anmozhittokai (Compounds of Metonymy).

Doublets

In Tamil, there is another compound available. This type of compound is named as Doublets in Telugu by P. S. Subramanyam (1984), Conjunctive Compounds by K. Rangan (2003), iNai mozhikaL by R.Rengaraajan (2004) Allatu Compound by Pon. Kothanda Raman and as aTukkuccoRkaL by A. Srinivasan. In English it is named as Paired Construction, or binomial. In Telugu, it is named lexical duet by B. Ramakrishna Reddy (2004). In Kannada, it is named as "JooDu nuDi". In Telugu it is termed also as "Janta paadhaalu".

Tamil and Kannada

Tamil and Kannada are the two major languages belonging to the same language family, which is the Dravidian family. Both languages are treated as sister languages. This study of relative compounds structure in Tamil and Kannada reveals the fact that though relative compound is a general morphological feature of all the languages, some specific characteristics in individual languages can be drawn from the functional point of view and from the semantic point of view as well.

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Focus of This Chapter

An attempt is made in this chapter to study the relative compounds from the point of view of occurrence in individual languages, its function and semantic interpretation. The purpose of this paper is to high light the syntactic structures of the Relative Compounds in Tamil and Kannada and the semantic meanings conveyed by them.

In the Relative Compound construction, the combination of the words may be Noun+Noun, Noun+Verb, Verb+Noun and Verb+Verb. The following are the examples for this type of compounds.

i) viiDu vaasal - Noun+Noun viiDu means "House" and vaasal means "The front portion of the House". These two are combined together to frame a compound to give the meaning "Property," which is new to the basic meaning of the component words.

Like this in Kannada also:

Mane maTa – Noun + Noun mane means "House" and maTa means "The front portion of the House". These two combined together and formed a compound and indicate the meaning "Property".

ii) uppu cappu - Noun+Verb. Uppu means "salt" cappu means "To suck". These two are combined together to frame a Relative compound which means "Taste". This meaning is completely different from the basic meanings of the constituent words.

These types of compounds are not found in Kannada. But the above said compound is used as uppu kaara – Noun + Abstract Noun compound.

iii) koTTu meeLam - Verb+Noun. koTTu means "To beat or tap with knuckles" meeLam means "One kind of musical instrument used in various celebrations". These two words are combined together to frame a compound which gives the meaning "The publicity for the celebration".

This type of compounds is not found in Kannada.

iv) oNDi othunki - Verb+Verb. oNDi means "To hide or be alone." othunki means   "To leave aside". These two are combined together

to frame a Compound, which indicates the meaning "Without oneself getting involved in anything".

Like this in Kannada

Eddu biddu – Verb+Verb. Eddu means "To get up" and Biddu means "To fall down". Both verbs are opposite to one another and formed a compound Eddu biddu which means "Very urgently"

The Noun + Noun construction is further divided into

1. Parallel Nouns combination,
2. Opposite Nouns combination,
3. Related Nouns combination
4. Small + Big Nouns combination
5. Big + Small Nouns combination
6. Body parts Nouns combination
7. Resultive nouns combination and
8. Different nouns combination

Like the above Noun+Noun compound the Verb+Verb compound is further divided into

iii)   Parallel verbs combination
iv)   Related verbs combination
v)   Different verbs combination and
vi)   Resultive verb combination

The combination of Noun+Verb and the Verb+Noun combinations have very rare occurrences. So they do not have subdivisions.

The above types of Relative compounds convey the Idiomatic meaning, Totality meaning, Adverbial meaning and Adjectival meaning.

The following are the examples for the above said meanings.

Ex. From Tamil

    Vaayum vayirum   "The mouth and the stomach"

    avaL vaayum vayirumaagaa irukiRaaL

"She is pregnant" (Idiomatic Meaning)

Kaiyum kaalum   "The hand and the leg"

Enakku kaiyum kaalum ooTalee
"It is not able to do anything for me" (Idiomatic Meaning)

Ex. From Kannada

Kai Kaalu   "The hand and the leg"

Nanagee ketharikai kaal oogatilla
"It is not able to do anything for me" (Idiomatic meaning)

Ex. From Tamil

Avanukku kaaDu karai ellaam irukku
"He owns so much of wealth" (Totality Meaning)

Ex. From Kannada

Aadu maathu ottu kottillaa
"Totally I don't know anything"

Ex. From Tamil

KaLLam kapaDam illaatavan
"He is innocent" (Adjectival Meaning)

Ex. From Kannada

Kapeeka maneyannu Gudisi saarisiddaree
"Because of festival they clean the house"

Ex. From Tamil

Anta puuvellaam vaadi vadankip pooyiRRu
"The flowers are feathered away" (Adverbial meaning)

This type of construction is not found in Kannada.

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I Noun+Noun Compounds:

      i)   In the parallel Nouns combination, both the nouns are parallel to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

    iiDu iNai   "Comparison"

In this compound the first part Noun iiDu means "Equal" and the second part Noun iNai means "Comparison". Both are combined together and frame a compound iiDu iNai which means "comparison "in the sentence ataRkku iiDuiNai illai "There is no equivalent for that" which is completely different from the basic meaning of the words.

Ex. From Kannada

    Ulpa swalpa   "Little"

In the above-said compound ulpa means "Little" and swalpa means "Little". Both are combined together and frame a compound ulpa swalpa which means "Little" in the sentence nanagee ulpaswalpa malayaalam goddu "I know a little bit Malayalam".

      ii)   In the Opposite Noun compound both the nouns are opposite to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

    taNNiir Venniir   "Cold water and the Hot water"

In this compound the first noun taNNiir "Cold Water" is opposite to the second noun venniir "Hot Water". Both are combined together and frame a compound in the sentence avan taNNii venniii illaama cettaan means "He died without having anything" which is different from the basic meaning of the nouns.

Ex. From Kannada

Hinde Munde   "back and front"

In this compound the first word hinde means "back" is opposite to the
second noun munde means "front". Both are combined together and frame a compound
hinde munde which means "Back and front" in the sentence
Avanu hindee mundee yoocchisaadee maattaaDudia "He talks without thinking"

      iii)   In the related Nouns compound both the nouns are related to one
              another

Ex. From Tamil

     viiDu vaasal   "The property/wealth"

In the above said compound viiDu means "House" and vaasal means
"The front portion of the house". These two are combined together to frame a compound
viidu vaasal which gives the meaning "Property/wealth" in the sentence avanukku viidu
vaasal oNNum illai "He doesn't has anything (Wealth)"

Ex. From Kannada

     Mane maTa   "The Property/Wealth"

In the above said Compound mane means "House and maTa means "The front portion of
the house. Both are combined together and frame a compound mane maTa means
"Property" in the sentence avanugeeane maTa ellavu idée "He is not having any
property"

      iv)   In the Small+Big Nouns combination the first part of the compound
              noun is small and the second part of the compound noun is big.

Ex. From Tamil

     Kaasu PaNam   "The Money"

In the above compound kaasu means "Change" and paNam means
 "Rupee". Both are combined together and frame a compound kaasu paNam and it means
"Money"in the sentence avanukku kaasu paNam eduvum illai "He doesn't has Money at
all"

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In Kannada the compound kaasu paNam is not available but the vice versa compound HaNa kaasu is available. But the small+big compound the example Badava Sreemantha is available. In it Badava means "Poor man" and Sreemantha means "Rich man".

> v) In the Big+Small Nouns combination the first part of the compound noun is big and the second part of the compound noun is small.

Ex. From Tamil

> Kaalam Neeram "Particular Time"

In the above compound Kaalam means "The season" and the
Neeram means "The particular time". Both are combined together, form a compound and indicate the meaning "Particular Time" in the sentence avanukku kaalam Neeramellam kiTaiyaatu "There is no particular time for him".

Ex. From Kannada

> HaNa Kaasu "Money"

In the above mentioned compound HaNa means "Rupee" and
Kaasu means "Change". Both are combined together as a compound means "Money".

> vi) In the Body Parts Noun combination both parts of the compound are framed by the combination of the parts of the body.

Ex. From Tamil

> Vaayum Vayirum "Pregnant"

In the above compound Vaay means "Mouth" and Vayiru means "stomach". Both are combined together as a compound and menas "Pregnant" in the sentence avaL vaayum vayiRumaaka irukkiRaaL "She is pregnant".

Ex. From Kannada

> KaiKaalu "Inability"

In the above example Kai means "Hand" and Kaal means "Leg".

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Both are combined together and frame a compound kai kaal which means the "Inability" in the sentence nanagee kai kaal oogatilla "It is not able to do anything" This meaning is the Idiomatic expressive meaning.

> vii) In the Resultive Nouns Combination the first part of the Noun is the root cause of the thing and the second part of the Noun is the result of that action.

Ex. From Tamil

> Tappu taNDaa   "Mistake"

In the above compound Tappu means "mistake/Fault" and taNDa means "Punishment". Both are combined together and frame a compound Tappu taNDa which means "Mistake" in the sentence atilee tappu taNDa eetum illee "In that no mistake".

In Kannada also the same type of compound is found in the same way.

Ex. From Kannada

> Tappu DaNDa   "Mistake"

In the above said compound tappu means "mistake/fault" and
DaNDa means "punishment". Both are combined together and frame a compound tappu DaNDaa which means "Mistake" in the sentence avanu tappu DaNDa maaDuvan allaa "He is not the type of doing mistake".

> viii) In the different Nouns combination both the Nouns are completely different and the combined together and frame a compound and gives a completely different meaning from the basic meaning of the nouns.

Ex. From Tamil

> MaNNum Mayirum   "Dirty"

In the above compound MaNNu means "Sand' and Mayir means "Hair". Both are combined together and frame a compound means "Dirty" in the sentence adu maNNum Mayirumaa irukku   "It is full of dirty things."

Ex. From Kannada

    maNNu kesaru   "Dirty"

In trhe above compound maNNu means "Sand" and kesaru means
"Mud". Both are combined together and frame a compound maNNukesaru which means
"Dirty" in the sentence magu maNNu kesarralli aaDutidree
"The Children are playing in the dirty place"

II Verb+Verb Compounds:

The verb+verb construction also has sub divisions as

        i)   Parallel verb combination
        ii)   Related verbs combination
        iii)   Different verbs combination
        iv)   Opposite verbs combination   and
        v)   Resultive verbs combination.
        i)   In the parallel verbs combination both the verbs in the compounds are parallel to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

        Puuci Mezhuki   "To make it clean"

In the above compound the first part verb Puuci means "To repair" and the second part verb Mezhuki means "To smear". Both are combined together and frame a compound means "To Manage" in the sentence avaL puuci mezhukinaaL "She manages in some way".

Ex. From Kannada

        ToLedu BaLedu   "To make it clean"

In the above compound the first part of the verb ToLedu means "To clean by water" and the second part of the verb means BaLedu means "To smear".

Both are combined together and frame a compound means "To manage" in the sentence vishesha dinagalangu maneye cutta toledu baledu maaDutaaveo "During festival days all clean the houses very neatly"

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ii)   In the related verbs compound both the verbs are related to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

        kiNTi kiLaRi   "To search keenly"

In the above combination the first verb kiNTi means "To mix" and the second verb KiLaRi means "To mix". Both are related to one another and frame a compound means "Very keenly" in the sentence avan avarai kinTi kiLaRi vishayattai vaankinaan "He get the news by keen enquiry". This is different from the basic meaning of the verbs. This meaning is an Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Kannada

        iii)   In the Different verbs combination the combined verbs are not related ones but different verbs.

Ex. From Tamil

        kuuDi kuzhaavi   "To gather and enjoy"

In the above said compound the first verb kuuDi   "To join" and the second verb kuzhaavi "To enjoy". Both are combined together and frame a compound means "To enjoy much" in the sentence avarkaL kuuDik kuzhaavinaarkaL "They are enjoyed joint together".

Ex. From Kannada

        Hodedu Badedu ""Mix together and enjoy"

In the above said compound hodedu means "To join" and the second verb badedu means "To enjoy". Both are join together and frame a compound which means "mix together and enjoy" in the sentence makkaligee hodedu badedu maadudu cariyillaa "Children are joined together and enjoy is not good"

        iv)   In the opposite verbs compound both the verbs are opposite to one another.

Ex. From Tamil

OTTi veTTi   "Tactfully"

In the above-said compound the first verb OTTi means "To co-operate" and the second verb veTTi which is opposite to the first verb. Both are combined together and frame a compound veTTi oTTi means "Tactfully" in the sentence avan oTTiyum veTTiyum peecinaan "He talks very tactfully".

Ex. From Kannada

Eddu Biddu   "Hurily"

In the above-said compound the first verb eddu means "To get up" and the second verb Biddu means "To get down" which is opposite to the first verb. Both are combined together and frame a compound which means "Hurrily" in the sentence bussu bandaaga avanu eddu biddi ooTidee "He runs hurrily Because, the bus is coming"

> v)   In the Resultive Verb Compound the first verb of the compound is the root caste and the second verb is the result of the action of the compound.

Ex. From Tamil

vaaDi vatanki   "To withther"

In the above example the first verb which is the root cause verb vaaDi means "To become fade" and vatanki means "To shrink". Both are combined together and frame a compound vaaDivatanki means "To whether" in a sentence puukkaL vaaDivatankina "The flowers are weathered away".

Ex. From Kannada

The types of the compound Noun+Verb   and the Verb+Noun are very rare in Tamil and Kannada.

It is also possible that

i) Two parts having meaning

ii) Two parts don't have meaning

iii) One part of the compound (Either the first or the second part)
have meaning.

i) Two Parts having meaning

avanukku viidu vaasal ellaam irukku
"He owns all kind of wealth"

(Tamil Noun+Noun)

avanagee mane maTa ellava idee
"He owns all kinds of Property"

(Kannada Noun+Noun)

avaL puuci mezhukinaaL
"She managed in some way"

(Tamil Verb+Verb)

ii) Two parts are not having meaning

guNDakkaa maNDakkaaNNu peecaatee
"Don't talk rubbish"   (Tamil)

 niinu yagva thadva maatthu naada beedaa
"Don't talk rubbish"   (Kannada)

iii) One part having meaning

avan veLLaiyum coLLaiyumaa kiLampiTTaan
"He goes neatly"

(Tamil first part has meaning)

avaru ThoTa GeeTa maaDikoNTillaa
"He doesn't own any property"

(Kannada)

Akkam pakkam paarttup peecu
   "Talk by seeing the surroundings"

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<div align="right">(Tamil second part has meaning)</div>

nammee akka pakka cennakira beekkhu
"Our's neighbours should good"

<div align="right">(Kannada)</div>

Conclusion

It is clear from our study here that even in two genetically related languages relative compounds can develop interesting distinctive features. Kannada and Tamil are closely related languages, and yet there are differences. Such differences need to be noted when we want to translate materials from one language into another.

Also, we need to recognize the fact that even as most states in the Indian Union were linguistically re-organized, none of the states is totally predominantly monolingual. Even as the Indian Union is multilingual, the states that constitute the Union are also multilingual. It only means that fostering an understanding between the various speech forms and patters of linguistic groups would add to the richness of civilization within these states.

Text composition and comprehension become easier when we have a good command over the features of composition of relative compounds. Ultimately, discovery of the minute and detailed grammatical rules should not be the major goal, but using such rules for practical purposes should be our major concern.

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6

Agreement in Tamil and Telugu

Introduction

The system of agreement in any language is a vital grammatical phenomenon. Earlier both the terms *agreement* and *concord* were used as if they were synonyms. John Lyons 1968: p.239 describes concord as a kind of inflection. Agreement may be studied with reference to morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of the language.

Moravcsik 1978: p.333 defines agreement as "a grammatical constituent A will be said to agree with a grammatical constituent B in properties C in language L, if C is a set of meaning-related properties of constituent B across some subset of the sentences of language L, where constituent B1 is adjacent to B and the meaning related non-categorical properties of constituent B1 are the properties of C".

This chapter highlights the variations in the agreement system between Tamil and Telugu, two genetically related languages of the family of Dravidian languages. Though Tamil and Telugu belong to the same language family, they show variations in agreement system in addition to the similarities between these two languages.

Sociolinguistic Importance of the Agreement Feature

Agreement is an important aspect of all the major Indian languages. Through the agreement feature, we not only indicate the number and person, but also important sociolinguistic information such as respect, honor, and social status, etc. Our cultural and social patterns thus are expressed through linguistic device of agreement.

Historically speaking, agreement features had a lesser load of such sociolinguistic information in the early stages of Tamil. For example, number inflection was not important to assign respect in several classical works in Tamil. A king or a god may be referred to (and even addressed) in singular person in such works. That did not mean that the writers of these literary works did not care for or did not have respect for the kings or gods, etc. The writers simply followed the linguistic convention prevailing then. In other words, as our social stratification became more elaborate and stringent within the Tamil society, agreement features also got elaborated and became more specific and focused. Slowly freedom in using these features is heavily restricted since switch from plural

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marker to a singular reference would be taken as an offence and would entail physical quarrels.

When continuity of our Chemmozhi across generations and classes now and into the future becomes our focus in teaching Tamil, we will give an understanding of these classical features, only for comprehension purposes and not for daily communication.

Tamil and Telugu offer interesting contrasts in the use of the agreement feature.

Agreement Markers in Tamil and Telugu

The following table shows the agreement markers of Tamil and Telugu briefly.

	Tamil		**Telugu**	
Person	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
I	een	oom	nu	mu
II	aay	iir/iirkaL	vu	ru
III	aan/aaL/tu	aar/aarkaL/na	Du/di	ru

_____

Examples from Tamil

naan vanteen	neenu vacceenu	"I came"
naam vantoom	manamu vacceemu	"We (inclu.) came"
naankaL vantoom	meemu vacceemu	"We (Exclu.) came"
nii vantaay	nuvvu vacceevu	"You came"
niinkaL vantiirkaL	miiru vacceeru	"You (pl.) came"
avan vantaan	waaDu vacceeDu	"He came"

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avaL vantaaL	adi vaccindi	"She came"
adu vantatu	adi vaccindi	"It came"
avar vantaar	waaru vacceeru	"He (Hon.) came"
avarkaL vantaarkaL	waaru vacceeru	"They (Human) came"
avai vantana	avi vaccaayi	"They (Non-Human) came"

Third Person and Agreement

There are two more forms in Telugu for third person Masculine and Feminine 'atanu/aayana', 'aame/aawiDa' to indicate the degree of respect. These forms have the agreement marker –ru and have the variants -Du and -di in spoken language.

Examples from Telugu

Atanu/aayana vacceeDu/vacceeru   "He came"

Aamee/aawiDa vaccindi/vacceeru   "She came"

Prestigious Forms and Agreement

In Tamil and Telugu the most prestigious forms are 'taankaL' and 'tamaru' which mean "You (Hon.)". These forms have the agreement markers –iirkaL and –ru.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil   Telugu
taankaL vantiirkaL   tamaru vacceeru   "You (Hon.) came"

Plural Marker in Agreement

In Tamil the plural marker –kaL not only functions as plural marker but also functions as an agreement marker. But in Telugu the plural marker –lu cannot function as an agreement marker.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

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Tamil   **Telugu**

mantiri*kaL* vantar*kaL*   mantru*lu* vaccee*ru*   "The Ministers came"

In the sentence 'intira kaanti vantaarkaL "Indira Gandhi came," the third person singular noun Indira Gandhi takes the plural agreement marker –aarkaL (Plural agreement marker –ar+ the plural marker –kaL) due to socio-cultural reasons. But in Telugu the above sentence takes the honorific marker gaaru after the proper noun intira kaanti and takes the honorific agreement marker –ru but it does not take the plural marker –lu as in the sentence 'intira kaanti gaaru vacceeru' (Te.).

Conjoined and Collective Nominals and Agreement

Like this the conjoined nominal and collective nominal take the plural agreement + the plural marker -kaL in Tamil. But in Telugu the above-said two nominal take the plural agreement but not the plural marker –lu.

Example from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil   **Telugu**

avanum avaLum vantaarkaL   waaDu aame vacceeru   "He and she came"

Tamil   Telugu

makkaL vantaarkaL   manishulu vacceru   "people came"

Titles and Agreement

 In Tamil, popular persons like 'amaiccar' "Minister", 'tuNai veentar' "Vice-Chancellor", 'janaadipathi' "President" etc., have the plural form 'avarkaL.' This form means "They." It also functions as honorific form. It has the plural agreement marker –kaL. This third person pronoun avarkaL is morphologically segmental. But in Telugu 'mantri' - "Minister" 'upaadiyakshulu' - "Vice-Chancellor" 'raastrapathi' - "President" etc., have the honorific form -waaru/-gaaru. These forms are the honorific forms and not the plural forms.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

amaiccar avarkaL vantaarkal

Telugu

mantru*la* waaru/mantri *waariyulu* vacceeru

"The honorable Minister came"

Tamil
tuNaiveentar avarkaL vantaarkaL

Telugu

upaatiyakshula waaru vacceeru

"The honorable Vice - Chancellor came"

In the above examples, Telugu is similar to Tamil when it adds the plural marker with honorific form as 'avarkaL' to the form mantri waariyulu vacceeru. Telugu can also add the plural marker -lu with mantri as mantrula waaru vacceeru. But there is a difference in the usage of the agreement marker. Tamil uses the marker –kaL and Telugu uses the marker -ru.

Elder Persons and Agreement

Elder persons like father, teacher, officers etc. in Tamil are having the agreement marker –aar. But in Telugu the above said persons may have the agreement marker either –Du or –ru.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil   Telugu

appaa vantaar   naannaa vacceeDu/vacceeru   "Father came"

Tamil   Telugu

saar vantaar   saar vacceee|Du/vacceeru   "Teacher came"

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Telugu

manushulu vacceeru   "Human beings came"

Telugu

kukkalu vacceeyi   "Dogs came"

Mass Noun and Agreement

In Tamil the nouns like 'paal' "milk", 'taNNi', "water", 'moor, "buttermilk" etc. are considered as singular and take the singular agreement marker. But in Telugu the above-said nouns are considered as ever plural and take the plural agreement marker.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
paal irukku	paalu unnaayi	"Milk is there"

Tamil	Telugu	
taNNi irukku	niiLLu unnaayi	"Water is there"

Tamil	Telugu	
moor irukku	majjiga unnaayi	"Butter-milk is there"

Second Person Interrogative and Agreement

In Tamil for the question 'nii yaar' "who are you?" the answer is 'naan parimala' "I am parimala" won't take agreement marker. But in Telugu the answer for the above question is 'neenu parimalanu'. In this –nu is the agreement marker of 'neenu'. Like this the other personal pronouns have the agreement markers.

Human and Nonhuman Nouns and Agreement

Both in Tamil and Telugu, one human and one non-human nouns are combined together and occur as subject. In this condition, human plural agreement is used.

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Example from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

oru manitanum oru naayum vantaarkaL

Telugu

oo manushi oka kukka vacceeru

"One man and one dog came."

The inanimate nouns like 'kal' "stone", 'ilai' "leaf", 'maNal' "sand" etc. do not use a plural marker or an agreement marker in Tamil. But in Telugu the above-said nouns take the agreement markers compulsorily.

Example from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

anta iTattil kal niraiya irukku

Telugu

akkaDa caalaa raaLLu unnaayi

"There are so many stones"

When more than one non-human noun occurs as subject, the subject does not take the plural marker –kaL but it takes the conjunctive marker -um. The plural agreement marker is also optional in Tamil. But in Telugu the plural marker with noun is obligatory and the agreement marker with the verb is also obligatory.

Example from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

reNDu naayum muunu puunaiyum vantatu/vandhana

Telugu

reNDu kukkalu muuDu pillulu vacceeyi

"Two dogs and three cats came"

In Tamil though the non-human plural nouns have the agreement marker –na the usage of that marker is the optional one whereas in Telugu the non-human plural nouns have the agreement marker –yi. This use is obligatory.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

ankee niraiya marankaL irukku

Telugu

akkaDa caalaa ceTTLu unnaayi

"There are so many trees"

Tamil

naaykaL vantuccu

Telugu

kukkaLu vaccaayi

"The dogs came"

Proper Names and Agreement

In Tamil, the proper names like raaman, kaNNan, kumaar and baabu are combined together and occur as subject. But they may not take plural marker –kaL. Instead they may take the form ellaarum and the plural agreement marker –ar+ the plural marker kaL. In Telugu for the above-said combined subject, the last proper name takes the plural marker –lu and the plural agreement marker –ru in the final position.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

raaman kaNNan kumaar baabu vantaarkaL

raaman kaNNan kumaar baabu elloorum vantaarkaL

Telugu

raama kaNNa kumaar baabulu vacceeru

"Rama kaNNan kumar baabu came"

Honorific Nouns and Agreement

In Tamil, the honorific human nouns like 'amaiccar' "minister", 'talaivar' "head", 'tuNai veentar' "Vice-Chancellor" etc. take the honorific plural agreement marker 'avarkaL'. But in Telugu the above-said nouns take either the plural marker-lu or the honorific form 'vaaru'.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

talaivar avarkaL peesuvaarkaL

Telugu

adyakshula vaaru maaTlaaDutaaru

Telugu

adyakshulu maaTlaaDutaaru

"The honorable leader will take"

Tamil

tuNai veentar avarkaL varuvaar/varuvaarkaL

Telugu

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upagulapathila/upaadyaashula vaaru vastaaru

Telugu

upagulapathilu/upaadyaashulu vastaaru

"The Vice-Chancellor will come."

The Potential Auxiliary Verb

The potential auxiliary verb 'muTiyum' "capable" cannot take the agreement marker. The oblique form + instrumental case maker + muTiyum is the construction. But in Telugu the potential auxiliary verb 'gala' "capable" can take the agreement marker. The nominative form + the potential auxiliary verb + -nu is the construction.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
ennaal vara muTiyum	neenu raa galanu	"I can come"
nammaal vara muTiyum	manamu raa galamu	"We (Inclu.) can come"
enkalaal vara muTiyum	meemu raa galamu	"We (Exclu.) can come"
unnaal vara muTiyum	nuvvu raa galavu	"You can come"
unkalaal vara muTiyum	miiru raa galaru	"You (pl.) can come"
avanaal vara muTiyum	waaDu raa galaDu	"He can come"
avaLaal vara muTiyum	aamee raa galadu	"She can come"
avarkalaal vara muTiyum	waaru raa galaru	"They can come"
adaal vara muTiyum	adi raa galadu	"It can come"
avaikaLaal vara muTiyum	avi raa galavu	"They (non-Hum.) can come"

Neuter Singular and Agreement

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The neuter singular 'atu' – "it" and the plural 'avai'- "they" in Tamil take the plural marker –kaL. Whereas in Telugu the neuter singular 'adi'- "it" and the plural avi – "they" do not take the plural marker –lu.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil   **Telugu**

adu/aduka vantuccu   adi vaccindi   "It (non-Human) came"

avai/avaikaL vantana   avi vaccaayi   "They (non-Hum.) came"

Numerals and Agreement

In Tamil, more than one numerical noun, that is, two, three etc. are used in a syntactical construction the agreement marker is optional both for the human and the non-human. But the agreement depends upon the numerical noun not the person. Whereas in Telugu the agreement marker for the above-said is obligatory.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

avaLukku muunu puLLe/ puLLaiga

Telugu

avaLukku mugguru pillalu

"She has three children"

Tamil

naalu pustakam/pustakanka irukku

Telugu

naalugu pustakaaLLu unnaayi

"There are four books"

Tamil	Telugu	
iraNDu peer vantaar/vantaarkaL	iddaru vaccaaru	"Two persons came"

Tamil	Telugu	
aaru peer vantaar/vantaarkaL	aruguru vaccaaru	"Six persons came"

Animate and Inanimate Nouns and Agreement

When more than one animate or inanimate noun is used in combination then the agreement marker with subject and predicate is optional in Tamil. But in Telugu agreement marker is obligatory with subject and predicate.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
naalu puunai/puunaikaL vantadu	naalugu pillulu vaccaayi	"Four cats came"

Tamil	Telugu	
eezhu nari vantatu	eeDu nakkalu vaccaayi	"Seven foxes came"

Tamil	Telugu	
muunRu miin kiTaittadu	muuDu ceepalu cikkaayi	"Got three Fishes"

Tamil	Telugu	
reNDu kallu kuDu	reNDu raaLLu ivvu	"Give two stones"

Interrogative Markers and Agreement

In Telugu, the interrogative marker 'enta' "How much" is used with inanimate nouns and 'entamandi'/endaru' "How many" is used with human nouns, and,'enni' 'How many' is used with non-human nouns. In Tamil, 'ettanai' "How many" 'evvavlavu' "How much" are the equivalent forms for all the above- mentioned forms of Telugu.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

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Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai peer vantiirkaL	miiru endaru occaaru	"How many of you came?"

Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai manitarkaL	endaru manusulu	"How many persons?"

Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai maDu vantadu	enni aawulu occaayi	"How many cattle came? "

Tamil	Telugu	
ettanai aaDu cettatu	enni meekalu caaccaayi	"How many goats died?"

From the above examples we come to the conclusion that though the agreement system is more or less same in Tamil and Telugu as far as the Human is concerned, there are differences between Tamil and Telugu in marking agreement.

Negative Constructions and Agreement

The Telugu negative form 'kaadu' "not" does not take the agreement marker of the person like 'leedu' and Tamil 'illai'.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
naan illai	neenu kaadu	"not myself"

Tamil	Telugu	
naanga illai	meemu kaadu	"not our self"

Tamil	Telugu	
naama illai	manamu kaadu	"not our self"

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In Tamil, the simple negative marker 'illai' "not" does not take the agreement marker, whereas in Telugu the simple negative marker 'leedu' takes the agreement marker depending on the person.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil   **Telugu**

naan ankee illai   neenu akkaDa leenu   "I am not there"

naam ankee illai   manamu akkaDa leemu   "We (Inclu.) are not there"

naankaL ankee illai meemu akkaDa leemu   "We (Exclu.) are not there"

nii ankee illai   nuvvu akkaDa leevu   "You are not there"

niinkaL ankee illai miiru akkaDa leeru   "You (pl.) are not there"

avan ankee illai   waaDu akkaDa leeDu   "He is not there"

……   atanu akkaDa leeDu   "He is not there"

…….   aayana akkaDa leeDu/leeru "He is not there"

avaL ankee illai   adi akkaDa leedu   "She is not there"

…….   aame akkaDa leedu   "She is not there"

……   aawiDa akkaDa leedu/leeru   "She is not there"

Avar ankee illai   waaru akkaDa leeru   "He/She (Hon.) is not there"

Adu ankee illai   adi akkaDa leedu   "It is not there"

Avai ankee illai   avi akkaDa leevu   "They (Non-Hum.) are not there"

avarkaL ankee illai   waaLLu akkaDa leeru "They (Hum.) are not there"

Negative Potential Auxiliary Verb Construction

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The negative potential auxiliary verb 'muTiyaadu' "not capable/impossible" do not take the agreement marker. The oblique form + case maker + the negative potential auxiliary verb is the construction. But in Telugu the negative potential auxiliary verb 'leedu' "not capable/impossible" can take the agreement marker according to the person with the nominative form.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu	
ennaal vara muTiyaadu	neenu raa leenu	"I cannot come"
nammaal vara muTiyaadu	manamu raa leemu	"We (Inclu.) cannot come"
enkalaal vara muTiyaadu	meemu raa leemu	"We (Exclu.) cannot come"
unnaal vara muTiyaadu	nuvvu raa leevu	"You cannot come"
unkalaal vara muTiyaadu	miiru raa leeru	"You (pl.) cannot come"
avanaal vara muTiyaadu	waaDu raa leeDu	"He cannot come"
avaLaal vara muTiyaadu	aamee raa leedu	"She cannot come"
avarkalaal vara muTiyaadu	waaru raa leeru	"They cannot come"
adaal vara muTiyaadu	adi raa leedu	"It cannot come"
avaikaLaal vara muTiyaadu	avi raa leevu	"They (Non-Hum.) cannot come"

Equative Sentences and Agreement

In the negative equative sentences, the negative form 'illai won't take agreement marker in Tamil. But, in Telugu, the negative form 'kaadu' can take agreement marker depending upon the person. Moreover the nouns with the first and second person pronouns also take the agreement marker.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil   **Telugu**

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naan DaakTar illai   neenu DaakTarunu kaanu "I am not a Doctor"

naangaL DaakTar illai meemu DaakTaramu kaamu "We are not Doctors"

naam DaakTar illai   manamu DaakTaramu kaamu "We are Doctors"

nii DaakTar illai   nii DaakTaruvu kaavu   "You are not a Doctor"

niingaL DaakTar illai   miiru Daaktaru kaaru   "You are not a Doctor"

avan DaakTar illai   avan DaakTar kaaDu   "He is not a Doctor"

avaL DaakTar illai   aame DaakTar kaadu   "She is a not a doctor"

avar DaakTar illai   vaaru DaakTaru kaaru   "He (Hon.) is not a Doctor"

avarkaL DaakTar illai   vaaLLu DaakTarlu kaaru "They are not Doctors "

adu DaakTar illai   ati DaakTar kaadu   "It is not a Doctor"

avai DaakTar illai   avi DaakTarlu kaavu "They (Non-Hum.) are not Doctor"

Conclusion

From the above-mentioned discussions we can conclude that, though Tamil and Telugu are genetically related languages and belong to same language family and share many features, still there are eye-catching differences between them found in those languages.

Textbook writers and syllabus framers have the responsibility to focus on the sociolinguistic features of agreement. Let us not take the functions of agreement in Tamil for granted.

How we should communicate with each other and what truth value our communication must carry have all been discussed in Tirukkural and other didactic literature. Chemmozhi early grammars as well as literary works wrote on communication mostly from moral angles. Moral instruction imparted through works such as NaalaTiyaar are recognized and faithfully included in our textbooks. However, how language should be used in speaking and writing for persuasive communication showing due respect and

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dererence to our addressees needs to be demonstrated through drills and exercises in our classrooms.

Arguments are very important for clarity of truth but arguments should be carried out in a manner emotions are kept under control and only facts are focused upon. Switch from from singular to plural and from plural to singular endings have great social implications. Unfortunately, caste and other social criteria as well as economic status play a crucial role in such choice. This should change so that all could participate as equal partners in the communication process.

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7

Auxiliary Verbs in Modern Tamil

Introduction

Auxiliary verbs are the verbs which lose their original syntactic and semantic properties when they collocate with other verbs as auxiliary and signify various grammatical meanings which are the auxiliary meanings of the other verbs in the sentences.

Example

raaman ankee iruntaan	"Rama is there" - Main Verb
raaman ankee vantiruntaan	"Ram has come there" – Auxiliary verb

The verbs which thus become auxiliaries may also function like full verbs elsewhere, resulting in formally being identical but functionally different pairs of verbs. The difference is manifested in their different syntactic distribution and semantic denotation.

The function of an auxiliary in any language is to express the voice, mode, tense or aspect of the action denoted by the main verb of a sentence.

Various Names of Auxiliary

Auxiliary verbs have various names. Walther, 1739, Pope, 1859, Arden 1891, Agesthialingom, 1964, Meenakshisundaram, 1965, Isreal, 1976, Karthikeyani, 1976, Srinivasan, 1976, Joseph, 1981 and Steever, 1983 addressed this auxiliary as auxiliary verbs. Bahl, 1967 termed this as Explicator. Hock, 1974 mentioned this auxiliary as Compound Verbs. Subbarao, 1979 called this as Secondary Verbs. Bhat, 1979 termed this as Vector. Kachru pointed out this as Serial verbs.

Auxiliary Verbs and Language Teaching

Auxiliary verbs play a very crucial role in sentence construction. They support or negate the content, and they supply additional information. Auxiliary verbs have been used throughout the history of Tamil. However, modern expressions, especially in official communications, scientific writing and business communications, exploit the use of auxiliary verbs as part of logic and reason. In this respect, it is important that our students are well trained in the correct and efficient use of auxiliary constructions. Extending and

developing use of auxiliary verbs in Tamil to meet various needs will add to the continuity of Chemmozhi in the future.

Characteristics of Auxiliary Verbs

1. Auxiliary verb always occurs after the main verbs and it is dependent upon the main verbs.

    Example:
    iRaivan ceyya vaittaan   "God made him to do this"
    naan payantu pooneen   "I was afraid of that"

2. Most of the auxiliary verbs have PNG markers and negative markers but the modal auxiliary verbs do not have the PNG markers and the negative markers except the Model auxiliary verb maaTTu.

    Example:
    murugan ceytu kaaTTinaan   "Murugan demonstrated it."
    inRu mazhai varakkuuDum   "Today the rain may come."
    avan vara maaTTaan   "He won't come definitely."

3. Auxiliary verbs come after the verb root of the main verb, infinitive form of the main verb, verbal participle form of the main verb, relative participle form of the main verb, finite verb of the main verb, verbal noun form of the main verb and the participial noun of the main verb and the conditional infinitive form.

