INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL

OF

LINGUISTICS

(A Peer-Reviewed Refereed Journal)

Editor

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IJL VOL (16) 2023

Price ₹ 600/ =
US $30/=

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE

The sixteenth volume of the Interdisciplinary Journal of Linguistics (IJL), the academic organ of the Department of Linguistics, is in your hands. It is a matter of pride and privilege that the journal has been published without any break since its inception in 2008. The current issue covers papers related to diverse themes in theoretical, applied and interdisciplinary areas which add to the richness of the volume. All the papers have been reviewed and have undergone thorough revisions.

In his paper 'Linguistic Activation and Bi-Directional Reading in Urdu: An Electrophysiological Investigation', Azizuddin Khan discusses the challenges posed by the changes in reading directions of words and numerals for the readers with regard to their lexical recognition strategies, inhibition of control for planning saccadic eye movements, and shifting of attention. The study has examined the effect of change in reading direction on brain activities with the help of Electroencephalogram (EEG). The study, performed on nineteen adult native Urdu speakers, revealed that upon change in reading direction in articulating numerals, an event-related potential (ERP) occurs with a latency of 200ms in the left anterior temporal and posterior middle temporal region.

Khalaf Mutlaq Al Shammiry describes the semantic functions of the participle jaal/gaad 'sit' in the Northern Saudi dialect of Arabic. The paper shows that the participle jaal/gaad is used not only in sentences with progressive interpretation but also in sentences with non-progressive interpretation.

In their paper titled 'Phonological Adaptation of Consonantal Segments in Arabic Loanwords in Malayalam: A Case Study of the Mappila Dialect in North Kerala', Ilfa K. M. and S. A. Shanavas talk about the Arabic loanwords in the Mappila dialect of Malayalam. The paper has used Danesi's Integrated Model of Loanword Nativization to examine the Arabic loanwords. The paper claims that there is a significant degree of regularity in the adaptation of loan words, with the adaptation being more phonological than phonetic.

Bishnupriya Manipuri is a lesser known contact language spoken in parts of Assam and Tripura in North-East India. Nazrin B. Laskar has attempted to scrutinize the basic and cultural lexicon of this language stating that the structure and distribution of these semantic categories of lexicon help in locating the socio-historical and demographic contact of the language varieties of two distinct language families, namely, Eastern Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman, that lead to the creation of Bishnupriya Manipuri language.

Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh and Saima Jan have tried to study the socio-psychological tendencies in the language preferences of migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth of Jammu and Udhampur. The study serves as an indicator of language maintenance and shift among these youth.

'Case Alignment in Kinnauri' is the title of paper written by Harvinder Negi and Purnendu Bikash Debnath. The paper describes ergativity in Kinnauri in terms of alignment properties in the nominal domain, i. e., the case marking of core arguments and their interpretations, as well as in the verbal domain, viz., agreement between the core arguments. The authors argue that the language shows split ergativity.

The paper titled 'Transitivity Selections in Presidential Discourse: A Study of Obama and Trump' has been written by Bedoor Sharaf Al Deen and Abdul Aziz Khan. The authors have used Halliday's theory of transitivity to study the political discourse of two US presidents, namely, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. The paper throws light on how the two presidents have used the process of transitivity in their discourse.

Kavita Yadav, in 'Reports of Death in Mainstream Media: A Critical Discourse Analysis', argues that death is a social event and language, being closely related to the social processes, changes significantly while talking about death. The paper uses Fairclough's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in analyzing the language used in headings and subheadings published about the death of three prominent personalities in the five most widely circulated English newspapers in India.

In 'Humour as a Socially Conditioned Reflex: A Study', Anupama T. contends that sense of humour is a socially conditioned reflex. The author uses the concept of Benign Violation Theory (BVT) to understand the psychology at the backdrop of the speaker and listener of a joke and the realization of the power struggle between the two via the psychological distance existing between them vis-à-vis the joke.

Taboos have provided an interesting topic of research as for the use of language is concerned. Rahul Krishna H S and Syam S K have taken up this topic in their paper 'Linguistic Interpretations of Taboo with Special Reference to the Film Churuli'. The paper analyses the linguistic aspects of taboos used in the Malayalam film Churuli.

Akash Kumar and Bablu Ray's paper 'Analyzing the Types of Affixes in Khortha' is an attempt to analyze and identify different types of affixes in Khortha, a lesser known language spoken mostly in Jharkhand, India. The paper claims that Khortha employs prefixes and suffixes while as the use of infixes is very rarely witnessed in the language.

In the paper titled 'The Omnipresence of Dhivehi Language in the Linguistic Landscape of Thiruvanthapuram City: An Empirical Study', Charutha Sruthi M. Lal claims that Dhivehi, the official language of the Republic of Maldives, holds a significant position in the linguistic landscape of Thiruvanthapuram, the capital city of the Indian state of Kerala. The study is based on the signboards in Dhivehi which are quite frequently found in and around Thiruvanthapuram Medical College Hospital.

Muhammad Ashraf K has discussed the temporal dimensions and their reference vis-a-vis 'day' in his paper 'Temporal Terms Used for Division of Time in a Day: A Hermeneutic Semantic Analysis'. Following Peep

Koort's Hermeneutic Semantic Analysis Model, the paper attempts to analyse the four temporal references of a day.

'Syllable Structure in Gujarati: Evidence from a Word Game' is the title of the paper written by Hitesh Varsh Nav and Ajay Savaiya. The paper deals with the Gujarati word game known as 'Asma ne Tasma' which involves insertion of a nonsense syllable within the CCV structure. The paper describes the changes brought about by the insertion of the nonsense syllable in the internal syllable structure.

Farooq Ahmad Mir and Azhar Nasir have taken up the theme of grammatical gender in Gojri spoken in Jammu and Kashmir. The authors have attempted to analyse gender in Gojri and provide a description of gender and gender formation processes in the Gojri language.

In 'Polysemy in Some Marathi Adjectives', Maitreyi Puntambekar and Mona Parakh examine polysemy in Marathi adjectives with special reference to the physical property adjectives, viz., wet, cold, hard and hot.

Twitter has become a dominant medium of expression in today's world. In 'Language Choice on Twitter: A Study of Kashmiri Bilinguals Using Twitter', Sajad Ahmad Teli, S Shabrooz Andrabi and Ishrat Gul have assessed the language choice of Kashmiri speakers on twitter.

Sunil Kumar and L. R. Prem Kumar's paper 'Attitude of College Students towards Mother Tongue: A Case Study of Dogri' tries to find out the attitude of college students towards Dogri language, the dominant language in the multilingual Jammu province of the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir.

Zoya Fatma has undertaken a comparative study of non-nominative subjects in Kannauji and Hindi-Urdu wherein she questions the traditional reliance on nominative case and verbal agreement as exclusive indicators of subject-hood across diverse languages.

In 'The Process of Causativisation in Maithli: A Morpho-Semantic Analysis', Smriti Choudhary provides a morpho-semantic analysis of causativisation in Maithli. Following the work of linguists like Comrie, Dixon and Shibatani, the author discusses the interplay between the morphological and semantic elements in producing causative constructions and goes on to provide explanation for the verbs in Maithli that cannot be causativised morphologically.

Asma Kazmi has taken up the theme of 'Artful Utterances: Relationship between Art and Language' in her paper. Based on the argument that language plays a critical role in shaping the understanding and interpretation of art, the author discusses how artists utilize linguistic elements, symbols and narratives to endow their works with layered meanings.

Varinder Khurana has taken up the topic of historiography of Indian languages with reference to Punjabi wherein the author discusses the doctrines on which language historiography, in general, and of Punjabi

language, in particular, has been undertaken. The author argues for exploring alternative methods in tracing language history.

The paper 'Pedagogical Relevance of Irresistible Lexical Items in Media' has been written by Mohd. Tahir. Highlighting the significance of irresistible lexical items, the author has tried to provide a comprehensive overview of irresistible lexical items in English which play a crucial role in language teaching and learning.

I hope the readers will find the papers on diverse themes present in this volume quite useful. We constantly try to upgrade the journal and look forward to and welcome the feedback of our esteemed readers in this regard.

Finally, I would like to convey my sincere thanks to the reviewers for their timely review and feedback. I would also like to acknowledge the support and cooperation of my colleagues at the department in bringing out this volume.

Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh
Editor

LINGUISTIC ACTIVATION AND BI-DIRECTIONAL READING IN URDU: AN ELECTROPHYSIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

Azizuddin Khan⁎

ABSTRACT

Urdu orthography is bidirectional in which words are read from right to left and the numerals from left to right direction. The changes in reading directions of words and numerals pose challenges for the readers with regard to their lexical recognition strategies, inhibition of control for planning saccadic eye movements, and shifting of attention. The present study examined the effect of change in reading direction on brain activities with the help of Electroencephalogram (EEG). The study was performed on nineteen adult native Urdu speakers (M=12, F=7; Avg. Age= 37.4 years). It was observed that upon the change in reading direction in articulating numerals, an event-related potential (ERP) occurs with a latency of 200ms in the left anterior temporal and posterior middle temporal region. However, the polarity of the peak was observed positive for changing the reading direction of numerals from left-to-right to the direction of words from right-to-left. The same peak was observed to be negative when the direction changed vice versa. It was also observed that the areas responsible for recognition of information (right anterior superior temporal region) show early ERPs when the change in direction occurs from right-to-left to left-to-right as compared to the change in reading direction from left-to-right to right-to-left.