    Example:

    puRaa viTu paTTatu   "The pigeon left out"
                                              Verb root
    iraaman colla vantaan   "Rama has come for telling this"
                                              Infinitive
    kaNNan vantu irukkiRaan   "Kannan has come here already"
                                              Verbal Participle
    kaTaikku vantirunta raaman   "Rama who has come to the shop"
                                              Relative Participle,
    kala vantaaL illai   "Kala who had not come"
                                              Finite Verb
    nii varalaam   "You may come"

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	Verbal Noun
iraamantaan paarttavanaam	"Rama one who saw that"
	Participial Noun
geetha paaDip paarttaal teriyum	"If Geetha try to sing then it will be clear"
	Conditional Infinitive Form

4. When Auxiliary verbs occur in compound sentences, then the auxiliary may be deleted from the sentences.

Example:
naan paarttum irukkiReen: naan keeTTum irukkiReen = naan paarttum keeTTum irukkiReen. "I had seen; I had heard = "I both seen and heard"

4. Auxiliary verbs are reduplicated to indicate various grammatical meanings.

Example:
latha varukiRaaL	"Sita comes"	Present Perfect
sita vantu koNTiRukkiRaaL	"Sita is coming"	Present Progressive
cirittuk koNTirukka veeNTaam	"It is not necessary to laugh"	
		Negative Present Progressive

5. In between the main verb and the auxiliary verb no meaningful units will occur.

Example:
| aaciriyar paTittu viTTaar | "Teacher had read" |
| aaciriyar paTittu ippootu viTTaar | "Now the Teacher read it and left" |

But some words which have lexical meanings occur in between the main verb and the auxiliary verb.

Example:
unnaal paTikka muTiyaatu	"You cannot read"
unnaal paTikka ippoootu muTiyaati	"You cannot read now"
unnaal ceyya iyalum	"You can do this"
unnaal ceyya inRu iyalum	"You can do this today"

6. Auxiliary doesn't take complements by itself.
7. Auxiliary doesn't give the meaning of its homophonous full verb.
8. Auxiliary loses its meaning if it is permuted.

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9. Infinitive that occurs before auxiliary cannot be converted into verbal noun.
10. The verb V1 alone cannot be negated without negating the auxiliary V2.
11. When the auxiliary V2 is negated the preceding verb V1 also comes under the scope of negation.
12. The verb V1 cannot be reduplicated before V2 if the verb V2 is an auxiliary.
13. Auxiliary construction doesn't permit negative simultaneous for both V1 and V2.
14. Auxiliary verb cannot form single word utterance.
15. An Auxiliary can take another auxiliary so that the sequence of V1, V2, and V3 can be seen among which the last two can be auxiliaries.
16. The auxiliary verb V2 can be replaced by another auxiliary where as the second member of the compound verb cannot be replaces by another verbs.
17. Compound verb is semantically one unit but whereas the auxiliary structure is not so, expressing one main notion plus some auxiliary notion.

Modern Tamil Auxiliary Verbs

In Tamil, the following verbs are function as auxiliaries: 'aTi' – "To beat", 'aruL' – "To become grace", 'aam' – "To accept", 'aaccu' – "To finish", 'iyalum' – "Possible", 'iru' – "To be", 'il' – "To be not", 'uL' – "Inside", 'eTu' – "To take", 'ozhi' – "To destroy", 'kaaTTu' – "To show", 'kuuTum' – "To be possible", 'koNTiru' – "To have", 'koL' – "To have", 'cey' – "To do", 'takum' – "to be worth", 'taLLu' – "To push", 'teri' – "To know", 'tolai' – "To go", 'neer' – "To face", 'paTu' – "To suffer", 'paNNu' – "To do", 'paar' "To see", 'peRu' – "To get", 'poo' – "To go", 'pooTu' – "To put", 'maaTTu' – "To hang", 'muTiyum' – "To be possible", 'varu' – To come", 'viTu' – "To leave", 'veeNTum' – "To need" and 'vai' – "To put"

Kinds of Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs are broadly classified in to three types. They are Voice Auxiliary, Aspectual Auxiliary and Modern Auxiliary.

Voice Auxiliary

Voice Auxiliaries are the auxiliaries which come after the infinitive forms of the main verbs. The verbs like 'paTu', 'peRu', 'koL', 'cey', 'vai', 'paNNu', 'aruL' are the voice denoting auxiliaries. Among the above paTu and peru are the passive voice denoting auxiliaries. koL is the reflexive voice, benefactive denoting auxiliaries. aruL is the

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benedictive voice denoting auxiliaries. Cey, vai and paNNu are the causative voice denting auxiliaries.

Example:

avanaal katai ezhutappaTTatu	"The story was written by him"	(Passive)
baalu kaTitam varappeRRaan	"Balu received letter"	(Passive)
avan tanakkut taanee peecikkoNTaan	"He talked by himself"	(Reflexive)
avanai varapa paNNineen	"I made him to come"	(Causative)
avanai naantaan ceyya vaitteen	"I made him to do"	(Causative)
avanai varac ceyteen	"I made him to come"	(Causative)
avar vantaruLinaar	"He came gracefully"	(Benedictine)

Aspectual Auxiliary

Aspectual auxiliary are the auxiliaries which come after the verbal participle forms of the main verbs. iru, koNTiru, viTu, ozhi, vaa, vai,

Avan vantiruntaan	"He had come"	Past perfect
Avan vantu koNTiruntaan	"He is coming"	Present Progressive
Avan cirittuk koNTirukka veeNTaam	"It is not necessary for him to laugh"	
	Negative present progressive	
anpuTan pazhaki varum tankai	"Ever lovable sister"	Habitual thing
raaman taan paarttavanaam	"Rama who had seen it"	
murukan ceytu kaaTTinaan	"Murugan demonstrated it"	
nii paatip paarttaal teriyum	"If you try to sing then it will clear"	
avan paarttu viTTaan	"He had seen it"	(Completion)
unakku collat terital veeNTum	"You must know how to tell it"	
naan ezhutikkoNTatu ennavenRaal	"The written thing was …"	
muttu vizhuntaTittu ooTinaan	"Muthu ran like anything"	
	Idiomatic meaning" 'Speediness'	
amaiccar vantarulinaar	"The Minister has come" meaning Honorific	
naan caappiTTaaccu	"I finished eating" meaning 'Completeness'	
avan cettuppoonaan	"He dead" meaning 'Completeness'	
avan caRRaip pizhinteTuttaan	"He extracted the juice" meaning 'Excess'	
raaman vantuLLaan	"He came" meaning 'Complete'	
raaman ceytu kaaTTinaan	"Rama demonstrated it"	
avan ezhutit taLLiTTaan	"He wrote like anything" meaning 'Impatience'	
avan aTittuttaLLiTTaan	"He beat like anything" meaning 'Idiomatic	
	Expression'	

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pooyt tolai	"Get lost" meaning 'Riddance'
kannanaip paarkka neerntatu	"Accidentily I met kannan"
uma eTuttup paarttaaL muTiyavilai	"Uma tried it but it was not possible"
naankaL vazhakkamaaka keTTu varukiRoom	"Habitually we heard"
avan paarttu viTTaan	"He saw definitely"

Modal Auxiliary

Model Auxiliary verbs are the auxiliary verbs which come after the infinitive form or the verbal noun of the main verbs and they don't have the PNG markers and the negative markers except the Modal Auxiliary maaTTu .

Example:

baama varalaam	"Baama may come"	Meanings Permission, possibility,
ennaaal cappiTa iyalum	"I can eat"	Meaning ability
ennnaal paarkka muTiyum	"I can see"	Meaning possibility
avan paarkkkavilllai,	"He did not see"	Meaning Negative
avan paarkkka maaTTaan	"He never seen"	Meaning negative conformity
Mazhai varak/varutal kuuTum	"Rain may come"	Meaning Possibility
Itu collat takum	"It is worth to say"	Meaning appropriation
Enakku aaTat teriyum	"I know dance"	Meaning fact
Nii paaTa veeNTum	"You must sing"	Meaning completion, request
ennaal paaTa iyalum	"I can sing"	Meaning ability
avanaal paaTa iyallaatu	"He is not able to sing"	Meaning Inability
peeca veeNTum	"You must talk"	Meaning Condition
nii varalaam	"You may come"	Meaning Permission

Sequence of Auxiliary

Auxiliaries are coming in sequence as two or three or even four in a sentence.

Example:

vantu koNTirukkiRaan	"I am coming" (Two auxiliaries "koNTu" and "iru" are the two auxiliaries combined in one sentence)
pazhattai paRittup paarkka veeNTum	"Pluck the fruit and see" (Two auxiliaries "paar" and "veeNTum" in one sentence)
avan saami vantaruLa vaittaan	"He made the force to come" (Two auxiliaries

"aruL" and "vai")

baala caTTail pooTTuk koLLac ceytaan   "Bala made him to put his shirt" (Two
                                        auxiliaries "koL" and "cey")

miira pooTTuk koLLa neerntatu   "Meera had the occasion to wear" (Two
                                        auxiliaries "koL" and "neer")

kolai ceyyappaTaveeNTum   "He/She/It/They must be killed" (Two
                                        auxiliaries "paTu" and "veeNTum")

avanai caTTai pooTTu koLLac ceyya veeNTum   "Made him to wear the shirt" (Three
                                        auxiliaries "koL", "cey" and "veeNTum" in one sentence)

miira pooTTu kola neeravillai   "Meera did not have the occasion to wear" (Three
                                        auxiliaries "kol", "neer" and "illai" in one sentence)

raja ipppoo paarkka neerntirukka veeNTum   "Now the Raja has the occasion to see"
                                        (Three auxiliaries "neer", "iru" and "veeNTum"

nii ceytu paarkka veeNTiatu illai   "It is not necessary to do this" (Three auxiliaries
                                        "paar", "veeNTum" and "illai" in one sentence.

nii caTTaiyai pooTTuk koLLac ceyya veeNTiyatu illai "It is not necessary to take steps
to wear the shirt" (There are four auxiliaries "koL", "cey" , "veeNTum" and "illai" in
one sentence)

Conclusion

1) From the above data I conclude that auxiliary verbs are very much useful to the
   main verbs. So it is apt to address these auxiliary verbs as helping verbs.

2) Without the help of the helping verbs it is not possible to get some grammatical
    meanings like perfect, aspectual and modal, etc.

3) The emotional feeling is correctly expressed by using these auxiliaries.

4) Logical thinking, speaking and writing demand the use of auxiliary verbs.

5) In literary works, auxiliary verbs are used to create effects such as doubt,
   question, worry, suspicion, etc. The potential of auxiliary verbs in Tamil is not
   fully exploited. Appropriate exercises with examples from current social and
   academic affairs would help use the auxiliary verbs to meet the demands of
   science education, appropriate language use for law, framing of rules and
   regulations and their interpretation.

6) I argue that we look at grammatical elements from their possible use in our daily
   life and in carrying out transactions in various realms such as law, governance,

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education, business, etc. Through this approach we will contribute to the continuance of the use of Tamil as a living-classical language in the future.

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8

Noun Reduplication in Tamil

Introduction

Reduplication is an important word formation processe in **all** Indian languages. This should be considered as an important areal feature. This fact, in itself, makes it important for us to study various aspects of reduplication. Study of reduplication will enable us also to see how this linguistic process is involved in culture expressions.

Reduplication may be defined as "the total or partial bimodal reduplication meaning thereby repetition of the base of the word or the stem. Either a syllable or a constituent of a word or of the whole may iterate". Whatever may be the unit of repetition the end result is a new word that has no parallel in its non-reduplicated counterpart.

Lawral J. Brinton, in his *Structure of English - An Introduction* (1991, p.91), defines: "Reduplication is an initial process similar to derivation in which the initial syllable or the entire word is doubled, exactly or with a slight morphological change.

Abbi (1992) talks about two types of reduplication, viz., Morphological and Lexical reduplication. She further divides the lexical reduplication in to three types: Echo-Formation, Compounds and Word Reduplication.

Reduplication may be further divided also into three processes: Complete, Partial and Discontinuous Reduplication.

Chemmozhi Tamil and Reduplication

Reduplication is easily attested in classical Tamil literary and grammatical works. To provide a description of movements, processes, and characteristics of objects, individuals, birds and animals and social groups, these classical works employ reduplicated words and phrases.

Focus of This Chapter

This chapter highlights the process of Noun reduplication in Tamil.

The study of reduplicated structure in Tamil reveals the fact that though reduplication is a general morphological feature of the language, some specifications can be drawn from the functional and as semantic points of view as well.

An attempt is made in this paper to study the reduplicated Noun from the point of view of occurrence in the language, its function and the semantic interpretation.

Tamil language has eight parts of speech, namely, Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adverb, Adjective, Conjunction, Postposition and Interjunction. The formation of Reduplication occurs in almost all the parts of speech.

Noun, which is the primary item of the parts of speech reduplicates and give different meanings in Tamil.

I. Common Reduplicted Nouns and the Meanings Indicated by Them

i) All the kinship terms are reduplicated and give the   addressive
 meaning. E.g. 'appa' in Tamil which means "Father". When it reduplicates as appaa... appaa... and expresses the meaning addressive. Like this the names of the persons are reduplicated and conveyed the addressive meaning.

ii) The nouns like 'paampu' which means "Snake" reduplicate and give the meaning of Caution.

E.g. From Tamil

paampuu… paampuu…   "Oh! Snake Snake"

Like this the nouns 'tiruTan' "Thief", 'pooliisu' "Police", 'buudham' etc are reduplicated and give the meaning caution.

iii) The Commercial nouns like 'kattarikkaay' "Brinjal" 'veNDaikkay' "Ladies finger" etc are reduplicated and drawing the attention of the people.

E.g. From Tamil

Kattirikaa… kattirikkaa…   "Brinjal"

iv)   The place names of are reduplicated and give the Emphatic
meaning. That is, to point out a particular place of the bus, importance of that particular
place etc.

E.g. From Tamil

        Madhuree… madhuree   "The place Madurai"

v)   The verbal nouns like 'veelai' "Work" 'kasTam'
 "Difficulties" etc are reduplicated and expressing the meaning of Irritation.

E.g. From Tamil

        Veelai veelai oree veelai   "Work, work always works"
        kasTam kasTam eppa paaru kasTam "Difficulty, difficulty
                                always difficulty"

vi)   The nouns like 'vaattu' which means "Swan"/"Duck",
'kazhutai' which means "Donkey", 'kuNTu' which means "Fatty", 'payttiyam' which
means "Mad Man/Lady" etc are reduplicated and give the Ironical meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

        Vaattu… vaattu…   "Swan oh! Swan"
        Kazhutai… kazhutai…   "Donkey oh! Donkey"
        Payttiyam… payttiyam… "Mad oh! Mad"
        kuNTu… kuNTu…   "Fatty oh! Fatty"

vi)   The Interrogative Nouns like 'yaar' "Who" 'enku' "Where"
'eppa' "When" 'enna'   "What" etc are repeatedly coming and give the meaning of
Emotion.

E.g. From Tamil

        Yaaru… yaaru…   "Who?   Who?
        Enkee… enkee…   "Where? Where?
        Eppa… eppa…   "When?   When?
        Enna… enna…   "What? What?

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viii)   The names of the Gods Raamaa, KaNNaa, Sivaa, etc and the Kinship Nouns amma, appa in Tamil and are reduplicated and give the meanings of Emotion and Relieving of Burdens. The other kinds of kinship terms are not reduplicated.

E.g. From Tamil

Siva… Sivaa…   "Oh! God Siva"
Raama… Raamaa   "Oh! God Rama"
Appappaa….   "I cannot express it"
Ammammaa…   "I cannot express"

ix)   The Exclamatory Noun 'ayyoo' "Alas" reduplicates and gives the "Sympathy" meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Ayyoo… ayyoo…   "Oh! What a pitty"

x)   The Common Nouns like 'kizham' which means "Old People" 'karmam' which means "fruits of deeds" 'Saniyan' which means "Troublesome person" etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Irritation or Expressing the hatefulness.

E.g. From Tamil

Kezham… kezham…   "Old one old one"
Saniyan… saniyan…   "Trouble some one"
Karmam… karmam…   "Fruits of deeds"

xi)   Sometimes particular kinds of nouns or words are reduplicated by some particular persons and give the meaning of Irritation. That irritation reveals some past time incidents or events and makes the hearer to become frighten by uttering the word repeatedly.

E.g. From Tamil

takaDu… takaDu…   "Piece of iron"

xii)   Some kinds of nouns like 'kanchi'   "Watery food" 'kandal' "Piece of cloth" followed by the post position 'taan' are reduplicated in Tamil and give the Idiomatic meaning.

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E.g. From Tamil

> Ini katai kandal… kandaltaan…　　"You are almost closed"
> Inimee nii kanchi… kanchitann　　"You are almost closed"

xiii)　　The Temporal Nouns like 'aaNDu'/ 'varusham' "Year"
'dinam' "Day" 'nittam' "Daily" etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Continuity.

E.g. From Tamil

> Varushaa…varusham　　　　"Each and every year"
> aaNDuaaNDu kaalamaa　　　"Traditionally"
> nittam nittam　　　　　　 "Daily"

xiv)　　Nouns like 'paNam' "Money" 'niyaayam' "Justice" are
followed by the post position marker 'taan' reduplicated and give the meanings Emphatic and Compulsion.

E.g. From Tamil

> paNam… paNamtaan…　　　"Money only Money"
> niyaayam… niyaayamtann…　"Justice only justice"

xv)　　The praising nouns like 'vaazhka' 'vaLarka' "praising" in
Tamil are reduplicated and give the meaning of Excitement.

E.g. From Tamil

> Talaivar vaazhka…　vaazhka…　　"Leader you live more days"

By the influence of this reduplication the English words like 'jolly', 'happy' etc are reduplicated and reveal the meaning of Over Happiness, Over Enjoyment and Over Excitement. E.g. Hay jolly… jolly…

II.　　Idiomatic Meaning

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Idiomatic meaning.

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i)   The Qualitative Nouns like 'paccai' "Green" reduplicated with the particle 'aaka' "To become" and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

        Avan paccai paccaiyaakap peecinaan   "He talked vulgarly"

ii)   The Portative Nouns (In Tamil it is called as CinaipPeyar) like 'kaadhu' "Ear", 'kaN' "Eye" etc are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

        avaL tirumaNam kaadhum kaadhum vaittaaRpool naTantatu
      "Her marriage was happened very secretly"
        avaL kuzhandaiyai kaNNukku kaNNaaka vaLarttaaL
        "She brought up the child very carefully"

iii)   The Inanimate Noun 'vaazhai' "Banana"/ "plantain" in Combination with the particles 'aTi' and 'aaka' reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

        Avan kuTumbam vaazhaiyaDi vaazhaiyaaka tazhaittatu
        "His family prosperous likes anything"

iv)   The Mass Noun 'puyal' "Strom" and the Non - Human Noun 'ciTTu' "Sparrow" are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

        Avan puyal puyalaakap puRappaTTaaL
        "She goes very fastly"
        avaL ciTTu ciTTaakap paRantaasL
        "She has done her work very fastly"

v)   The Abstract Noun 'alai' "Wave" is reduplicating and giving the Idiomatic meaning.

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E.g. From Tamil

> Karunaanidhiyaip paarkka makkaL kuuTTaam alai alaiyaakak
> vandadu
> "To see the C.M. Karunanidhi the people are gathering like
> anything"

vi) The Noun 'kuuzh' "Semi-Liquid food" is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

> Kuzhandai kaaril aTipaTTu kuuzh kuuzh aakiyadu
> "The child died in an accident"

vii) The Temporal Noun 'vidiyal' "Dawn" is reduplicating and expressing the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

> Avan vidiya vidiyak kaN muzhittup paTittaan
> "He woke-up the whole night and study"

viii) The Material Noun 'muttu' "Pearl" 'maNi' "Bell" are in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicated and indicate the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

> kaNNan muttu muttaakak kaNNiir vaDittaan
> "KaNNan weeps like anything"
> Kuzhandai maNi maNiyaakap peeciyatu
> "The Child is taking very clearly"

ix) The Noun 'aTukku' "Portion" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicating and indicating the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

> Avan aTukkaTukkaaka poy connaan
> "He tells lie continuously"

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x) The Interrogative Noun 'enna' "What' is reduplicating and conveying the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan varuvataRkkuL ennaennavoomellaam naTantuviTtatu
"Before his arrival so many things are happened here"

xi) The Natural Noun 'malai' "Mountain" is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avanukku selvam malaimalaiyaak kuvintatu
"The wealth is coming like anything to him"

xii) The Noun 'vaazh' "Fame" is reduplicated and indicated the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaazh vaazhinnnu kattaatee
"Don't shout like anything"

xiii) The noun 'tuNDu' "piece" is reduplicating and indicating the Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

tuNDU tuNDaakiRuveen jaakiratai
"Be careful I'll spoil your life"

III.   Adjectival Meaning

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Adjectival meaning and function as an Adjective.

i) The Portative Nouns 'kulai'/ 'kottu'/ 'caram' / 'caTai' "Wreath

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of a flower" are reduplicated in the sentences in combination with the particle 'aaka' "To become" and indicated the Adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Kulaikulaiyaakap puutta senkaandal puu
"The red species of Malabar lily blooms as bunches"
Avan tooTTattil muntiri kottu kottaakak kaayttiruntau
"In his garden the graphs are in bunches"

ii)   The Measuremental Noun 'paTi' "Measurement" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicates and indicates the Adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan vaazhkkaiyil paTippaTiyaaka munneRinaan
"He gradually develops in his life"

iii)   The Demonstrative Noun 'vidham' "Kind" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' repeatedly coming and gives the Adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avanukku ovvaru paTattileeyum vidhavidhamaana keeracter
"In each and every film his role is a different one"

iv)   The Neuter Noun 'kuTTi' "Small" 'kuDam' "Small pot" are reduplicating and indicating the adjectival meaning. In the above two the noun 'kuDam' is coming with the particle 'aaka' in the sentence.

E.g. From Tamil

Avaiyellam kuTTikkuTTi kataikaL
"Those are very small stories"
kaDavulukku kuDamkuDamaakat taNNiir uuRRinaarkaL
"People are pouring pot pot of water to the God"

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v)   The Quality Noun 'vaNNam' "Color" is reduplicated and indicated the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

vaNNa vaNNak kanavukaL   "Colorful dreams"

IV)   Adverbial Meaning

The following Nouns are reduplicating and giving the adverbial meaning
and functions as an Adverb.

i)   The Adverbial Noun 'veekam' "Speed" is in combination with
the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and indicates the Adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan veeka veekamaaka ooTinaan "He ran very speedily"

ii)   The Abstract Noun 'aacai' "Desire", 'koopam' "Anger",
'azhukai' "Weeping" etc are in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences
reduplicated and indicated the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Aacaiaacaiyaa irukku   "It is too desirable"
Koopamkoopamaa varutu "I got too much angry"
Azhukaiazhukaiyaa varutu   "I felt too weepy"

iii)   The Temporal Noun 'talaimuRai' "Tradition" is in combination with the
particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and expressed the adverbial meaning. It
conveys the continuity of the action.

E.g. From Tamil

talaimuRaitalaimuRaiyaakap pinpaRRapaTTu varukiRatu
"It is followed by traditionally or generation to generation
Continuously"

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iv)   The Noun 'tuNDu' "Piece" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    Avan pazhattai tuNDu tuNDaaka veTTinaan
    "He cuts the fruit in to pieces"

v)   The Portative Noun 'pakkam' "Page" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    Avan pakkam pakkammaka ezhutittaLLinaan
    "He writes so many pages"

V)   Regarding the Temporal Noun, when it reduplicates the meaning given by it is from the broad sense to the particular sense and the particular sense to the broad sense in Tamil. The Noun 'kaalam' "Time"/ "Season" reduplicates and indicates the meaning of sense from the broad sense to the particular sense.

E.g. From Tamil

    Kaalaakaalattil tirumaNam naTakkanum
    "The marriage should taken place at a particular time"

    The Noun 'vidiyal' "Dawn" reduplicates and indicates the meaning from the particular sense to the broad sense.

E.g. From Tamil

    Vidiya vidiyak kalyaaNam
    "The marriage is taken place over the whole night"

VI)   Regarding the Numeral Noun the Countable Noun 'kooDi' "Crore", 'laksham' "Lakh", 'kaTTu' "Bundle" are reduplicated and give the uncountable meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

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kooDikooDiyaap paNam   "Chores of Money"
    lakshalakshamaa paNam   "Lakhs of money"
    kaTTukkaTTaap paNam   "Bundles of money"

The Cardinal Numerical Noun 'oNNu' "One" is reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    oNNu oNNuaak koTu   "Give one by one"
    oNNu oNNu koTu   "Give one to Each"

The Ordinal Numerical Noun 'oru' "one" is reduplicated and indicated the meaning of wholeness.

E. g, From Tamil

    Ovvoru maadamum   "Each and every month"

The Noun 'mudhal' "First" is reduplicated and expressed the earlier meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    Mudhanmudhalil idu toTankiyatu japaanil
    "At first it was started in Japan"

Like the Ordinal Numerals the Personal Pronouns like 'avan' "He", 'avaL' "She" etc are reduplicated and give the meaning from single to the whole meaning and the vice versa in Tamil.

E.g. From Tamil

    Avan avanaa ceyvaan   "Each and every one will do it"

VII)   Regarding the Demonstrative noun 'anta' "That", 'inta' "This" are reduplicated and give the specific meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    Entaenta veelaiyai eppaappa ceyyanumoo anta anta veelaiyai

appaappa ceyanum
"At what time what work is going to be done that time that
work will be done in that particular time"

VIII)   Regarding the Interrogative Nouns when they are reduplicated give
the plural meaning for the singular one and the vice versa. The nouns 'yaar' "Who",
'eppaDi' "How", and 'enna' "What" are reduplicated and indicated the plural meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaar yaaroo vantaanga   "So many persons were coming here"

IX)   The Abstract Noun and the Quality Nouns like 'veyiloo veyil'
"Too hot" 'tangamoo tangam' "So many Gold" 'paccaiyoo paccai' "Greenish" etc give
the meaning of excessiveness in Tamil.

X)   The Nouns which are used for pointing out the colors reduplicated
and indicated the Emphatic meaning in Tamil.

E.g. From Tamil

Paccai paceel enRa tooTTam "Greenish Garden"

Conclusion

To conclude, the Nouns of above-said kinds are reduplicated and given various
meanings. They are addressive meaning, meaning of caution, meaning to draws the
attention of the people, Emphatic meaning, meaning of Irritation, Ironical, Emotional,
Sympathetic, Emphasis, Compulsive, Continuity, Idiomatic, Adjectival and Adverbial. It
also gives the meaning from Broad sense to particular sense and particular sense to broad
sense, Count to Countless, individual to Wholeness. It also gives the meaning of
Specificity, plurality, Excessiveness, Excitement, Enjoyment and over happiness.

Implications for Teaching and Learning Tamil

Let us not take things for granted. Reduplication is a natural process and every mother
tongue or first language learner of Tamil knows how it operates as he or she uses it in a
natural manner. However, second language learners of Tamil or those students hailing
from bilingual families may have some difficulty in making use of reduplication as a
creative process. They may not have either internalized the overall underlying process

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with all its exceptions, because of their limited exposure to Tamil. Even for the mother tongue or first language learners, the processes of reduplication may pose some difficulties since new vocabulary are subjected to the reduplication process in a dynamic and radical manner. Pronunciation of reduplicated forms with appropriate emotions may also be demonstrated and emphasized as part of natural conversations. Furthermore, reduplication plays a very important role in plays, movies and platform speeches to wider audience (both political and faith-based speech deliveries). Humour also is generated through the process of reduplication.

Once again I argue here in favour of looking at grammatical features not as items for memory and reproduction or even for correct style, but items that should be exploited efficiently for practical purposes. Then teaching grammar in Chemmozhi classes will become more fun-filled. Loyalty toward Chemmozhi and its continuity in the future can be further ensured.

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9

Noun Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu

Introduction

Tamil and Telugu belong to the same family of Dravidian languages belonging to the same language group. These two languages are considered as sister languages. Tamil had very rich grammatical and literary traditions dating from the 3rd century B.C. Telugu also has rich grammatical works and has literary traditions.

The present chapter highlights Noun reduplication in Tamil and Telugu.

An attempt is made in this chapter to study reduplicated Nouns from the point of view of occurrence in these two languages, its function and the semantic interpretation.

Common Reduplicted Nouns and the Meanings Indicated by Them

i) All the kinship terms are reduplicated and give the   addressive
meaning. E.g. 'appa' in Tamil and 'naanaa' in Telugu which means "Father". When it reduplicates as appaa... appaa...in Tamil and naanaa… naanaa… in Telugu and express the meaning addressive. Like this the names of the persons are reduplicated and conveyed the addressive meaning.

ii) The nouns like 'paampu' in Tamil and 'paamu' in Telugu which means "Snake" reduplicate and give the meaning of Caution.

Ex. From Tamil

        paampuu… paampuu… "Oh! Snake Snake"

Ex. From Telugu

        Paamu… paamu… "Oh! Snake Snake"

Like this the nouns 'tiruTan' (Ta.) 'tongalu' (Te.) "Thief", 'pooliisu' "Police", 'buudham' 'bhuudhamu' etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning of caution.

iii) The Commercial nouns like 'kattarikkaay' (Ta.) 'onkaaylu' (Te.) "Brinjal" 'veNDaikkay' (Ta.) 'beNdakkaay' (Te.) "Ladies' finger," etc. are reduplicated and drawing the attention of the people.

Ex. From Tamil

      Kattirikaa… kattirikkaa… "Brinjal"

Ex. From Telugu

      Onkaaylu… onkaaylu … "Brinjal"

vii) The place names of are reduplicated and give the Emphatic meaning. That is, to point out a particular place of the bus, importance of that particular place etc., Example madhuree… madhuree… (Ta.) cittuuruu… cittuuruu…(Te.)

E.g. From Tamil

      Madhuree… madhuree "The place Madurai"

Ex. From Telugu

      cittuuruu… cittuuruu… "The place Citturu"

viii) The verbal nouns like 'veelai' (Ta.) 'paNi' (Te.) "Work" 'kasTam'(Ta.) 'kasTaalu' (Te.) "Difficulties" etc are reduplicated and expressing the meaning of Irritation.

E.g. From Tamil

      Veelai veelai oree veelai "Work, work always works"
      kasTam kasTam eppa paaru kasTam "Difficult, difficult
                          always difficult"

Ex. From Telugu

      paNi paNi eppuDu paNi "Work, work always works"

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kasTaalu kasTaalu eppuDu cuuDu kasTaalee
"Difficult, difficult always difficult"

vi)   The nouns like 'vaattu' which means "Swan"/"Duck",
'kazhutai' which means "Donkey", 'kuNTu' which means "Fatty", 'payttiyam' which
means "Mad Man/Lady" etc are reduplicated and give the Ironical meaning. But these
types of nouns are not reduplicated in Telugu.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaattu… vaattu…   "Swan oh! Swan"
Kazhutai… kazhutai…   "Donkey oh! Donkey"
Payttiyam… payttiyam… "Mad oh! Mad"
kuNTu… kuNTu…   "Fatty oh! Fatty"

ix)   The Interrogative Nouns like 'yaar'(Ta.) 'evaru' (Te.) "Who"
'enku' (Ta.) 'ekkaDa' (Te.) "Where" 'eppa' (Ta.) 'eppuDu' (Te.) "When" 'enna' 'eeNTi'
"What" etc., are repeatedly coming and give the meaning of Emotion.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaaru… yaaru …   "Who?   Who"?
Enkee… enkee…   "Where? Where"?
Eppa… eppa…   "When?   When"?
Enna… enna…   "What? What"?

Ex. From Telugu

evaru… evaru…   "Who?   Who"?
ekkaDa… ekkaDa…   "Where? Where"?
eppuDu… eppuDu…   "When?   When"?
eeNTi… eeNTi…   "What?   What"?

vii)   The names of the Gods Raamaa, KaNNaa, Sivaa, etc and the Kinship
Nouns amma, appa in Tamil and are reduplicated and give the meanings of Emotion and
Relieving of Burdens. The other kinds of kinship terms are not reduplicated. But in

Telugu the kinship term 'amma' only reduplicated and give the emotional and burden meaning. The other kinship terms are not reduplicated.

E.g. From Tamil

Siva… Sivaa…	"Oh! God Siva"
Raama… Raamaa	"Oh! God Rama"
Appappaa….	"I cannot express it"
Ammammaa…	"I cannot express"

    x)   The Exclamatory Noun 'ayyoo' "Alas" reduplicates and gives the "Sympathy" meaning. This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu.

E.g. From Tamil

Ayyoo… ayyoo…   "Oh! What a pitty"

    viii)   The Common Nouns like 'kizham' which means "Old People" 'karmam' which means "fruits of deeds" 'Saniyan' which means "Troublesome person" etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Irritation or Expressing the hatefulness. This type is also not possible in Telugu.

E.g. From Tamil

Kezham… kezham…	"Old one old one"
Saniyan… saniyan…	"Troublesome person"
Karmam… karmam…	"Fruits of deeds"

    xi)   Sometimes particular kinds of nouns or words are reduplicated by some particular persons and give the meaning of Irritation. That irritation reveals some past time incidents or events and makes the hearer to become frighten by uttering the word repeatedly. This is also not possible in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

takaDu… takaDu…   "Piece of iron"

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xi)   Some kinds of nouns like 'kanchi'   "Watery food" 'kandal' "Piece of cloth" followed by the post position 'taan' are reduplicated in Tamil and give the Idiomatic meaning. This is also not possible in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

    Ini katai kandal… kandaltaan…   "You are almost closed"
    Inimee nii kanchi… kanchitann   "You are almost closed"

  xii)   The Temporal Nouns like 'aaNDu'/ 'varusham' "Year"
'dinam'   "Day" 'nittam'   "Daily" etc are reduplicated and give the meaning of Continuity. In Telugu these types of nouns are reduplicated and give the meaning continuity.

Ex. From Tamil

    Varushaa…varusham   "Each and every year"
    aaNDuaaNDu kaalamaa   "Traditionally"
    nittam nittam   "Daily"

Ex. From Telugu

    Samaccuraalu … samaccuraalu   "Each and every year"
    Roojuu… roojuu   "Daily"

  xiii)   Nouns like 'paNam' "Money" 'niyaayam' "Justice" are followed by the post position marker 'taan' in Tamil and 'ee' in Telugu reduplicated and give the meanings Emphatic and Compulsion.

Ex. From Tamil

    paNam… paNamtaan… "Money only Money"
    niyaayam… niyaayamtann…   "Justice only justice"

Ex. From Telugu

    Dabbu… Dabbee…   "Money only Money"
    niyaayam… niyaayamee…   "Justice only justice"

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xiv)   The praising nouns like 'vaazhka' 'vaLarka' "praising" in
Tamil are reduplicated and give the meaning of Excitement. In Telugu they are using the
Sanskrit or English words for this kind of reduplication.

Ex. From Tamil

Talaivar vaazhka… vaazhka…   "Leader you live more days"

By the influence of this reduplication the English words like 'jolly', 'happy' etc
are reduplicated in both the languages and reveal the meaning of Over Happiness, Over
Enjoyment and Over Excitement. E.g. Hay jolly… jolly…

Idiomatic Meanings

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Idiomatic
meaning.

xiv)   The Qualitative Nouns like 'paccai' "Green" reduplicated with
the particle 'aaka'in Tamil and 'gaa' in Telugu which means "To become" and give the
Idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan paccai paccaiyaakap peecukiRaan   "He talks vulgarly"

Ex. From Telugu

waaDu pacci paccigaa maaTlaaDutunnaaDu "He talks vulgarly"

xv)   The Portative Nouns (In Tamil it is called as CinaipPeyar) like
'kaadhu' "Ear", 'kaN' "Eye" etc are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning. .

Ex. From Tamil

avaL tirumaNam kaadhum kaadhum vaittaaRpool naTantatu
"Her marriage was happened very secretly"
avaL kuzhandaiyai kaNNukku kaNNaaka vaLarttaaL
"She brought up the child very carefully"

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This type of noun reduplication is not possible in Telugu. Instead of this portative noun 'kaadhu' "ear" the abstract noun 'gudda' "Secrete" is repeatedly coming and express the Idiomatic meaning. Like this the portative noun 'kaN'

"Eye" is not repeated in Telugu. But the reduplication type of Tamil is expressed in another way as "kamala aa piTTanee reppalaakka pensutundi".

Ex. From Telugu

   Aamee pelli gudda guddagaa jarigindi
   "Her marriage was happened very secretly"

  xvi) The Inanimate Noun 'vaazhai' "Banana"/ "plantain" in
Combination with the particles 'aTi' and 'aaka' reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning. The same thing is expressed in Telugu by using the particle '–aagaa'.

Ex. From Tamil

   Avan kuTumbam vaazhaiyaDi vaazhaiyaaka tazhaittatu
   "His family prosperous likes anything"

Ex. From Telugu

   waaDu kuDumbam taamara taamparagaa abiviruthi ceestundi
   "His family prosperous likes anything"

  xvii) The Mass Noun 'puyal' "Strom" and the Non - Human Noun
'ciTTu' "Sparrow" are reduplicated and give the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

   Avan puyal puyalaakap puRappaTTaaL
   "She goes very fastly"

   avaL ciTTu ciTTaakap paRantaasL
   "She has done her work very fastly"

  This type of reduplication is not found in Telugu. But the same thing is expressed in another way.

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Aamee kaNNu minnu kaanuguNDa pravateestundi
"She is behaving like anything (Proudly)"

xviii)   The Abstract Noun 'alai' "Wave" is reduplicating and giving the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Karunaanidhiyaip paarkka makkaL kuuTTaam alai alaiyaakak
vandadu
"To see the C.M. Karunanidhi the people are gathering like
anything"

The same thing is expressed in another way by using the noun 'kumbalu' "Group".

Ex. From Telugu

Sabhakku prajaalu kumpulu pumpulukaa occeeru
"The people came for the meeting as sea of humanity"

xix)   The Noun 'kuuzh' "Semi-Liquid food" is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Kuzhandai kaaril aTipaTTu kuuzh kuuzh aakiyadu
"The child died in an accident"

The same is expressed by the following way in Telugu.

Ex. From Telugu

aa pillee nojju nojju aayppooyindi
"The child died in an accident

xx)   The Temporal Noun 'vidiyal' "Dawn" is reduplicating and expressing the Idiomatic meaning. This type of expression is not found in Telugu.

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Ex. From Tamil

Avan vidiya vidiyak kaN muzhittup paTittaan
"He woke-up the whole night and study"

xxi)   The Material Noun 'muttu' "Pearl" 'maNi' "Bell" are in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicated and indicate the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

kaNNan muttu muttaakak kaNNiir vaDittaan
"KaNNan weeps like anything"
Kuzhandai maNi maNiyaakap peeciyatu
"The Child is taking very clearly"

The sentence the child is talking very clearly is expressed in Telugu as "aa paappaa muddhu muddugaa palukkutundi".

xxii)   The Noun 'aTukku' "Portion" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicating and indicating the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan aTukkaTukkaaka poy connaan
"He tells lie continuously"

xxiii)   The Interrogative Noun 'enna' in Tamil and 'eemi' in Telugu "What' is reduplicating and conveying the Idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan varuvataRkkuL ennaennavoomellaam naTantuviTtatu
"Before his arrival so many things are happened here"

Ex. From Telugu

Waadu occee looppala eemeemoo jarigindhi
"Before his arrival so many things are happened here"

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xxiv)   The Natural Noun 'malai' "Mountain" is reduplicated and expressed the Idiomatic meaning. The same is expressed in Telugu by using the noun 'kuppulu'.

Ex. From Tamil

> Avanukku selvam malaimalaiyaak kuvintatu
> "The wealth is coming like anything to him"

Ex. From Telugu

> waaDikki kuppulu kuppalaagaa maNi ostundi
> "The wealth is coming like anything to him"

xxv)   The Noun 'vaazh' "Fame" is reduplicated and indicated the Idiomatic meaning. This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

> Vaazh vaazhinnnu kattaatee
> "Don't shout like anything"

xxvi)   The noun 'tuNDu' "piece" is reduplicating in combination with the particle '–aaka' which means "To become" and indicating the Idiomatic meaning. The same is expressed in Telugu by using the noun 'mukkulu' "Piece" with the particle'-aaga' and indicating the idiomatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

> tuNDU tuNDaakiRuveen jaakiratai
> "Be careful I'll spoil your life"

Ex. From Telugu

> Mukkulu mukkulugaa koosthaanu/ceestaanu
> "Be careful I'll spoil your life"

Adjectival Meaning

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The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give the Adjectival meaning and function as an Adjective.

ii)   The Portative Nouns 'kulai'/ 'kottu'/ 'caram' / 'caTai' "Wreath of a flower" are reduplicated in the sentences in combination with the particle 'aaka' "To become" and indicated the Adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Kulaikulaiyaakap puutta senkaandal puu
"The red species of Malabar lily blooms as bunches"
Avan tooTTattil muntiri kottu kottaakak kaayttiruntau
"In his garden the graphs are in bunches"

In Telugu the above sentences are expressed in the following way.

thooTTaloo puulu kutthlukutthulugaa puucaayii; mucirikaayalu kutthulu kutthulugaa kaaseeyii.

ii)   The Measuremental Noun 'paTi' "Measurement" is in combination with the particle '-aaka' reduplicates and indicates the Adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan vaazhkkaiyil paTippaTiyaaka munneRinaan
"He gradually develops in his life"

The same thing is expressed in the following way in Telugu.

Ex. From Telugu

WaaDini laifloo/ jiividhamloo meTTu meTTugaa payakiceeDu
"He gradually develops in his life"

iii)   The Demonstrative Noun 'vidham' "Kind" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' repeatedly coming and gives the Adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avanukku ovvaru paTattileeyum vidhavidhamaana keeracter

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"In each and every film his role is a different one"

The same is expressed in Telugu as

"okkaokka cinimaaloo okkaokka veeruveeru veesaalu veesaaDu"

iv)   The Neuter Noun 'kuTTi'   "Small" 'kuDam'   "Small pot" are reduplicating and indicating the adjectival meaning. In the above two the noun 'kuDam' is coming with the particle 'aaka' in the sentence.

Ex. From Tamil

Avaiyellam kuTTikkuTTi kataikaL
"Those are very small stories"

In Telugu this type of construction is not possible.

kaDavulukku kuDamkuDamaakat taNNiir uuRRinaarkaL
"People are pouring pot full of water to the God"

In Telugu this type of construction is

"kaDuvulu kaDuvulugaa niilu poostaaru"

v)   The noun 'taarai' is repeatedly coming and give the adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avar kaankaLiruntu taarai taaraiyaakak kaNNiir vaTindadhu
"He wept like anything"

In Telugu the same is expressed in the following way

waaDu kaLLununci taara taaragaa kaNNiilu kaarcceeDu
"He wept like anything"

vi)   The Quality Noun 'vaNNam' "Color" is reduplicated and indicated the adjectival meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

vaNNa vaNNak kanavukaL "Colorful dreams"

Adverbial Meaning

The following Nouns are reduplicating and giving the adverbial meaning
and functions as an Adverb.

iii)   The Adverbial Noun 'veekam' "Speed" is in combination with
the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and indicates the Adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan veeka veekamaaka ooTinaan "He ran very speedily"

This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu. Instead of that onomatopoeia
words are coming in that context.

iv)   The Abstract Noun 'aacai' "Desire", 'koopam' "Anger",
'azhukai' "Weeping" etc are in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences
reduplicated and indicated the adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Aacaiaacaiyaa irukku	"It is too desirable"
Koopamkoopamaa varutu	"I got too much angry"
Azhukaiazhukaiyaa varutu	"I felt too weepy"

This type opf reduplication is not possible in Telugu. Instead of this they are using
"kaNNiir muNNiirgaa eeDustundhi"; "aacaai aacaigaa undi".

iii)   The Temporal Noun 'talaimuRai' "Tradition" is in combination with the
particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and expressed the adverbial meaning. It
conveys the continuity of the action.

Ex. From Tamil

talaimuRaitalaimuRaiyaakap pinpaRRapaTTu varukiRatu
"It is followed by traditionally or generation to generation

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Continuously"

In Telugu it is "param parangaa ostundi"

iv)   The Noun 'tuNDu' "Piece" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan pazhattai tuNDu tuNDaaka veTTinaan
"He cuts the fruit in to pieces"

In Telugu it is "mukkalu mukkalugaa keeseeDu"

v)   The Portative Noun 'pakkam' "Page" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicates and indicates the adverbial meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan pakkam pakkammaka ezhutittaLLinaan
"He writes so many pages"

In Telugu it is either "peegilu peegilugaa or puTTulu puTTlugaa raaseeDu". The Telugu people are using the –lu suffix.

VII)   Regarding the Temporal Noun, when it reduplicates the meaning given by it is from the broad sense to the particular sense and the particular sense to the broad sense in Tamil. The Noun 'kaalam' "Time"/ "Season" reduplicates and indicates the meaning of sense from the broad sense to the particular sense.

Ex. From Tamil

Kaalaakaalattil tirumaNam naTakkanum
"The marriage should taken place at a particular time"

The Noun 'vidiyal' "Dawn" reduplicates and indicates the meaning from the particular sense to the broad sense.

Ex. From Tamil

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Vidiya vidiyak kalyaaNam
"The marriage is taken place over the whole night"

These two types are not available in Telugu.

VIII)   Regarding the Numeral Noun the Countable Noun 'kooDi'
"Crore", 'laksham'   "Lakh", 'kaTTu'   "Bundle" are reduplicated and give the uncountable meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

kooDikooDiyaap paNam   "Chores of Money"
lakshalakshamaa paNam   "Lakhs of money"
kaTTukkaTTaap paNam   "Bundles of money"

The Cardinal Numerical Noun 'oNNu' "One" is reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

oNNu oNNuaak koTu   "Give one by one"
oNNu oNNu koTu   "Give one to Each"

In Telugu it is "okaokaTTi ivvu"

The Ordinal Numerical Noun 'oru'   "one" is reduplicated and indicated the meaning of wholeness.

E. g, From Tamil

Ovvoru maadamum   "Each and every month"

The Noun 'mudhal' "First" is reduplicated and expressed the earlier meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Mudhanmudhalil idu toTankiyatu japaanil
"At first it was started in Japan"

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Like the Ordinal Numerals the Personal Pronouns like 'avan' "He", 'avaL' "She" etc are reduplicated and give the meaning from single to the whole meaning and the vice versa in Tamil. In Telugu also it is reduplicated in the same manner.

Ex. From Tamil

Avan avanaa ceyvaan   "Each and every one will do it"

VII)   Regarding the Demonstrative noun 'anta' "That", 'inta' "This" are reduplicated and give the specific meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Entaenta veelaiyai eppaappa ceyyanumoo anta anta veelaiyai
appaappa ceyanum
"At what time what work is going to be done that time that
work will be done in that particular time"

The same is expressed in Telugu as "ee ee paNilu eppuDu eppuDu ceyyaala".

XI)   Regarding the Interrogative Nouns when they are reduplicated give the plural meaning for the singular one and the vice versa. The nouns 'yaar' "Who", 'eppaDi' "How", and 'enna' "What" are reduplicated and indicated the plural meaning.

Ex. From Tamil

Yaar yaaroo vantaanga   "So many persons were coming here"

In Telugu it is "evaru evaroo occeesaaru"

XII)   The Abstract Noun and the Quality Nouns like 'veyiloo veyil' "Too hot" 'tangamoo tangam' "So many Gold" 'paccaiyoo paccai' "Greenish" etc give the meaning of excessiveness in Tamil.

XIII)   The Nouns which are used for pointing out the colors reduplicated and indicated the Emphatic meaning in Tamil and Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

Paccai paceel enRa tooTTam "Greenish Garden"

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Ex. From Telugu

tooTTa pacca paccagaa undi   "Greenish garden"

Conclusion

1. To conclude, nouns of above-said kinds are reduplicated and they express the following meanings in Tamil: addressive, caution, and draws the attention of the people, Emphatic, Irritation, Ironical, Emotional, Sympathetic, Emphasis, Compulsive, Continuity, Idiomatic, Adjectival, Adverbial, Broad sense to particular sense, particular sense to broad sense, Countless, Wholeness, Specificity, plurality, Excessiveness, Excitement, Enjoyment and over happiness.

2. In Telugu some nouns do not reduplicte.

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10

Noun Reduplication in Tamil and Kannada

The Focus of This Chapter

Tamil and Kannada belong to the same language group, the Dravidian family. Both languages are treated as sister languages. The present chapter highlights the Noun reduplication in Tamil and Kannada.

Noun Reduplication

Noun, which is an important item of the parts of speech, reduplicates and gives different meanings, both in Tamil and Kannada.

I.   **Common Nouns Reduplicated and the Meanings Indicated by Them:**

i)   All the kinship terms of Nouns are reduplicated and give the addressive meaning. E.g. 'appa' in Tamil and 'appa' in Kannada are the kinship terms which mean "Father" in both the languages. When it reduplicates as appaa... appaa... in Tamil and appaa… appaa… in Kannada it expresses the meaning addressive. Like this the Proper Names are reduplicated and indicated the meaning "addressive".

ii)   The nouns like 'paampu' which means "snake" in Tamil (Ta.) and 'haavu' in (Ka.) reduplicates and give the meaning of caution.

E.g. From Tamil

paampuu… paampuu…   "Oh! Snake Snake".

E.g. From Kannada

haavu… haavu…   "Oh! Snake Snake"

Like this, the nouns 'tiruTan'   "Thief", 'pooliisu' "Police", 'buudham,' etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning caution.

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iii) The Commercial nouns like 'kattarikkaay' in (Ta.) 'badanekaay' in (Ka.) means "Brinjal" 'veNDaikkay' in (Ta.) 'benDakaay' in (Ka.) means "Ladies finger," etc., are reduplicated and draw the attention of the people.

E.g. From Tamil

     Kattirikaa… kattirikkaa…   "Brinjal"

E.g. From Kannada

     Badanekaay… badanekaay…   "Brinjal"

iv) Both in Tamil and Kannada the names of the places are reduplicated and give the Emphatic meaning. That is, to point out a particular place oo the bus, importance of that particular place.

E.g. From Tamil

     Madhuree… madhuree…   "The place Madurai"

E.g. From Kannada

     BengaLuur… BengaLuur…   "The place Bangalore"

v) The verbal nouns like 'veelai' in (Ta.) 'kelsa' in (Ka.) means "Work" 'kasTam' in (Ta.) 'kasTaa' in (Ka.) means "Difficulties," etc., are reduplicated and express the meaning of irritation.

E.g. From Tamil

     Veelai veelai oree veelai   "Work, work always work."
     kasTam kasTam eppa paaru kasTam "Difficulty, difficulty
                           always difficulty"

E.g. From Kannada

     Kelsa… kelsa… baari kelsa   "Work, work always work."
     kasTaa… kasTaa baari kasTaa   "Difficulty, difficulty

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always difficulty"

vi) The nouns like 'vaattu' which means "Swan"/"Duck", 'kazhutai' which means "Donkey", 'kuNTu' which means "Fatty", 'payttiyam' which means "Mad Man/Lady," etc are reduplicated and give the ironical meaning. These types of nouns are not reduplicated in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaattu… vaattu…   "Swan oh! Swan"
Kazhutai… kazhutai   "Donkey oh! Donkey"
Payttiyam… payttiyam "Mad oh! Mad"
kuNTu… kuNTu   "Fatty oh! Fatty"

vii) Both Tamil and Kannada, the Interrogative nouns like 'yaar' "Who" 'enku' "Where" 'eppa' "When" 'enna' "What" etc are repeatedly coming and give the meaning of emotion.

E.g. From Tamil

Yaaru… yaaru…   "Who?   Who?
Enkee… enkee…   "Where? Where?
Eppa… eppa…   "When?   When?
Enna… enna…   "What? What?

E.g. From Kannada

Yaar… yaar…   "Who? Who?
Yaavaaga… yaavaaga… "When? When?

viii) Both in Tamil and Kannada, the names of the Gods raamaa, kaNNaa, sivaa, etc and the kinship nouns amma, appa are reduplicated and give the meanings of emotion and relieving of burdens. The other kinds of kinship terms are not reduplicated in both the languages.

E.g. From Tamil

Siva… sivaa…   "Oh! God Siva"
Raama… raamaa   "Oh! God Ram"

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Appappaa….	"I cannot express it"
Ammammaa…	"I cannot express"

E.g. From Kannada

Shiva… shiva	"Oh! God Siva"
Raama… raamaa	"Oh! God Ram"
Appappaa….	"I cannot express it"
Ammammaa…	"I cannot express"

ix)   Both in Tamil and Kannada, the exclamatory noun 'ayyoo' "alas" reduplicates and gives the sympathetic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Ayyoo… ayyoo…	"Oh! What a pity"

E.g. From Kannada

Ayyoo… ayyoo…	"Oh! What a pity"

x)   The Common Nouns like 'kizham' in (Ta.) 'muduka' in (Ka.) which means "Old People" 'karmam' which means "fruits of deeds" 'saniyan' which means "Troublesome person" etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning of irritation or expressing the hatefulness.

E.g. From Tamil

Kezham… kezham…	"Old one old one"
Saniyan… saniyan…	"Trouble some one"
Karmam… karmam…	"Fruits of deeds"

E.g. From Kannada

Muduka… muduka…	"Old one old one"

xi)   Sometimes individuals reduplicate some words of their choice to give the meaning of irritation. That irritation reveals some past time incidents or

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events and make the hearer to become frightened by uttering the noun repeatedly. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

takaDu… takaDu…   "Piece of iron"

xii)   Some kinds of nouns like 'kanchi'   "Watery food" 'kandal' "rags, torn cloth" followed by the postposition 'taan' are reduplicated in (Ta.) and give idiomatic meaning. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Ini katai kandal… kandaltaan…   "Your story (fate) is just like rags now! You are almost finished!"
Inimee nii kanchi… kanchitann   "Your story (fate) is just like porridge now! You are almost finished!"

xiii) The temporal Nouns like 'aaNDu'/ 'varusham' in (Ta.) 'varSa' in (Ka.) means "Year" 'dinam' in (Ta.) 'dinaa' in (Ka.) K "Day" 'nittam' "Daily" etc., are reduplicated and give the meaning of continuity.

E.g. From Tamil

Varushaa…varusham   "Each and every year"
aaNDuaaNDui kaalamaa   "Traditionally"
nittam nittam   "Daily"

E.g. From Kannada

VaruSa…varuSa   "Each and every year"
Dina… dinaa..   "Daily"

xiv)   Nouns like 'paNam' in (Ta.) 'rakka' in (Ka.), 'niyaayam' in (Ta.) and 'nyaaya' in Kannada are followed by postposition '-taan' in (Ta.) and '-ne' in Kannada and are reduplicated to give the meanings emphasis and compulsion.

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E.g. From Tamil

paNam… paNamtaan…	"Money only Money"
niyaayam… niyaayamtann…	"Justice only justice"

E.g. From Kannada

Rakka… rakkane…	"Money only Money"
Nyaaya… nyaayane…	"Justice only justice"

xv) The nouns that praise and greet like 'vaazhka' 'vaLarka' "praising" in (Ta.) are reduplicated and give the meaning of excitement. This type of reduplication is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Talaivar vaazhka… vaazhka… "Leader you live more days"

By the influence of this reduplication the English words like 'jolly', 'happy' etc., are reduplicated and reveal the meaning of great happiness, great enjoyment and over excitement. E.g. Hay jolly… jolly…

Idiomatic Meaning in Reduplication

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentences and give some idiomatic meaning.

i) In Tamil the qualitative nouns like 'paccai' "Green" reduplicated with the particles '-aaka' "To become" and give the idiomatic meaning. This is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan paccai paccaiyaakap peecinaan "He talked vulgarly."

ii) In Tamil the portative nouns (In Tamil it is called as cinaippeyar) like 'kaadhu' "Ear", 'kaN' "Eye" etc., are reduplicated and give the idiomatic meaning. This is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

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avaL tirumaNam kaadhum kaadhum vaittaaRpool naTantatu
"Her marriage was happened very secretly."

avaL kuzhandaiyai kaNNukku kaNNaaka vaLarttaaL
"She brought up the child very carefully."

iii) In Tamil the Inanimate Noun 'vaazhai' "Banana"/ "plantain" combined with the particles 'aTi' and 'taan' are reduplicated and these give some idiomatic meaning. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan kuTumbam vaazhaiyaDi vaazhaiyaaka tazhaittatu
"His family prosperous likes anything."

iv) In Tamil the mass noun 'puyal' "Storm" and the non-human noun 'ciTTu' "Sparrow" are reduplicated and give some idiomatic meaning. This is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan puyal puyalaakap puRappaTTaaL
"She started like a storm."

avaL ciTTu ciTTaakap paRantaasL
"She has done her work very fast, like a sparrow"

v) The Abstract Noun 'alai' in (Ta.) 'ale' in (Ka.) means "Wave" and is reduplicated to give some idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Karunaanidhiyaip paarkka makkaL kuuTTaam alai alaiyaaka
Vandadu.
"To see Karunanidhi, the people came like waves."

E.g. From Kannada

Ale aleyante bandaru   "People came like waves."

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vi)   In Tami the Noun 'kuuzh' "Semi-Liquid food" is reduplicated to express some idiomatic meaning. The same thing is expressed by 'cuur' which means "piece" in Kannada to expresses some idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

          Kuzhandai kaaril aTipaTTu kuuzh kuuzh aakiyadu
          "The child became like semi-liquid in the accident. (The condition of the body of the child was like semi-liquid food."

E.g. From Kannada

          Cuurc cuuraagi nooyitu   "It became pieces."

vii)   In Tamil, the Temporal Noun 'vidiyal' "Dawn" is reduplicated to expresses the idiomatic meaning. This type of construction is not possible in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

          Avan vidiya vidiyak kaN muzhittup paTittaan
          "He woke-up the whole night and study"

viii)   In Tamil the Material Noun 'muttu' "Pearl" 'maNi' "Bell" are in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. In Kannada 'muddu' means "Fresh" is reduplicated and indicates the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

          kaNNan muttu muttaakak kaNNiir vaDittaan
          "KaNNan weeps like anything"
          Kuzhandai maNi maNiyaakap peeciyatu
          "The Child is talking very clearly"

E.g. From Kannada

          Mogu muddu muddaagidee   "Child is so cute"

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ix) In Tamil the Noun 'aTukku' "Portion" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. In Kannada the noun 'matte" means "again" is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    Avan aTukkaTukkaaka poy connaan
"He tells lies continuously"

E.g. From Kannada

    Matte matteheNuu mattaLige janma kaTTaLu
"Who has the birth of female child continuously"

x) In Tamil the Noun 'maNi' means "bell" which in combination with the particle '-aaka' is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. This type is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

    Avan kuzhantai maNimaNiyaakap peeciyadu
"His child speaks very clearly"

xi) The Interrogative Noun 'enna' in (Ta.) 'eenu' in (Ka.) means "What' is reduplicated and they convey the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

    Avan varuvataRkkuL ennaennavoomellaam naTantuviTtatu
"Before his arrival so many things happened"

E.g. From Kannada

    Eeneena kelsa maaDide   "What all works you did?"

xii) In Tamil the Natural Noun 'malai' "Mountain" is reduplicated and it expresses the idiomatic meaning. This type is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

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Avanukku selvam malaimalaiyaak kuvintatu
"The wealth is coming like anything to him"

xiii)   The Noun 'vaazh' "Fame" is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning. This type is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Vaazh vaazhinnnu kattaatee
"Don't shout like anything"

xiv)   Both in Tamil and Kannada the noun 'tuNDu' "piece" is reduplicated and it indicates the idiomatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

tuNDU tuNDaakiRuveen jaakiratai
"Be careful I'll spoil your life"

E.g. From Kannada

tuNDu tuNDaagi kattarisida   "He cuts like anything"

Adjectival Meaning

The following nouns are reduplicated in the sentence and they give the adjectival meaning and function as an adjective.

i)   In Tamil the portative nouns 'kulai'/ 'kottu'/ 'caram' / 'caTai' "Wreath of a flower" are reduplicated in a sentence in combination with the particle 'aaka' "To become" and indicate the adjectival meaning. In Kannada the noun 'hosa' means "Fresh" is reduplicated in the sentences in combination with the particle '-aagi' and indicates the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Kulaikulaiyaakap puutta senkaandal puu
"The red species of Malabar lily blooms as bunches"
Avan tooTTattil muntiri kottu kottaakak kaayttiruntau

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"In his garden the graphs are in bunches"

E.g. From Kannada

Hosa hosadaagi ivee   "They are very fresh"

ii)   In Tamil the Measurement Noun 'paTi' "Measurement" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' is reduplicated and indicates the adjectival meaning. In Kannada the Numerical Noun 'ondu' which means "One" is reduplicated and indicates the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan vaazhkkaiyil paTippaTiyaaka munneRinaan
"He gradually develops in his life"

E.g. From Kannada

Ondondaagi daTioda   "He closed one by one"

iii)   The Demonstrative Noun 'vidham' in (Ta.) 'vidha' in kannada means "Kind" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in (Ta.) '-aagi' in (Ka.) repeatedly coming and giving the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avanukku ovvaru paTattileeyum vidhavidhamaana keeracter
"In each and every film his role is a different one"

E.g. From Kannada

Vidha vidhaagiruvudu   "In each and every film his role is a
                                  different one"

iv)   The Neuter Noun 'kuTTi' in (Ta.) 'saNNa' in Kannada means "Small" and 'kuDam' in Tamil 'koDa' in Kannada means "Small pot" are reduplicated and indicat the adjectival meaning. In the above two the nouns 'kuDam' occurs with the particle '-aaka' in the sentence.

E.g. From Tamil

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Avaiyellam kuTTikkuTTi kataikaL
"Those are very small stories"
kaDavulukku kuDamkuDamaakat taNNiir uuRRinaarkaL
"People are pouring pots of water to God"

E.g. From Kannada

saNNa saNNa kategaLu   "Those are very small stories"
koDa koDa niiru suridaru   "People pour pots of
                                 water to God"

v)   The Noun 'taarai' in (Ta.) 'dhaare' in Kannada means "continuous." It is
      in combination with the particle '-aaka' in Tamil '-aagi' in (Ka.) and give
      the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avav kaNkaliruntu taarai taaraiyaakak kaNNir vantatu
"He wept like anything"

E.g. From Kannada

Dhaare dhaareyaagi harigitu   "He wept like anything"

vi)   The Quality Noun 'vaNNam' in (Ta.) 'baNNa' in (Ka.) means "Color" is
      reduplicated and it indicates the adjectival meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

vaNNa vaNNak kanavukaL   "Colorful dreams"

E.g. From Kannada

baNNa baNNavaagi kanasu gaadivee "Colourful dreams"

Adverbial Meaning

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The following Nouns are reduplicated and they give the adverbial meaning and function as an adverb.

i) The Adverbial Noun 'veekam' in (Ta.) 'veega' in (Ka.) means "Speed" is in combination with the particle '-aaka' in (Ta.) '-aagi' in Kannada in the sentences are reduplicated and indicate the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Avan veeka veekamaaka ooTinaan "He ran very speedily"

E.g. From Kannada

Veega veegavaagi oDida   "Ran very fast"

ii) In Tamil the Abstract Noun 'aacai' "Desire", 'koopam' "Anger", 'azhukai' "Weeping" etc., are in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences and are reduplicated. They indicate the adverbial meaning. In Kannada the Abstract Noun 'siTTu' means "anger." It is in combination with the particle '-aagi' in the sentences when reduplicated and they indicate the adverbial meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Aacaiaacaiyaa irukku   "It is too desirable"
Koopamkoopamaa varutu   "I got too much angry"
Azhukaiazhukaiyaa varutu   "I felt too weepy"

E.g. From Kannada

siTTu siTTaagi noda "He gave with anger"

iii) In Tamil the Temporal Noun 'talaimuRai' "Tradition" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in the sentences reduplicated and these express the adverbial meaning. It conveys the continuity of the action. Instead of this Kannada language speakers use 'talemaarininda bandidee'.

E.g. From Tamil

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talaimuRaitalaimuRaiyaakap pinpaRRapaTTu varukiRatu
"It is followed by traditionally from generation to generation
Continuously."

iv)   In Tamil the Noun 'tuNDu' "Piece" is in combination with the particle
       'aaka' in sentences that are reduplicated and these indicate the adverbial
       meaning. Like this in Kannada the Noun 'tuNDu' means "piece." It is in
       combination with the particle "-aagi' in sentences and gives the adverbial
       meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

       Avan pazhattai tuNDu tuNDaaka veTTinaan
       "He cuts the fruit in to pieces"

E.g. From Kannada

       tuNDu tuNDaagi kattarisida   "He cuts into pieces"

v)   Both in Tamil and Kannada the portative Noun 'pakkam' in (Ta.) 'pakka'
       in (Ka.) which means "Page" is in combination with the particle 'aaka' in
       (Ta.). These are reduplicated in sentences and indicate the adverbial
       meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

       Avan pakkam pakkammaka ezhutittaLLinaan
       "He writes so many pages"

E.g. From Kannada

       Pakka pakkadalli bareda   "He wrote so many pages"

IV)   Regarding the Temporal Noun, when it reduplicates the meaning
       given by it is from the broad sense to the particular sense and the particular
       sense to the broad sense in Tamil. The Noun 'kaalam' "Time"/ "Season"
       reduplicates and indicates the meaning of sense from the broad sense to the
       particular sense. But in Kannada the Temporal Noun 'kaalam' which means
       "Time" reduplicates and gives the meaning continuous.

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E.g. From Tamil

      Kaalaakaalattil tirumaNam naTakkanum
      "The marriage should taken place at a particular time"

E.g. From Kannada

      Kaala kaaladivda bandide   "It has come from age"

      In Tamil, the Noun 'vidiyal' "Dawn" reduplicates and indicates the meaning from the particular sense to the broad sense. This type of construction is not found in Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

      Vidiya vidiyak kalyaaNam
      "The marriage is taken place over the whole night"

  V)   Both in Tamil and Kannada, regarding the Numeral Noun, the Countable Noun 'kooDi' "Crore", 'laksham' "Lakh", 'kaTTu' "Bundle" are reduplicated and give the uncountable meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

      kooDikooDiyaap paNam "Crores of Money"
      lakshalakshamaa paNam   "Lakhs of money"
      kaTTukkaTTaap paNam   "Bundles of money"

E.g. From Kannada

      kooTi kooTi janariddaru   "Crores of People are there"
      laksha laksha janariddaru   "lakhs of people are there"

      The Cardinal Numerical Noun 'oNNu' in (Ta.) 'ondu' in (Ka.) which means "One" is reduplicated and indicate the emphatic meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

      oNNu oNNuaak koTu "Give one by one"

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E.g. From Kannada

Ondondagi koDi   "Give one by one"

The ordinal Numerical Noun 'oru' in (Ta.) 'obbu' in (Ka.) means "one" is reduplicated and indicates the meaning of wholeness.

E. g, From Tamil

Ovvaru maadamum "Each and every month"

E.g. From Kannada

Obbobbaru   "Each and every person"

The Noun 'mudhal' "First" is reduplicated and expresses the earlier/first occurrence meaning.

E.g. From Tamil

Mudhanmudhalil idu toTankiyatu japaanil
"At first it was started in Japan"

E.g. From Kannada

moTTa modalaaki idu piraaramba koTTidu jappaanalli
"At first it was started in Japan"

Like the Ordinal Numerals the Personal Pronouns like 'avan' "He", 'avaL' "She" etc., are reduplicated and give the single to whole meaning and the vice versa in Tamil. This type of construction is not reduplicated in 'avan' and 'avaL'in Kannada but it is possible with the honorific and the Plural Noun 'avar' "He".

E.g. From Tamil

Avan avanaa ceyvaan "Each and every one will do it"

E.g. From Kannada

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Avaravaraagi maaDu ballaru "Each and every one will do this"

VII)   In Tamil, regarding the Demonstrative noun 'anta' "That", 'inta' "This"
        are reduplicated and give the specific meaning. In Kannada the
        Demonstrative Noun 'yaavu' means "What" is reduplicated and indicates
        the meaning of specific.

E.g. From Tamil

        Entaenta veelaiyai eppaappa ceyyanumoo anta anta veelaiyai
    appaappa ceyanum
        "At what time what work is going to be done, that time that
    work will be done in that particular time"

E.g. From Kannada

        Yaavu yaavu samayadalli   "At what time"

VIII)   In Tamil, the interrogative nouns are reduplicated and give the plural
        meaning for the singular one and vice versa. The nouns 'yaar' "Who",
        'eppaDi' "How", and 'enna' "What" are reduplicated and indicate the
        plural meaning. The same thing happens in Kannada also. The
        Interrogative Noun 'yaar' means "Who", is reduplicated and it gives the
        meaning of plurality.

E.g. From Tamil

        Yaar yaaroo vantaanga "So many persons were come here"

E.g. From Kannada

        Yaar yaar bandiddaaree   "So many persons were come here"

IX)   The Abstract Noun and the Quality Nouns like 'veyiloo veyil' "So hot"
        'tangamoo tangam' "So much gold" 'paccaiyoo paccai' "Greenish" etc
        are reduplicated and give the excessive meaning in Tamil. Like this in
        Kannada the Abstract Nouns like 'hasi' which means "wet" 'kempu'
        which means "reddish" 'bangaravee bangara' which means "Good Gold"

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'aloode aloodu' "Too much cry" etc., are reduplicated and indicate the excessive meaning.

X)   The Nouns which are used for pointing out the colors reduplicated and indicated the emphatic meaning in Tamil and Kannada.

E.g. From Tamil

Paccaipaceel enRa tooTTam "Greenish Garden"

E.g. From Kannada

Kempu kempaagidee "It is reddish"

Conclusion

i)   Both in Tamil and Kannada Nouns are reduplicated and the process indicates the following meanings: addressive, caution, draws the attention of the people, meanings of irritation, emphasis, unbearable, emotional, hatefulness, and idiomatic adjectival and adverbial.

ii)   Some Nouns are reduplicated in Tamil which indicate idiomatic meanings, which is not possible in Kannada. In several cases, this holds true not only for the idiomatic meanings but also for some other types of meanings.

iii) Some Nouns are reduplicated both in Tamil and Kannada but the constructions of these may be different.

iv)   Eventhough both the languages belong to the same language group within the same family, they maintaining different structures in reduplication in several contexts.

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Verb Reduplication in Tamil

An attempt is made in this chapter to study the reduplicated verb from the point of view of occurrence in the language, its function and semantic interpretation. Both the kinds of verbs, finite as well as the non-verbs are reduplicated in Tamil.

Verbs occur as predicates in the rightmost position of a clause. Thomas Lehman in his *A grammar of Modern Tamil* divides the Tamil verb forms into finite and non-finite and nominalized verb forms. Again he divides the finite verbs into imperative, indicative and optative and the non-finite verb forms into infinitive, verbal participle, conditional and adjectival participle.

Modern Tamil distinguishes between singular and plural imperative forms. These are further distinguished into positive and negative forms. One of the imperative forms is also overtly marked for the category of person, that is, for second person.

Singular Imperative Positive (+Ive)

The positive singular imperative form is identical with the verb stem and thus devoid of any marker. These verbs are reduplicated and give the following meanings: Emphatic, repetition, entertainment, irritation, cordiality etc.

Exx.

cey cey	'do'	Emphatic
paNNu paNNu	'do'	Repetition
paaru paaru	'see'	Entertainment
poo poo	'go'	Irritation
vaa vaa	'come'	Cordiality

The imperative and second person morphemes are not overtly expressed and are realized by a zero morph each.

Singular Imperative Negative (-ive)

The negative singular Imperative form consists of the verb stem to which the negative allomorph -aat- is suffixed followed by the euphonic suffix –ee- . These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the following meanings: command, request, and caution.

Exx.

pookaatee pookaatee	'Don't go'	Command
ceyyaatee ceyyaatee	'Don't do'	Request
varaatee varaatee	'Don't come'	Caution

Like this the plural structures of the imperative also reduplicated and give the above said meanings.

Indicative Verb Forms

Tamil has both positive and negative indicative verb forms. Positive indicative verb forms are marked for the category of tense, person, number and gender + status. Negative indicative verb forms are however, not marked in the same way for these categories as the positive indicative forms are. There is one to one correspondence between positive and negative indicative forms. These types of verb forms are reduplicated and give the confirmative meaning.

Ist person sing.	Vanteen vanteen	'I came'	Surety or confirmative
	Vareen vareen	'I am coming'	Surety
	Varuveen varuveen	'I will come'	Surety
Ist person plu.	Vantee vantee	'You came'	
	Varee varee	'You come'	
	Varuveen varuveen	'I will come'	Surety
IInd person pl	Vantee vantee	'You came'	
	Varee varee	'You are coming'	Compulsion
	Varuvee varuvee	'you must come'	Surety

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Like this the plural form of the verbs also reduplicated and the future form of the IInd person verbs are reduplicated and give the confirmative as well as the challenging meanings.

IIIrd person sing.

          avan vantaan vantaan   'He came'   Confirmative

          avan varaan varaan   'He is coming' Confirmative

          avan varuvaan varuvaan 'He will come' Confirmative

IIIrd person plu.

          avunka vantaanka vantaanka 'They came' Confirmative

          avanuka varaanka varaanka   'They are coming'
                                      Confirmative

          avanukha varuvaanka varuvaanka 'They will come'
                                        Confirmative

All the three persons both sing. And plural the verb forms are reduplicated and give the confirmative meanings.

Negative Indicative Verb Forms

Negative indicative verb forms are not marked for the category of tense. The verb stem combines only with the negative morpheme and the three morphemes of person, number and gender. In old Tamil the negative morpheme is realized by a zero morph or by the negative allomorph –aa- depending on the following person, number and gender morphemes. Only with the third person singular and plural neuter morpheme is the negative morpheme overtly expressed by the allomorph –aa-. In the case of occurrence with all other person, number and gender morphemes, the negative morpheme is not overtly expressed.

In modern Tamil, the form inflected for third person singular number and neuter gender viTaathu. This form is interpreted as referring to future time or expressing habitually. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the meaning 'surety'

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Ex.

viTaatu viTaatu   'It will not leave' SURETY

Tamil uses two defective auxiliary verb maaTTu- will and 'il' - 'be not' both of which follow a lexical main verb inflected for infinitive. The construction like viTamaaTTan viTamaaTTan expresses the future negativity meaning 'surety'.

To express the past and present negativity, the auxiliary verb 'il' 'be not' is used. This defective verb occurs in a finite form unmarked for tense and marked with the person – number – gender suffix 'ai'. The verb constructions reduplicated and give the meaning confirmation and surety.

Ex.

viTavillai viTavillai – viTalee viTalee (in spoken) 'I don't leave'.

The three verbs 'veeNTu' "To need" 'pooTu' "To place" and 'taku' "To be opt" have the infinitive form 'veeNTa' 'pooTa' and 'taka' combined or the co occurrence with the emphatic clitic – ee – is a reduplicated construction with the negative form of the respective verb.