Keywords: Bidirectional Reading, Lexical Access, Morphological Processing, Orthography, Shifting of Attention

1. Introduction

Reading in Urdu is characteristically performed from right to left however, in case of numerals the reading direction changes from left to right. Such a change in reading direction may necessitate for extra efforts by imposing cognitive load. The phenomenon of bidirectional reading arises in orthographies of some alphabetic languages due to certain linguistic reasons particularly morphological, and syntactic reasons. Such a phenomenon can be intrinsic to an orthography or can exhibit extrinsically as well. In Urdu, the typical bidirectional reading pattern is a consequence of an intrinsic characteristic feature of its orthography.

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Therefore, while reading a sentence which contain numbers written in numerals, the reader assumes a right to left reading pattern for words and phrases but changes the direction from left to right for reading numerals. Similarly, in a multilingual situation the phenomena of code-switching and code-mixing give rise to bidirectional orthographies. In such cases, the matrix language determines the typical direction of reading while as the lexical and grammatical elements of an embedded language can display a change in direction e.g. in an inter-sentential code-switching of Urdu to English, Urdu assumes to the matrix language position where the elements of English perform as an embedded language. Therefore, upon reading such a sentence the reading direction starts from right to left in reading Urdu and turns left to right for English. Such a type of bidirectional reading pattern occurs extrinsic to an orthography. Nonetheless, the presence of images and emojis in a text can technically exhibit bidirectional reading pattern however, such a pattern is not considered principally bidirectional because images and emojis are not part of alphabetic orthographies.

Syntactically, Urdu has an SOV (subject-object-verb) word order in which specifiers and quantifiers such as numbers usually assume pre-object position to complete a sentence, and morphologically it undergoes particularly multifaceted processes for nouns verbs, thereby changing their shapes and occurrences in a sentence. Such morphological processes are observed as in derivational and inflectional affixations, formation of compound nouns, and causative verb formations. Interestingly, Urdu is written in Devanagri and Roman scripts also which form its exographs but as a standard endograph it has a complex *Abjad* class of Persio-Arabic orthography, written principally in connected and cursive *Nasta'liq* style where morpheme boundaries do not express overtly. The complex orthography of Urdu remarkably regulates its syntactic procedures which encompasses all the morphological processes to exhibit a well expressed right-left writing pattern. As a part of orthographic system to disambiguate between otherwise similar lexemes and morphemes, the use of diacritic marks in Urdu plays an essential role in comprehension of words and phrases. Basically, such diacritic marks determine the characteristics of vowel sounds but also show the consonant connections in a word or phrase. The distinctively occurring feature of Indo-Aryan languages i.e. the consonant gemination, expressed by a diacritic mark in Urdu. Moreover, the Urdu orthography expresses the changing shapes of consonants in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions by the virtue of Allography. The use of diacritic marks in Urdu orthography as an essential tool for orthographically regulated structural or lexical disambiguation, as a result solves the issue of grapheme-phoneme correspondences. When Urdu is written without diacritic marks, it exhibits an opaque orthography and there is no one-one correspondence between graphemes and the phonemes. Such an opaque orthography poses challenges for the reader to articulate the words and phrases correctly in a sentence. Also, the readers derive on the contextual information for comprehending challenging orthographical structures. The studies carried out in

bidirectional reading focus on eye movements and perceptual span during change in reading directions. The perceptual span in English and other languages read from left to right has received much attention (see Rayner, 2009); while the perceptual span in languages read from right to left has received significantly less. The findings for the importance of reading direction in determining asymmetry in the perceptual span are based on findings from Pollatsek, Bolozky, Well, and Rayner's (1981) single study on the perceptual span in Hebrew (read from right-left). Native Hebrew and English readers in Israel saw sentences with a window of regular text stretching 14 characters to the left of fixation and 4 characters to the right, or 4 characters to the left of fixation and 14 characters to the right. The results showed that Hebrew reading performance was better when the windows were asymmetric to the left, whereas English reading performance was better when the windows were asymmetric to the right. As a result, according to Pollatsek et al., the overall direction of reading appears to impact the asymmetry of the perceptual span. Khan, Loberg, and Hautala (2017) conducted a study on twenty-one Urdu speaking subjects and found that high cognitive resources were used for reading long numerals read in left-right direction in Urdu sentences, and found that the change against the default reading direction was preceded by highly inflated fixation duration, pinpointing the oculomotor, attentional and cognitive demands in executing sudden changes in reading direction.

Moreover, the numbers are written either in words or in Arabic numerals and thus the format of writing numbers is either verbal (words) or Arabic Numerals (digits). Some studies (e.g., Colvin et al., 2005; Cohen Kadosh et al., 2005; Pinel et al., 2003; Szûcs and Csépe, 2004) have looked at how numerical information is processed according to number format and found that specific neural activities are dedicated to processing specific number formats, while other cortical areas represent conceptual information. In Urdu, the numerals are written in Eastern-Arabic numeral system or Arabic–Indic numerals. These numerals are orthographically different (e.g. ٢-١-٤-٣-than usual Arabi (٥c numeral system however, they are read and written from left to right direction similarly as that of the Arabic numeral system (i.e. 1-2-3-4-5). Hence, when a number is read in a given Urdu sentence it is read as that of the universal Arabic numeral system and follows all the characteristic properties for place values of the digits. Pinel et al. (2001) discovered that numerical input notation selectively activated different cortical areas (verbal or Arabic notation). During verbal processing, the bilateral extrastriate cortices and a left precentral region were more activated than during digit processing, whereas during digit processing, the right fusiform gyrus (FG) and bilateral inferior parietal and frontal areas were more activated. As a result, it has been shown that numeral symbolic ability is reliant on parieto-temporal connectivity, which facilitates communication between intraparietal quantity processing areas and occipito-temporal areas engaged in symbol recognition (Dehaene et.al., 2003). The present study aims to understand brain responses when direction change occurs in reading bidirectional languages. It is observed

that the change in reading direction (i.e., words to numerals, numerals to words) activates the left posterior middle temporal region with a latency of 160 -220 ms (see. Szûcs and Csépe, 2004; Dehaene, 1996). It corresponds to the N1 response predominantly left-sided to the verbal numbers and more bilateral to the digits. It is also observed that the polarity of the ERPs changes according to the change in reading direction (e.g., Pinel et al., 2003). The ERPs analysis performed in the current work coincides with the earlier studies.

1.1 Protocol

The protocol was conducted following the Declaration of Helsinki and the protocol was approved by the ethical committee of the Indian Institute of Technology Bombay, India.

1.1.1 Participants' Selection

Nineteen adult participants (12 Male and 7 Female) were selected for the experiment, who were proficient in Urdu reading. All participants were school teachers and their mother tongue was also Urdu. To grade their proficiency level in the language, a sentence reading task was conducted which were including words as well as numerals. The proficiency in Urdu reading was graded according to the time taken by the participant in the reading of sentences. The participants were aged in the range of 22 to 53 years with a mean of 37.4 years. None of the subjects had a history of any type of neurological disorder and they were not having any medical treatment at the time of the experiment. Subjects gave their informed consent before participating in the experiment.

1.1.2 Sentence Types

Four types of sentences were selected for the experiment, in which two types of sentences were consisting bi-directionality in reading (i.e. words as well as numerals) and two types of sentences were consisting uni-directionality in reading (i.e. only words). The two types of bi-directional sentences were consisting either short or long numerals. Similar sentences were created for uni-directional reading by replacing numerals by words. Sentences were named as Long Numerals, Short Numerals, Long words, and Short Words shown in Figure 1.

○ Long Numerals:

کلام نے اسکول کے بچوں کے لیے ۷۵۰۹۹۰ روپے دیے۔

(Kalam ne school ke bacchon ke liye 750990 rupye diye.)

○ Long Word:

کلام نے اسکول کے بچوں کے لیے دو کروڑ روپے دیے۔

(Kalam ne school ke bacchon ke liye do crore rupye diye.)

○ Short Numerals:

میرے گھر کی لمبائی کم سے کم ۱۴۳ فٹ ہے۔

(Mere ghar ki lambayi kam se kam 143 foot hai.)

○ Short Word:

میرے گھر کی لمبائی کم از کم بیس فٹ ہے۔

(Mere ghar ki lambayi kam se kam bees foot hai.)

Figure 1: Types of sentences displayed for reading. The sentences consisting the long or short numerals were having the bi-directionality. The numerals were replaced by the number in words to read sentence in uni-direction.

2. Data Collection Technique

Participants were asked to wash their hair and dry it completely before starting data collection. The participants were comfortably seated in a reclining armchair in the dimly lit recording room. All personal electronics gadgets (mobile, watch, etc.) were taken out from the data recording room. A 24-inch monitor was placed 2 ft. away from the participant to display the cue.

2.1 EEG Recording Setup

A 64-channel Bio Semi Active Two system with active Ag/AgCl electrodes with CMS and DRL as the ground was used to record
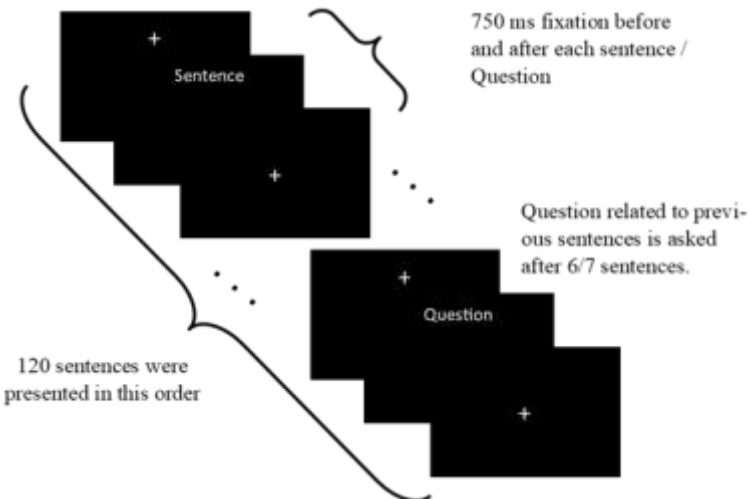
Figure 2: **Experiment Paradigm**

EEG at a sampling rate of 2048 Hz with a 24-bit analog to digital converter. Bio Semi head cap (according to the subject's head size) was used to position the 64 EEG electrodes on the scalp, according to the international 10-20 system. All the markers were provided through E-Prime 2.0 software via parallel port and recorded with EEG signals through Active Two software. The head circumference was measured using a measuring tape. Headcap was chosen according to the head size to hold the EEG electrodes. The head center was marked by measuring the center between nasion to inion and left earlobe to right earlobe. Headcap was worn to the participant's head by keeping the Cz channel at the center. A conductive gel was filled in all the holes of the headcap which was used to make proper connections between electrodes and scalp. 64 channels electrodes were connected in the headcap holes by matching the positions of the electrodes. Electrodes were connected with the Biosemi analog to digital converter which was connected with the computer for recording the EEG data. After connecting all the electrodes, impedances for all electrode sites were checked if they are less than 10 KΩ. If high impedance was found, the connection of the respective electrode was checked.

2.2 Experiment Paradigm

All sentences were displayed to the subject for 5 seconds with a gap of 750 msec fixation time as shown in Figure 2. After the display of 6/7 sentences, a multiple-choice question was displayed to the subject based on the last displayed 6/7 sentences. A participant was required to respond right answer by pressing numeral keys within 5 seconds. The question was placed to make sure whether the participant is properly reading the sentences. After the response to the question, 1 second fixation time was given before the display of the next set of sentences. The markers for the sentence appearance on the screen was provided from E-Prime to Biosemi Actve Two software.

3. Data Analysis

EEG data was imported into MATLB environment. The raw EEG signal from each electrode was filtered using a zero-phase band-pass filter with a cutoff frequency of 0.01-250 Hz to remove low-frequency trends and high-frequency noises. Each EEG epoch corresponding to the duration of reading was extracted with the help of sentence onset marker given by E-Prime. Sentences were categorized by the position of number appeared in the sentences. The horizontal eye movement while reading the sentences was monitored using EEG activities acquired from channels AF7 and AF8. EEG epochs at the time of changing reading direction was extracted using the step change observed in the channels AF7 and AF8 around the timing of number reading in the sentences. Timestamp during the number reading in the sentences was

approximately measured by the position of number in the sentence. The EEG segment for the duration of change in reading direction was extracted in two conditions, i.e. when direction of reading changed from right-to-left to left-to-right (reading numerals to words) and when direction of reading change from left-to-right to right-to-left (reading words to numerals). The EEG segments were extracted with the block size -200 to 600 ms, centered at the time of change in reading direction. The grand average of ERPs in both conditions (changing direction of reading in either way) was obtained from the data of all subjects. Topographic plots were also obtained for the change in reading directions in either side using the average of amplitudes from -10ms to 10 ms of changing reading direction.

3.1 Coherence Analysis

Coherence analysis is performed to understand the simultaneous brain activation at different areas for a particular activity. Coherence is a mathematical factor that measures the linear dependence between two signals coming from two brain regions at a noticeable distance. Coherence can be calculated as per Equation 1.

$$coh_{xy}(f) = \left|S_{xy}(f)\right|^2 / \left|S_{xx}(f)\right|\left|S_{yy}(f)\right| \qquad (1)$$

Where $S_{xy}(f)$ is the cross-spectral density between signals x and y, and $S_{xx}(f)$, $S_{yy}(f)$ are the auto power spectral densities of signals x and y respectively.

Subject's proficiency in Language reading v/s cognitive load and saccade effect: Proficiency help readers to not consider higher cognitive load during reading. For an approximate evaluation, the amplitude changes in EEG activity when a large saccade happens (changing the direction of reading from word to digit and vice-versa) was measured. The subject-wise average amplitude change in the EEG activity during the change of reading direction is calculated by measuring the amplitude change around the reading direction change from the EEG recorded at channel AF7 and AF8 for each sentence. The amplitude change is measured by normalizing the signal in the range of -1 to 1.

3.2 Results

Topographic plots were created during the change in reading direction (average of EEG during -10ms to 10ms) in either cases (changing the direction of reading from word to digit and vice-versa). Topographic plots show that the potential change happened only near the right anterior frontal lobe (AF8) for both cases and the other brain region was not much active shown in Figure 3.
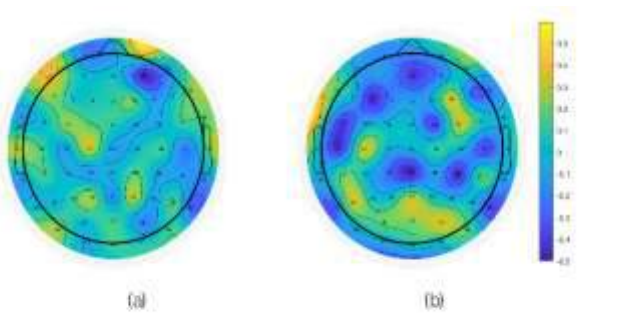
Figure 3. Topographic plot during change in direction of reading occurs for sentences with long numbers in digits. (a) Saccade in the left direction when changing the reading of words to digit. (b) Saccade in the left direction when changing the reading of digit to words

The reason behind the higher activation in the right anterior frontal lobe in both cases was that the reader's sudden eye movement happens in the same direction i.e. right to left in both cases. The brain activity during the reading of words (i.e. right to left) and the brain activity during the reading of digits (i.e. left to right) was also analysed. The topographic plots were taken for the average amplitude of EEG signals during the reading of words and digits as shown in Figure 4.
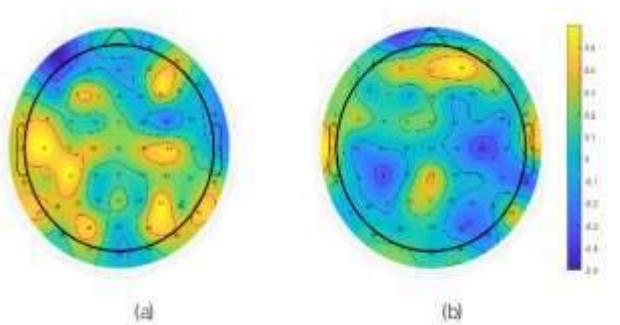
Figure 4. Topographic plot during (a) reading of words and (b) the reading of digit.

It is clear that Wernicke's area is active during the reading of words as well as the digits. However, the polarity of activation is different in both cases. During words reading, bilateral extrastriate cortices also activate which supports the Pinel et al. (2001) study. It is also observed that the frontal lobe and inferior parietal regions are more activated during digit reading.

The ERPs were extracted during the change in direction of reading occurred i.e. reading numerals to words (direction of reading change from right-to-left to left-to-right) and reading words to numerals (direction of reading change from left-to-right to right-to-left) with the block size -200 to 600ms, centered at the time of change in reading direction. The grand average of ERPs was obtained from the data of all subjects as shown in Figure 5.
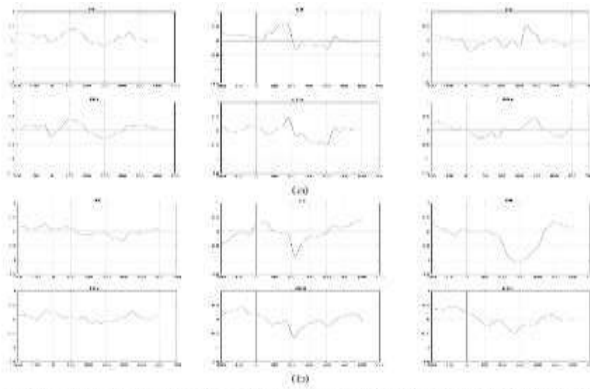
Figure 5: Event related potentials during change in direction of reading occurs i.e. (a) reading numerals to words and (b) reading words to numerals.

Major activations in ERPs were seen over the left anterior temporal and posterior middle temporal region, and right anterior superior temporal and parietal-occipital region. In the left hemisphere, P200 activity occurs in channels C5 and CP3, while Channels T7 and TP7 showed the P100 and N300 activities for changing the reading activity from numerals to words. The reason behind activation in the left temporal region is that the reading of words requires the understanding of language, remembering verbal information, and formation of speech corresponding to the displayed word. For the same event, late positive deflection i.e. P400 occurs over channels C6 and PO4 (right hemisphere), which are also responsible for the information gathering.

When changing the reading activity from numerals to words, N200 activity occurs in channels C5 and CP3, while no specific ERP occurs over the left anterior inferior temporal lobe i.e. T7 and TP7. It is obvious the reading of digits does not require the memorization of verbal information or formation of speech. Reading of digits requires the memorization of non-verbal information, recognition of the information, etc. which can be seen over the right hemisphere as N300 activity occurs in the channels C6 and PO4.

After comparison between the ERPs during the change of reading direction in, either way, it was clearly observed that the change in direction of reading activated the left posterior middle temporal region with a latency of 200ms. However, the polarity of the potential changes according to the direction of reading. The coherence analysis is performed for all 64 channels. For reading words from right to left direction, maximum coherence was obtained between electrode pairs FPz-FT7-F7, FC1-C3-FPz, FPz-CP2-P2, AF8-C4-P2-CP2, and FC4-AF4-FC6-P5.