Ex.

veeNTavee veeNTaam – 'Don't need' (Complete Objection).

Optative

The optative is formed by the addition of the optative suffix – ka (allomorph – kka) to the verb stem. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the appraisal meaning.

Exx.

vazhka vazhka   "You may live"
ozika ozhika   "Down down"

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Non - Finite Verb Forms

Tamil distinguishes between four types of non finite verb forms i) infinitive, ii) verbal participle iii) conditional iv) adjective participle. The entire above verb forms except the infinitive have both positive and negative forms. Adjectival participle distinguishes tense. All the other non-finite verb forms are tenseness. Each of the verb suffixes, which is either added to the verb stem (when the form is tense less) or to the tense suffix in the case of negative forms.

Infinitive

The infinitive verb is formed by the affixation of the infinitive suffix –a- to the verb stem. The infinitive form occurs mainly in compound verb constructions and in complex sentence constructions, there also a few cases where the predicate of a simple clause, also it occurs as predicate of a simple interrogative clause with a first person subject NP.

These types of infinitive verb forms are reduplicated and give the following meanings:

i) Intensity
ii) Repetition
iii) Continuity of action
iv) Adjectival meaning
v) Resultive
vi) More
vii) Negligence meaning
viii) Graduality and
ix) Adverbial meaning.

    i)   TooNDat tooNDth thaNNiir vantathu
           "Continuously digging the water comes out"   (Intensity)

    ii)   ceyyacceyyap pazhakkam varum
           "Do it again and again you will get practiced"   (Repetition)

    iii)   pazhakap pazhakap paazhum puLikkum
           "In due course even the milk became sour"   (Graduality)

    iv)   pazhakhap pazhakha varum icai

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"By practice the music will come rhythmically"   (Continuity)

v)   ooDa ooDa viraTTinaan
        "He chased him even though he is running"   (Resultive)

vi)   keeTkka keeTkka avan koTukkavillai
        "Even though he is asking two or three times he is not giving" (More)

vii)   peecap peeca peecaamalee iruntaan
        "Even though we talk he kept quite"   (Negligence meaning)

viii)   kuniyak kuniyak kuTTinaan
        "Even though he is bending he beat him"   (Adverbial meaning)

ix)   avan peecap peeca alupputh thaTTiyathu
        "Repeatedly speaking makes tiredness"   (Adjectival meaning)

Annamalai (1980:162) and Paramasivam (1983:265) note that an
infinitive clause with adverbial function can have various semantic interpretations such
as i) purpose ii) cause iii) time and iv) result. Of the four types of in finitive adverbial
clauses except purpose infinitive clauses can be reduplicated to express intensity,
repettion or continuvity of an action. In the case of causal and temporal infinitive
clauses there is often ambiquity between a causal and temporal interpretation.

    Ex.

            kaalam chella chella athu maariviTTatu

            "Latter and later that has been changed"

Verbal Participle

        The verbal participle is the second tense less non finite verb form. It has
both a positive and a negative form. The positive verbal participle is formed by
the affixation of the verbal participle suffix to the verb stem. The verbal
participle suffix is homophonous with the various past tense allomorphs. The
past tense allomorphs have been given above as – t - , - nt -, - in -, - i – and – tt.
This kind of verbal participle forms are reduplicated and give the following
meanings: i) intensity ii) cause iii) continuity iv) Resultive v) Habitually vi)
Idiomatic vii) Discontinuous viii) Adverbial meaning.

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i)   paarthu paarthuc ceytaan
        "He is doing that work very calculative"   (Intensity)

ii)   peecip peeci toNDai varandatu
        "Throat became dry by repeatedly talking"   (causative)

iii)   azhuthu azhuthu kaN civanthatu
        "By continuous crying the eyes became reddish"   (Resultive)

iv)   vizhuntu vizhuntu upacarittaan
        "He laughed too much"   (idiomatic)

v)   paaTam naTatti naTatti pazhakkam aanathu
        "By taking class continuously it became habitual"   (Habitual)

vi)   kaaRi kaaRit tuppinaan
        "He spits continuously"   (Adjectival function)

vii)   mazhai viTTu viTTup peeyintatu
        "The rain rains discontinuously"   (Discontinuously)

viii)   turuvit turuvit aaraayntaan
        "He searched it very keenly"   (Continuity)

ix)   koTutu koTutu civantakai
        "He gives too much because of that he got fame"   (Adjectival function)

Negative Verbal Participle

Negative verbal participle gives the following meaning.

i)   collic colli alutthu poccu
        "Again and again telling gets bored"   (Adverbial function)

ii)   cenju cenjum oru pirayojanam illai
        "There is no use of repeatedly doing"   (Adjectival function)

iii)   paTiccu paTiccu colliyum nii keeTkavillai

"Repeatedly telling you are not listening"   (Idiomatically)

Miscellaneous Types

i)   uri urinnu uriccan   "He compelled me like anything"
                                              (Idiomatic expression)

ii)   colic colvatarkku mun   "About to tell"
                                              (Idiomatic expression)

iii)   cenjaalum ceyvaan   "He may do"
                                              (Imminence), (Probability)

iv)   avan viTTuviTTaan   "He leave away" (Auxiliary)

v)   avan peecuvaan peecuvaan   "He will do"
                                              (Inability)

When the reduplicated verb from occurs with the modal auxiliary form –aam the modality of probability and possibility is likewise expressed. However in comparison with the reduplicated verb form inflected for future tense a lesser degree of possibility or probability is implied.

       Ex.

       kumaar vantaalum varalaam "Kumar may come or may not"

    The predicate of a simple clause can consists of the conditional form of the verb+clitic+um and a reduplicated form of the respective verb, which is inflected either for past or future tense or followed by the modal auxiliary form –aam. When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for past tense the speaker expresses that the action of the following sentence which is semantically related to the action of the preceding sentence. E.g. by being a consequence is not approved by him.

       Ex.

       kumar oru puthu caTTai vaankinaalum vaankinaan
       "Kumar has bought a new shirt but now he is
        wearing the same shirt daily"

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When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for future tense the modality of probability and possibility is expressed.

Ex.

kumar inkee vantaalum varuvaan   "Kumar may come here"

Conclusion

The outline picture of verb reduplication in Tamil:

i)   Imperative verbs both positive and negative are reduplicated and these give various meanings.

ii)   Indicative verbs (only the positive forms) are reduplicated. In the negative indicative verb forms only the IIrd person singular and plural neuter are reduplicated.

iii)   In optative verb construction, both the positive and negative forms are reduplicated and give the related meanings.

iv)   Regarding the infinitive, the positive structure gives the positive and the negative meaning.

Practical Implication

It is very clear from the description above that noun and verb reduplications are complex even though they appear to use simple devices. It is also clear from the descriptions I've provided that writing a school grammar or applying grammar for various purposes of writing using grammatical rules that are appropriate is not an easy task. We need to investigate the nuances of grammar, identify the most relevant and apply using these nuances in our speech and written communications.

At present, both grammar books and exercises that are presented in Tamil textbooks focus more on identification and memorization of grammar rules, not their application in creative ways. True, the lessons as well as grammar books do give illustrative examples. These are inadequate and focus on a limited number of possibilities, not selected and graded. This situation should change, and we should integrate rules with creativity.

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12

Verb Reduplication in Tamil and Telugu

Focus of This Chapter

This chapter highlights the verb reduplication processes in Tamil and Telugu. This study of reduplicated structure in Tamil and Telugu reveals the fact that though reduplication is a general morphological feature of the language, some specific characteristics in individual languages can be drawn from the functional point of view and from the semantic point of view as well. An attempt is made in this chapter to study the reduplicated verb from the point of view of occurrence in individual languages, its function and semantic interpretation. Both the kinds of verbs, finite as well as the non-finite verbs, reduplicate in Tamil and Telugu which are related to tense, aspect and person.

Tamil Verbs

Verbs occur as predicates in the rightmost position of a clause. Thomas Lehman in his *A Grammar of Modern Tamil* divides the verbs in Tamil into finite and non-finite and nominalized verb forms. He further divides the finite verbs in to Imperative, Indicative and Optative, and the non-finite verb forms into Infinitive, Verbal Participle, Conditional and Adjectival Participle.

Singular Imperative Positive Reduplication

In Tamil and Telugu, the positive Imperative form is identical with the verb stem or root and thus devoid of any marker. These verbs are reduplicated and give the meanings Emphatic, Repetition, Entertainment, Irritation, Cordiality etc. Examples from Tamil and Telugu Tamil Telugu cey cey cey cey "(You) do" Emphatic meaning paaru paaru cuuDu cuuDu "(You) see" Entertainment poo poo weLLu weLLu "(You) go" Irritation vaa vaa raa raa "(You) come" Cordiality kuTi kuTi taagu taagu "(You) drink" repetition The imperative and the second person morphemes are not overtly marked and are realized as zero morph.

Singular Imperative Negative Reduplication

In Tamil, the negative singular Imperative form consists of the verb stem to which the negative allomorph –aat is suffixed followed by the euphonic suffix –ee. These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the meanings Command, Request and Caution.

But in Telugu the structure of the negative singular imperative form is verb+the negative form oddu and give the above mentioned meanings.

Examples from Tamil and Telugu
Tamil Telugu Pookaatee pookaatee poo/weLLoddu poo/weLLoddu "Don"t go" Command

Ceyyaatee ceyyaatee ceyoddu ceyoddu "Don"t do." Request

Varaatee varaatee raaoddu raaoddu "Don"t come." Caution

Like this, the plural structures of the positive and the negative reduplication occur by adding the plural suffixes –inga and -iirkaL in Tamil. In Telugu, for both positive and negative, the plural suffix –aNDi is added with the above said examples. But the conveying meanings by them are the same.

Exx. from Tamil and Telugu

	Tamil	Telugu	
1st person Sing.	Vanteen vanteen	occeenu occeenu	"I came"
			Surety or Conformation
	Vareen vareen	ostunnaanu ostunnaanu	"I am coming"
	Varuveen varuveen	ostaanu ostaanu	"I will come"
2nd person Sing.	Vantee vantee	occeevu occeevu	"You came"
			Surety or Conformation
	Varee varee	ostunnaavu ostunnaavu	"You are coming"
			Commanding
	Varuvee varuvee	ostaav ostaavu	"You'll come"
			Sarcastic meaning
3rd person sing.	avan vantaan vantaan	waaDu occeeDu occeeDu	"He came"
			Conformation
	varRaan varRaan	ostunnaaDu ostunnaaDu	"He is coming"

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Varuvaan varuvaan ostaaDu ostaaDu   "He'll come"

Challenging or Conformation

Like this, the plural forms of the above verbs are reduplicated and give the confirmative meaning. But the future form of the Indicative verbs is reduplicated and gives either the confirmative meaning or the challenging meaning. All the three persons both singular and plural forms are reduplicated.

Negative Indicative Reduplicated Verb Forms:

Negative Indicative verb forms are not marked with Person, Number and Gender. (Here after PNG markers). The verb stem combines with the negative marker. In old Tamil the negative morpheme is realized by a zero morph or by the negative allomorph – aa depending upon the PNG morphemes. Only with the third person singular and the plural neuter morpheme, the negative morpheme is overtly marked by the allomorph –aa. In the case of occurrence with the all other person, number and gender morphemes, the negative morpheme is not overtly marked.

In Modern Tamil, the form inflected for third person singular number and neuter gender viTaatu. This form is interpreted as referring to future time or expressing the meaning "Habitual". These types of verbs are reduplicated and give the meaning "Surety".

Exx. From Tamil

viTaatu viTaatu   "It will not leave (You)"   Surety

Modern Tamil uses two defective auxiliary verbs 'maaTTu' "will not" and 'il' "be not". These two auxiliary verbs come after the infinitive form of the main verb and convey the future negative meaning "Surety'. To express the past and the present negative meaning the auxiliary verb 'il' 'is not' is used. It is unmarked. These types of construction reduplicated and convey the meaning "Surety or Conformation".

Exx. From Tamil

 viTavillai viTavillai > viTalee viTalee (in spoken) "Not leaving"
ceyyavillai ceyyavillai > ceyyalee ceyyalee "Not doing"

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The infinitive forms of the verbs 'veeNTu' "Need" 'pooTu' "To place" and 'taku' "It is worth" are veeNTa pooTa and taka are in combination with the clitic –ee are reduplicated and give the meaning "Complete Objection".

Exx. From Tamil

veeNTavee veeNTaam   "I don't need" Complete objection

But in Telugu the above said forms have PNG markers and they will not reduplicate.

Optative Reduplicated Verbs

The optative form is framed by adding the optative marker –ka to the verb stems. These forms are reduplicated and give the meaning of "Appraisal".

Ex. from Tamil and Telugu

   Tamil   Telugu

Vaazhka vaazhka   zindaabaadh zindaabaadh   "You may live"

Non-Finite Verb Forms

Tamil and Telugu distinguish four types of non-finite verb forms i) infinitive ii) verbal participle iii) conditional and iv) adjective participle. All the forms have the negative forms.

   i)   Infinitive

The infinitive verb is formed by affixing the infinitive marker –a to the verb stem. The infinitive form occurs mainly in the compound verb and the complex verb constructions. There are also a few cases where the predicate of a simple clause also occurs as a predicate of a simple interrogative clause with a first person subject NP.

The infinitive verbs are reduplicated and give the following meanings: i) intensity ii) repetition iii) continuity of action iv) adjectival meaning v) resultive vi) more vii) negligence meaning viii) gradually and ix) adverbial meaning.

Exx. from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil

tooNDat tooNDa niir varum
"Continuously digging the water will come out"
                                        Intensity

muyyakka muyyakka roogam
"The disease will increase by continuous strain"
                                        Intensity

The same meaning intensity is expressed by different forms in Tamil and Telugu.

Tamil   Telugu

ceyyac ceyyap pazhakkam varum ceyyagaa ceyyagaa tiruku tundi
"Do it again and again you will get practice"   Repetition

The same types of reduplicated infinitive forms are expressed by different proverbs in Tamil and Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil and Telugu

pazhakap pazhakp paalum puLikkum (Tamil)
tinaga tinaga veeppaakku tiyagaa undu/undundi (Telugu)
"In due course even the milk become sour"   Gradually

Tamil   Telugu

pazhakap pazhaka varum icai   paadagaa paadagaa raagam ostadi
"By practrising continuouisly the music will come rhythmically"
                                        Continuity

Ex. From Tamil

ooDa ooDa viTaTTinaan
"He chased him even though the opposite party is running"

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Resultive

This type is not found in Telugu.

Ex. From Tamil

keeTka keeTka avan taravillai
"Even though he is asking again and again he is not giving"   More

This type of reduplication is not possible in Telugu. This type of expression is expressed by the ordinary structure as 'enta aDiginaa kuuTa ivva leedu/ivvalee'.

Ex. From Tamil

peecap peecap peecavee maaTTenkiRaan
"Though we talk again and again he is not answering"

Negligence meaning

Ex. From Telugu

ceppinaa ceppinaa kaani vinaleedu ceptu ceptuunnaam vina leedu
 "Though we are telling again and again he is not hearing"

Negligence meaning

In the above examples of Tamil and Telugu, the Tamil verb 'peecu' "To talk" is substituted by the verb 'ceppu' "To tell."

The infinitive reduplicated verb gives the idiomatic adverbial meaning in Tamil. But this type of reduplicated structure does not occur in Telugu. However, Telugu expresses this in the ordinary adverbial structure.

Ex. From Tamil

kuniyak kuniyak kuTTinaan
"Though he is bending enough again and again he is beating"

Adverbial meaning

Ex. From Telugu

Vininakoddii ceptaadu   "Even though we are not hearing he'll tell"

Adverbial meaning

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Tamil	Telugu

avar peecap peeca alupput taTTiyatu   vinakka vinakka visukku occindi
"His repeated speech makes tiredness"   Adjectival meaning

In the above example, the verb 'peecu' "To tell" in Tamil is substituted by the verb 'vinu' "To hear" in Telugu.

Annamalai (1980:162) and Paramasivam (1983:265) note that an infinitive clause with adverbial function can have various interpretations such as i) purpose ii) cause iii) time and iv) result. Of the four types of infinitive adverbial clauses all clauses except the purpose infinitive clause can be reduplicated to express intensity, repetition or continuity of an action. In the case of causal and temporal infinitive clauses, there is often ambiguity between a causal and temporal interpretation E.g. kaalam cellac cella adu maaRiviTum "When/became it becomes latter and latter that was changed".

ii) Verbal Participle

The verbal participle is the second tenseless nonfinite verb form. It has both a positive and a negative from. The positive verbal participle is formed by the affixation of the verbal participle suffix to the verb stem. The verbal participle is homophonous with the various past tense allomorphs. The past tense allomorphs are –t-, -nt-, -in-, -i- and –tt-. This kind of verbal participle are reduplicated and give the following meanings: i) intensity, ii) cause, iii) continuity, iv) resultive, v) habitual, vi) idiomatic, vii) discontinuous and viii) adverbial meaning.

Exx. from Tamil and Telugu

Tamil	Telugu

Paarttu paarttuc ceyteen   cuusi cuusi ceesaanu
      "Do the thing very carefully"   Intensity

Tamil	Telugu

peecip peecit toNDai vaRanDatu vaagi vaagi gontu pooyindi
"By repeated talking the throat becomes dry"   Causative

Tamil	Telugu

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azhutu azhutu kaN civantatu   eeDisi eeDisi kaLLu erragaa baTindi
"By the continuous crying the eyes become reddish"   Resultive

       Tamil   Telugu

vizhuntu vizhuntu upacarittaan ongi ongi seevai ceesaaDu
"He invited in a grand manner"   Idiomatic

paaTam naTatti naTatti pazhakkam aanadu   (Tamil)
paaTTam ceppi ceppi alavaadu aayindi (Telugu)
"By talking the classes continuously it became habitual   Habituality

       Tamil   Telugu

kaaRi kaaRit tuppinaan   kaaRi kaaRi uncinaaDu
"He spits continuously"   Adverb

       Tamil   Telugu

mazhai viTTu viTTup peytatu   vaana aagi aagi kuurcindi/paDinti
"The rain rains discontinuously"   Discontinuous

       Tamil   Telugu

tuRuvut tuRuvi aaraayntaan   tirugi tirugi/malli malli aDigeedu
"He searches it very keenly"   Continuity

koTuttu koTuttuc civanta kaikaL
"He donated a lot because of that his hands become reddish"
                                          Adjectival function

Negative Verbal Participle

The negative structure of the reduplicated verbal participle from conveys the adverbial and the adjectival functional meaning.

Exx. From Tamil and Telugu

       Tamil   Telugu

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collic colli azhuttup pooccu   ceppi ceppi visugu/virakti puTTindi
   "Repeated saying gets boring"   Adverbial function

cenju cenju oru prayojanamumillai ceesi ceesi ee palitam leedu
"There is no use of repeatedly doing for him"   Adjectival function

   The following type of negative idiomatic expression is only available in Tamil. The equivalent of this type is in ordinary type not in the reduplicated form. The ordinary structure is 'enta ceppinaak kuuda vinaleedu'.

Ex. From Tamil

paTiccu paTiccuc colliyum keeTkavillai/keeTkalee
   "I have told repeatedly but you did not listen" Idiomatic

Miscellaneous Types

   The following first type of idiomatic expression is not possible in Telugu. It is only in Tamil. The other meanings conveyed by the repetition of verbs are possible both in Tamil and Telugu.

   Tamil
uri urinnu uriccaaan
  "He compelled me like anything"   Idiomatic

   Tamil   Telugu

collic colvataRkku mun   ceppi ceppakka mundu
  "About to tell"   Idiomatic

   Tamil   Telugu

cenjaalum ceyvaan   ceesina ceestaaDu
  "He may do"   Imminence Probability

   Tamil   Telugu

avan viTTuviTTaan >viTTiTTaan waaDu odalina odaluttaaDu

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"He left away"   Auxiliary function

        Tamil   Telugu

avan peecuvaan peecuvaan   waaDu maaTlaaDutaaDu maaTlaaDutaaDu
        "He will talk"

        When the reduplicated verb form occurs with the modal auxiliary verb form –
aam, the modality of probability is likewise expressed. However in comparison with the
reduplicated verb form inflected for future tense a lesser degree of possibility or
probability is implied.

        Tamil   Telugu

Kumaar vantaalum varalaam   Kumaar ostee ostaaDu

        "Kumar may come or may not come"   Probability

        The predicate of a simple clause can consists of the conditional form of the verb +
clitic + um and a reduplicated form of the respective verb, which is inflected either for
past or future tense or followed by the modal auxiliary form –aam. When the reduplicated
verb form is inflected for past tense speaker expresses that the action of the following
sentence which is semantically related to the action of the preceding sentence. E.g by
being a consequence is not approved by him.

Ex. From Tamil and Telugu

Kumaar oru pudhu cattail vaankinaalum vaankinaan (Tamil)
Kumaar tiisukuneedeedoo tiisukunnaaDu daanee veesukuni raawaalu (Te.)

"Kumar has brought a new shirt but now he is wearing the same shirt daily"

        When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for future tense the modality of
probability and possibility is expressed.

Exx. From Tamil and Telugu

        Tamil   Telugu

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Kumaar inkee vantaalum varuvaan   kumaar ikkaDa ostee ostaaDu
"Kumar may/may not come here"

Conclusion

i)   Imperative verbs, both positive and negative forms, are reduplicated and these give various meanings which are not one to one correspondence with each other.

ii)   Positive Indicative verb forms are also reduplicated and these indicate a variety of meanings. Regarding the negative Indicative verb forms, only the IInd person singular and plural neuter forms are reduplicated.

iii)   Regarding the optative verb forms, both the positive and the negative forms are reduplicated and convey the related meanings.

iv)   Regarding the Infinitive and the verbal participle forms, the positive forms give the positive related meaning and the negative forms give the negative related meanings.

Comparative and contrastive studies between related languages are useful to design materials for teaching these languages. Tamilnadu follows an open policy to teaching a variety of languages. Telugu is taught in schools in major urban centers as well as in border districts. To teach Telugu and to design Telugu textbooks specifically meant for such populations, comparative and contrastive information relating to Tamil, the dominant language of the state, is very useful.

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Epilogue

Grammar is not a popular subject, unpopular not simply in Tamil classrooms but also in every language classroom around the world! We have a rich grammatical tradition in Tamil and several other Indian languages. However, these traditions have been imparted largely as knowledge, assuming that knowledge will easily translate into better writing.

Because we are burdened with technical terms in grammar lessons and also because we learn grammartical rules of English for better use of that language, we tend to ignore grammar in Tamil classrooms. After all, Tamil is our mother tongue or first language, and so we all know it and use it effectively – so goes our thinking.

Traditional grammars are excellent pieces of research and application. But we should recognize the fact that grammar of a language is always evolving and the standard grammar written for a time and age need not be always one hundred percent applicable to current situation in Tamil. Tthis is hard for many of us to accept, for various reasons. Moreover, Tamil grammars are excellent aphoristic treatises. And because of this intrinsic brevity of such works, we are at a loss to understand and apply the rules easily. In addition, brevity does not reveal the extent to which such rules cover the usage.

Many changes have taken place in the underlying rules that enable us to use Tamil in a natural way. Use of agreement, auxiliary verbs, tenses, conditional clauses, lexical choice, verb inflections and so on has changed over the centuries. Mixing spoken and written varities is most common now, whereas these two were apparently kept separate in written disourses in traditional Tamil.

For these and other reasons not detailed here, there is a great need to study in depth the grammar of modern Tamil and relate it to the grammar of early literary and grammatical texts. Chemmozhi is not a fossilized tool of communication. Tamil as a chemmozhi is a living and dynamic language, unlike other classical languages. If we want to keep our language that way for generations, we need to identify the links of continuity between modern and ancient Tamil. Such links are, fortunately, not hard to find.

Descriptive Tamil grammar will help us to identify the deeper nuances of the current language and link these nuances to the ancient usage because there is so much similarity between the two.

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I've tried in this book to present a detailed study of rules that underly various componenents of Tamil grammar. This is only a partial treatment. Further exhaustive and deeper research will bring out detailed picture of how Tamil operates. In addition, through such studies we will be able to redesign our grammar lessons for practical applications.

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Global Perspective of Teaching English Literature in Higher Education in Pakistan

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of English
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in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
MS Applied Linguistics
by

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Certificate of Approval

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Dedicated to my parents who have always been a source of inspiration and guidance for me throughout my academic career

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the need to reform and restructure English literature syllabus at graduate level in higher education in Pakistan. Due to the changing global context, the requirements of the students have changed. Teaching English literature from global perspective requires that the language used in literature should be easy to comprehend. If the material used is easy, it can be exploited for language use. Literature component needs to be integrated to the language activity in order to develop the reading, writing, listening and speaking skills of the students. Moreover, the students need to be made aware of the local as well as the global culture. The study was conducted in various colleges of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan where English literature is taught for teaching language at the graduate level. Quantitative as well as qualitative data was collected and analyzed. The results of the study indicate that the basic English of the students require attention. They need to be made conscious of the Pakistani literature as well as the world literatures in English. The study has suggested a syllabus for the graduate level students that can be used in place of the already existing syllabus. The study recommends that further research is required on the already existing syllabi for the sake of improvement in their quality, raising consciousness about the local literature and promoting the cross cultural understanding

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through the incorporation of the global English literature in the syllabus.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIOU   (Allama Iqbal Open University)

AKU-CEL   (Agha Khan University-Centre of English Language)

EFL   (English as a Foreign Language)

ELT   (English Language Teaching)

ESL   (English as a Second Language)

ESOL   (English for the Speakers of Other Languages)

NUML   (National University of Modern Languages)

NWFP   (North West Frontier Province)

SPELT   (Society of Pakistani English Language Teachers)

SPSS   (Statistical Package for Social Sciences)

HEC   (Higher Education Commission)

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background:

The rise of English as a global language has changed the context of teaching and learning English literature. Teaching English literature in the international context requires that the language used in literature should be easy to comprehend. If the material used is easy, it can be exploited for language use. Literature component can be integrated into language activity in order to develop students' reading, writing, listening and speaking skills. Moreover, the students need to be made aware of local as well as global culture.

Existing material being used to teach English literature in Pakistan is old enough to relate with the global context. This is neither relevant to the local culture nor it promotes students' knowledge about the world cultures. Most of the material is imported from the foreign countries especially Britain and America that have created hegemony over local literature. Many Pakistani authors have written valuable literary works in English language that have been included in English literature studies in the foreign countries but they are not being given any value in the local context. In order to preserve local culture and values from western hegemony and to promote local cultures as well as to create awareness about the global cultures, the students need to be given English

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literature education in such a manner that they become aware of local as well as global context of culture while learning English as a foreign language.

1.2 Purpose:

The purpose of this research is to highlight the need to reform and restructure English literature syllabus at graduate level so that it can be made more relevant and meaningful for the Pakistani learners. It would focus on understanding the needs of the students according to the global context as well as the place of the local and the global cultures in the process of learning second language literature.

1.3 Research Questions:

The research questions of the study are:

Question 1:

What are the students' needs to learn English literature according to the global context?

Question 2:

What kind of correlation exists between the learners' needs and the syllabus being used to teach English   literature?

Question 3:

What is the significance of the changes required in the existing syllabus?

Question 4:

What is the significance of including the literary works by the Pakistani authors in the syllabus?

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Question 5:

What is the significance of incorporating the global English literature in the syllabus?

1.4 Hypotheses:

The hypotheses of the research are:

Hypothesis 1:

Majority of the students will have stronger needs for learning English literature according to the global context.

Hypothesis 2:

There will be a negative correlation between the syllabus and the learners' needs.

Hypothesis 3:

The results for the changes required in the existing syllabus will be highly significant.

Hypothesis 4:

There will be significant results for including the literary works by the Pakistani authors in the syllabus.

Hypothesis 5:

The results for incorporating the global English literature in the syllabus will be highly significant.

1.5 Objectives:

This research will focus on following objectives:

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i. Learners' needs according to the global context

ii. Relationship between the learners' needs and the existing syllabus

iii. Significance of the changes required in the existing syllabus

iv. Importance of the literary works by the Pakistani authors

v. Raising awareness about the global literatures

The population for this research consisted of the students studying English literature at the graduate level as well as English literature teachers from various colleges of NWFP where English literature is being taught at graduate level. Data was collected from 60 students and 40 teachers by applying the qualitative as well as the quantitative methods. Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS. Qualitative data were analyzed keeping in view the ideas given by different researchers regarding teaching of basic English and literature in Pakistan.

The results of the study indicate that the communication skills of the students require attention. They need to be made conscious of the Pakistani literature in English as well as the world literatures in English.

1.6 Significance of the study:

There was an urgent need to determine the requirements of the learners to study English literature in the global context as the existing syllabus being used to teach English literature is far away from the modern learners' needs. The results of the study prove helpful to highlight the needs of the learners and the changes that are significant for the improvement of the syllabus.

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1.7 Scope of the study:

This study has suggested a syllabus that can be used to teach English literature according to the needs of the modern learners keeping in view the global aspect of language learning. Reading, writing, listening and speaking skills have been included in the syllabus along with English literary works written by different authors of the world fame. This study will contribute to encourage the local authors in the development of local materials to teach English literature. Incorporating global literatures is a step to raise consciousness about promoting cross cultural understanding.

1.8 Definition of key terms:

Global perspective:

Global perspective is the deep understanding of the world dynamics of English language that constitute the linguistic, cultural and political aspects as well as their interaction with one another.

Global perspective of teaching English literature:

Global perspective of teaching English literature means that the language used in literature should be easy to comprehend. The materials should be easy to exploit. Literature component should be integrated to language activity as well in order to develop students' reading, writing, listening and speaking skills. Moreover, the students should be made aware of the local as well as the global culture.

1.9 Basic Assumptions:

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i.   Learners' professional and leadership skills from a global perspective can be developed by integrating literary studies with the language activity.

ii. The existing situation of teaching English literature can be improved if changes are made in the existing syllabi keeping in view the researches conducted at the global level.

iii. Local literature produced in the English language can be used to raise consciousness about preserving local culture and values from the threats of globalization

iv. Incorporating the world English literatures in the syllabus can promote cross cultural understanding.

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Chapter2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Globalization:

According to the Encyclopedia Encarta (2003) globalization is the democratization and the integration of the world's culture, economy and infrastructure by means of the rapid proliferation of communication, transnational investment and information technology. It is the impact of the forces of the free market on national, regional and international economies (Zughoul.R.M, 2003).

Globalization is a very complex and multidimensional process. It is a blend of contradictory forms and intricate effects that have influence everywhere. According to Robbie Robertson (2003) as quoted by Elizabeth.J.Erling (2004) globalization is a dynamic part of human experience and it has never been a single process of change. It involves economics, politics, culture and communication. It covers world economic markets and the movements of capital, people, ideas, beliefs, knowledge and information. According to Rita Raley as mentioned by E.J.Elizabeth (2004) globalization is not only social, political, economic and cultural aspect but also includes academic factors. Due to globalization there is an intensive interaction among the scholars, disciplines and higher education institutions.

According to Robertson (1995) globalization usually co occurs with localization and becomes glocalization. Beck (1997) and Wagner (2001) have maintained that the globalization is a very complex phenomenon that has mixed hybrid cultures, traditions,

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styles and is leading towards homogenization but at the same time there is a local appropriation of the global trends that is quite helpful to create different kinds of new identities.

2.2 English as a global language:

The term globalization is closely related to the rise of English as a global language (Yano, 2001). A language achieves global status when it develops a special role in such a way that it is recognized in every country (C. David, 1997). According to P.S. Joseph (2004) English has got the global status without any doubt and its spread is very closely related to the globalization forces and the rapid cultural flows. The changing status of English is posing questions to its meaning in global as well as local contexts. These questions need to be addressed but that requires a deep understanding of the world dynamics of English language that constitute linguistic, cultural and political aspects as well as their interaction with one another.

Kachru (1985) has divided English language on the basis of the number of its speakers into three concentric circles.

i. The inner circle

ii. The outer circle

iii. The expanding circle

The inner circle is comprised of the countries where English has the status of primary as well as the only language used for the communicative purposes. Countries like UK, USA and Australia are included in this circle. The outer circle is composed of the countries

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where English is used as an official as well as institutional language and has acieved the status of second or additional language along with the local languages. Examples of these countries are Singapore, India and Pakistan etc. The expanding circle is based upon the countries where English language is used as a foreign language only. The inner circle has been termed as norm providing; the outer circle has been termed as norm developing while the expanding circle has been termed as norm dependent.

Michael Toolan (1997) has given emphasis on the term global and not the global English to refer to the English language used worldwide in public roles by the people having different ethnic groups whether they are in business meetings, trade fairs and medical conferences or on airports. Global English has got developed in order to serve the people taking part in cross national discourse using English as a default medium. Due to the emergence of new Englishes, British and American hegemony upon English language is over. International users of English are claiming its ownership. The sense that it is rooted in European countries has decreased due to its use by the multiple countries and the nations. Toolan has emphasized that new terminology should be used in order to express the worldwide use of English language. According to him the global variety of English is the one that is necessary to acquire even for the native speakers of English so that when they talk to the each other or to the people from the other nations they may use neutral language that should be mutually intelligible. In the postcolonial context the other varieties of English have been recognized and the continuous spread of English has encouraged the applied linguistic approach to English that supports the multiple uses of

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English all over the world. So far as the linguistic perspective is concerned, the varieties of English do not vary on central linguistic background (E.J.Elizabeth, 2004).

2.3 English as a global literary language:

Bozzini (2001) has termed English language as an international language because it has achieved the status of international literary language and it has the quality of extraordinary reach as well as diversity. Literary works are available in English language all over the world.

D. David (2003) has defined the world literature as such kind of literature that covers all the literary works that circulate beyond their own culture from which they have originated. These works can either be in their original languages or in translated form. Further he has given the explanation of the fact that how a literary work enters into the global literature. According to him it is a double process by which it gets included into world literature. The first step is that it is being read as literature. The second step is that it circulates beyond its linguistic and cultural point of origin into a broader outside world. Franco Morretti (2000) has also given the same argument. Nowadays national literature does not mean much as the age of world literature has started and everybody should contribute to promote it. D. David (2003) has also commented upon the production of the world literatures that there would be as much world literatures as there are national as well as local perspectives making world literature not as a rival rather an object and a project of comparative literature. The stylistic and discursive qualities of the literature

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written by the non native speakers of English are quite different from the traditional literatures in English. Moreover there is a variety of cultures that non native literatures bring along with them. These literatures also possess complex interpretative features. These features of the culture and interpretation need profound discussion on the part of the students and the teachers of English literature in different parts of the world.

According to H. Han (2005) the intercultural awareness of the students is aroused by means of studying different literary works. They find opportunities to understand and identify various aspects of foreign cultures. There is a need to understand other cultures in spite of the fact that one culture is different from the other. The teachers need to be made able to develop students' intercultural competence and to understand and respect the people from the other cultures. Literature reflects values, beliefs, ideas, social, political and cultural development of a society. It is representative of the ideas of a particular society in a creative manner. Works in literature remain alive whether it is the past, the present or the future time. They show continuity of time. Literature of the past is quite important in the sense that the roots of the present can be found in it. Literature of the future is important as it shows the traditions of the past in modern ages. Moreover, literary texts help to develop intercultural competence. Learners view a social or a cultural group with subjective point of view as they come to know about their norms, ideas and prejudices. Literary texts give an opportunity to the learners to exchange their restricted views about culture with a hero or heroine of a narrative text or with the narrator. They can focus their attention on the characters and the actions and can make

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various judgments about them.

2.4 Teaching English language and literature in a global context:

According to Naz Rasool as stated by Sabiha Mansoor (2004) the language, literacy and the communication are crucial for the human development. These three factors are necessary to convey meaning and to shape the cultures. In this era of globalization these elements are necessary for lifelong learning. These are closely related to the international global market where a tough competition is going on and the demand for communicative competence, continuous upgrading of skills and technological advances is gradually increasing.

Teaching English as a global language requires that a shift should occur to the already established principles and practices of English language teaching. English language pedagogy from cultural perspective needs changes on the part of the teachers as well as the learners (J. Rubaiyat and R.S. Peter, 2006). Teaching English from a global perspective implies that the learners should be equipped with the knowledge of the diverse literary texts of the world. They should learn new ways to respond to them, to understand the nature of the global cultural flows and to learn how to mediate them (Canagarajah, 2002).

Same arguments have been given by Zughoul (2003) that the older approaches to the teaching of English need to be changed as it has acquired the global status. Learners need to be made more confident by means of empowering through English language learning. English language needs to be taught as a foreign language. The curriculum needs to be

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changed so that it is suitable for the learners as well as the society. Paradigm shift is required to teach language skills especially reading and writing.

Smith (1976) has suggested some pedagogical assumptions for teaching English as a global language:

i.   There is no need to internalize the native speaker norms by the learners of the global language

ii. The ownership of the global language is re nationalized

iii. The academic goal of teaching a global language is to enable the learners to communicate effectively about their own ideas and culture to the people from the other cultures.

Anne Burns (2005) has also given emphasis on redefining the classroom goals in English teaching in such a way that the tasks and the texts given to the students must be appropriate for them and should not follow the native speaker norms. The learners and the teachers need to be made aware of the content and the context in second language education.