The subject-wise average amplitude change in the EEG activity during the change of reading direction shows that the readers with very high proficiency had lesser change in brain activities at anterior frontal

lobe (AF7 and AF8), which make the difficulties in identification of the onset of the change in reading direction. It can be possible due to high parafoveal vision of such readers as shown in Table 1 and Table 2.

Subject ID	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Normalized value of Amplitude change	0.42	0.61	0.44	0.35	0.62	0.32	0.38	0.39	0.34	0.38
Subject ID	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Average
Normalized value of Amplitude change	0.39	0.28	0.36	0.46	0.34	0.46	0.51	0.42	0.48	0.42

Table 1: Normalized Amplitude Changes in EEG during Saccade for "Long Numerals"

Subject ID	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Normalized value of Amplitude change	0.37	0.52	0.38	0.33	0.55	0.28	0.36	0.35	0.30	0.36
Subject ID	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Average
Normalized value of Amplitude change	0.33	0.25	0.34	0.39	0.32	0.44	0.45	0.36	0.44	0.38

Table 2: Normalized Amplitude Changes in EEG during Saccade for "Short-Numerals"

4. Discussion

The present study aimed to understand the brain activities during the change of reading direction in the Urdu language. Only a few studies were found in the literature that explored the brain responses for reading words (right-to-left) and numbers (left-to-right). However, the effect of the sudden change in reading direction while performing continuous reading is not addressed for studying brain responses during the events. In the present study, a continuous reading task was performed for the sentences consisting of the words that can be read from right to left and numerals that can be read from left to right.

The brain responses analysis begins with the onset detection of the change in reading direction. The challenge is that the time required for reading a text varies for different readers, depending on various factors like reader proficiency, word length, reading numerals, etc. For the fair study, it is required to find the exact time when the reader changes the direction of reading, which means when the reader starts reading a word after a numeral or vice-versa. To resolve such a challenge, eye tracking was performed using the EEG acquired from the anterior frontal region of the brain.

It is also essential to monitor the reader's alertness while performing the reading task. So, a question was asked to the reader after reading six or seven sentences. The questions were designed in a way; if the reader had paid attention to the previous sentences, the answer would be easy to respond to the question.

The experiment protocol discussed earlier has considered maximum precautions that can help provide accurate brain responses corresponding to the change in reading direction. The sentence design part took care of the word length and the time required for the sentence reading by the subject. Sentences were displayed to the subject for natural reading. The position of the numeral in the sentence was also noted to help in the approximation of timestamp while the event occurs. The sudden step-change in electric potential over the anterior frontal region near the timestamp obtained by the numeral position was considered the time of change in reading direction.

However, we acknowledge that latency is possible in detecting a change in reading direction due to the possible latency in a step change of electric potential over the anterior frontal region. It can be further rectified by combining the eye (pupil) tracking system with the EEG recording machine. Still, the present study successfully presents the relative comparison when the change in reading direction occurs either way. The study shows that the cognitive load, which is observed with the help of brain responses, change in both conditions as ERPs latencies and polarities are different.

In conclusion, the results validated the protocol for understanding the brain responses corresponding to the change in reading direction. The present study will be helpful in future investigations to explore more about the effects of reading bi-directional languages on the brain. It can help develop intervention tools for dyslexic, dyscalculic, and slow learners to improve reading such languages.

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JAALS/GAAD "SIT" SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS IN THE NORTHERN SAUDI DIALECT OF ARABIC

Khalaf Mutlaq Jadou Al Shammiry⁎

ABSTRACT

In a number of investigated varieties of Arabic, the progressive aspect interpretation of sentence has been linked to the use of the participle jaals/gaad 'sit'. In other words, in a sentence where the participle jaals/gaad 'sit' is used before the imperative form of the verb, the sentence is interpreted as progressive; that is to say jaals/gaad 'sit' is viewed as a progressive aspectual marker. In this descriptive paper, through providing data from a variety of Arabic spoken in the northern border region of Saudi Arabia, it is shown that the participle jaals/gaad 'sit is not only used in sentences with progressive interpretation, ongoing events but it is also used in sentences with non-progressive interpretation, non-ongoing events. More importantly, the paper shows that there are semantic functions behind using jaals/gaad 'sit'; something that has not been shown before.

Keywords: Aspect, Jaals/Gaad 'Sit', Progressive and Habitual Interpretation, Semantic Functions

1. Introduction

Aspect is a grammatical category that expresses how an action denoted by a verb extends over time, whether it is complete, ongoing, repetitive, durative or habitual. In most languages, the distinction is made between perfective and imperfective aspects. The former describes complete events; it views an event as a single bounded unit with beginning and end, whereas the latter describes repeated or habitual events; it views an action as taking place during a limited time period and does not make any reference to its beginning or end. Aspect is usually expressed by the verb morphology or by means of aspectual particles, separate verbs, auxiliaries, etc. In a language like English, for example, the distinction is made between two aspects, the perfect and the progressive. That is to say, English is a language with no general perfective or imperfective although perfect aspect in English is sometimes referred to as perfective. Sometimes both aspects are combined forming the perfect progressive. The perfect aspect describes events taking place before the time of speaking and is expressed by the

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use of the past tense of the verb as in "He visited his neighbour." or events taking placing in the past but linked to the present which is expressed by the use of 'have' followed by the past participle of the verb as in "He has made an accident.". The progressive aspect describes ongoing and habitual events. Ongoing event is expressed by the use of 'be' followed by the present participle of the verb as in "He is visiting his neighbour." and "He was visiting his neighbour yesterday night."; and habitual event is expressed by the use of present form of the verb as in "He always travels.". 'Used to" is used with past habitual actions as in "He used to travel". More on English aspect, readers are referred to the works of Zandvoort (1962), Scheffer (1975), Comrie (1976), and Joos (1964) among others.

In a number of investigated varieties of Arabic done by Arab and non-Arab linguists, the progressive aspect interpretation of sentence has been linked to the use of the participle jaals/gaad 'sit'. In other words, in a sentence where the participle jaals/gaad 'sit' is used before the imperative form of the verb, the sentence is interpreted as progressive; that is to say jaals/gaad 'sit' is interpreted as a progressive aspectual marker as the following shows.

1. a. yalab-uun kuura

    play-pl.masc. ball

    They are playing football.

    They play football.

    b. jaals/gaad-een yalab-uun kuura

      AS/PROG-pl.masc. play-pl.masc. ball

    They are playing football.

    *They play football.

From the English gloss in (1a), one notices that the sentence without the use of the participle *Jaals/gaad-een* 'sit' is interpreted as either progressive or non-progressive. In (1b) compared to (1a), where *Jaals/qaad-een* 'sit' is used before the imperative verb *yalab-uun* 'play.pl.masc.', the sentence is only interpreted as progressive; non-progressive interpretation is not accepted.

In this descriptive paper, through providing data from a variety of Arabic spoken in the northern border region of Saudi Arabia, it is shown that the participle *jaals/gaad* 'sit is not only used in sentences with ongoing events but it is also used in sentences with non-ongoing events. More importantly, the paper shows that there are semantic functions behind using *jaals/gaad* 'sit'.

The paper is constructed as follows. Section 2 discusses aspect in standard Arabic and other varieties of Arabic. In section 3, aspect and the participle *jaals/gaad* 'sit' use in the northern border region of Saudi

Arabic is discussed. Semantic functions of *Jaals/gaad* 'sit' is discussed under section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Aspect in Standard Arabic and other Varieties of Arabic

In standard Arabic, the verb has two forms, perfect and imperfect which are referred to as *al-maadhi* and *al-mudhaari* respectively; the perfect form expresses completed events, whereas the imperfect form expresses incomplete, ongoing and habitual events; According to Comrie (1976), perfective indicates both perfective meaning and relative past time reference, while imperfective indicates imperfective meaning or relative non-past time reference. However, there is no agreement among linguists whether these two verb forms encode tense, aspect or both of them. It is also argued that the aspectual marking in Arabic is indicated by words like *qad 'qad'* and *kana* 'be'. The former is followed by the perfect; and the latter is followed by the imperfect. For more details on aspect and tense in Arabic, readers are referred to the work of Mobaidin (1988), Sibawayh (1988), Ibn Jenni (1952), Wright (1974) Chomrie (1976), Fehri (1993), Fassi Fehri (2004), Juhfah (2006), Bahloul (2008), Michalski (2011), Badawi, Carter, and Gully (2016), and Gadalla (2017), Benmamoun (2000), Aoun, Benmamoun and Choueiri (2010), Ryding (2005), and Zainab (2019).

As a matter of fact, verb morphology in Standard Arabic in context-less situations does not suffice to show the intended aspect which makes it important to use certain elements, particles or adverbs, like *undhur* 'look', *dhala* 'stay' and *lazaal* 'still' to express the sentence intended aspect.

2.   a. al-awlaad-u   ya-lab-uun

      the-boys.pl.masc.-nom. play/are playing-pl.masc.

     The boys are playing.

     The boys play.

   b. undhur, al-awlaad-u   ya-lab-uun

      look. the-boys.pl.masc.nom. are playing-pl.masc.

     Look, the boys are playing.

     *The boys play football.

We observe that in (2a), without the use of any adverb *undhur* 'look', the sentence with the verb *yalabuun* 'play' has habitual/progressive interpretations. When *undhur* 'look' is used, the habitual interpretation is not accepted.

Aspect in other varieties of Arabic has received much attention by Arab and non-Arab linguists; these linguists have shown that speakers of those varieties have developed various strategies to express progressive aspect in ongoing events. Varieties like Egyptian Arabic, Laventine Arabic and Dhofari dialects in Oman use a preposition-like prefix '*b-*' before the imperfect verbs. Libyan Arabic uses the preposition *'fi'* before

the object to mark progressive. Other varieties such as Jordanian, Sudani, Omani, Tunisian, Iraqi, and Moroccan, just to name a few, use *gaals* or *gaad* 'sit' before the imperfect to mark progressive aspect; for more details on the use of those markers, readers are referred to the work of Eisele (1999), Jarad (2015), Dickens (2011), Borjars, K., Ghadgoud, K. and Payne, J. (2016), Al-Balushi (2016), Davey (1016), and McNil (2017). As the focus of this paper is the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit', the paper will not say anything about the other markers. What all of those studies discussed the use of *jaals/gaad* 'siy' have in common is that those linguists emphasize that those markers are used to mark progressive aspect of ongoing events; that is to say, they are not used with habitual actions. The following are examples taken from works done on four Arabic varieties: Al-Khartuum, Tunisian, Omani and UAE cited by Dickins (2011), McNil (2017), Al-Blalushi (2016), and Jarad (2015) respectively.

3. gaad tasawwi sinu

 sit. AP.msg. do.IPFV.2sg what

 What are you doing?

4. maks gada   timsi   mastwiyya

 not.2SG sit.AP.FSG walk.IPFV.2SG straight

 You are not walking straight.

5. l-awlad   gals-in y-kitb-u   wagb-a-t-hum

 the-boys.nom PROG-pm impf-write-3pm homework.acc-p--their

 The boys are (in the process of) writing their homework.

6. yirana kanow yalsin yi-trayg-un yom sabbat l-harija

 Neighbour.our were PROG they-have breakfast when started the-fire

 fi-l-matbah

 in-the-kitchen

Our neighbours were having breakfast when the fire broke out in the kitchen.

  One observes that in (3, 4, 5 and 6), as shown by the English glosses, with the use of *gaad, gada, galsin* and *yalsin* 'sit' before the imperative forms of the verbs *tasawwi* 'do', *timsi* 'walk', *yktibu* 'write', *yitraygun* 'have breakfast', the sentences are interpreted as progressive; (3, 4 and 5) are sentences with present progressive interpretation; and (5), with the use of *kanow* 'were', is a sentence with past progressive interpretation. It is clear from those sentences and other sentences linguists use and discuss in their papers that the sentences express ongoing events; none of the linguists use or discuss the so-called aspectual marker with sentences with habitual interpretation. This paper shows that *jaalis/gaad* 'sit' is not only used with sentences with progressive interpretation but it

also used with sentences with habitual interpretation. Next, aspect and the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit' in northern border region of Saudi Arabia Arabic are discussed.

3. Aspect and *Jaals/Gaad* 'Sit' in Northern Border Region of Saudi Arabic

As in standard Arabic, in northern border region of Saudi Arabic, in context-less situations, verb morphology does not suffice to show the intended aspect which makes it obligatory to use certain elements, particles or adverbs to express the sentence intended aspect.

7.   a. nibeea-ih b-agal   al-asaar

     sell.1pl.-it in-the least the-prices

We are selling it with the lowest prices. Ongoing event

We sell it with the lowest prices.   Habitual event

       b. h-al-yuumeen   nibeea-ih b-agal   al-asaar

          this-the-two days sell.1pl.-it in-the least the-prices

These days, we are selling it with lowest prices. Ongoing event

*These days, we sell it with the lowest prices.   Habitual event

In (7a), one observes that the sentence with the verb *nibeea* 'sell' has two interpretations, progressive and habitual. In (7b), with the use of *halyuumeen* 'these days', only ongoing aspect is accepted.

More importantly, when *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used, the interpretation stays the same.

8.   jaals/gaad-een nibeea-ih b-agal   al-asaar

      sit-pl.masc.   sell.1pl.-it in-the least the-prices

      We are selling it with lowest prices. Ongoing event

       We sell it with the lowest prices.   Habitual event

One observes that in (8), with the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit', as in (7a), the sentence has two interpretations, progressive and habitual.

Here are more examples where *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used in the future and past. As in other varieties of Arabic, in sentences with progressive aspect interpretations, speakers use the future marker *rah* 'will' followed by the verb *kun* 'be' before *jaals/gaad* 'sit'. The past form of *kan* 'be' in is used with past aspect sentences.

9. a. rah nik-uun   jaals/gaad-een nibeea-ih b-agal   al-asaar

    will be-pl.masc. sit-pl.masc.   sell.1pl.-it in-the least the-prices

    We will be selling it with least prices.   Ongoing event

     We will sell it with the least prices.   Habitual event

    b. kin-na   jaals/gaad-een nibeea-ih   b-agal   al-asaar

were-1pl. sit-pl.masc.   sell.1pl.-it in-the least the-prices

   We were selling it with least prices.   Ongoing event

    We used to sell it with the least prices.   Habitual event

One observes that in (9a and b), with the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit', the sentence has two interpretations, progressive and habitual.

After showing that *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used with ongoing and non-ongoing events, we, next, provide two supporting evidence for this use.

The first supporting evidence comes from Vendler's (1967) verb classification in which Venlder states that stative verbs do not occur in the progressive; it is an evidence that is used by Jarad (2015) for showing that the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit' mark the imperfect verb following it as progressive. According to him, *jaals/gaad* 'sit' cannot be used with static verbs such *karah* 'hate' and *yihib* 'love'.

The following examples taken from Jarad's (2015) work.

10. a. *omar yalis yi-krah Maryam

         Omar PROG he-hate Maryam

     b. *l-yal   yalsin yi-hib-un l-chaklait

         the-kids PROG they-love the-chocolate

Interestingly enough, in northern border region of Saudi Arabic, jaals/gaad 'sit' appears before stative verbs.

11. a. yishik-uu n   b-kalam-ih

         dout-pl.masc. in-talk-his

      They doubt his speech.

     b. jaals/gaad-een yishik-uun   b-kalam-ih

         sit-pl.masc.   dout-pl.masc. in-talk-his

      They doubt his speech.

12. a. yikrih-uun   al-mideer   b-sibab gararat-ih

         hate-pl.masc. the-manager in-cause decisions-his

         "They hate the manager because of his decisions."

     b. jaals/gaad-een yikrih-uun al-mideer b-sibab gararat-ih

         sit-pl.masc. hate-pl.masc. the-manager in-cause decisions-his

         "They hate the manager because of his decisions."

One notices in (11a and b) and in (12a and b) *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used before the stative verbs *yishikuun* 'doubt' or *yikrihuun* 'hate'.

The other piece of supporting evidence comes from inchoative verbs. According to McCarus (1976), imperfect forms of inchoative verbs such as *ynaam* 'fall asleep' and *ysuum* 'fast' do not have progressive

meaning; while their participle forms *naayim* 'sleeping' and *saayim* 'fasting' have aspectual meaning. In the dialect under investigation, *jaals/gaad* 'sit' can be used with the imperfective and the participle forms of the verb.

13. a. yisuum-uun w-an-naas miftirah

      fast-pl.masc. and-the-people not fasting

     They are fasting while the people are not.

     "They fast while the people do not."

    b. jaals/gaad-een yisuum-uun   w-an-naas miftirah

      sit-pl.masc. fast-pl.masc. and-the-people not fasting

      They are fasting while the people are not.

      They fast while the people do not.

14. a. saaym-een   w-an-naas   miftireen

      fasting-pl.masc. and-the-people not fasting

     They are fasting while the people are not.

    b. jaals/gaad-een saaym-een   w-an-naas   miftirah

      sit-pl.masc.   fast-pl.masc. and-the-people not fasting

      They are fasting while the people are not.

From (13b and 14b), one observes that *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used with the static verb *yishik-uun* 'doubt' and the inchoative verb *ysuum-uun* 'fast'. To this point, data from the dialect spoken in the northern region border of Saudi Arabia show that the participle *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used with ongoing and habitual events. Now, since it used with both aspects, one might ask "what is the point behind using it?" *Jaals/gaad* 'sit' is actually used to serve certain semantic functions. In the Next section, the semantic functions of *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is discussed.

4. Semantic Functions of *Jaals/Gaad* 'Sit'

In this subsection, by providing some examples, it will be shown that the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is not redundant as one might think. Its use influences sentence interpretation; that is to say, it serves certain semantic functions. For showing the various semantic functions of *jaals/gaad* 'sit', examples with hypothetical situations are presented.

a. Reassurance Function

One of the semantic functions of *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is to reassure something done or said.

15. Father: asawit la-k   ma tirid   al-i!!

      call.1sg. to-you not answer.2sg. on-me

      I am call you and you do not answer me!!

Son: athaakir

  study.1sg.

  I am studying.

 Father: siheeh?

  true

  Is that true?

Son: aquul   la-k   jaals/gaad athaakir

  say.1sg. to-you sit.1sg.   study.1sg.masc.

  I am saying, I am studying.

One observes that the son uses the participle *jaals/gaad* 'sit' before the verb *athaakir* 'study' to assure his father that he is really studying and not wasting his time. We have here an ongoing event. Here is another situation with non-ongoing event.

16. Mother: khayfah   ala wileed-i, ya abu saad

    fear.1sing.fem. on son-my, Oh father Saad

    Oh, abu Saad, I am worried about my son.