Cook (1999) has recommended that it would be beneficial if attention is paid to the second language learner rather than the native speaker. Mutual intelligibility is also an important factor keeping in view the second language user. Kachru and Nelson (2001) have also given emphasis on three important points in intelligibility. These points are:

i.   The speakers' speech is recognizable for others that is termed as intelligibility

ii. The listener understands the meaning of what is being conveyed known as

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comprehensibility

iii. The listener is able to understand the purpose and the content that is interpretability

Teaching from a modern perspective requires that the teachers should enable the learners to learn new ways of responding, reflecting and revising the text. It also demands that the teachers should have high competence in spoken and written forms of language, cultural knowledge and familiarity with the literature (Kern, 2000).

2.4.1 Modern approaches to teaching English language and literature:

According to an analysis by Carroli (2002) learners' experience has been divided into three aspects:

i. Some learners consider literature to be composed of isolated elements of language and they focus while learning literature mainly on vocabulary and grammar parts of the text. They do not relate vocabulary and grammar with the whole text they study

ii. Some learners focus upon the cultural aspects of the text. They do not pay any attention to the language part of the text such as the linguistic structures, vocabulary and the learning processes

iii. Some students focus upon the linguistic as well as the cultural aspects of the text. They relate these aspects with one another and it helps a lot to maximize and broaden their thinking.

The learners' perception and approach towards studying literary texts has a crucial impact on their approach to learning literature and the learning outcomes. Learning outcomes are usually determined on the basis of high academic achievement, sense of personal growth

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and enjoyment in studying literature. The most successful students in the study of literature are those who adopt an integrated approach towards literature, language and culture. It enhances their knowledge of language as well as culture and brings a change in their outlook.

Carter and Long (1991) have given some approaches to teach literature:

i. *The cultural model:*

It is a traditional approach to the teaching of literature in which learners are required to interpret a text according to the social, political, literary and historical context. It helps the learners to understand various cultures and ideologies keeping in view their own cultures and ideologies. This model is not favored by the teachers of English as a foreign language because it is not only teacher centered but also has a flaw of providing a little opportunity for the language work.

ii. *The language model:*

It is the most common approach to the teaching of literature. In such kind of approach the students are required to read a text in a systematic way keeping in view its linguistic features, such as literary and figurative language as well as the grammatical aspects. The strategies used in this approach are cloze procedure, prediction exercises, jumbled sentences, summary writing, creative writing as well as role plays. Carter and Mc. Rae (1996) have termed this model deficient as it is disconnected from the literary goals of a specific text. Learner has a little connection with the text. Literature is used in such a manner that has no specific purpose other

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than language activities.

iii. *The personal growth approach:*

This approach focuses upon the use of language in a text as well as the context in which it is used in a literary text. Learners express their feelings and opinions about the text in terms of making comparisons between the target culture as well as their own culture and ideology. Learners also develop knowledge about a language and develop their ideas about a text when they come across various themes and topics.

O'Brien (1999) has given different stages for which a literary text can be used taking into account linguistic components. These stages are:

i. *Preparation and anticipation:*

At this stage the learners form their personal experience about the themes and context of a text.

ii. *Focusing:*

The learners focus upon the text by listening and reading specific contents of the text.

iii. *Preliminary response:*

The learners give spoken or written response to the text.

iv. *Working on the text (Level I):*

At this stage the learners usually focus upon the meaning of the text by extensive reading.

v. *Working on the text (Level II):*

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Learners do extensive study of the text to find out important ideas and themes lying in the text. Their focus is the overall structure of the text. They work upon literary devices such as rhythm, imagery and word choice.

vi. *Interpretation and personal response:*

This stage is concerned with enhancing the understanding of the text. Learners start enjoying literary texts at this stage and give their personal interpretations of the text. It is related to the personal growth of the learner.

2.4.2 Literature based approach to language:

Literature has an important role in language learning. Literary language has a charming and persuasive effect. Literature of a particular language has a deep connection with the intellectual traditions of a particular nation. It has an impact upon the themes and styles of writing. It is also termed as the cultural aspect that invokes learner motivation to learn literature (Fernando, 2004). According to M. Salih (1989) literature comprises of language as a major component and is supreme to all linguistic activities.

According to Fernando (2004) literature is never counterproductive. Our own teaching methodologies create barriers to learning language through literature. Using literature to develop linguistic competence requires four components:

i.   The achievement level of the learners

ii. The type of text being used

iii. The variety of texts needed as supplementary text material

iv. The fourth component can be in the form of native and foreign language cultural

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differences.

When the students study the language of the literary texts, it helps them to integrate language and literature. Meaningful interpretations and evaluations of the texts are made by the students when they analyze the literary ideas in detail. It increases their understanding of English. They interpret aesthetic components of a text by adopting grammatical, lexical and discursive approaches.

Literature helps a lot to develop linguistic skills as it promotes linguistic knowledge by giving opportunity to learn vocabulary and syntax use. Literature also has an important role in the language use as it is composed of discursive language (Povey, 1972).

According to Jon Davison and Jon Moss (2000) teaching and learning of literature along with paying attention to the language enables the students to succeed. It mostly happens that in the national curricula there is narrow range of the texts in literature presented to the students. It has created tension between three dominant views of English that are:

i.   English as a service subject by which learners can access other areas of curriculum

ii. English for preparation of successful life

iii. Giving access to experience by means of literature

Literature can be used as content as well as for the personal enrichment of the learner. Literature as content focuses on the areas such as history and the background of the literary movements as well as the literary devices. Reading and literary criticism of the texts helps the students to learn English. Mother tongue helps them to discuss and translate the texts. Students can be encouraged to express their own opinion, feelings and

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emotions by means of literature. It helps the students to learn English emotionally as well as intellectually. Materials for this purpose can be selected keeping in view following factors:

i.   Students own interests should be preferred

ii.   There needs to be a high level of personal involvement

iii. There needs to be a combination of literary as well as the non literary material.

2.4.3 Language based approach to literature:

Language based approach to literature covers a lot of goals and procedures. It is very closely related to the integration of language and literature. Important goals of this approach are:

i.   Studying or reading literature itself

ii.   Using literary texts for language purposes.

When literature is used for language activities it gives a variety of styles and registers that can be interpreted in multiple ways and so many topics can be found for classroom discussion. Using language based approach to the literature is comprised of techniques and procedures that are concerned with literary text itself. Stylistics can be used for the deep study of literary texts and especially linguistic features of the text. It helps to understand the meaning of the texts.

2.4.4 Integration of language and literature:

Duff and Maley (1990) have emphasized upon an integrated approach to teaching

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literature. They give following reasons for adopting this approach.

i.   *Linguistic:*

Linguistic reasons for adopting an integrated approach are that learners are exposed to varieties of authentic materials and they come to know about types and difficulties of English language

ii. *Methodological:*

By means of literary discourse readers come to know about use of schemas and strategies of intensive as well as extensive reading

iii. *Motivational:*

Literary texts make reading enjoyable.

Savvidou (2004) has supported the integration of linguistic as well as the literary components and says that it develops a learner's understanding of his own as well as the other cultures, gives him opportunities for personal expression as well as increases his knowledge about the lexical and the grammatical structures. The learners can use their learning strategies to analyze and interpret language in a specific context and come to know why and how of the language manipulation. Moreover learners get opportunities to develop their linguistic as well as communicative skills and various types of discourses. A useful technique of teaching literature is to open questions to the textual structure and identity. This can be done by studying two contrasting texts together. In this way the features of both the texts are revealed and the meaning of the textual status can be worked upon. Roland Barthes (1970) as cited by John Davison and John Moss (2000) have given

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some techniques to explore the narrative text. These techniques are:

  i. The proairetic that is related to the actions, sequence and the development of the ideas in a text

  ii. The semic that is related to the components and the constituent elements

  iii. The symbolic that is related to the themes, symbols, contrasts and echoes

  iv. The cultural that is related to the knowledge, references and the implied information about the text

  v. The hermeneutic related to the questions, enigmas, answers and gaps

The students can be made to exercise a text keeping in mind these codes.

The proairetic code can be put into action by dividing a text into segments. It can help to identify how various components of a text are related to each other. It can help to understand the codes and conventions.

The semic code can be practiced by asking the students about the places, events, objects and identities in a text, meanings, relations between meanings and meanings in context.

The symbolic code can be practiced by asking students about the information text provides. The students can be asked about the answered and unanswered questions in a text. It can invoke speculative reading practice.

The cultural code can provide information about culture and the context. Specific pieces of the vocabulary can be related to a particular culture. It can help to understand the contemporary discourses and various types of linguistic analysis.

The hermeneutic code can be put into practice by discussing types of questions, issues to

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be discussed that remain untouched in a text and making efforts to fill the gaps among various components of the text.

Stylistic approach towards teaching literature enables the students to use language in different ways. By making interpretations and getting access to the range of the meanings the learners' interpretive abilities get polished. Working with the ambiguous literary texts students' capacity for learning literary meanings is developed. Learners' critical abilities and emotional awareness is developed when they get opportunities to express their ideas in English (Gillian Lazar, 1993).

Using literature from different cultures into literature enables the teachers to change their attitudes as well as their methodologies about how to explore the issues of race, class and culture as well as issues in dealing with multicultural literatures (Banks 1993; Spears-Bunton 1998).

According to Fernando (2004) literature is never counterproductive; rather our teaching methodologies create barriers to learning language through literature. Using literature to develop linguistic competence requires three components.

i.   Achievement level of the learner

ii. Type of text being used

iii. Varieties of the texts needed as supplementary text material

iv. The fourth component can be in the form of native and foreign language cultural differences.

In order to fulfill both the literary and the linguistic needs appropriate texts need to be

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selected.

According to Fillmore (1982), in a literature focused classroom the students should be able to convey the information about what is learned as well as the language used in context and the language itself. Students should be provided opportunities so that they receive input in an effective manner and also learn a second language in such away that they give better output.

Literature has a very important role in developing learners' communicative competence in second language (Shanahan, 1997).

According to Bozzini (2001) arguments in the favor of teaching literature in ESOl include:

i.   Literature contributes a lot in developing language competence

ii. Actual language use is reflected through the vocabulary and the syntactic structures used in a variety of contexts.

iii. All the four skills including reading, writing, listening and speaking are developed by adopting an integrated approach to the teaching of literary texts.

iv. Learners' critical skills are developed through analysis and discussion of the literary texts

v.   Literature makes language learning interesting and enjoyable thus appealing to both the intellectual as well as the affective domains.

2.4.5 Transformative learning through literature:

 According to Mezirow (1991, 1995) as cited by N.L. Hadaway and M.J.

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McKenna (2007) transformative learning takes place when the learners are engaged in rational discourse and reflect critically. It is enhanced through experiential learning. This approach implies that the teachers as well as the learners should get engaged in global literature as well as the political nature of teaching. Transformation is the identification of community based needs as well as taking action to fulfill that need.

Using transformative learning model with global literature:

Using transformative learning model for global literature comprises of following stages:

i. 1nformation:

At this stage the students get information from their teachers and texts. This is called as efferent reading or reading for experience. The students think in a deeper way about all that is happening in their own contexts, in their neighborhood as well as around the globe. At the information stage a teacher provides knowledge about the history, author rationale and background of a particular text. Here the students are given direct instructions, assignments and discussions are held about the texts. At this stage knowledge, comprehension and interest are developed and the classroom is teacher centered.

ii. Integration:

It is the second stage where the learners get engaged with the text in a deeper way as compared to the first stage. This stage is transaction between the reader and the text. Here the learner works upon personal as well as aesthetic meaning of the text. They

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learn about condition of people living in different areas and the social and cultural environment.

iii. Transformation:

This is the last stage where the learners become able to know about something, some place or some person and relate it with a particular situation. The students and the teachers work for social empathy and become volunteers against social injustice. The students, the teachers and the interested community partners work individually or in groups to address mutually identified needs.

iv. Extending the model through service learning:

Service learning is connected to the curriculum as well as to the goals of the curriculum. Here the classroom learning is taken to the community to address local or global needs. Any kind of learning such as history, music arts etc can be extended to the community keeping in view the needs, and size of the community.

2.5 Importance of culture in teaching literature from global perspective:

According to Brown (1994) culture is a particular context in which the individuals think, feel and react to others in a particular manner. He terms culture as glue that keeps a group of the people together. It helps to determine the behavior of the people and makes them status conscious as well as helps them to know what others think about them. Cortazzi and Jin (1999) suggest three types of cultural perspectives that can be used in designing textbooks and materials for second language teaching. The first one is to include materials related to learners' own culture. The second one is to include materials

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from target language countries. The third one is to use global cultural materials including English speaking as well as non English speaking countries.

According to Zughoul (1999) the content that is reflective of the western institutions, values and styles should be avoided in language teaching. Foreign culture should be taught in such a manner that there is a comparison of target culture and the local culture. Moreover local culture should not get threatened and should remain superior to foreign culture. Students need to be enabled to talk about their own culture a well as have knowledge about global cultures. It is a great challenge to teachers, their pedagogical approaches and the attitude they have towards English language and culture.

The literary texts in English language reflect the rich and diverse world. Writers living in different countries and having different cultural backgrounds have written literary texts in English. When students get exposed to a range of literary texts they come to know about diverse cultures that are reflected through literary texts (Gillian Lazar, 1993). The study of literature has a great role in developing awareness about the different cultures. Literature reflects the attitudes, beliefs and practices of different cultures. On the one hand it gives a comprehensive view of culture but on the other hand it can create problems as well because the people have developed a stereotypical view of English language and culture (Kachru in Brumfit and Carter, 1986; Lazar, 1993).

According to Naz Rasool as quoted by Sabiha Mansoor (2004) language and culture go side by side and are loosely linked to the lives of people, their culture as well as society.

According to Byram (1988):

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i. A learner needs to explore his/her own culture

ii. The learner needs to discover the relationship between languages and culture

iii. A learner needs to know how to compare and analyze cultures.

Joseph John (1986) has argued that language and linguistics courses are usually concerned with certain rules and principles of language learning and restrain students' knowledge while literature provides extra features that help to improve students' command over English language as well as their ability to use language freely as linguistic, cultural, social and psychological medium of expression.

2.6 Position and status of English language in Pakistan:

Muhammad Akram and Anser Mahmood (2007) have highlighted the position and status of English language in Pakistan. According to them English language enjoys a high status in Pakistan as a language of education, law, government as well as science and technology. If a Pakistani has an inadequate grasp over English language, it always reminds him of his lower status. English teaching in Pakistan is mostly text based as the British nation wanted to create a class of native speakers who would act as a buffer between the Indians and the British and would also act as linking agents. English is a compulsory subject from the very first grade in all the curricula of Pakistan. Pakistani English teachers need to teach English as a second language from the linguistic perspective. The number of institutes where English language education is being given is

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increasing day by day that shows how much value is being given to English language in our country.

Ghani (2003) has also commented about the same situation as mentioned by A. Muhammad and M. Anser (2007). According to him English language in Pakistan is considered as a key to success for further education and for getting higher jobs. It is the language of education on a wide scale as well as of higher education. It is not used as a home language by Pakistanis. The upper strata of society use English language as a symbol of status. Socially English is used as a second language and has a great impact on economic and educational progress. It has a great role in commerce and industry. It is also used outside the government sector.

According to Rabia Samiullah (1999-2001) there is a very long history of English literature education in Pakistan. Pakistanis have always showed a high interest in studying English literature. The Pakistani students learn it to get information about the target culture, to develop linguistic awareness and competence. Further she says that in Pakistan more attention is paid towards learning literature than towards learning linguistics.

2.7 English literature in Pakistan at Higher Education level:

Dr. Tariq Rehman (2004) has given an overview of the English language and literature being taught in higher education institutions of Pakistan. According to him English is offered at masters' level by traditional universities of Pakistan. B.A (honors) courses in English are offered by Universities of Sindh. In the other universities of

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Pakistan the students are just examined for B.A degree. Actual teaching of English takes place in colleges. Some colleges also offer M.A degree in English but the courses are determined by the university with which they are affiliated. M.A English courses are composed of English literary classics. Some of the universities have included courses in linguistics as well like the University of Azad Kashmir. Linguistics, ELT and American Literature are offered as optional courses in the universities of Punjab and Karachi. Postcolonial literature is not being taught at undergraduate level anywhere in the universities. A little change has taken place about the awareness in English language especially linguistics. Some institutes have started mandatory courses in functional English. These institutes include the British council, The Aga Khan University and NUML (National University of Modern Languages). Officially prescribed variety in Pakistani institutions is still British English. At higher level teachers are aware of the other varieties of English and refer to work on Pakisani variety of English. Great Pakistani writers of English literature like Bapsi Sidhwa talk about the Pakistanized phrase and the choice of the native words. Great academics and literary figures have nearly a native like command over English language. In actual practice the teachers prefer to teach British Standard English and use outdated books.

According to a report by the Boston group, Higher Education commission is trying its best to transform Pakistani institutions into such seats of learning, advancement and knowledge so that it would help to create such a society that is modern, progressive and tolerant, having dignity of labor, craftsmanship, inquiring spirit, critical thinking and the

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sense of public duty. There are continuing concerns about the rising levels of intolerance, conflict, violence, and civic indifference. There is a consistent increase in poverty and dependence. Pakistani institutions are in trouble to work for such problems. Private sector institutions have a good quality of higher education but they are less in number to meet the needs of the population. Most of the burden is on the public institutes of higher education comprising of universities and colleges. The major problems in higher education include poor quality of the teachers, low motivation on the part of the students, unsuitable course content for the social and the economic needs, gender and class differences, student discipline, outdated course materials and curriculum, fiscal insolvency and the lack of research. Teachers' quality is in a poor condition. Students are given a poor learning environment. The result is an overwhelming majority of students emerging from Pakistani institutions that have no social or technical skills. There is a very little emphasis given on communication, language and humanities.

2.7.1 Need for change:

A World Bank report on higher education in Pakistan (1990) has stated the condition of higher education in Pakistan. According to the report there is sharp and accelerating deterioration in the higher education sector. The nation's universities are becoming pale shadows of the effectively run universities in the world. Most of the colleges have as low standard as that of a high school. Scientific research has no quality. If seen from the preview of international standards Pakistani degrees will not be better

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than a secondary school diploma in a few years.

According to Dr. Shahid Siddiqui (2007), in Pakistan most of the educational institutions follow literature based approach at the different levels. The students are given education about all the genres of literature including short stories, poems, essays, plays and novels. This kind of emphasis on literature only has faced a very strong criticism by the practicing teachers and linguists. As Akyel and Yalcin (1990) have said that broadening the learners' knowledge through teaching classic literature usually has disappointing results. If the language used in text deviates from usual norms of the language use, it is archaic, metaphorical, rhetorical, and metaphysical and makes use of the complex registers. It becomes problematic for the students to learn literature (Gillian Lazar, 1993).

According to Widdowson (1975), in order to make efforts to teach communicative competence to the learners there is a tendency to use such type of texts that focus upon the transactional and the expressive forms of writing excluding poetic forms of language that constitute literature. It is perceived that using literary discourse deflects from knowledge of language learning, knowledge about language structure and the functions of communication. Short (1996) has termed divergence between language and literature as the cause of disconnected pedagogic practices of language and literature.

Dr. Shahid Siddiqui (2007) has termed literature as a luxury which can not be afforded by most of our students in Pakistan. The students do not have enough knowledge about basic language skills that are needed to use language as a tool of communication.

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Pakistani learners learn English language for two reasons that are

i.   To acquire higher education in different fields

ii. To get good jobs

In order to achieve these objectives students need to learn basic language skills that are reading, writing, listening, and speaking in order to use language in an effective manner. Most of the course designers in Pakistan come from literature background. The books they design reflect their passion for literature. Just like other developing countries in Pakistan the emphasis is given upon teaching English literary classics or literature of high caliber. It is leading to disillusionment about literature. When the students study such type of texts they are completely lost. Neither classical poetry is of any use to them nor can they understand, appreciate and use its vocabulary. Apart from the choice of such texts another problematic factor is their unsuitable teaching methodology. The teachers do not have enough training and experience.

Rabia Samiullah (2001) has commented upon the problems associated with English literature education in Pakistan. According to her, for more than half a century English education has been in progress in Pakistan. Some issues have remained associated with it. They involve the scarcity of the qualified faculty, the students' minimum competence in linguistics, poor examination system and the syllabus that is totally against what students need to have. The problem of linguistic incompetence is so serious that students are unable to decode the meaning in literature. The problem associated with textbooks is also important because until now medieval literary texts are being taught to the students. They

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have to work very hard to understand archaic words and expressions that are too difficult or them. In this way students can not get access to learn the contemporary literature. Unsuitable selection of the texts reduces their motivation and they think that they are being forced to learn which they do not want to learn. These problems have remained unresolved until now and have prevented getting success in the teaching of literature.

Same points have been emphasized by Sabiha Mansoor (2004). According to her learning English for Pakistani learners is quite complex. English is the language of offices, finance, academic circles and education in Pakistan. It is needed in Pakistan not only because of modernization and technology but also due to linguistic, social and political considerations. Pakistani students learn English to travel and study abroad, studying technical literature, in order to cope with classes in the university, social needs to access international books, journals and as a working language for future careers.

2.7.2 Unsuitable syllabus:

The materials used for English language and literature pedagogy at the Board or the University levels in Pakistan are taken from abroad. The textbooks are mostly written by the native English speakers that are not suitable for the students who are the non native speakers of English. The absence of local materials for English language pedagogy as well as teaching functional English is being viewed with suspicion. Some people feel that it is all because of the undue influence of the western cultural hegemony over the local values and cultures. As a consequence although there is high motivation on the part of teachers and learners to teach and learn English, the status of English language still

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remains controversial. English language learning can become more meaningful if the local materials are included in the syllabus. The materials being used to teach English are creating difficult situation for the Pakistani learners. They feel it hard to relate to the foreign contexts. There is no contribution made by the syllabus designers or teachers to make the texts interesting and non-judgmental. As according to Or (1995) teachers and syllabus designers are usually reluctant to introduce unabridged and authentic texts in ESL syllabus. It is usually thought that the literature is quite difficult as well as inaccessible for a foreign language learner and it can cause hindrance to the process of language learning. The students are not given any opportunity to get knowledge about the foreign culture nor are they introduced to ethnic groups or their value systems. Research produced in this century has evolved a theory that the knowledge of the native culture is very much important for the learners of a second language. Similarities and differences play a very useful role in the language studies. For the teachers of a second language the knowledge of the common features between the two languages or of the universal features of the language is crucial for understanding the language process as a whole. In this way we can recognize not only different types of world views and different ways of expressing reality but can also recognize through language and culture some universal features that help to bind us all together in this world (Sabiha Mansoor, 2004).

2.7.3 Changes in syllabus suggested by the scholars:

According to Sabiha Mansoor (2004), in order to prepare students to use English language in an effective manner teaching of English needs to have following objectives.

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i. English for the academic purposes

ii. English for the interactive purposes

iii. English for the communication in target areas of work

iv. To travel and study abroad and to communicate with the speakers of English as second or as a foreign language.

The first three objectives require that the students should be given education of English language with their local contexts while the fourth one requires that English should be taught for the intercultural communication. Teaching of English in Pakistan requires that the students should learn how to use English as a foreign language and how to use it as an international language.

According to Rabia Samiulah (2002) Pakistani students have their own way of learning. Keeping in view their needs and learning styles proper materials need to be selected and suitable approaches need to be used to teach literature.

Dr Shahid Siddiqui (2007) has given emphasis upon a balanced approach towards language and literature. He has given three points:

i. Using literature for language learning purposes

ii. Exploring the existing books for better academic outcomes

iii. Focusing upon the changes required in our classroom teaching practices

As according to Kramsch (1985) the curriculum for the learners should be adjusted in such away that literature should be appropriated according to learner needs.

Shahid Siddiqui (2007) has further argued that we can think about the productive

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coexistence of language as well as literature. Language can be taught to understand and appreciate literature and literature can be used to teach language in an interesting manner. Pakistani students are non native speakers of English language so the texts should be selected keeping in view the linguistic levels of the students. Grand classics can be replaced by including simple and contemporary texts in the syllabus. Motivation has an important role for the learners of English. Literature can help the students to take interest in their study. In Pakistani context students do not get opportunities for spoken and listening language practice. Reading is an important skill as students get maximum exposure to target language by means of reading.

According to Abdulhafeez (2004) the objectives of teaching English should be to enable the learners to use language for communicative purposes. Students listening skills should be improved. Their speaking skills need to be developed so that they can speak English with confidence. Their reading skills also need to be developed so that they become able to understand different types of texts. The writing skills also need attention to enable the students to write effectively in second language. The materials that are selected for students should reflect the issues related to the use of language in present as well as future situations. Thus the materials should be according to the learners needs and should fulfill the objectives of the programs for which English is being taught. It would help the students to use the language effectively for their own purposes.

Fernando (2004) has maintained that the selection of the appropriate literary texts is a very decisive factor to promote literary studies at all levels. Wrong and arbitrary

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selections deviate students from learning literature. According to Gillian Lazar (1993), in order to select proper texts following points should be kept in mind:

i.   Type of course being taught

ii. Type of students being taught

iii. Students' cultural background

iv. Students' linguistic proficiency

v.   Students' literary background

vi. Literary qualities of the text itself

vii. Whether a student can navigate his own way through text

Syllabus designers need to design the cultural component of the course in such away that it serves as an aid to learning English rather than a problem. Our own local materials can be developed for the teaching of English. According to an assessment of locally published materials by Khan and Lindley (1993) the English language materials published in Pakistan by both the private and the public sectors is an average of about 3,000 a year, despite of the fact that it is the ninth most populous country in the world. The maximum number of the books published is in the national language (Urdu) rather than English language. One of the factors behind low number of published books is identified as shortage of the local publishers and the unavailability of the trained human resources. The readers have a very few English language publications at their disposal so far as the indigenous materials are concerned, that is why readers have to rely on the imported books having high prices (Sabiha Mansoor,2004).

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2.7.4 Need to incorporate local as well as global literary materials for Pakistani learners:

According to Sabiha Mansoor (2004), in order to make English language learning interesting and useful for the Pakistani students, the English language teachers have to recognize the relationship between the language and the culture. Nowadays culture has more sophisticated and deep meaning for language learning so far as the affective and the cognitive domains of the language learning are concerned.

Implications of using English in terms of language and culture involve following aspects:

i. Awareness of the students' own ethnicity

ii. Awareness of the Pakistani culture

iii. Awareness of the target culture that means the awareness of the British and the American culture as well as the global culture.

Rabia Samiullah (2001) has also given similar views. According to her the Pakistani students not only learn literature to achieve linguistic competence but also to get knowledge about the world and to understand it.

2.7.4.1 Importance of local culture in teaching English literature:

English language is viewed as a threat to the languages and the cultural identities of the different nations of the world. The people from the different countries including some of the Western nations have expressed their fear about the globalization as the impact it leaves on an individual's culture and identity is not positive. The old cultures

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are getting assimilated to the global culture and the new values, habits and loyalties are being adopted (Zughoul, 2003). According to Nick Piem as stated by J. Davison and J. Moss (2000), in every aspect of culture the traces of the globalization are present. There is a very rapid increase in the rates of the cultural mixing and the cultural interpretation. Then there comes a very intricate phenomenon called globalization where local cultures react along with as well as against (in few cases) the cultural trends of globalization.

Sabiha Mansoor (2004) has defined culture as an important factor that is necessary for the survival of humanity. It covers art, music drama, education, dress, religion, politics, crafts, and technology. When someone lives in a particular culture he or she adopts it. When different cultures come in contact with each other or when the inspiration comes from inside of the members of a particular culture changes occur in cultures. So far as Pakistani culture is concerned local cultures and regional languages are different in different regions. In spite of the huge diversity all the Pakistanis are united by the common beliefs and the values concerned with behavior, standards, character qualities, human relations and lifestyles, that are admired by people having different castes like Punjabis, Pathans Sindhis and Baluchis in Pakistan. Life and culture of Pakistani people has a close connection with religion (Islam). Other important aspect is the feeling of nationhood that all Pakistanis share; it does not mater whether they are from different castes or minority groups like Christians, Parsees and Hindus. All of them have same feelings of loyalty and patriotism towards their country.

Keeping in view such a unique cultural environment there is an urgent requirement to

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publish local materials in English. It would involve not only publishing the writings and translations of the Pakistani writers but also encouraging Pakistani authors to create materials for the pedagogical purposes. The local materials would be easier to study and would help students in using English for the functional domains. The language materials should be helpful to meet both the academic as well the cultural needs of the Pakistani students. Using local materials would help for more successful learning of English language by incorporating the local cultural values of our own learners. In this way learning of second language will become more meaningful as there would be better opportunities for cognitive development as well as avoidance of cultural alienation for the students. It would also help to create positive attitude and higher motivational intensity to learn English. Applied and sociolinguists are required to play their role in this regard (Sabiha Mansoor, 2004).

According to Bapsi Sidhwa (1993) as quoted by Sabiha Mansoor(2004)

Although I speak Gujrati at home and am relatively fluent in Urdu and understand Punjabi, English is the language I choose to write in. Fortunately, I dream and think in all four languages. I feel perhaps in common with most trilingual or bilingual writers, fortunate in having access to these languages. I am free to take what I wish from the riches each offers. The earthly gusto of Punjabi, the poetry and delicacy of Urdu, the comedy and farce of Gujrati, the wealth of choice which makes for exactitude in English, and the body of meaning encapsulated in any of the words of these

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South Asian languages and juggle them to my advantage.

Professor Farida Javed Malik in an ELT Seminar held in Lahore 1996, suggested that the study of the Literature component for Pakistani students in the curriculum should include the works of the Pakistani English writers especially women poets and English translations of our well known Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, Pushto and other local writers to enhance students' understanding of their own cultural identity (Sabiha Mansoor, 2004).

Sabiha Mansoor (2004) has proposed the following steps to incorporate culture in EFL classroom.

i. ELT institutions in Pakistan like AKU-CEL, SPELT Karachi, A.I.O.U, HEC Islamabad and CALS (Lahore) should incorporate local materials in English language teaching from primary to graduate levels

ii. The syllabus designers need to incorporate texts and translations of Pakistani authors. English language and literature syllabus should include Pakistani, English as well as global literatures at al levels.

iii. Teacher training should include cultural component in classroom applications programs. It would also develop and monitor ELT materials that would meet national standards.

iv. A national institute for study and research on Pakistani English and Pakistani culture and English across the cultures needs to be established. It would take the responsibility of research programs, international exchange programs and graduate teaching.

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2.7.4.2 Importance of promoting cross cultural understanding for Pakistani learners:

C. Ismail (2006) has argued that when students read the literature of the foreign countries they become more curious intellectually as they come to know about the fact that there are other modes also available to express the feelings and the needs. Further, he says that in order to enable a learner to communicate effectively with the people from the diverse cultural backgrounds two things are necessary. First, the learner should understand the influences foreign culture exerts over others behavior. Second, the learner should know the influences of his own culture on his thought, behavior and the linguistic expression. He has given five reasons to familiarize learners with cultural components:

i.   Developing communication skills

ii. Understanding the linguistic and behavior patterns of local as well as target culture

iii. Developing intercultural understanding

iv. Providing a wide perspective to perceive reality

v.   Solving problems of communication, interpretation and translation in an enjoyable manner.

According to Byram and Risager (1999) cultural dimension of language teaching should involve following factors:

i.   Developing learners' knowledge about his own cultural identity

ii. Developing ability to work out similarities as well as the differences among the various cultures

iii. Motivating students and assisting them to develop a critical approach towards

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different cultures

iv. Removing prejudice and developing tolerance among the learners about different cultures

v. Making the students learn a language with interest

vi. Making the students able to understand the people's actions, social variables, cultural images related to the words and the phrases and also raising their intellectual curiosity about the target culture.

According to Naz Rasool, as mentioned by Sabiha Mansoor, (2004) the level of linguistic competence required in today's world requires communication skills that comprise of intercultural communication skills, knowledge about different cultures and skills in using more the one language.

Kachru (1983) has emphasized on the fact that if Pakistani learners' own culture as well as foreign culture is incorporated in teaching English, it would help Pakistani students who are the language learners of the outer circle to communicate in an effective manner with the English language speakers of their own country as well as with the English language speakers of the inner and the expanding circle (Sabiha Mansoor, 2004).

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Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In order to conduct research in an effective manner quantitative as well as qualitative approaches were considered suitable. The aim of using quantitative approach was to assess quickly a fairly large sample of students and teachers. Quantitative approach made it easier to collect data from 60 students and 40 teachers but the opinions of the students and teachers were restricted because of the already mentioned options given to them. It was considered indispensable to use qualitative approach as well so that the respondents could express their opinion freely. Qualitative approach was quite helpful to explore the issues according to the context, understanding the problems and getting new insights.

3.1 Population:

The population consisted of the students studying English literature at the graduate level as well as English literature teachers from various colleges of NWFP where English literature is being taught at graduate level. It was considered important to select the population from different colleges of NWFP because most of these colleges are providing low quality education in English literature that does not match with the modern standards of teaching and learning.

Sample:

The sample consisted of 60 students and 40 teachers selected from different colleges of NWFP including Peshawar, Malakand and Swat. Only 100 respondents were

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selected because of the time and availability constraints. The sample was selected through a stepwise process. First random sampling was done on larger scale. Within that random sampling cluster sampling was carried out. Once again random sampling was carried out within the cluster to select the number of the respondents that could be handled with convenience.

3.2 Instruments for data collection:

Three research methods were considered suitable to collect data for this research.

  i.   Structured questionnaires for the students and the teachers

  ii.   Unstructured interviews with the students as well as the teachers

Questionnaires helped to provide quantitative data while interviews provided qualitative data.

i. Questionnaires:

Aim of using the questionnaires was to collect data about learners' needs, views about the existing syllabus and the changes required in the syllabus. For this purpose questionnaire was adapted from a research conducted by Butler (2006). Two options yes/ no were given to the participants. The questionnaire was comprised of questions focusing upon the important areas mentioned in the research that are:

  i.   Learners' needs

  ii.   Views about the existing syllabus being offered to the graduate level students in the colleges

  iii. Changes required in the syllabus

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iv.   Views about including literature written by Pakistani authors

v.   Views about the world literature in English

ii. Interviews:

Unstructured interviews were conducted with teachers as well as the students. The interviews were adapted from S. F. Saad, G. Deanna and J. B. Susan (2008). Changes were made in the content of the interviews according to the requirements of the research. These interviews were selected because of their open ended nature in order to collect comprehensive information about the learners' needs and views about the existing syllabus. The questions were selected on the basis of major themes collected by means of quantitative research. The major foci of the questions were:

i.   The existing syllabus

ii.   The students' needs

iii.   Preferred changes required in the syllabus

iv.   Questions about the local as well as the global literature

3.3 Reliability and Validity of the instruments:

The instruments were subjected to a pilot study for the confirmation of their reliability and validity. As mentioned by M. Alison and G.M. Susan (2005) instrument reliability is the consistency of scores obtained by testing the same instrument more than one times.

Validity refers to the ability of the instrument to measure what it is supposed to measure so that the results obtained are not only significant to the population that is tested but also

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for our research. It is not possible to measure the exact validity of the instrument. Generalizing the results to the situations other than the situation in which research is being conducted can help to measure the validity of the instrument to some extent.

3.3.1 Reliability and validity of quantitative data instruments:

Reliability of quantitative data was checked by different kinds of methods. First a pilot study was conducted with a few respondents and the results were put to factor analysis.

Later on the results were collected second time and the discrepancies were removed.

i. Reliability Analysis and Factor analysis:

The reliability of the quantitative data was determined by means of reliability analysis as well as factor analysis.

Reliability of need analysis questionnaires:

These questionnaires focused upon the learners' needs. Twenty questions were given to every respondent having two options yes/ no. In order to measure the reliability of the questionnaire reliability analysis was applied. Cronbach Alpha was set at 0.7 as most of the times researchers set the same value for reliability analysis.

Table 3.1: Reliability statistics for the need analysis questionnaire.

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.697	20

This table shows reliability statistics for twenty items in the questionnaire that was found to be 0.69 that is very close to the already set value of 0.70. It signifies that the

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instrument was reliable.

In order to get detailed information about all the twenty components of the questionnaire factor analysis was applied. Eigen value was set at 1. All the elements having Eigen value of 0.48 and above were selected and the values below 0.48 were extracted. The reason for selecting Eigen value of 0.48 was that most of the times it is very hard to get an Eigen value of 1 or close to 1 in social sciences. In such a situation extracting the questions below some satisfactory value can affect the research.

ii. Validity of the questionnaires:

It was very difficult to check the exact validity of the instruments however in order to check the face validity of the instruments different techniques were used like discussion with the participants, pilot study and the views of the colleagues who helped to conduct this research. The questions were discussed with the respondents and they were told briefly about the purpose of the research. They were asked to give their opinion about different questions that whether they felt it hectic to respond or if they felt any difficulty in understanding the meaning of the questions. Questionnaire on need analysis contained more than 25 items initially but for the sake of the convenience of the respondents the number of items was reduced. Moreover, the number of options given to the respondents also needed to be reduced because they felt it difficult to use five points or seven points scale. To make the scale convenient to understand it was reduced to only two points. Pilot study also helped a lot to know about the validity of the items. From the views of the respondents it became very clear that they wanted to have clear and precise

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language used in the questionnaires and also suitable number of questions to which they could easily respond.