Father (abu Saad): la takhaf-een   al-ih;   amuuri-h zeenah

     no fear-2sg.fem. on-him; affairs-his good

     No; you do not need to be worried about him; he is fine.

    Mother: ma haqwit-i,   ya abu saad.

      no thought-my, Oh father Saad

     I do not think so, abu Saad.

Father: la; wleedi-k ma al-ih; hatha hu jaalis   ysaali,

no, son.your no on-him this   he sit.sing.masc. pray.2sg.masc.

    w-ythaakir w-daayim   huuli-na

    and-studies and-always around-us

   No, your son is fine; he prays, studies and is always near us.

    Mother: Allah yasmia   min-k

    Allah responds from-you

    I hope so.

In this situation, the father is reassuring the mother that her son Saad is fine by using *jaals/gaag* 'sit' before the imperative verbs *ysaali* 'prays', *ythaakir* 'studies. The mother last sentence *allah yasmia min-k* "I hope so" shows that the mother is being reassured.

b. Dissatisfaction Function

The other semantic functions of *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is to express dissatisfaction of something done or said.

17. Grandpa: keef iyaal-ak   ali w-fahad?

how sons-your Ali and Fahad

How are your sons Ali and Fahad?

Father: alhamdu li-Lilah   zeen-een

praises to-Allah good-pl.masc.

Thanks to Allah; they are fine.

Grandpa: w-keef   hum b-al-drasih

and-how they in-the-school

How are they in schools?

Father: ali yadris   b-al-jaamah   w-fahad   jaalis/gaad

Ali studys.2sg.masc. in-the-university and-Fahad sit.2sg.masc.

yadris   baad

studys.2sg.masc. as well

Ali studies at the university and Fahad studies as well.

Grandpa: leeh wish balaah   fahad

why what problem Fahad

Why? What is wrong with Fahad?

Father: ma hu mdanee-ha.   tigil   yabi   yatrik-ha

not he likes.2sg.masc.-it seems wants leaves.2sg.masc.-it

He does not like; it seems he want to leave it.

Grandpa: ailmin ma hu tayyib

piece of new not it good

It is a bad piece of news.

One observes that when the father talks about his other son Fahad, he uses *jaals/gaad* 'sit' before the imperative form of the verb *yadris* 'studies'. This use makes the grandpa infer that there is something wrong with the other son, Fahad. That is why the grandpa comments by saying *leeh wish balaah fahad* 'why, what is wrong with fahad?'. So, *jaals/gaad* 'sit' is used by the Fahad's father to show his dissatisfaction of Fahad's performance.

c. Disambiguating Function

    Jaals/gaad 'sit' is also used to disambiguate something.

  18. Doctor: kam yuum takl-een   ad-dwa?

   how day   eat.2sg.fem. the-medication

  How many days do you take the drug?

   Patient: thalath marrat b-al-isbuua

   three   times   in-the-week

   Three times a week.

    Doctor: la, ana asal kam yuum jaals/gaad-ah takleen ad-dwa

  no, I ask how day sit. 2sg.fem. eat. 2sg.fem. the-medication

   How many days are you taking the drug?

   Patient: ahaa, aakl-ih   l-i   thalath ayyaam

   ok; eat1sg.fem-it for-me three   days

   I have been eating it for three days.

      One observes that when the doctor asks the patient *kam yuum takleen addawa* 'how many days you eat the medicine?' without using *jaals/gaad* 'sit', the patient incorrectly interprets the doctor's intention and replies by saying *thalaath marraat balisbuua* 'three times a week'. In other words, the patient gives details about the medicine usage time prescribed for her. When the doctor uses *jaals/gaad* 'sit' before the verb *takleen addawa* 'eat the medicine', the patient provides the right answer the doctor looks for by saying *li thalath ayyaam* 'for three days'. In other words, the patient gives details about the period the patient has been taking the medicine before seeing the doctor.

d. Reliability Function

    Speakers also use *jaals/gaad* 'sit' for reliability function.

   19.   The car dealer: wish   raaya-k   b-as-sayarah?

        what opinion-your in-the-car

      What do you think of the car?

      The car inspector: asayyarah tishtighil

       the-car   works.2sg.fem.

       The car works.

   or

        as-sayyarah jaals/gaad-ah tishtighil

       the-car   sit.2sg.fem.-it works.2sg.fem.

        The car is working.

In (19), when the inspector's answer is without the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit', it is understood that the car is ok; and the dealer is implicitly advised to buy it; but with the use of *jaals/gaad* 'sit', the inspector sends a message to the dealer to avoid buying the car as he expects it to cease working soon. In other words, he says to the dealer buying it is a failure.

In this section, it is shown that there are four semantic functions behind using *jaals/gaad* 'sit'": reassurance, dissatisfaction, disambiguating, and reliability.

5. Conclusion

In this descriptive paper, through providing data from a variety of Arabic spoken in the northern border region of Saudi Arabia, it is shown that the participle *jaals/gaad* 'sit is not only used in sentences with ongoing events but it is also used in sentences with non-ongoing events. More importantly, the paper shows that reassurance, dissatisfaction, disambiguating, and reliability are semantic functions behind using *jaals/gaad* 'sit'; something that has not been shown before. Future work is to investigate whether the same semantic functions are manifested in other varieties of Arabic. Moreover, syntactically speaking, one may need to provide a syntactic account for this use.

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PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF CONSONANTAL SEGMENTS IN ARABIC LOANWORDS IN MALAYALAM: A CASE STUDY OF THE MAPPILA DIALECT IN NORTH KERALA

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ABSTRACT

When foreign words are borrowed into a language, they undergo some changes to conform to or suit the phonology of the borrowing language. They may undergo substitution, deletion, or insertion of segments during borrowing. This study looks at the Arabic loanwords in the Mappila dialect of Malayalam. The paper examines the Arabic loanwords elicited in Malayalam, employing Danesi's Integrated Model of Loanword Nativisation as the conceptual framework. It is observed that the Arabic segments in the borrowed words, especially those not present inMalayalam, undergo minimal changes during the adaptation process. These processes are normally triggered by some constraints operating in the borrowing language. The study shows that there is a significant degree of regularity in the adaptations of these loanwords. The paper also emphasizes that loanword adaptation is more phonological than phonetic. The borrowers correctly identify the foreign phonological segments in the loanwords and adapt them to suit their native phonology. The discerned high degree of regularity in loanword adaptations, with infrequent irregularities stemming from non-phonological factors, contributes valuable insights into the phonological dynamics of the borrowing language.

Keywords: Loanword Adaptation, Phonological Constraints, Malayalam, Arabic Loanwords, Mappila Dialect

1. Introduction

Loanwords are lexical items borrowed from one language (donor language) and incorporated into the lexicon of another language (borrowing language or recipient language). This process of borrowing linguistic items typically occurs when two languages are in contact either geographically or through their speakers. Campbell (2013) identifies two reasons for lexical borrowing – 1) need, referringto new communicative needs which may arise in a different sociocultural setting (a novel idea, concept or things from abroad) and 2) prestige, which refers to the

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process of borrowing a word from a dominant culture for one that already exists in the recipient language because they are considered highly prestigious. He also identifies a third rarer reason, i.e. for derogatory purposes. Generally, it is agreed that words are borrowed from the donor language to fill some semantic gap in the recipient language. Many sociolinguistic studies of loanwords have shown that active borrowing is typically, but not strictly, done by bilinguals who have access to the lexicon and grammar of both the donor language as well as the recipient language (Haugen, 1950; Paradis & LaCharité, 1997; Poplack et al., 1988). When loanwords enter the recipient language, they undergo some changes to conform to or suit the phonology of the recipient language. Theymay undergo substitution, deletion, or insertion of segments during borrowing. Most of these regular adaptation patterns are motivatedby some linguistic or phonological constraints operating in the borrowing language, albeit a few non-phonological factors that can comeinto play during borrowing.

The present study focuses on the phonological adaptation of the consonantal segments in Arabic loanwords in Malayalam, especially in the Mappila dialect of Malayalam, spoken mainly by the Muslim community living in North Kerala (the districts of Kozhikode and Malappuram). This dialect shows a deep influence of the Arabic language, probably due to religious reasons since the Holy Quran and most Muslims' prayers are in Arabic, and certainly due to language contact situations for trade and commerce. Their continuous interaction with the Gulf region in the Middle East also contributes to the enrichment of the Mappila dialect.

Table 1 and Table 2 show the consonant inventory of Malayalam and Arabic, respectively.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive Unaspirated	p b		t̪ d̪	T	ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g	
Plosive Aspirated	pʰ bʰ		t̪ʰ d̪ʰ		ʈʰ ɖʰ	cʰ ɟʰ	kʰ gʰ	
Nasal	m		n̪	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative		(f)		s	ʂ	ʃ		H
Trill/Tap				r/ɾ	ɽ			
Lateral				l	ɭ			
Approximant		ʋ			ɻ	j		

Table 1: Malayalam Consonants *(Standard Malayalam)*

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops	B			t d tˤ dˤ			k	q		ʔ
Nasals	m			n						
Fricative		F	θ ð ðˤ	s z sˤ	ʃ			χʁ	ħ ʕ	H
Affricate					dʒ					
Trill				r						
Approximant	w					j				
Lateral				l						

Table 2: Arabic Consonants *(As Attested in Modern Standard Arabic or Classical Arabic)*

Even though Table 1 shows a set of aspirated plosives in the Malayalam consonant inventory, not all speakers of Malayalam maintain this distinction when they speak the language. Aspiration in Malayalam is a result of the heavy influence of Sanskrit. There are no aspirated stops for speakers of the Mappila dialect. Also, the segment /f// is exclusive to loanwords and some dialects of Malayalam and has the same orthographic representation as /pʰ/. Some speakers, therefore, use both these sound segments interchangeably.

Malayalam and Arabic belong to the Dravidian and the Semitic language families, respectively. From Table 1 and Table 2, it is obvious that certain segments are not common to both languages. So, from the point of view of Malayalam, certain Arabic loanwords are not in tune with the phonological structure of Malayalam and need to undergo various changes to suit the phonology of Malayalam.

This paper, therefore, attempts to address the following question: How are the exotic consonantal phonemes in Arabic loanwords accommodated at the segmental level to fit the phonological structure of Malayalam? It also briefly looks at the strategies the dialect adopts in resolving the illegal consonant clusters.

2. Methodology

The data employed in this study are mainly taken from the daily speech of speakers in Kozhikode and Malappuram. The initial dataset of 166 loanwords are taken from Dr P. M. Joseph's Malayalathile Parakeeya Padangal. The words are elicited from five primary informants aged 25 to 40. Three of them are from Kozhikode district, and the other two are from Malappuram district. They have not travelled outside Kerala for the last 15 years. All the informants have the minimum qualification of degree graduation or equivalent. They all have learned basic Arabic in school and in 'Madrasa' education. However, they

cannot speak fluent Arabic. As for the transcription of Arabic source words, a native Arabic speaker was consulted. The transcription is based on the pronunciation attested in Modern Standard Arabic. Malayalam words are transcribed according to the most commonly used pronunciation within the community.IPA transcription is used for both the source and target languages.

The study has undertaken a descriptive analysis of the elicited Arabic loanwords in Malayalam within Danesi's Integrated Model of Loanword Nativization conceptual framework.

There are two types of loanwords - institutionalised words and ad-hoc creations. Institutionalised words have been around for a while. They are often not even considered loanwords by current speakers, or their origins are unknown to them. Many of these words exist in the recipient or borrowing language dictionaries. Ad-hoc creations maintain a certain degree of transparency, at least until theyhave become institutionalised. They are normally not incorporated in the borrowing language dictionaries. The data employed for this study consists of both types of loanwords.

The words are then categorised based on the Arabic sounds present in them. The adaptation pattern of each of these segments is then examined. The researchers have also sought the help of the data listed in other works in this area, such as Abdurehman (1978).

3. Danesi's Integrated Model of Loanword Nativization

Danesi's (1985) Integrated Model of Loanword Nativization is based on the principle that the common goal of discovering the nature of language can be made through the convergence of several techniques that progress in it. He proposes two principles within this model – 1) The Paradigmatic Principle, according to which loanwords are subject to reshaping according to their membership in amorphological class, and 2) The Phonological Synchronization Principle (PSP), according to which "the sounds of the item to be nativized are interpreted in terms of the syllabic, prosodic, phonemic and phonetic patterns" of the recipient language (1985: 29). The Paradigmatic Principle is beyond the scope of this paper. Hence, it is not discussed here.

The PSP involves two basic processes – phonetic substitution and phonological repatterning (phonemic approximation or restructuring). Phonetic substitution denotes substituting a foreign input with a nearly identical segment in the native inventory. If there is no corresponding phoneme, phonemic approximation occurs, resulting in phonological repatterning. Phonetic substitution looks for the closest segment with the same segmental category and occurs in terms of only one differential point of articulation feature (as in [t] > [t̪]). In the absence of one such segment within the same segmental class, phonemic approximation occurs, which may involve a change in the manner of articulation. Phonological repatterning can also take the form of syllabic or prosodic repatterning (Danesi, 1985).

4. Analysis

Based on the data used for the study, Arabic loanwords undergo three types of strategies during the process of loanword adaptation– segmental adaptation (or substitution), deletion/elision, and insertion/epenthesis. A detailed analysis of each of these processes is given in the following sub-sections.

4.1 Lenition of Emphatic Consonants

Arabic coronals can be divided into two groups – emphatic coronals and non-emphatic coronals. Emphatic coronals are those sound segments with primary articulation in the coronal region and secondary articulation in the pharynx. Non-emphatic coronals are produced in the coronal region and do not have any secondary articulation (/t/, /d/ /s/, /z/, /l/, /r/, /n/ etc). Arabic has four emphatic coronals – voiceless alveolar emphatic plosive /tˤ/, voiced alveolar emphatic plosive /dˤ/, voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative /sˤ/ and voiced dental emphatic fricative /ðˤ/. In many modern Arabic dialects, [ðˤ] has partially or fully merged with [dˤ] or [zˤ], and it rarely occurs in loanwords. Hence, voiced dental emphatic fricative /ðˤ/ will not be discussed here. 'Pharyngealised' or emphatic coronals are ruled out in Malayalam due to their prohibition against the combination of pharyngeal features and the [coronal] feature. Hence, emphatic coronals in Arabic loanwords, regardless of their position in the word, lose their pharyngeal features and get substituted by the closest sound present in the Malayalam inventory. In the data, Arabic /tˤ/, /dˤ/, and /sˤ/ lose their pharyngeal features and change to voiceless dental plosive /t̪/, voiced palatal stop /ɟ/, and voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ respectively.

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss	
/ratˤl/	/ra:t̪t̪al/	'Pound'	(/tˤ/t̪/)
/tˤala:q/	/t̪ala:kkə/	'Divorce'	(/tˤ/t̪/)
/χatˤ/	/kat̪t̪ə/	'Letter'	(/tˤ/t̪/)
/sˤa:ħib/	/sa:hibə/	'Title of Respect'	(/sˤ/s)
/ʔiχla:sˤ/	/ihla:sə/	'Fidelity'	(/sˤ////)
/qasˤabah/	/kasaba/	'Police Station'	(/s/s/)
/dˤilʔ/	/ɟilla/	'District'	(/dˤ/ > /ɟ/)
/ha:dˤir/	/ha:ɹar/	'Present'	(/dˤ/ɟ)

Here, in all instances, the Arabic voiceless alveolar emphatic plosive /tˤ/is realised as voiceless dental plosive /t̪/ in Malayalam, a minimal repair involving a change in the point of articulation. The second instance of emphatic substitution in the loanwords is the substitution of the voiced alveolar emphatic plosive /dˤ/. This sound behaves quite differently from its voiceless counterpart. When thewords with /dˤ/ enter the Malayalam lexicon, this segment is substituted by a voiced palatal stop /ɟ/. Despite the existence of the voiceddental plosive /d̪ / in Malayalam, a segment closer to /dˤ/ than /ɟ/ in terms of feature specification, /dˤ/ changes to become /ɟ/ in most cases, if not always. In some cases, /dˤ/ adapts into the voiced dental lateral /l̪/, which itself is a novel segment in Malayalam.

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss	
/ramdˤa:n/	/ramaḻ a:n/	'Ramadan'	(/dˤ/ > /ḻ /)
/wudˤu:ʔ/	/oḻ u/	'Ablution'	(/dˤ/ > /ḻ /)

Thus, the Arabic segment /dˤ/ exhibits a dual adaptation pattern. The change from /dˤ/ could possibly be due to either indirect borrowing through other Indian languages such as Hindi, Urdu or Tamil wherein the segment /dˤ/ or /zˤ/ is realised as /z/ or /ɟ/, or the variation in Arabic dialect from which the word is borrowed. Upon further investigation into the emphatics in Arabic, it is found that Classical Arabic and the modern dialects of Arabic have a special emphatic sound, i.e., the emphatic lateral [ɫ], which occurs in certainforms for words for Allah (ʔaɫɫa:h), or in the neighbourhood of other emphatic sounds, or in some unpredictable items such as loanwords and inherited Arabic vocabulary (Ferguson, 1956). According to many Arab grammarians, the Proto-Semitic emphatic lateral fricative [ɬˤ] is the ancestor of the Classical Arabic version "daad" phoneme. Daad phoneme continued to be articulated as an emphatic lateral fricative in the eighth century CE and is articulated laterally by some twentieth-century Quranic readers. This indicates that the source words of loanwords with /dˤ/>/ɫ/ must be either from the modern dialects of Arabic that produced the daad phoneme laterally or from the twentie-century Quranic readers who articulated the daad phoneme as the emphatic lateral [ɫ]. This could be why Arabic loanwords with the segment dental lateral /ḻ/ are all associated with God and religion. It could essentially be the attempt of borrowers, who are also believers, to imitate the religious words to the best of their abilities, resulting in an imported segment /ḻ /. Ussishkin and Wedel (2003) suggest that a novel segment can be introduced into a language's phonemic system if its production is a combination of already existing motor gestures in the language's pre-existing inventory. The novel segment that can be produced without introducing some new features or the combination of borrowed features can achieve phonemic status more readily than those which require new articulatory gestures.The dental lateral is produced with the blade of the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth (articulatory gesture of Malayalam dentals) and leaving space on one side or both sides for the passage of the airstream (articulatory gesture of Malayalam lateral approximant). This segment is present only in Mappila Malayalam and has phonemic status (forms minimal pairs with voiced alveolarlateral /l/ and voiced retroflex lateral /ɭ/). So, this could be another possible explanation for its presence in some loanwords. It is, however, difficult to single out a factor with certainty unless you conduct a diachronic study of loanword adaptation, which is not within the scope of this paper.

The third instance of emphatic substitution in Arabic loanwords is /sˤ/>/s/. This involves only a minimal repair of loss of secondary articulation of the segment /sˤ/, producing the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, which is the closest segment in the Malayalam inventory.