3.3.2 Validity of the qualitative data:

The qualitative data consisted of interviews that were unstructured. Face validity of the qualitative data was also determined by means of pilot study and the views of the respondents and colleagues about the questions. Some of the respondents complained that the interviews were too lengthy and they could not respond effectively. For the sake of their convenience the number of items was reduced and the simple language was used in the interviews. Some of the respondents were not fluent enough in English so they were given the choice to use their first language while they had difficulty in stating their opinion in English language. They could either use the mixture of English language and Urdu language or simply state their opinion using Urdu language.

3.4 Data Analysis:

Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS. Chi square test, T test were used to check the significance while Pearson's r and Spearman's rho were used to check correlations.

Qualitative data were analyzed keeping in view the ideas given by different researchers regarding teaching of English language and literature in Pakistan.

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Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the results have been analyzed according to the research questions and hypotheses that have laid the foundation of the study. Two types of data have been collected and analyzed for the purpose of analysis and discussion that is quantitative as well as qualitative data.

4.1 Quantitative data results:

Quantitative data were collected through questionnaires. Questionnaires were used to collect data from the students as well as from the teachers. Questionnaires focused on the existing syllabus, the needs of the students according to the global context, changes required in the syllabus and the significance of local as well as the global literatures in the syllabus.

4.1.1 Students' needs:

Research question 1:

What are the students' needs to learn English literature according to the global context?

Hypothesis 1:

Majority of the students will have stronger needs for learning English literature according to the global context.

The questions related to the needs focused on communication skills especially reading, writing, listening and speaking. Grammar was also included in students' needs. The need to learn local as well as global literatures were also considered important for the

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students.

i. Reading skills:

Graph 4.1.1.i:
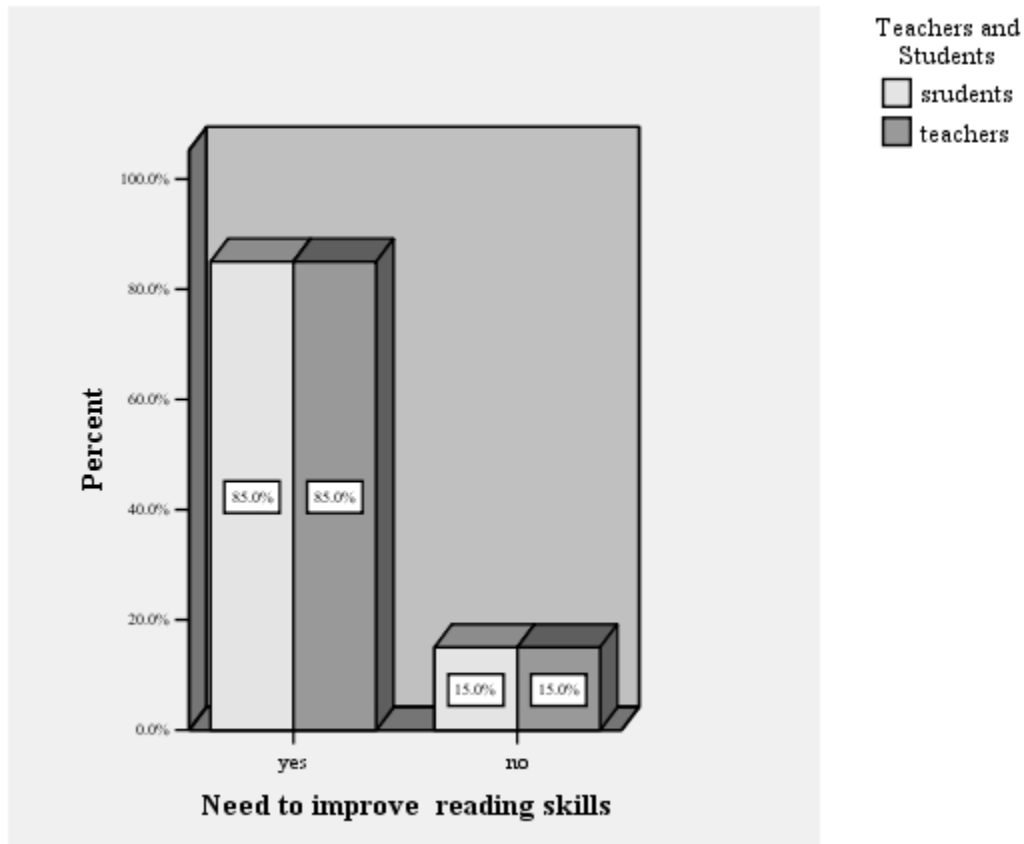
This graph indicates that overwhelming majority of the teachers and students, that is more than 80% have given positive responses while an insignificant number of teachers and students that is less than 20% have given negative responses. Bars do not represent any significant difference in the response ratios of the teachers as well as the students. It signifies that that there is a strong need to improve reading skills. The teachers and the students have same kind of opinion for improvement required in the

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reading skills in English.

ii. Writing skills:

Graph 4.1.1.ii:
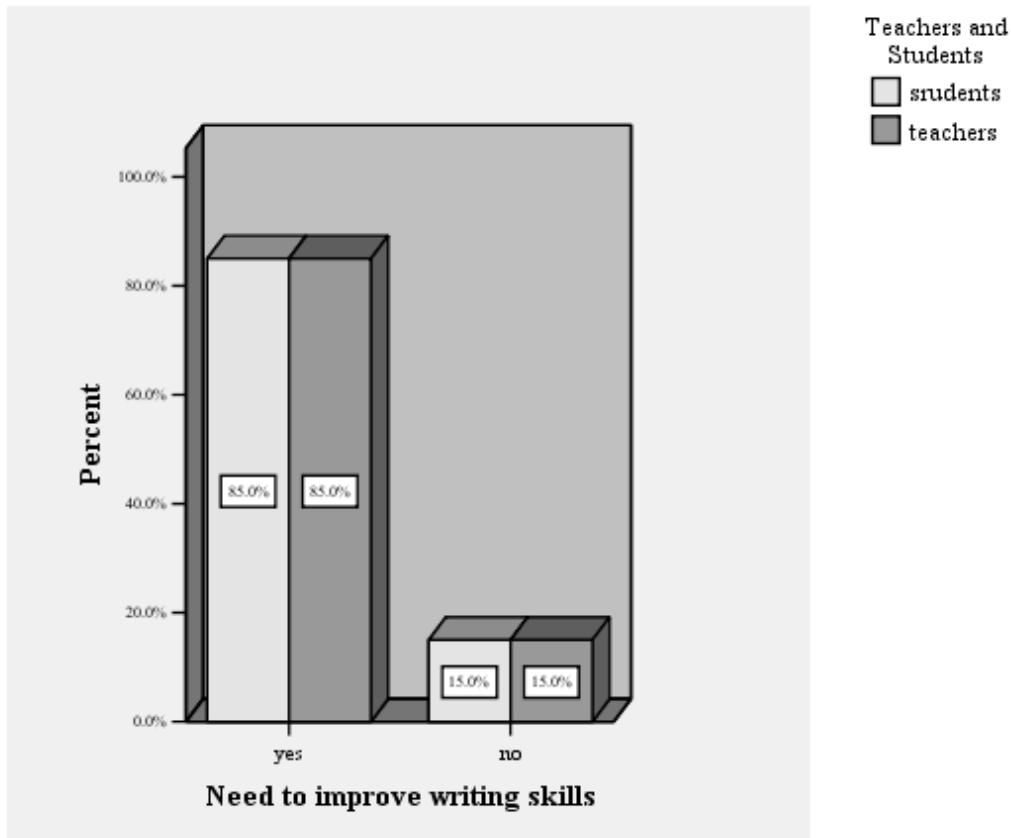
According to this graph more than 80% teachers and more than 80% students have given positive responses while less than 20% teachers and students have given negative responses. Bars have almost same ratio of the responses of the students and teachers for both the categories positive and negative. It means that majority of the students and teachers think that the there is a very strong need to improve writing skills.

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iii. Listening skills:

Graph 4.1.1.iii:
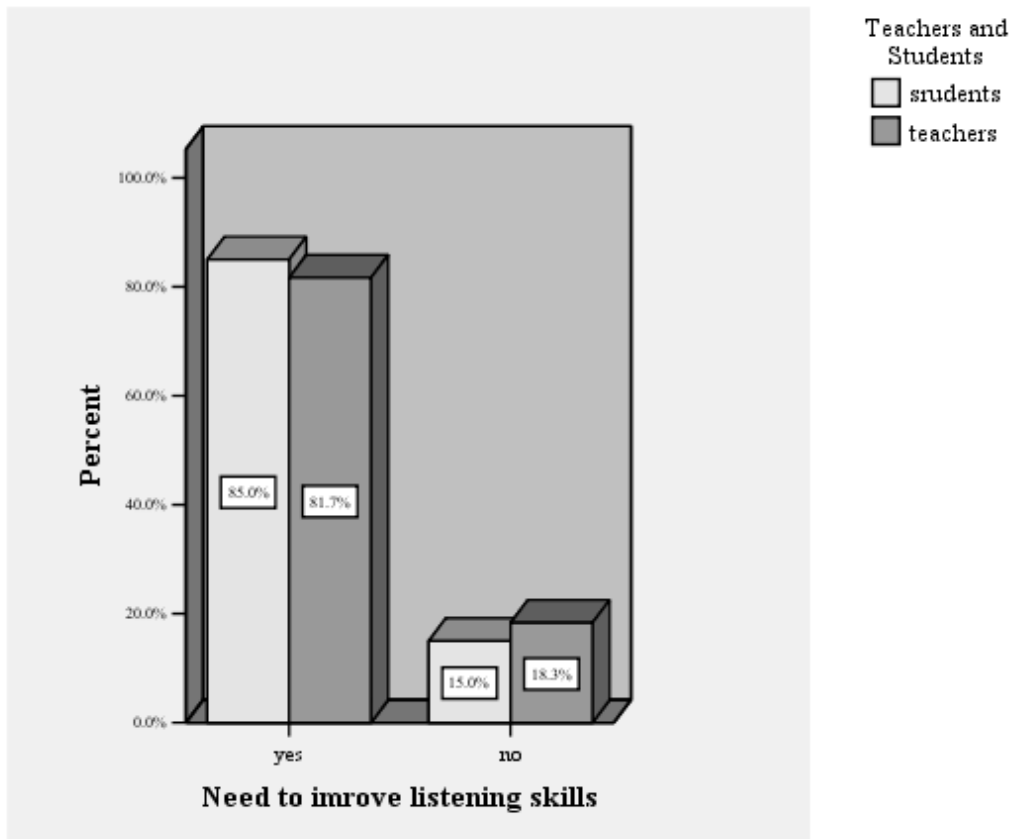
This graph indicates that 81.7% teachers and 85% students have chosen the category yes for their responses while only 18.3% teachers and 15% student has chosen the category no for their responses. There is not any significant difference among the bars so far as the ratios of the responses are concerned. It shows that the majority of the

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students and the teachers feel that there is a need to improve listening skills in English.

iv. Spoken English:

Graph 4.1.1.iv:
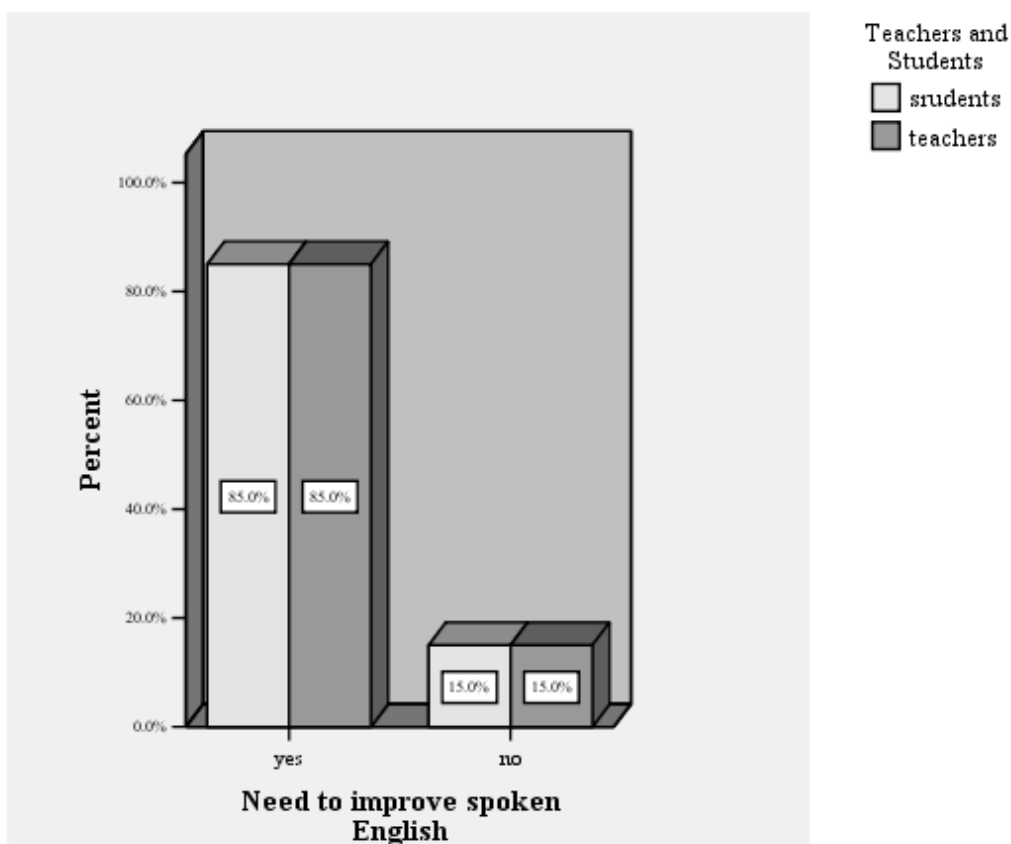
According to the graph 85% students and 85% teachers have given positive responses while only 15% students and 15% teachers have given negative responses. The ratios of the positive and the negative responses are the same for the teachers and the

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students. It means that a significant number of the teachers and students think that the spoken English needs improvement. Moreover, there is a similarity in their views about spoken English.

v. English grammar:

Graph 4.1.1.v:
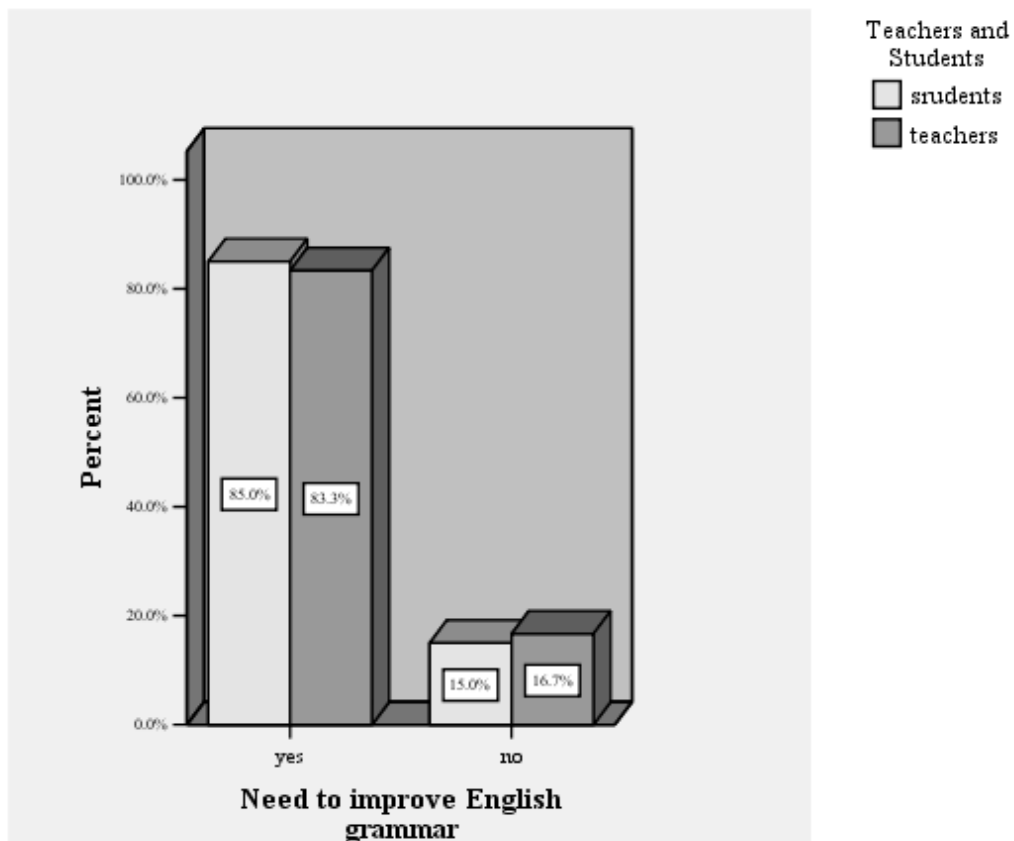
According to this graph the percentages of the students and the teachers' positive responses are 85% and 83.3% respectively while the percentages of the negative

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responses are 15% and 16.7% respectively. The bars do no have any significant difference so far as the ratios of the positive and the negative responses are concerned. The results show that majority of the respondents have same opinion about the need to improve English grammar.

vi. Local culture:

Graph4.1.1.vi:

Need to represent local culture
in the syllabus
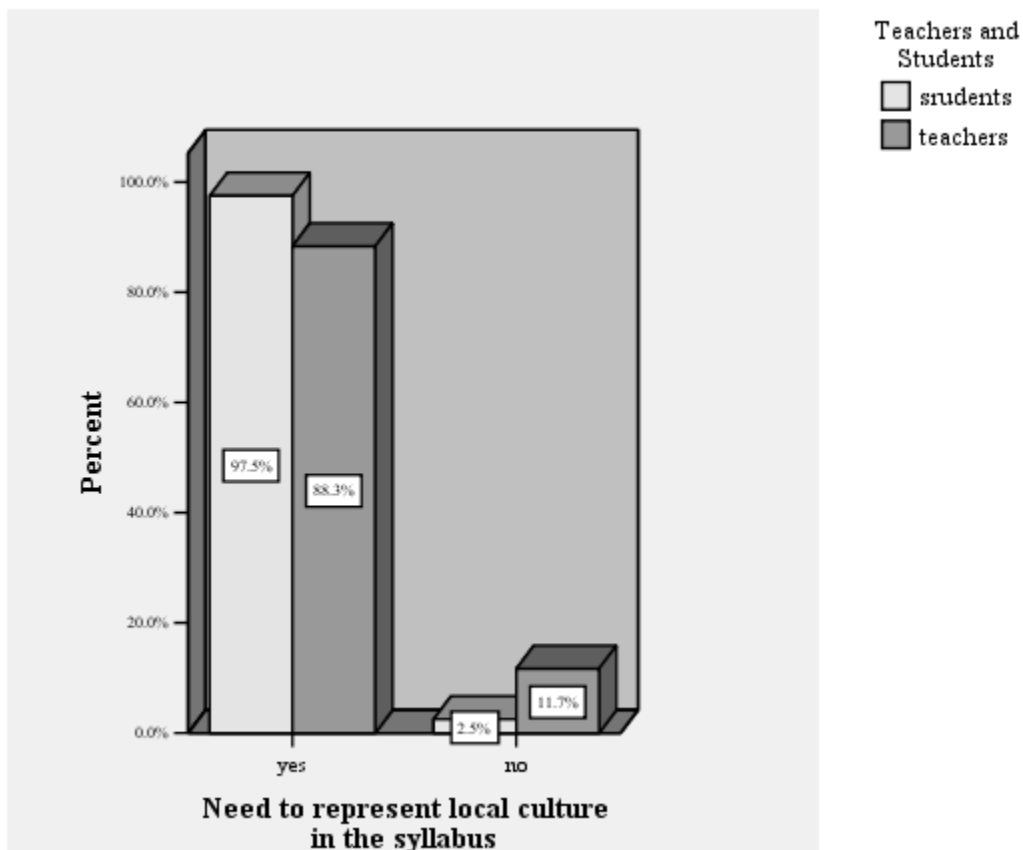
This graph shows that 97.5% students and 88.3% teachers have given positive

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responses while 2.5% students and 11.7% teachers have given negative responses. There is slight difference in the ratios of the responses given by the teachers and the students. It indicates that a significant majority of the respondents feel a need to represent the local culture in the syllabus.

vii. English literature by Pakistani authors:

Graph 4.1.1.vii:

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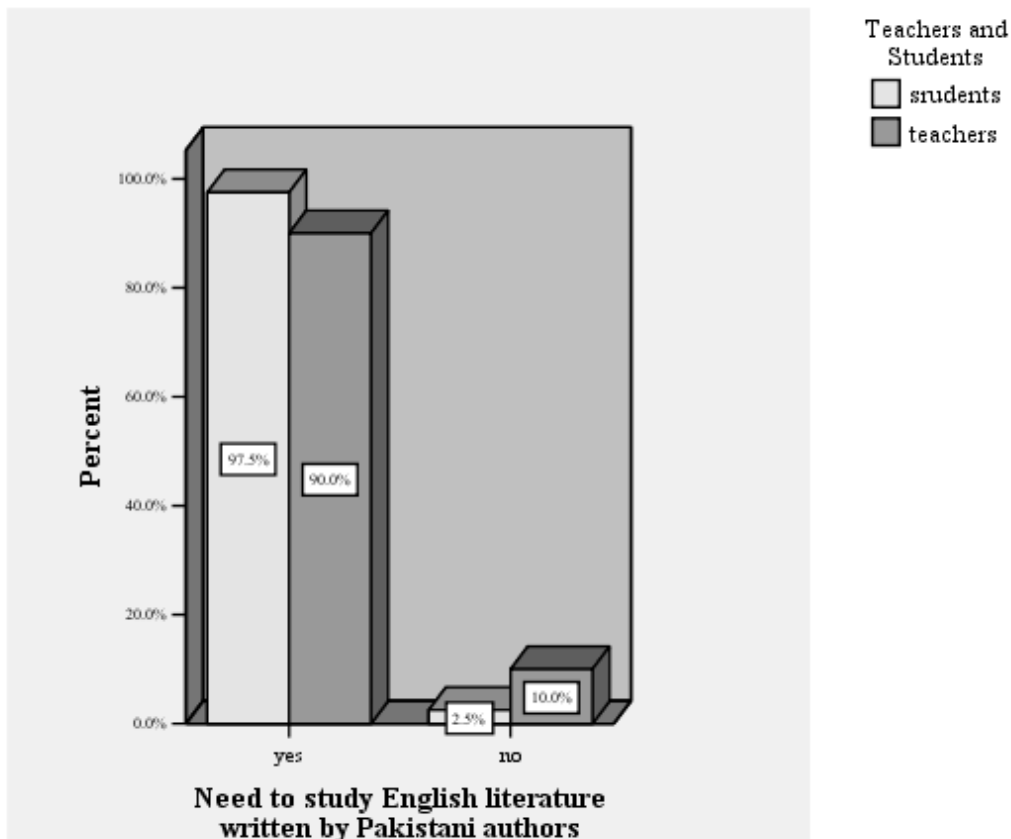
This graph shows that 97.5% students and 90% teachers have given positive responses while 2.5% students and 10% teachers have given negative responses. Bars show a significant similarity with each other so far as the ratio of the responses is concerned. It signifies that the significant majority of the respondents feel a need to learn Pakistani literature.

viii. Need to learn world literature:

Graph: 4.1.1.viii:

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Interest in studying English literature written in different parts of the world
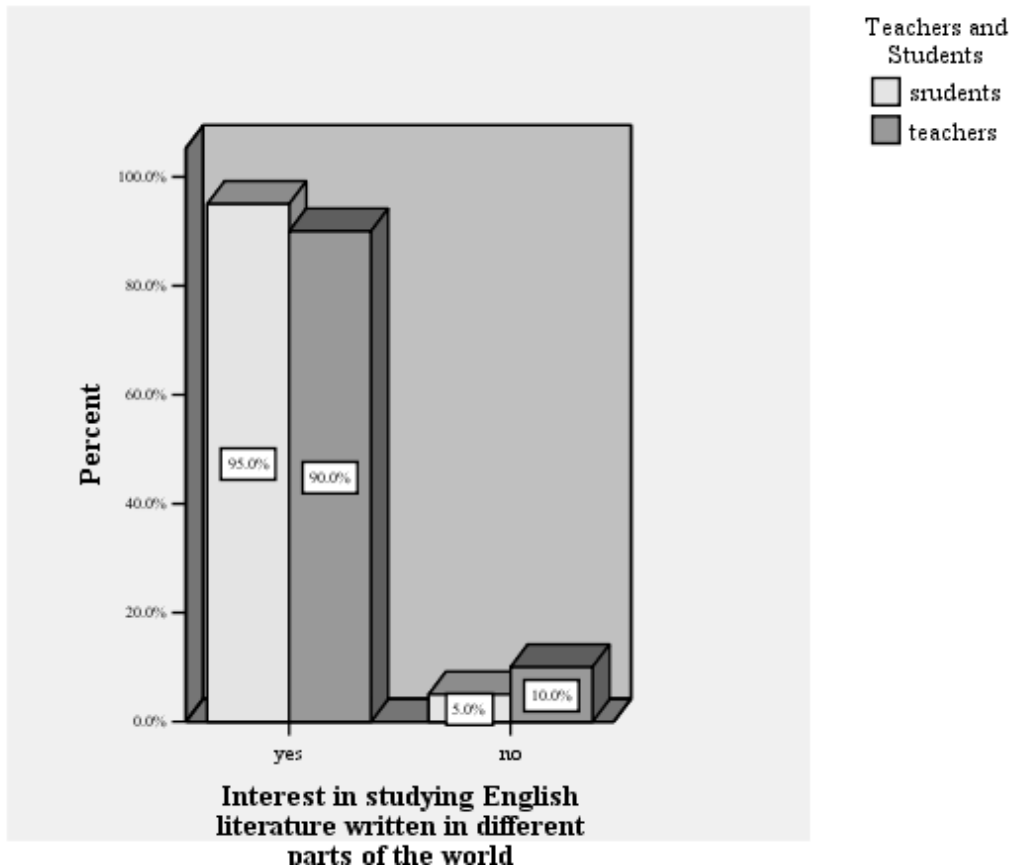
This graph indicates that majority of the students and the teachers having percentages of 90% and 95% respectively have given positive results while 5% students and 10% teachers have given negative results. The bars do not show any significant difference regarding the ratios of the responses. The results prove that the majority of the teachers and students favor English literature written in different parts of the world.

Significance:

In order to determine the significance of the responses given by the teachers and the students Chi square test and t test were applied.

Table 4.1.1.i: Chi square test statistics for the students' needs:

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Statistics	Variables Needs
Chi-Square	997.896
df	6
Asymp. Sig.	.000

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows chi square statistics for the students' needs. Chi square value is too large that is 997.896 with 6 degrees of freedom and a significance value of 0.000. It shows that there is a significant difference between the positive and negative responses given by the students and teachers.

Table 4.1.1.ii: t test statistics for the students needs:

Group Statistics

Dependent variables	Teachers and Students	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Needs	teachers	40	8.8500	1.21000
	students	60	9.1167	1.58480

Independent Samples Test

t-test for Equality of Means

Dependent variables	Assumptions	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Needs	Equal variances not assumed	-.952	96.115	.343	-.26667

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows the statistics for the students needs. There are 40 teachers and 60 students with a mean of 8.85 and 9.116 respectively having standard deviation of 1.21 and 1.584 respectively. T test has a value of -0.952 with 96 degrees of freedom and p

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value of 0.343 with a slight mean difference of 0.2666. These results show that there is a very little difference between the mean values of the responses given by the teachers and the students. P value is >.05>.01 which signifies that there is no significant difference between the responses of the teachers and students on the question of needs.

These results show that the hypothesis about the needs of the students is proved as the statistics of graphs; chi square test and t test have given significant results.

4.1.2 Correlation between the learners' needs and the existing syllabus:

Research question 2:

What kind of correlation exists between learners' needs and the syllabus being used to teach English   literature?

Hypothesis 2:

There will be a negative correlation between the existing syllabus and the learners' needs.

The questions related to the existing syllabus focused on the suitability of the existing syllabus at graduate level, its contribution to improve the communication skills, language used in the texts, representation of local culture and the interest in old classics included in the syllabus. First the frequencies were determined and then parametric and non parametric tests for correlation statistics were applied.

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i. Suitability of the existing syllabus:

Graph 4.1.2.i:
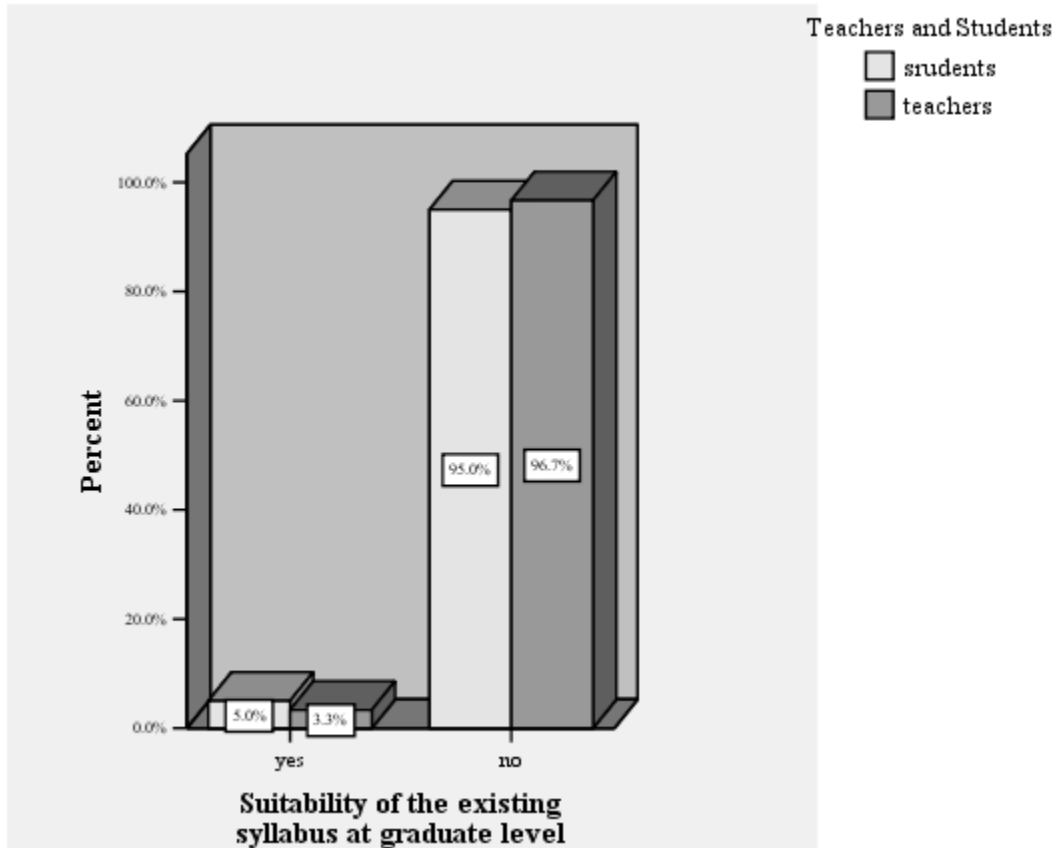
This graph indicates that the majority of the students and the teachers having percentages of 95% and 96% respectively have shown an increasing trend for the dissatisfaction regarding suitability of the existing syllabus at graduate level. A few participants among the students and teachers having percentages of 5% and 3.3% have expressed their satisfaction with the existing syllabus. There is a significant difference

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among the yes and no kind of responses. There does not seem to be any significant difference among the students and teachers views about the suitability of the existing syllabus.

ii. Contribution to improve reading skills:

Graph 4.1.2.ii:
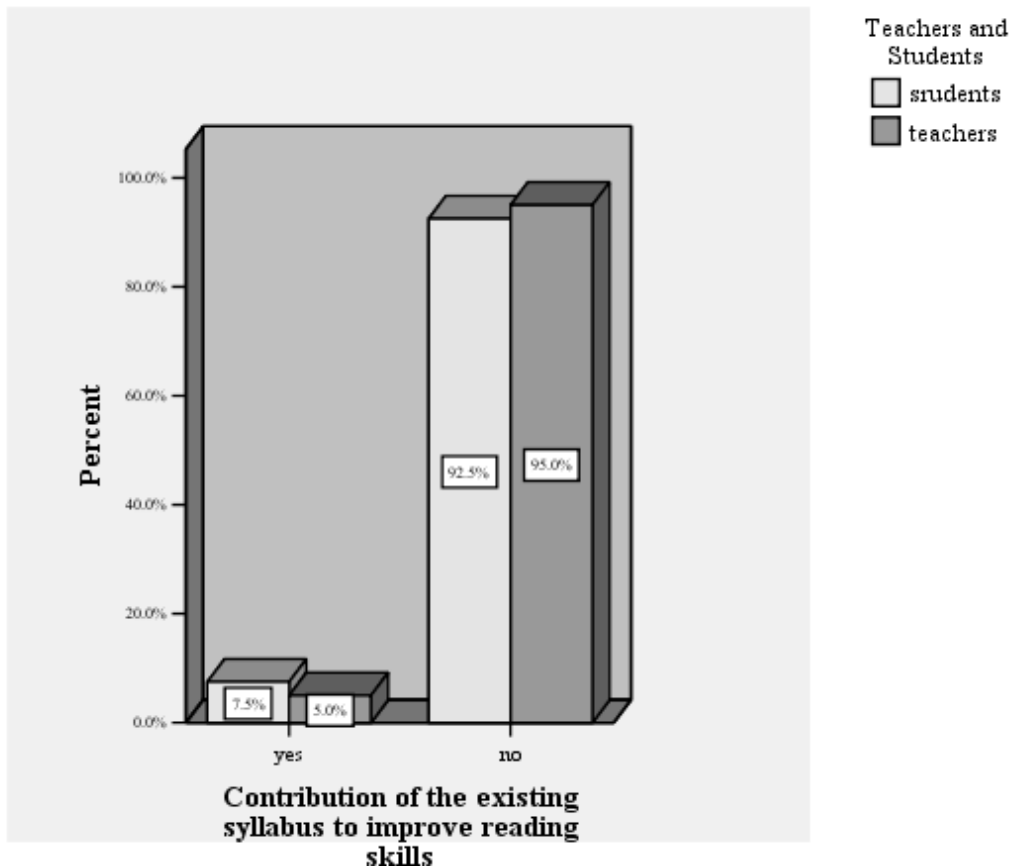
This graph shows the results for the contribution of the existing syllabus to improve reading skills. 92% students and 95% teachers' responses are negative while 5% teachers and 7.5% students' responses are positive. There is no significant difference found among students and teachers response ratios for yes and no categories. It reveals

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that the syllabus being offered at graduate level has no contribution to develop reading skills of the students in English.

iii. Contribution to improve listening skills:

Graph 4.1.2.iii:
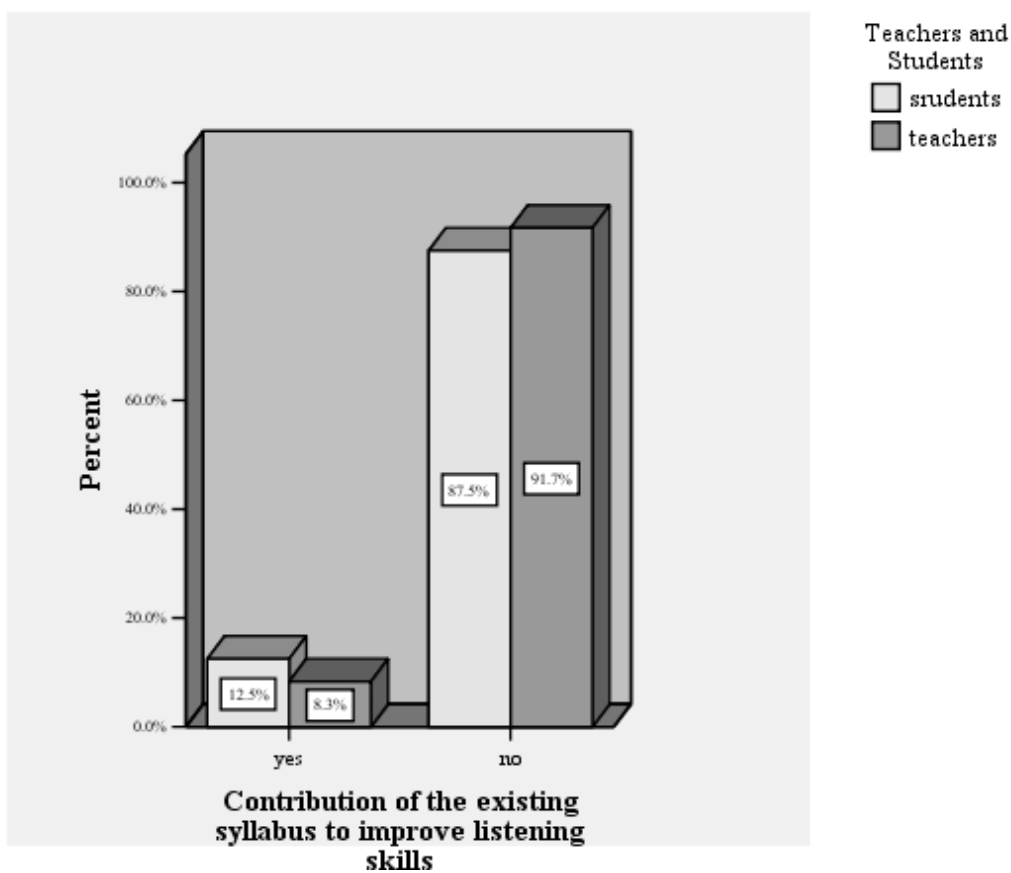
This graph indicates that there is an increasing trend for the "no" kind of responses than for the "yes" kind of responses as 87.5% students and 91.7 % teachers have selected the category "no" while only 8.3% teachers and 12.5 % students have

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selected the category "yes". Bars represent no significant difference regarding the ratio of positive and negative responses for the teachers and the students. It means that majority of the respondents think that the contribution of the syllabus to improve listening skills is negligible. Moreover, there is no significant difference of opinion among the teachers and the students.

iv. Contribution to improve writing skills:

Graph4.1.2.iv:
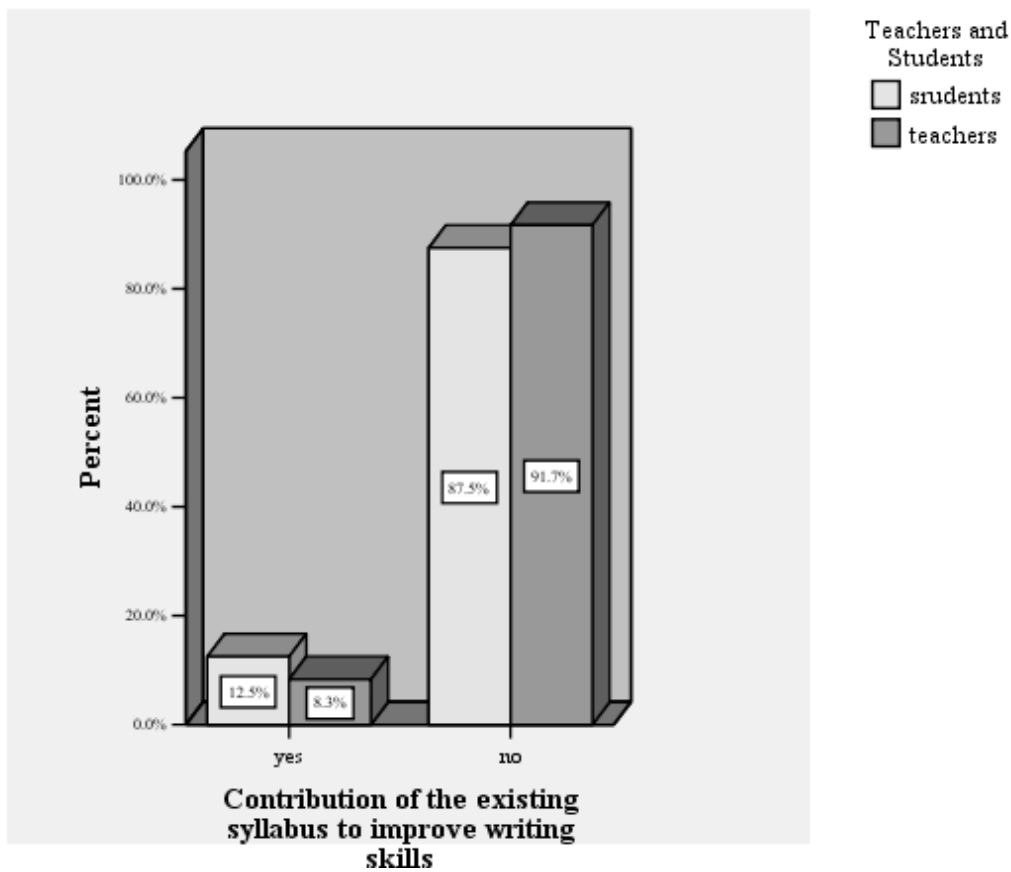
This graph shows an increasing trend for negative responses and a decreasing trend for positive responses. 87.5% students and 91.7% teachers have given negative

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answers about the syllabus while only 12.5% teachers and 8.3% students have given positive answers about the syllabus. There is no significant difference in the responses of teachers and students regarding ratios of their positive and negative responses. It indicates that the majority of the students and the teachers think that the syllabus is not helpful to improve the writing skills.

v. Contribution to improve spoken English:

Graph 4.1.2.v:
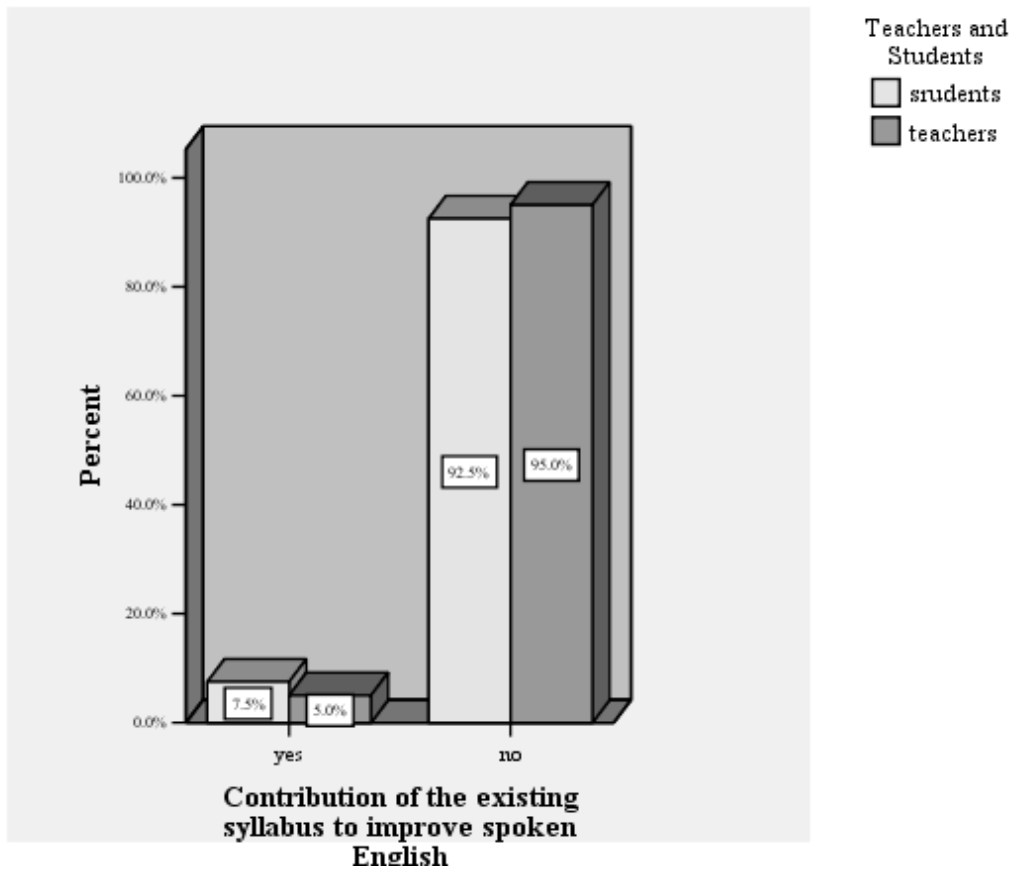
According to this graph 92.5% student and 955 % teachers have given negative

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responses regarding spoken English while only 5% teachers and 7.5% students have given positive responses. Thus there is an increasing trend for the negative responses and a decreasing trend is seen for the positive responses. The bars show no significant difference among the ratio of teachers and students response categories. It clarifies that the students and the teachers think that the existing syllabus is unsuitable for the improvement in spoken English.

vi. Contribution to improve grammar:

Graph 4.1.2.vi:

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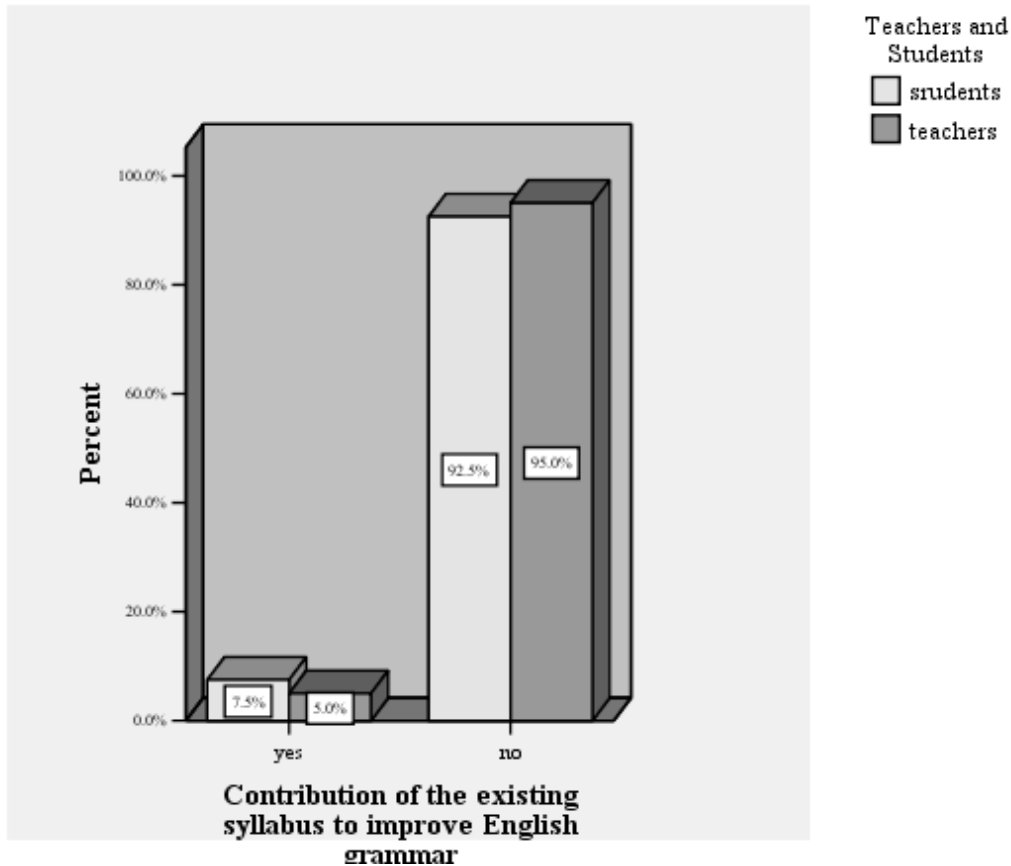
This graph indicates that 92.5% students 95%teachers have chosen the option "no" while 7.7%students and 5% teachers have chosen the option "yes". Thus an increasing trend is seen for the teachers and students who are not satisfied with the contribution of the existing syllabus to improve grammar while a decreasing trend is seen for those respondents who think that the syllabus is suitable for the improvement in grammar. There has been found no significant difference among the ratios of the positive and negative responses for the students and the teachers.

vii. Language used in the texts:

Graph 4.1.2.vii:

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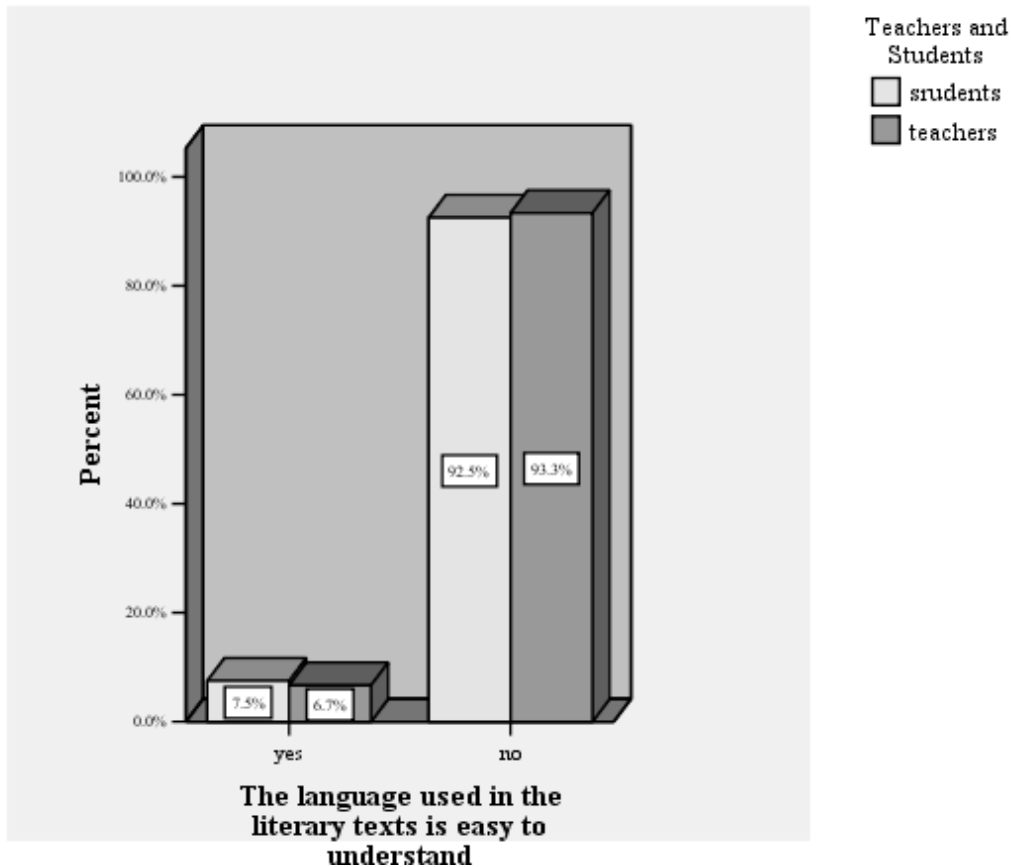
This graph indicates that 92.5% students and 93.3% teachers have given positive responses and an increasing trend is found for the category "no". On the other hand only 6.7% teachers and 7.5% students have chosen the category "yes" showing the decreasing trend. Moreover the bars do not give any significant difference for the ratios of the positive and the negative responses on the part of the teachers and students. It signifies that the majority of the respondents feel that the language used in the texts is difficult to understand. Moreover, the teachers and the students have similar kind of views.

viii. Importance of literary ideas in real life:

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Graph4.1.2.viii:
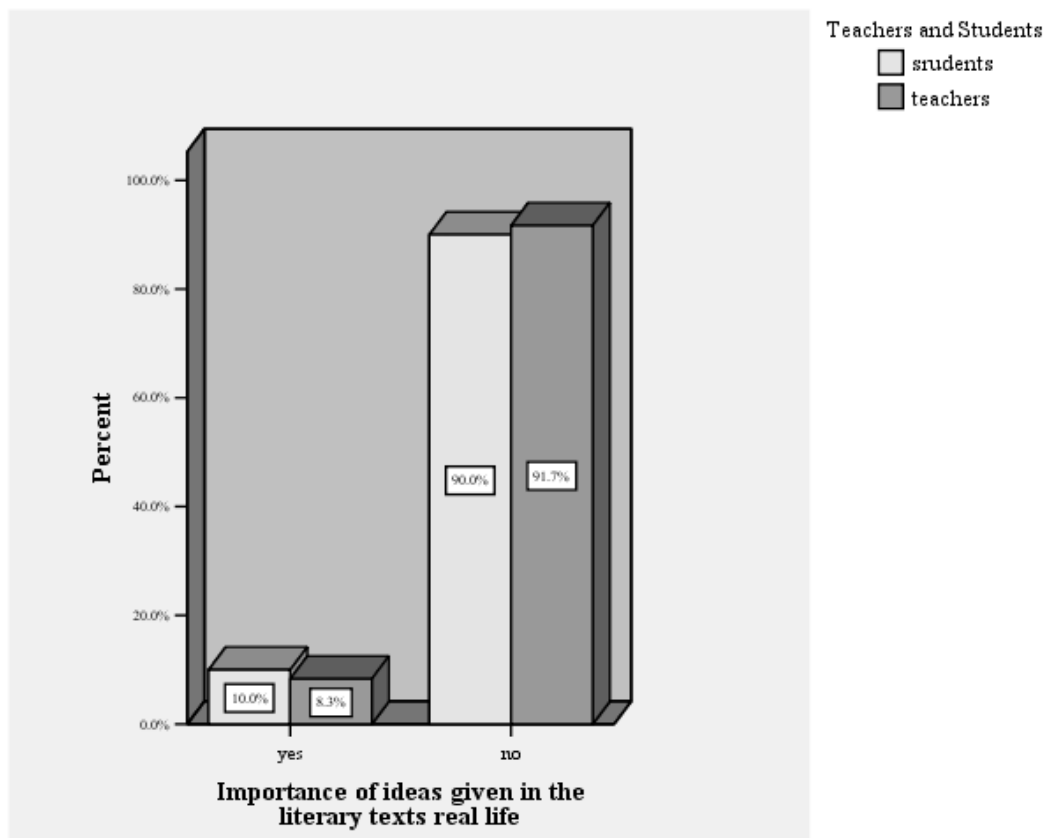
This graph shows that 90% students and 91.7% teachers have selected the category "no" for their responses thus showing an increasing trend for this category. On the other hand only 10% students and 8.3% teachers have selected the category "yes" for their responses. There is no significant difference among the selection of positive and negative responses on the part of the teachers and students. It means that both the teachers and students think that the ideas given in the literary texts do not have any significance in real life.

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ix. Representation of local culture:

Graph 4.1.2.ix:
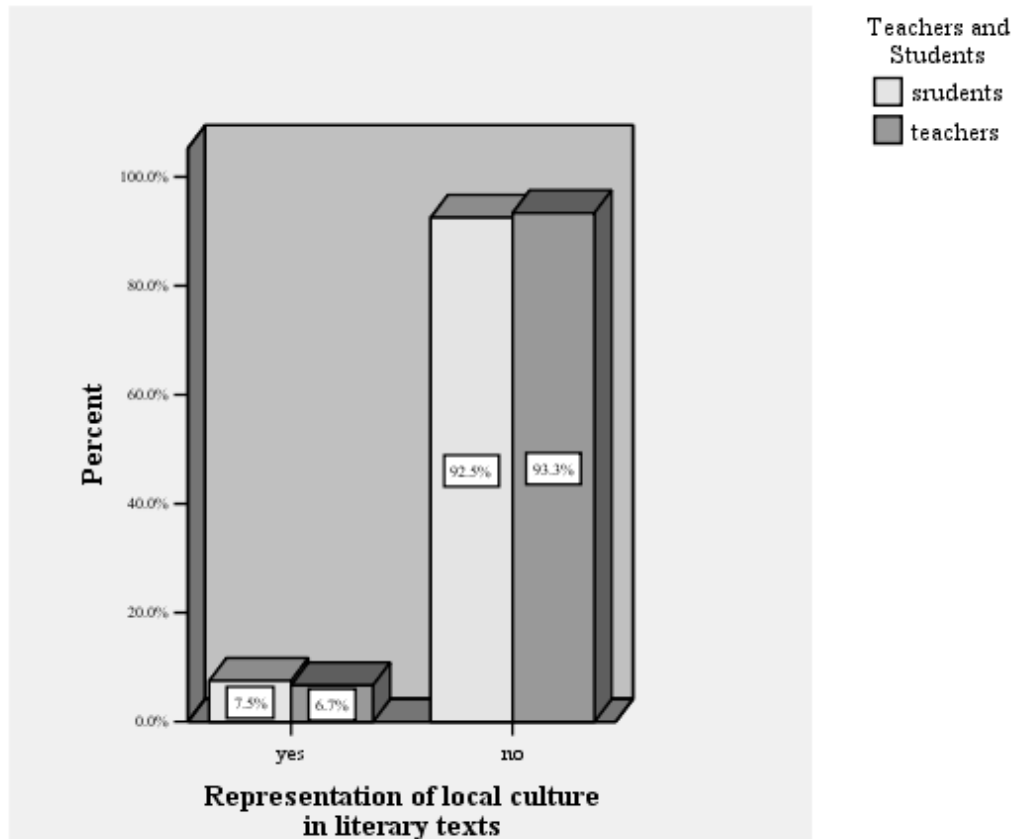
According to the graph 92.5% students and 93.3% teachers have given positive responses while only 6.7% teachers and 7.5% students have given negative responses. Moreover, no significant difference is seen among the teachers and the students regarding the choice of the responses. It signifies that both the teachers and the students think that the local culture has not been represented in the texts.

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x. Interest in studying the old classics included in the syllabus:

Graph4.1.2.x:
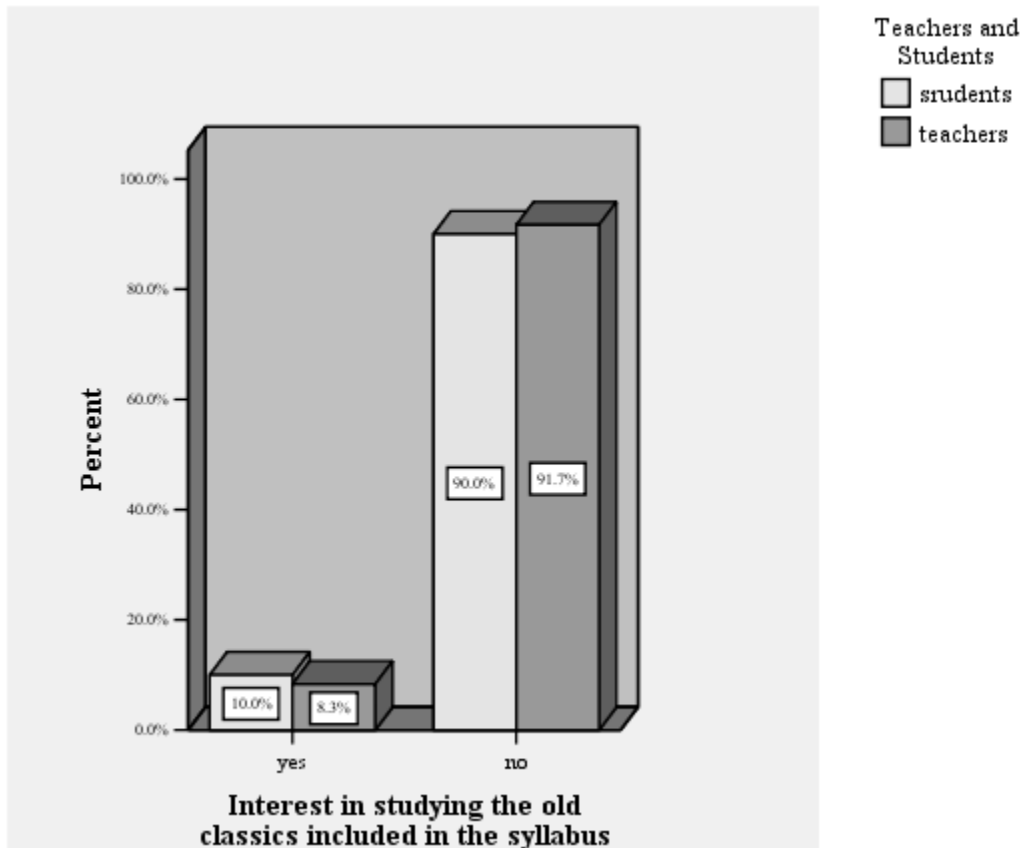
According to this graph 90% students have given negative responses while only 10% students have given positive responses. 91.7% teachers' responses have been negative while 8.3% teachers' responses are positive. There is no significant difference among the bars regarding ratio of the positive and negative responses of the teachers and the students. It means that the teachers and the students both think that the old classics included in the syllabus are not enjoyable.

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Table 4.1.2.i: Pearson correlation statistics for the existing syllabus and the students' needs:

Correlations

Variables	Statistics	Existing syllabus	Needs
Existing syllabus	Pearson Correlation	1	.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.582
	N	100	100
Needs	Pearson Correlation	.056	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.582	
	N	100	100

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows the results for the parametric statistics conducted to find out the correlation between the students' needs and the existing syllabus. The value of Pearson's r is 0.056 that is less than 1. Significance value is quite large that is 0.582. The results show that there exists a very weak correlation between learners' needs and the existing syllabus. For further clarification non parametric test Spearman's rho was applied.

Table: 4.1.2.ii: Spearman's rho test statistics for the existing syllabus and the students' needs:

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Correlations

Type	Variables	Statistics	Existing syllabus	Needs
Spearman's rho	Existing syllabus	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.001
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.989
		N	100	100
	Needs	Correlation Coefficient	.001	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.989	.
		N	100	100

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

According to this test the correlation between the syllabus and the students' needs is weak   as the correlation coefficient value is 0.001 with a significance value of 0.989. It signifies that the syllabus is insufficient to meet the students' needs.

4.1.3 Changes required in the existing syllabus:

Research question 3:

What is the significance of the changes required in the existing syllabus?

Hypothesis 3:

The results for the changes required in the existing syllabus will be highly significant.

The questions related to the changes required in the syllabus focused on two factors. One factor was that whether the syllabus should be changed as a whole or some of its parts should be changed while the other factor was related to the choice of literature only or the choice of language as well as literature. In order to determine the significance the frequencies were determined and then chi square as well as t test statistics were applied.

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(i)Most preferred changes in the syllabus:

Graph4.1.3.i:

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Most preferred changes in the syllabus
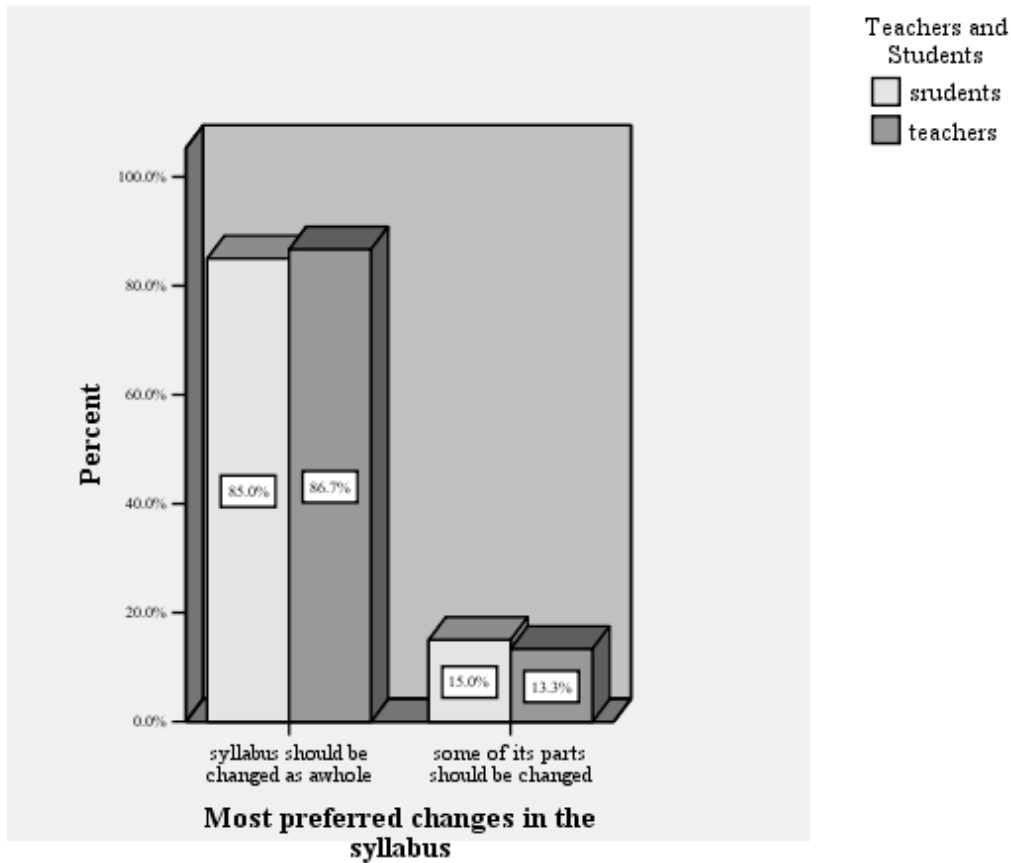
According to this graph 85% students want the syllabus to be changed as a whole while only 15% students want some of its parts to be changed. 86.7% teachers' responses show that they want the syllabus to be changed as a whole while 13.3% teachers' responses show that they want some of the syllabus parts to be changed. There is no significant difference among the bars regarding ratio of the positive and negative responses of the teachers and the students.

(ii)Most preferred syllabus:

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Graph4.1.3.ii:
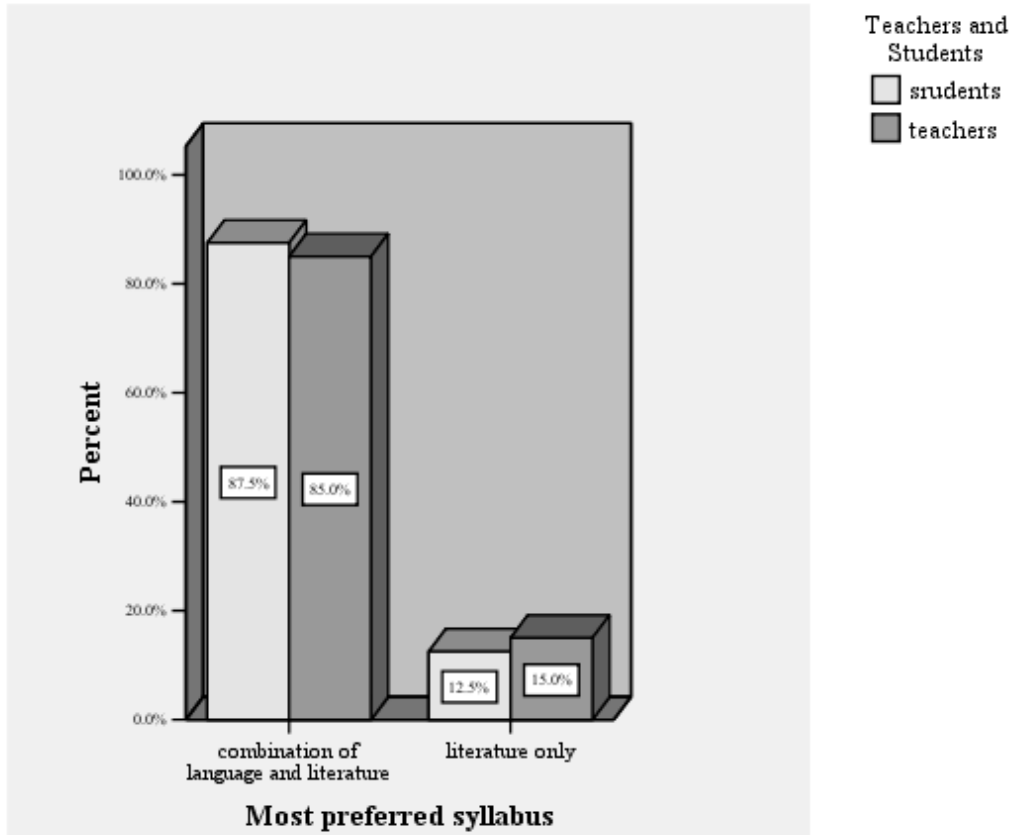
This graph indicates that 87.5% students and 85% teachers want a syllabus that should be a combination of language and literature. Only 12.5% students and 15% teachers want literature only. No significant difference is found among the ratios of yes and no responses given by the teachers and the students.

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Significance:

Table 4.1.3.i: Chi square test statistics for the changes required in the syllabus:

Statistics	Variables Changes
Chi-Square	127.684
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows the results for the changes required in the syllabus. The results show a chi square value of 127.684 with 2 degrees of freedom and a significance value of 0.000. It indicates a significant difference between positive and negative responses give by the teachers and the students.

Table 4.1.3.ii: t test statistics for the changes required in the syllabus:

Group Statistics

Dependent variables	Teachers and Students	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Changes	teachers	40	2.2750	.55412
	students	60	2.2833	.55515

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Independent Samples Test

Statistics

t-test for Equality of Means

Dependent variables	Assumptions	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Changes	Equal variances not assumed	-.074	83.841	.941	-.00833

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table gives the results for 60 students and 40 teachers with mean values of 2.283 and 2.275 respectively having standard deviation of 0.555 and 0.444 respectively. Assuming the unequal variance t value is 0.074 with 83 degrees of freedom and a significance value p=0.941>.05>.01 with a mean difference of _0.008. Keeping in view the mean difference that is very low and the p value that is greater than .05 the results prove that no significant difference was found between the responses of the teachers and the students regarding the changes required in the syllabus.

4.1.4 Significance of including Pakistani literature in English:

Research question 4:

What is the significance of including the literary works by the Pakistani authors in the syllabus?

Hypothesis 4:

There will be significant results for including the literary works by the Pakistani authors in the syllabus.

Respondents' opinion about the English literature written by the Pakistani authors

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was found and non parametric as well as parametric tests were applied to check the significance.

Table 4.1.4.i: Chi square test statistics for the significance of including Pakistani literature in English:

Test Statistics

Statistics	Need to study English literature written by Pakistani authors
Chi-Square	58.327
df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table indicates that there is a significant difference of opinion of students who wan to study English literature written by the Pakistani authors and those who do not want to study it. Chi square value is 36.938 with 1 degree of freedom and a significance value of 0.000 that is less than .01 which is in turn less than .05.

Table 4.1.4.ii: t test statistics for including Pakistani literature in English:

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Group Statistics

Dependent variables	Teachers and Students	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Need to study English literature written by Pakistani authors	teachers	40	1.0250	.15811
	students	60	1.1000	.30253

Independent Samples Test

t-test for Equality of Means

Dependent variables	Assumptions	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Need to study English literature written by Pakistani authors	Equal variances not assumed	-1.617	93.505	.109	-.07500

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows the statistics for the need to study English literature written by Pakistani authors. It shows the statistics for 40 teachers and 60 students. Mean value for the teachers is 1.025 with a standard deviation of 0.158 while the mean value for the students is 1.10 with a standard deviation of 0.302. T test statistic shows a value of -1.617 with 93 degrees of freedom and a significance value of 0.109>.05>.01. The mean difference is -0.075 that is insignificant. These results prove that there is no difference of opinion among the teachers and the students regarding need to study English literature written by the Pakistani authors.

4.1.5 Global English literature:

Research question 5:

What is the significance of incorporating global English literature in the syllabus?

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Hypothesis 5:

The results for incorporating global English literature in the syllabus will be highly significant.

The respondents were asked about including the English literature written by different authors of the world in the syllabus and then Chi square as well as t test was applied to check the significance.

Table 4.1.5.i: Chi square test statistics for English literature by world authors:

Test Statistics

	Are you interested in studying English literature written in different parts of the world?
Chi-Square	53.481
df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows the results for the students' interest to study world literature. Chi square value is significant at 53.481 with 1 degree of freedom and a significance value of 0.000. It implies that there is a significant difference among the students' responses who are interested in studying world literature and those who are not.

Table 4.1.5.ii: t test statistics for world literature:

Group Statistics

Dependent variables	Teachers and Students	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Interest in studying English literature written in different parts of the world	teachers	40	1.0500	.22072
	students	60	1.1000	.30253

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Independent Samples Test

t-test for Equality of Means

Dependent variables	Assumptions	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference
Interest in studying English literature written in different parts of the world	Equal variances not assumed	-.955	97.142	.342	-.05000

* Significant at p- value <0.05;** Significant at p-value<0.01

This table shows the group statistics and the test statistics for 40 teachers and 60 students. Mean value for the teachers is 1.05 with 0.22 standard deviations while the mean value for the students is 1.10 with 0.302 standard deviations. Assuming the variances to be unequal t value is -0.955 with 97 degrees of freedom and p value is 0.342>.05>.01. The mean difference is insignificant that is -.05. These results show the views of teachers and the students about interest in studying world literatures are same.

4.2 Qualitative data results:

Qualitative data was collected in order to have an insight into the views of the teachers and students about the needs to learn English literature according to the global context as well as their views about the existing syllabus. The questions were open ended so that the respondents could give their opinion freely.

4.2.1 Students' needs:

Research question 1:

What are the students' needs to learn English literature according to the global context?

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Hypothesis 1:

Majority of the students will have stronger needs for learning English literature according to the global context.

Students' views about needs:

The students expressed a variety of needs to learn English literature. The reason for finding a diversity of needs was that they combined language needs with literary needs. Some students said that they wanted to learn English literature in order to have better communication skills. Most of the students said that they wanted to improve their spoken and written English as well as grammar and they need to learn English literature. Some of the students said that they wanted to learn about foreign cultures that is why they preferred to study English literature. Most of the students did not know about the importance of the listening skills.

Teachers' views about the students' needs:

The requirements of the students to learn English literature were summarized by the teachers in a very diverse manner. Some of them thought that the students needed to learn English language as well as literature. Some others thought that language should be included in the syllabus in the form of communication skills. Diverse literary works should be included in the syllabus and the literature written by Pakistani authors should be given importance. According to one of the teachers:

"The students must have good communication skills as they have to work in offices and teaching places. They have to go abroad sometimes so that need to

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have not only good communication skills in English but also the knowledge of other cultures as they have to communicate with people from diverse cultures."

These views show that there is a need to introduce not only the literary texts from a variety of sources local as well global to make the students know the worth of their own culture and have knowledge about world literatures and cultures. There is also a need to introduce communication skills in English so that the students may become able to communicate not only in academics and work places but also communicate effectively with the people belonging to diverse cultures. As according to Rabia Samiullah (1999_ 2001) Pakistanis have always showed a high interest in studying English literature.

Pakistani students learn it to get information about the target culture, to develop linguistic awareness and competence. Further she says that in Pakistan more attention is paid towards learning literature than towards learning linguistics. Same points have been emphasized by Sabiha Mansoor (2004). According to her learning English for Pakistani learners is quite complex. English is the language of offices, finance, academic circles and education in Pakistan. It is needed in Pakistan not only because of modernization and technology but also due to linguistic, social and political considerations. Pakistani students learn English to travel and study abroad, studying technical literature, in order to cope with classes in the university, social needs to access international books, journals and as a working language for future careers.

4.2.2 Existing syllabus:

Research question 2:

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What kind of correlation exists between the learners' needs and the syllabus being used to teach English literature?

Hypothesis 2:

There will be a negative correlation between the syllabus and the learners' needs.

Students views about the existing syllabus:

When asked about the impact of syllabus on various types of skills including reading, writing, listening and speaking. Most of the students responded in such a way that they seemed to be dissatisfied with the syllabus. When asked about listening they were unaware whether it is included in the syllabus or not. So far as spoken English is concerned majority of the students showed their dissatisfaction with the way spoken English is taught. They reported that they had very bookish and weak spoken English.

Reading skills are quite important so far as the literature is concerned. Some of the students reported hat they had developed good reading skills. In this way they were motivated to study more books in literature written by different authors. Some of them reported that they just concentrated upon whatever was included in the syllabus and not more than that. Most of the students reported that they were not satisfied with the old English used in the texts as they had to spend lot of time in using dictionaries to understand the hidden meaning of the texts. So far as writing is concerned the students' responses were not satisfactory as they reported that they just concentrated upon the writing which is necessary for exams. No creative activity is part of the students writing neither they are encouraged to do that.

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Teachers' views about the existing syllabus:

When asked about the existing syllabus most of the teachers termed it to be unsuitable for the students. They gave different reasons for that. Some of them thought that a few texts comprising of only four books in a year could not be suitable for a modern student. Some others thought that the students' needs for learning about language were stronger than learning for literature in this age of communication and competition. Some of them gave stress on the combination of language and literature.

Impact of the syllabus on students learning covered four sub questions related to communication skills that are reading, writing, listening and speaking. Listening was not considered important by most of the teachers except a few ones. So far as reading is concerned the teachers thought that the texts were not sufficient enough to develop reading skills. Some teachers thought that it was up to the student that how much motivation he had for learning. It did not depend on the texts only. Spoken English was considered to be very important by most of the teachers. They termed existing syllabus as composed of old English that was irrelevant with the students needs. Teachers termed the syllabus as inappropriate for writing skills.

The responses of the students and teachers show that there is a lack of basic skills in English education. Students' writing, reading, listening and speaking skills are in a poor condition because of the insufficient syllabus as Dr. Shahid Siddiqui (2007) has termed literature as a luxury which can not be afforded by most of our students in Pakistan. Students do not have enough knowledge about basic language skills that are

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needed to use language as a tool of communication. He further says that literature is a luxury which can not be afforded by most of our students in Pakistan. Students do not have enough knowledge about basic language skills that are needed to use language as a tool of communication.

4.2.3 Changes required in the syllabus:

Research question 3:

What is the significance of the changes required in the existing syllabus?

Hypothesis 3:

The results for the changes required in the existing syllabus will be highly significant.

Students' views about changes required in the syllabus:

Majority of the students wanted changes in the syllabus. They were not satisfied with the syllabus as one of them said:

"This syllabus is not suitable for the students of 21st century."

They wanted the syllabus to be changed as a whole. They also suggested some changes for the syllabus. They wanted to study communication skills along with the literary texts. They wanted to get knowledge about the literary works written by Pakistani authors. They also wanted to know about the different literary works written in different parts of the world. They wanted to learn quality English especially in the field of grammar, written and spoken English so that they could easily communicate with global world.

Teachers' views about the changes required in the syllabus:

The teachers suggested some changes according to which communication skills

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should be made a part of the syllabus. Literary works by the Pakistani as well as world authors should also be included in the texts.

In this data about the students and teachers views regarding changes in the syllabus it is clear that students want to have good communication skills. They want to learn about Pakistani as well as global literature. Grammar has also been emphasized by some of the students but no emphasis has been given on listening skills as most of the participants had insufficient knowledge about them. Same are the teachers' views about the changes. According to Abdulhafeez (2004) the objectives of teaching English should be to enable the learners to use language for communicative purposes. Students listening skills should be improved. Their speaking skills need to be developed so that they can speak English with confidence. Their reading skills also need to be developed so that they become able to understand different types of texts. Writing skills also need attention to enable the students to write effectively in second language.

4.2.4 Significance of including the literary works written by Pakistani authors:

Research question 4:

What is the significance of including the literary works by the Pakistani authors in the syllabus?

Hypothesis 4:

There will be significant results for including the literary works by the Pakistani authors in the syllabus.

Students' views about including literary works by Pakistani authors:

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Most of the students thought that the texts were irrelevant to the local culture and values. They termed the texts to be mostly western in which most of the ideas have been given about Christianity and liberalism. These ideas are in contradiction with Pakistani culture and values. As one of the students claimed that

"Their culture and our culture are different. They are used to individualism while we value collectivism. There is a difference of heaven and earth between their religion, culture and lifestyle and our religion, culture and lifestyle."

Majority of the students wanted to learn Pakistani literature in English. They had a very minute knowledge about Pakistani literature in English but still they favoured it to be included in the syllabus. They thought it would be easy to learn because of relevance with local culture and the language used in the texts may be easier. Only one student did not want to learn English literature by the Pakistani authors. According to him:

"I have studied some works by Pakistani Authors. English language used in the texts is different from the standard English"

Teachers' views about literary works by Pakistani authors:

All the teachers termed tht the existing texts are contradictory to the local culture. According to the teachers Western culture has been represented in hundred percent of the texts. They thought Western culture to be an attack on the local culture.

Majority of the teachers wanted the students to have knowledge about the local texts. They thought it important to teach local literature as it may enhance their knowledge

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about the similarities and the differences about the local and foreign cultures. The teachers also opined that the local literature is necessary to be made a part of the syllabus to minimize the effects of western hegemony over the local materials.

The teachers and the students' views clarify that how much important it is to include literature written by Pakistani authors in the syllabus. Most of them do not favor western hegemony over local texts and culture. Sabiha Mansoor (2004) has defined Pakistani culture in such away that it gets differentiated from western culture. She argues that So far as Pakistani culture is concerned local cultures and regional languages are different in different regions. In spite of the huge diversity all the Pakistanis are united by common beliefs and values concerned with the behavior, standards, character, qualities, human relations and lifestyles, that are admired by people having different castes like Punjabis, Pathans Sindhis and Baluchis in Pakistan. The life and the culture of the Pakistani people have a close connection with religion (Islam). Other important aspect is the feeling of nationhood that all Pakistanis share; it does not mater whether they are from different castes or minority groups like Christians, Parsees and Hindus. All of them have same feelings of loyalty and patriotism towards their country. She further says that the materials used for English language and literature pedagogy at the Board or the University levels in Pakistan are taken from abroad. The textbooks are mostly written by native English speakers that are not suitable for students who are non native speakers of English. The absence of local materials for English language pedagogy as well as teaching functional English is being viewed with suspicion. Some people feel that it is all

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because of the undue influence of the western cultural hegemony over the local values and cultures. As a consequence although there is a high motivation on the part of the teachers and the learners to teach and learn English, the status of English language still remains controversial. English language learning can become more meaningful if the local materials are included in the syllabus.

4.2.5 Significance of incorporating global literary works:

Research question5:

What is the significance of incorporating the global English literature in the syllabus?

Hypothesis 5:

The results for incorporating the global English literature in the syllabus will be highly significant.

Students' views about including global literature in the syllabus:

Most of the students expressed their interest in learning about different literatures of the world. They thought literature to be a good source to learn about different cultures of the world. They said that they were fed up with learning about only one type of culture throughout the coursework.

Teachers' views about including world literature in the syllabus:

Teachers opined that the literature written by different world authors should be included in the syllabus as it would enhance their knowledge about different cultures. The students have been learning about western culture and literature based on UK only. They need to learn about American, African, Russian and especially Asian authors. Some

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teachers thought that the students may get overburdened because of so much literature. They suggested that the students must be given enjoyable texts and the number of the texts included should be affordable for the students.

These responses reveal that global literatures are not only important for the students but they also show interest in learning them if they are not overburdened with so many texts. It would enhance understanding of global cultures and it would enable them how to value their own culture. Using literature from different cultures into literature enables the teachers to change their attitudes as well as their methodologies about how to explore the issues of race, class and culture as well as issues in dealing with multicultural literatures (Banks 1993; Spears-Bunton 1998). C. Ismail (2006) has argued that when students read the literature of foreign countries they get more curious intellectually because they come to know about the fact that there are other modes also available to express feelings and needs. Further, he says that in order to enable a learner to communicate effectively with people from diverse cultural backgrounds it is necessary that the learner should understand the influences culture exerts over others behavior as well as the influences of his own culture on his thought, behavior and linguistic expression.

Summary:

All the respondents including the teachers and the students showed almost the same kind of views regarding the need to learn English in a global context. This analysis of the data shows that the students have weak reading, writing, listening and speaking

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skills. The students as well as the teachers have sown their dissatisfaction with the syllabus. The syllabus is quite old that has not been changed for years and is insufficient to meet the needs of the students. The views of the respondents regarding the changes required in the syllabus, including the Pakistani and the world literatures are quite important as they want to get knowledge about the skills they require. They want to preserve local literary and cultural heritage and also want to learn about the diverse literatures of the world that have been written in English language.

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Chapter 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSION

AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study investigated the need to reform and restructure English literature syllabus at graduate level in higher education in Pakistan. The changing global context has changed the requirements of the students. Teaching English literature from a global perspective requires that the language used in literature should be easy to comprehend. If the material is easy, it can be exploited for language use. Literature component needs to be integrated to language activity in order to develop the reading, writing, listening and speaking skills of the students. Moreover, the students need to be made aware of the local as well as the global culture. The study was conducted upon various colleges of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan where English literature education is being given at the graduate level. Quantitative as well as qualitative data were collected and analyzed. The results of the study indicate that the Basic English skills of the students require attention. They need to be made conscious of the Pakistani literature as well as the world literatures in English. The study has suggested a syllabus for the graduate level students that can be used in place of the already existing syllabus.

5.1 Findings:

5.1.1 Need to learn Basic English skills:

The students' needs for learning the Basic English skills are quite important along

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with learning English literature. The reason for selecting English literature at graduate level is usually to improve grammar, written and spoken English. The students consider literature in English as a source for improving their English language skills. They give much importance to reading, writing, speaking and grammar while least importance is given to the listening skills. The reason behind giving less importance to listening skills is their limited knowledge about the communication skills.

Due to many years old syllabus available to teach English language and literature the students write and speak bookish English without fluency. After completing their graduation they have to search for jobs but most of them lag behind due to low standard education given in English literature that is not up to the standards of the market. Keeping in view such kind of circumstances there is a dire need to include communication skills along with teaching English literature. Literature only can not serve as a source to enhance students' reading, writing, speaking and listening abilities.

5.1.2 Need to learn Pakistani literature in English:

The results of the study clarify the importance of learning literary works written by Pakistani authors. Pakistani culture is quite different from the other cultures of the world. The way Pakistanis use English language in their discourse is different from the way the native speakers use it. The courses offered at the graduate level are comprised of the texts that are mostly imported from Britain and are quite old. The content in the texts reflects British culture and values. In today's global world it is indispensable to protect local culture and values from the invasion of the foreign cultures. The students need to be aware

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of the differences between the local and foreign cultural elements. If the literary works written by the Pakistani writers are recognized locally and are included in the syllabus it would help to encourage the writers.

5.1.3 Need to learn World literatures in English:

Along with studying the literary works by Pakistani authors there is a need to study the world literatures as well. English language is used by different authors of the world in different ways. It would help to understand the global use of English language. There is a dire need of cross cultural understanding to develop peace and harmony among the nations of the world. If local as well as global literatures are studied at the same time, it would help the students to compare and contrast different cultures. It would broaden their understanding about the rituals and customs of various nations of the world and would develop respect for other nations and religions. Moreover, it would enable the learners to discuss their culture and ideas with other people from abroad.

5.1.4 Need to change the syllabus:

There is a need to change the syllabus as a whole as far as the results of the study are concerned. The students are fed up of the old syllabus having difficult language and no variety. The students are aware of the importance of English language skills in this age of competition. English language is accepting new changes so the need to study this language in a modern way is also increasing. The results of the study show that the learners and the teachers are dissatisfied with the syllabus so there is a need to change the syllabus.

5.2 Suggested syllabus for the students of English literature:

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Keeping in view the results of the study a sample syllabus has been designed for the two year graduate program of studies in English literature. This syllabus can be helpful to provide a new framework of studies in English literature that can be a better substitute to the old framework of studies in English literature.

5.2.1 Objectives of the syllabus:

In the light of this research the objectives of the suggested syllabus are:

i.   To fulfill the needs for Basic English skills (Reading, writing, listening, speaking)

ii.   To develop consciousness for Pakistani literature in English

iii.   To give knowledge about the world literatures in English

5.2.2 Course description:

This course is designed to introduce the students to the study of Pakistani and Western as well as non-Western world literature. It will focus upon the study of diverse literatures through an integrated program which includes reading, writing, listening, speaking and grammar development.

5.2.3 Suggested texts:

Texts include the literary works by the Pakistani, Western and non Western authors. These texts are composed of short stories, novels, poetry and drama.

i. Short stories:

Toba Tek Singh, Kingdom's End by Saadat Hassan Manto (1987)

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The Haji and Other Stories by Ahmad Essop (1988)

   ii.Novels:

In the Skin of a Lion by Michael Ondatjee (2001)

Ice Candy Man by Bapsi Sidhwa (1938)

Meatless Days by Sara Suleri (1991)

The Murmurs of the Dawn by Dinker Charak (2003)

   iii.Poetry:

Collection of Poetry by Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911_1984) translated by Naomi Lazard

Poetry by Taufiq Rafat (1927)

The Waste Land by T.S. Eliot (1922)

Poetry by Keki N. Daruwalla (2002)

  iv.   Drama:

Waiting for Godot by Samuel Beckett (1953)

End of summer by S. N. Behrman (1936)

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5.2.4 Activities:

   i. Developing reading skills:

It includes the learning to see how meanings are produced in literature keeping in view the cultural context and the way human beings represent themselves in various environments using language as well as the literature.

   ii. Developing writing skills:

It involves writing essays critically and using the language effectively.

   iii. Developing speaking skills:

It involves using language in different communicative contexts. It is to be seen how the language is used in the literature and how much it deviates from the real use of language in day to day communication. Presenting ideas using English language effectively is also a part of it.

   iv. Developing listening skills:

It involves the process of listening. It also involves how to convey the message effectively to the listener.

   v. Developing the knowledge of grammar:

It includes writing without grammatical mistakes. It also includes understanding the rules of the grammar so that language used is intelligible to others.

   vi. Developing knowledge about different cultures:

 It would involve the comparison and contrast of different cultural elements presented in the literature.

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5.3 Conclusion:

This study was quite helpful in identifying the needs of the students. It was found that the existing English literature syllabus is not suitable for the learners. Learners need to study communication skills, local English literature produced by the Pakistani authors as well as the global literary works. Communication skills are necessary as the learners have to excel in professional fields. The knowledge of the local literature produced in English is quite important to develop consciousness about the literary works produced in Pakistan. World literatures also need to be introduced in the syllabus in order to enable the learners to compare and contrast different cultures that would give way to cross cultural understanding. The suggested syllabus designed in the light of this research can be a suitable substitute to the already existing syllabus that is old enough to meet the needs of the modern learners. Moreover, it can give way to further research that needs to be conducted to improve English language and literature syllabi in various Educational institutions in Pakistan.

5.4 Recommendations:

The study gives some recommendations keeping in view the requirements of the students from a global perspective:

i. The existing syllabi of English literature should be changed as the modern student needs competence in English language in the rapidly changing world. Literature only can not be termed as sufficient to meet the needs of the students rather there should be an integrated approach to the teaching of language and literature.

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ii. Local cultures are at risk because of the rapid merging of the values and beliefs of the dominant nations of the world with the recessive ones. In order to preserve indigenous culture and values there is a need to highlight the literature produced locally as literature is a great source of expression of the culture. It can not be done without making locally produced literary works as a part of the education.

iii. There is a need to encourage the materials published locally. It can be done by incorporating them in the syllabus. This step would encourage the publishers and the authors to produce more local materials.

iv. Developing cross cultural understanding is the need of the time to promote peace and harmony in the world. At the educational level it can be promoted by making literature as a source. English literature produced by different nations can serve as a suitable source to accomplish this purpose.

5.5 Needed Research:

The present study was limited to the graduate level students only because of the time and availability constraints. Further research is needed at the Masters level as well to improve the quality of education. Another dimension of the research is cross cultural understanding that is quite important to be considered in today's world of conflicts. In depth research is required to find out the possibilities of developing understanding among the nations of the world by making changes at the educational level.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

(i) Questionnaire for the Students of English Literature

Dear Participants,

This questionnaire is a part of the research being conducted upon English literature Syllabus in NWFP at graduate level. We hope that you will cooperate with us and give us your kind responses so that we can design a proper course compatible with global standards of teaching and learning English literature. Please give your honest opinion and encircle only one option out of the two options given with every question. All the information you will give us will be kept confidential.

1. Is the existing syllabus suitable for you at graduate level?
⌗ Yes
⌗ No

2. Is it helpful to make your reading skills better?
⌗ Yes
⌗ No

3. Is it helpful to make your writing skills better?
⌗ Yes
⌗ No

4. Have your listening skills improved by studying the existing syllabus?
⌗ Yes
⌗ No

5. Has it helped to improve your spoken English?
⌗ Yes
⌗ No

6. Do you think that existing syllabus has increased your knowledge about English grammar?
⌗ Yes
⌗ No

7. Is the language used in the literary texts easy to understand?

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☐ Yes
☐ No

8. Do you think that the ideas given in the literary texts have an importance in your real life?
☐ Yes
☐ No

9. Has the local culture been represented in the syllabus along with the western culture?
☐ Yes
☐ No

10. Do you enjoy studying the old classics included in your syllabus?
☐ Yes
☐ No

11. Which of the following changes would you prefer to be made in the syllabus?
☐   The syllabus should be changed as a whole
☐   Some of its parts should be changed

12. What type of syllabus do you want to study?
☐   A combination of language and literature
☐   Literature only

13. Do you want to improve your reading skills?
☐ Yes
☐ No

14. Do you think that your writing skills need improvement?
☐ Yes
☐ No

15. Do you want to improve your listening skills?
☐ Yes
☐ No

16. Do you think that your spoken English needs improvement?
☐ Yes
☐ No

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17. Do you want to improve your knowledge of English grammar?
☐ Yes
☐ No

18. Do you think that local culture should also be represented in the syllabus?
☐ Yes
☐ No

19. Do you want to study English literature written by Pakistani authors?
☐ Yes
☐ No

20. Are you interested in studying English literature written in different parts of the world?
☐ Yes
☐ No

(ii) Questionnaire for the Teachers of English Literature

Dear Participants,

This questionnaire is a part of the research being conducted upon English literature Syllabus in NWFP at graduate level. We hope that you will cooperate with us and give us your kind responses so that we can design a proper course compatible with global standards of teaching and learning English literature. Please give your honest opinion and encircle only one option out of the two options given with every question. All the information you will give us will be kept confidential.

1. Is the existing syllabus suitable for your students at graduate level?
☐ Yes
☐ No

2. Is it helpful to improve students' reading skills?
☐ Yes
☐ No

3. Is it helpful to improve students' writing skills?
☐ Yes
☐ No

4. Have your students' listening skills improved by studying the existing syllabus?
☐ Yes

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▣ No

5. Is it helpful to improve your students' spoken English?
▣ Yes
▣ No

6. Do you think that existing syllabus has increased students' knowledge about English grammar?
▣ Yes
▣ No

7. Is the language used in the literary texts easy to understand?
▣ Yes
▣ No

8. Do you think that the ideas given in the literary texts have an importance in your real life?
▣ Yes
▣ No

9. Has the local culture been represented in the syllabus along with the western culture?
▣ Yes
▣ No

10. Do your students enjoy studying the old classics included in your syllabus?
▣ Yes
▣ No

11. Which of the following changes would you prefer to be made in the syllabus?
▣ The syllabus should be changed as a whole
▣ Some of its parts should be changed

12. What type of syllabus do you prefer for your students?
▣ A combination of language and literature
▣ Literature only

13. Do you think the students need to improve reading skills?
▣ Yes
▣ No

14. Do you think that the students' writing skills need improvement?
▣ Yes

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☐ No

15. Do you think students need to improve listening skills?
☐ Yes
☐ No

16. Do you think that your students' spoken English needs improvement?
☐ Yes
☐ No

17. Do you want to improve your knowledge of English grammar?
☐ Yes
☐ No

18. Do you think that local culture should also be represented in the syllabus?
☐ Yes
☐ No

19. Do you want to study English literature written by Pakistani authors?
☐ Yes
☐ No

20. Do you think that English literature written in different parts of the world should be included in the syllabus?
☐ Yes
☐ No

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APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS

(i) Interview questions with the students

1. What materials do you use in this classroom?

2. What is the impact of syllabus on?

   i.   Your ability to understand listening texts in English?

   ii. Your ability to speak English?

   iii. Your ability to understand reading texts?

   iv. Your ability to communicate in writing through English?

3. Do you think that the texts are relevant to your local culture and values?

4. Do you want to learn about different cultures of the world?

5. Do you like / dislike the teaching materials?

   Why do you like/ dislike them?

6. Does the course reflect your needs? Explain please?

7. Do you want changes in the course or materials? If yes which changes would you

suggest?

(ii) Interview questions with the teachers

1. Do you think that the existing syllabus is suitable for the students? If yes/Why If no/Give

reasons

2. How does syllabus impact on your students' learning?

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Listening? Reading? Speaking? Writing?

3. What are the requirements of the students to learn English in this age of globalization?

4. Are the texts relevant with local culture?

5. Do they enhance students' knowledge about world cultures?

6. Do the students show interest in the texts you teach?

7. What kind of changes would you suggest to be made in the existing syllabus?

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Factor analysis table

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
q1	1.000	.752
q2	1.000	.802
q3	1.000	.737
q4	1.000	.750
q5	1.000	.558
q6	1.000	.876
q7	1.000	.941
q8	1.000	.812
q9	1.000	.730
q10	1.000	.744
q11	1.000	.485
q12	1.000	.685
q13	1.000	.714
q14	1.000	.720
q15	1.000	.745
q16	1.000	.679
q17	1.000	.699
q18	1.000	.778
q19	1.000	.743
q20	1.000	.709

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

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Two Trends That Would Deface Classical-Modern Tamil – How to Reverse These Trends?

M. S. Thirumalai, Ph.D.

Change is Inevitable

As time passes, change in linguistic usage is inevitable in any language. Such changes in grammatical rules are not treated as errors. These changes become part of the regular and normal use of that language. This modern descriptive notion is celebrated also in ancient Tamil grammars. Over a thousand years ago, the author of *Nannuul* clearly enunciated this position.

A language may accumulate changes in wider parts of its linguistic structure. This process is aided and abetted by social and geographical variations in the linguistic and sociolinguistic usage of that language. It can happen through voluntary and not so voluntary adoption of changes initiated by language, social, and political movements. It can happen also through the influence of some other languages, etc.

Because of these and other related factors, the very same language may change a lot over a period of time. Its "normal" variants may become independent languages, developing further mutual unintelligibility between the variants to a lesser or greater extent.

Would This Happen to Tamil?

Did the ancient and traditional Tamil grammarians anticipate this process to happen to their mother tongue, which they sought to deify and characterize as "immortal"? Did they mean that their Tamil would one day become like Sanskrit, a great classical language assumed to be a medium of gods, which, however, has not been spoken for centuries in day to day life of humans?

At least one poet likened Sanskrit to the right eye of Siva and Tamil to the left eye of Siva. There are many such adulatory passages in Tamil literary compositions. They recognized that Sanskrit is here "forever" and Tamil would also be here "forever." "Youthful continuation" was, however, an added dimension.

Can this added dimension be interpreted as referring to its vitality of usage as a current spoken language? Or, merely its continuation as a written form of language?

Can the tenor of their expressions be interpreted that they imagined their mother tongue to continue "forever," or as "young as ever," without transforming itself into a variety of mutually unintelligible languages within the traditional Tamil homeland, Tamilnadu?

Emphasis on the Written Variety

Early grammarians recognized the existence and the use of variation in speech, but their focus was on the written variety. In all early literary compositions, be these individual poems, epics, and/or *puranas*, dialogues are, indeed, recorded, but it appears that these citations within poetic texts were in formal written Tamil. Colloquialisms and spoken variety are not attested, it appears. Prose works were very few and their style resembles written variety, even when dialogues are cited and used to portray the progress of conversations.

Conventions of Prosody, etc.

In other words, we may not be wholly wrong if we conclude that for deliberate materials directed toward literates the preferred form of communication was through the written variety. This variety was composed adopting appropriate conventions of prosody. There were other deliberately composed materials, such as some categories of inscriptions announcing property rights, usage of public places, etc., for which prose in spoken Tamil was generally used. These materials were part of the domain to which everyone had access.

The former types were composed by educated literates who were instructed in the arts of grammar and related expression modes. The latter were composed mostly by artisans under instructions from authority, who may or may not have had such literary requirements to pursue their trade/s.

Consider also the age-old demand that every deliberately composed prosodic work be presented before an educated or elitist audience to obtain the approval of the audience of poets, et al. It was imperative, it seems, that a certificate of merit be obtained before the prosodic work became eligible for circulation.

Divergence and Convergence

It is nothing unusual for the written variety to be divergent from the spoken variety in every language. The spoken language is given, whereas the written language is to be developed deliberately. There are speech communities whose speech is yet to be provided with corresponding written variety. Preliterate speech communities are found throughout the world.

Written language may begin from the base of the spoken variety, but it soon can take a life of its own, divergent or convergent or a mix of both in a language. The importance of writing for the transmission of generational knowledge need not be recognized equally with same appreciation in all human communities. Often level of material civilization and social structure may help establish the relevance and usefulness of written communication.

Written varieties of most languages have both divergence from and convergence with the spoken variety. In the case of Tamil, there is abundant convergence in terms of syntactic patterns, lexicon and meaning domains. However, overt surface forms of both these appear to be very divergent, especially because of phonology, grammatical inflections, and lexical choice, etc. What makes Tamil distinct from such convergence and divergence is the deliberate allocation of functions that usually did not overlap until very recently. Written format is preferred for formal and educational purposes over the spoken variety for a long time.

Parallel Nature of Written and Spoken Varieties in Tamil

These two varieties are certainly parallel, each with its distinctive characteristics and allocated functions. However, there is close relationship between the two, and by working on this underlying relationship, second or foreign language learners of Tamil can actually master the language very well. Unfortunately early mother tongue and second/foreign language teachers focused more on the written variety and deprecated the use of the spoken variety in formal situations, etc. They started with the written language and largely ignored the specific features of the spoken language. However, we can make approximations to the written language through the teaching, learning and use of the spoken variety.

This attitude of preference for the written variety is centuries-old, as I have tried above to explain the existence of both the varieties in historical terms.

Growing Importance of the Spoken Variety

The literacy rate was very low among the Tamils 250 years ago. Literacy in Tamil was limited to mostly men and that too in small numbers. The writings of the Europeans, during the early period of the East India Company, reveal this fact.

Prose, a closely related version of the spoken form of any language, was yet to be accepted and used as an honorable medium of expression for deliberate creative and technical expressions. Dependence on the prosodic form of written language for such deliberate expressions was evident in this pre-modern period in Tamil. It was a dedicated group of western Christian missionaries who would soon reverse this trend.

Phonological Differences

There are many differences between the phonological structures of the written and spoken varieties of Tamil. It is difficult to assume that, in any given time during its continued existence, Tamil ever had a single phonological system that embraced both the varieties and covered the entire social and regional spectrum of the Tamil society. The written variety was influenced by the spoken variety in its phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and lexical domains. This is easily explained with the help of literary compositions of later periods. And yet the distinction between the two must have been well maintained, according a higher status to the written form.

Precise but adequate description of articulatory characteristics of speech sounds and relating the sounds to the graphemes done in grammars such as *Tolkaappiyam* was perhaps intended to improve upon the speech characteristics of the native speakers of Tamil. This approach could have been a technique to usher in some sort of standardization in speech. But such helpful techniques were available only through formal instruction. As most of the population was not yet drawn to formal education, their speech habits continued to vary, community-wise and region-wise.

As already pointed out, written and spoken varieties continued to exist side by side, establishing their own domains of use, impacting each other to certain extent. In some sense, the written variety is "frozen," although it has its own dynamic progress within itself. It was more conservative in accepting and adapting to influence from various sources. Preservation of its "purity" as well as its continuity was well established through the convention insisted upon by *Tolkappiyam* that while writing the borrowed words from Sanskrit writers must use only those graphemes available to them in Tamil. The author of *Tolkaappiyam* uses a strong verb of conviction that carries the meaning of "reject and eliminate," "comprehensively obliterate," and "forcefully rip or remove," etc. On the other hand, spoken variety must have had much larger openings to receive influence from a variety of sources. And yet the impact from outside was still manageable as social contacts with the outside world for various reasons including the slow spread of literacy and formal instruction.

Opening up the Avenues of Formal Education

Things have changed over the centuries. Fortunately for all of us, formal education is more widely available to all classes of Tamil society. Schools are established and are found in every region of Tamilnadu. Membership in organized and prestige-bearing social institutions and groups is also more widely open. Participation in and leadership of political organizations is open to all social classes, regardless of status by birth, wealth, and educational attainments. Delivering effective and attractive platform speech in a variety that is close to the written variety, but in a mode that is easily followed, has become a much desired skill. All these have opened the door for wider participation of people from all walks of life, social and economic classes and regions.

A significant development in all these is the ease with which people bring their speech habits to the delivery of both written and spoken varieties. Social and regional differences in spoken variety are no more under the strict regulation of the written variety. This welcome freedom has also resulted in certain strains to the pronunciation patterns in written Tamil text.

Coalescence of Speech Sounds and Phonemes

Coalescence of related sounds has become widespread in spoken Tamil among the members of many social classes and regional groups.

It looks like the distinction between the alveolar and retroflex nasals is almost lost. The word initial occurrence of the dental nasal is also lost. The palatal nasal in its word initial occurrence may soon be lost. In other words, nasals (other than the bilabial) may remain distinct only as context-sensitive phonetic elements, although their retention as individual phonemes at the graphemic level will continue. At the spoken level, the phonemic status of individual nasals may be lost, while such distinctions may be continued at the written level, causing further divergence between both the varieties. Such divergence, if not checked, can lead to the emergence of new languages from out of the existing Tamil language.

Coalescence has already taken place in the spoken variety between the two trills phonemically recognized in Tamil (in the written variety). The only exception so far has been the dialect of Tamil spoken in Kanyakumari district. Here too, growing mobility of people and the impact of movies, etc., slowly eliminate the distinction between the two trills at the spoken level. The intensity of contact with Malayalam in this district is significantly less, and the contact with other social and regional dialects of Tamil as well as the standard pronunciation of written Tamil have resulted in this growing loss of distinction.

Thirdly, the distinctions between alveolar, retroflex and grooved palatal laterals are under heavy strain. Already the retroflex and grooved palatal laterals have coalesced into a single sound (retroflex lateral) in most districts of Tamilnadu. Maintaining the distinct identities has become a

hallmark of sophistication and social class identity, not a feature of ordinary language among the vast majority of Tamils.

Coalescence of alveolar and retroflex laterals seems to be in full swing in the northern districts of Tamilnadu among the first generation users of written Tamil variety. It is a painful process for some of us to listen to songs sung by people with no ability to distinguish between laterals. Especially the merger of alveolar and retroflex laterals sounds jarring to the ears. For the speakers/singers themselves, they seem to be totally oblivious of this distinction. As songs are composed primarily following written language conventions, these singers need to attune their ears to the essential distinctions and be aware of their own shortcomings to rectify their errors. This error persists in areas such as Christian singing where there is greater freedom to compose and sing without formal training as singers are governed by the theological belief of Sprit-led singing. (More about it and other related issues relating to faith traditions, song writing and singing later on in another article.). If this persists, from a three way distinction we will soon have only one lateral sound in the spoken variety but a three way distinction of the category in the written variety.

The free variation between c and s at the word initial position has become widespread. As a result, c may retain its original phonetic quality only as a geminate. Generally speaking, the neatness of the allophonic pattern as applied to stop and affricate consonants is under strain, and may be changed a lot in due course, because of the heavy influx of words from other languages.

All these are natural trends, but these can be arrested, modified and re-directed through schooling. This is where the worst failure begins to shape up. Many teachers of Tamil, who should have a mastery of their language, are not able to bring to the conscious knowledge of their students the "incorrect" speech characteristics they unconsciously follow. Teachers themselves have difficulty in making the distinctions that the written variety graphemic patterns demand.

A Possible Remedy

More than anything else, there is an urgent need to organize a massive re-training program for all the Tamil teachers, covering the elementary, middle, high and higher secondary levels, at first instance. This should be followed by a re-training program in pronunciation in Tamil for all the teachers who teach various subjects using the Tamil medium. Appropriate support from the media will help motivate the teachers. There is lack of desire to acquire better speech habits which will use mostly Tamil sentences with Tamil words, since current speech patterns are based on the tendency to use as many English words as possible in the sentences uttered by Tamil speakers. Using words from English, especially, in Tamil speech and Tamil sentences carries great value in the current Tamil society.

This takes us to the next level of trends that continually deface Tamil.

Code-mixing and Code-switching

Code-mixing and code-switching are widely prevalent in all the Indian languages. Many years ago, students of Tamil literature and Tamil linguistics believed that Bengali and Gujarati speakers greatly avoided the processes of code-mixing and code-switching because of the great and inspiriting examples set by Rabindranath Tagore (Bengali) and M. K. Gandhi (Gujarati). There is no such exception in any Indian language right now.

With the spread of formal education which focuses on learning English as early as possible, and with the tantalizing global opportunities for employment, use of English is greatly encouraged and desired. Whether our students learn English well and adequate enough or not, society has moved over from using only native words to using as many English words as possible in the Indian language sentences. In addition, mixing English sentences with the sentences from the mother tongue Indian language sentences has become the most preferred form of expression. This situation prevails in all South Asian nations.

We indulge in **code-mixing** when we insert words from another language (most of the time it is from English) into our Tamil sentences. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are appropriately inflected and used as words in a Tamil sentence. Most of our speech contains such sentences. These sentences may have more English words than Tamil words, but these are constructed and delivered using the normal sentential structure followed in Tamil.

We indulge in **code-switching** when, in our conversations, we move from a Tamil sentence to a sentence in English. Our stretch of utterance thus contains some Tamil sentences and some English sentences. Which ones will be uttered first and in what order in a stretch of utterance is not yet wholly studied. But I get the impression that predictability may not be possible.

What is significant is that our speech is a "colorful" mingle of both code mixing and code switching!

Effects on Writing

The trend to indulge in code-mixing and code-switching at the spoken level has now penetrated into the writing practices as well. People have hard time remembering Tamil words, and so they justify using both the devices in their writing. They may also justify this practice saying that these devices faithfully and wholly reflect what they want to communicate. This has also resulted in using English words with spelling in English graphemes in Tamil sentences that are partly written with the letters of the Tamil script. Magazines, private TV and Radio channels, and movies have adopted this blend with ease.

Those who are skilled in delivering platform speech employ code-mixing and code-switching to create some impressive effects. Others, who are not masters of platform speech but are called upon to deliver public speeches, are unable to refrain from code-mixing and code-switching

since these two processes are more normal now than delivering speech using only Tamil sentences.

Likely Loss of Language as We Know It Now

Code-mixing and code-switching are unavoidable as contacts between speakers of various languages are established. However, the magnitude of indiscriminate code mixing and code-switching that we see now in our everyday life is rather astounding. These processes will certainly break the dynamic connect between the classical and modern Tamil, and the celebrated continuity between these two stages and forms, distinct to Tamil, will be lost. Not only the loss of continuity but also the loss of even the language may be the result.

Can We Do Anything About This?

Yes, indeed, we can.

Tamil was able to withstand many assaults on its basic structural patterns. *Tolkaappiyam* recognized that appropriate graphemic safeguards by establishing conventions might help in this direction. These guidelines were amazingly followed without exception even by great epic writers like Kamban and prose-commentary writers like Adiyaarkkunallaar and Parimeelazhakar.

Although the context is totally changed, love for the existence of Tamil is not wholly extinguished. Passion for its continuity is still glowing in the heart and spirit of the Tamil community, which has more power than ever as a global community. With insistence on the conventions that would establish generous provisions to indulge in loan translation and loan transliteration, and with a passionate movement for the continuity of Tamil, there may still be an opportunity to preserve both the ancient and the modern stages of Tamil even in the future.

The fact that code-mixing and code-switching do not really contribute to the effective learning and use of English should also be made known widely. And the help of the teachers of English and teachers of subjects taught through the medium of English should be obtained for this purpose. There are also other productive steps we can take up, but I propose to deal with these in another article.

Success is possible if there is disciplined dedication. And dedication will come only when such movement for continuity establishes itself with sound reason.

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