The adaptation of all three Arabic emphatic sound segments in

Malayalam is lenition since it involves a decrease of articulatory effort in producing the sound.

4.2   Adaptation of Uvular Segments

The Modern Standard Arabic has three uvular sounds – the voiceless uvular plosive /q/, the voiceless uvular fricative /χ/, and the voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/. Malayalam does not have uvular segments. When they enter Malayalam, these segments get substituted by the phonologically closer velar consonants, which are the closest sound segments to the uvular consonants in the Malayalam inventory.Uvular and velar segments are distinguished from each other in terms of only one feature specification [+/- high]. The velar segments are [+high], and the uvular segments are [-high]. In the data, the Arabic /q/and /χ/ change into voiceless velar plosive /k/, and /ʁ/ changesinto voiced velar plosive /g/.

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss	
/χali:fah/	/kali:fa/	'Leader'	(/χ/k/)
/ʃajχ/	/ʃeikkə/	'Sheikh'	(/χ/k/)
/ʁula:m/	/gula:m/	'Slave'	(/ʁ/ >)
/maʁib/	/magrib(ə)/	'Sunset'	(//g/)
/qasˤabah/	/kasaba/	'Police Station'	(/q/k/)
		(of a major city)	
/ba:qi/	/ba:kki/	'Balance'	(/q/k/)
/tˤala:q/	/ṯala:kkə/	'Divorce'	(/q/k/)

The adaptation /q/ >/k/ involves only a minimal repair of shifting its point of articulation. Since Malayalam doesn't have velar fricatives in its native inventory, the Arabic uvular fricative gets substituted by the phonologically closest velar segments available, which are the Malayalam velar plosives. Thus, the Arabic /χ/ and /ʁ/ change into /k/ and /g/, respectively, during the loanword adaptation.It involves a shift in terms of the point of articulation (uvular to fricative) and the manner of articulation (fricative to plosive). Adaptationof uvular fricatives to velar stops is a widely attested occlusion process in loanword adaptation.

4.3   Deletion of Laryngeal Segments

Arabic has two laryngeal segments – the voiced glottal stop /ʔ/ and the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. Malayalam has only one laryngeal segment in its inventory – the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. In the data, all instances of non-final /h/ are non-adapted since Malayalam has /h/ in its inventory. However, the final /h/ of Arabic inputs is deleted during borrowing. This is because Malayalam prohibits word-final /h/. Adaptation of the final /h/ to any other segment would require too many steps as Malayalam has no other gutturals. Hence, /h/ is deleted in such words. In some cases, the word-final /h/ is realised as /ṭṭə/. This variation can be attributed to the presence of a word-final letter 'ة'in the orthography of Arabic inputs, which is realised as /t/ or /h/ in Arabic. Also, Arabic speakers produce /t/ instead of the final /h/ in such words in connected speech. This variation in the realisation of orthographic 'ة'

Arabic inputsis reflected in the loanword as well. All the instances of the other laryngeal segment /ʔ/ in Arabic inputs are deleted in Malayalam.

Arabic	Malayalm	Gloss	
/χali:fah/	/kali:fa/	'Leader'	(/h/ > ɸ)
/qasˤabah/	/kasaba/	'Police Station' (of a major city)	(/h/ > ɸ)
/maɾmah/	/maɾa:maṯṯə/	'Public works'	(/h/ > ṯṯə)
/ʕibadah/	/iba:ḏ aṯṯə/	'Worship'	(/h/ > ṯṯə)
/ʔinʕa:m/	/ina:m/	'Reward'	(/ʔ/ > ɸ)
/ʔami:r/	/ami:r/	'Leader'	(/ʔ/ > ɸ)
/haɟɟ/	/haɟɟə/	'Hajj'	Non-adapted
/hadi:θ/	/hadi:s/	'Sayings of Prophet Muhammad'	Non-adapted

4.4 Lenition of Pharyngeal Segments

Arabic has two pharyngeal sounds – the voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ] and the voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ]. Malayalam hasno pharyngeal segments. So, these segments are either substituted or deleted.

The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ is not present in Malayalam. Hence, /ħ/ in Arabic inputs is realised as the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, the phonologically closest segment available in Malayalam. Its voiced counterpart /ʕ/ gets deleted at all positions. In certaincases, /ʕ/ is realised as /h/ instead of getting deleted. However, the number of such occurrences is very low.

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss	
/sˤa:ħib/	/sa:hibə/	'Respected	(/ħ/ > /h/)
/ħa:dˤir/	/ha:ɟər/	'Present'	(/ħ/ > /h/)
/ħalwa/	/haluʋa/	'Halwa'	(/ħ/ > /h/)
/nika:ħ/	/nikka:hə/	'Marriage'	(/ħ/ > /h/)
/muħarram/	/muharram/	'Muharram (fast)'	(/ħ/ > /h/)
/ʕilm/	/ilmə/	'Knowledge'	(/ʕ/ > /ɸ/)
/taʕallaq/	/ṯa:lukkə/	'Taluk'	(/ʕ/ > /ɸ/)
/ʕasr/	/asar/	'Evening'	(/ʕ/ > /ɸ/)

4.5 Adaptation of Labial Segments

As far as labial segments are concerned, three kinds of adaptation patterns are observed – the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ to the voiced labio-dental approximant /ʋ/, the voiced bilabial stop /b/ to the voiced labio-dental approximant /ʋ/, and the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ to the voiceless bilabial stop /p/.

Arabic	Malayam	Gloss	
/waki:l/	/ʋak:i:l/	'Lawyer'	(/w/>//)
/wusˤu:l/	/ʋasu:l/	'Receipt'	(/w/>//)
/ħalwa/	/haluʋa/	'Halwa'	/w/>/ʋ/
/ħulbah/	/uluʋa/	'Fenugreek'	/b/>/ʋ/

/fatˤiːr/	/paṭṭiɾi/	'Pattiri (a type of bread)'/f/>/p/)	
/ʃarbah/	/sarʋaṭṭə/	'A type of drink'	(/b/>/ʋ) Non-
	/sarbaṭṭə/	'Father'	adapted(/b/>/ʋ)
/baːbaː/	/ʋaːppa/		
	/baːppa/		Non-adapted
/fatwa/	/faṭṭəʋa/	'Legal decision'	(/w/>//))Non-
			adapted /f/
/bismi/	/bismi/	'In the name of Allah'	Non-adapted
/faːtiħah//	/faːṭṭiha/	'The first verse of Quran'	Non-adapted

Both Malayalam and Arabic have a labial glide. However, they are phonologically slightly different. Malayalam has a voiced labio-dental approximant /ʋ/, and Arabic has a voiced labio-velar approximant /w/. Hence, all instances of /w/ in Arabic loanwords are realised as /ʋ/ in Malayalam. This adaptation is easily predictable. /w/ is distinguished from /ʋ/ by the features [back, round]. /w/ is [+back,+round] and /ʋ/ is [-back,-round].

Despite the existence of the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in Malayalam, the data shows that the Arabic /b/ in a few cases is adapted to the voiced labio-dental approximant /ʋ/ in Malayalam. In majority of the cases, /b/ is unadapted. In some cases, /b/ and /ʋ/ are used interchangeably in the borrowed words. Example, /baːppa/ ~ /ʋaːppa/ 'father'. However, this kind of adaptation pattern constitutes only a small part of the database. This behaviour could be due to some extra-phonological process. Moreover, the change from /b/ to /ʋ/ is a natural phonological lenition process called approximantization. It eases the articulatory effort in producing the sound. In many instances, Malayalam /b/ ~ /ʋ/ occurs in free variation, especially in the Mappila dialect.

The adaptation of /f/ into /p/ is a widely attested occlusivisation process. In the absence of a phonologically closer fricative segment in Malayalam native inventory, /f/ in Arabic inputs gets occlusivized to the phonologically closer voiceless bilabial stop /p/. However, in certain cases, we observe that the Arabic /f/ in loanwords are retained. This secondary adaptation pattern is a case of importation. According to Paradis and Lacharite (2005), the more bilinguals there are in a community, the more importations we find. /f/ is an importation in Malayalam. Then, the borrowed words with /f/ must have entered Malayalam at a later stage when a significant number of speakers are bilinguals and have access to sound structures of the language with the segment /f/, such as English and Arabic. Importations are a case of intentional phonetic approximations by bilinguals (Paradis & Lacharite, 2005). It also indicates that /f/ is becoming a part of the Malayalam inventory. It is, however, difficult to single out a factor with certainty unless a diachronic study of loanwords is conducted.

4.6 Adaptation of Coronal Segments

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss	
/taʕallaq/	/t̪a:lu:kkə/	'Taluk'	(/t/>/t̪/)
/kita:b/	/kit̪t̪a:bə/	'Book'	(/t/>/t̪/)
/ʔada:lah/	/ad̪a:lat̪t̪ə/	'Mediation'	(/d/>/d̪/)
/radd/	/rad̪d̪ə/	'Cancel'	(/>/d̪/)
/usta:ð/	/ust̪a:d̪ə/	'Madrasa Teacher	(/t/>/t̪, /ð/>/d̪/)
/ðikr/	/d̪ikərə/	'Prayer'	(/ð/>/d̪/)
/hadi:θ/	/had̪i:sə/	'Saying of Prophet'	(/d/>/d̪/, /θ/>/s/)
/zaka:h/	/sakka:t̪t̪ə/	'Zakkah charity'	(/z/>/s/)
/zajtu:n/	/sejt̪t̪ə/	'Olive oil'	(/z/>/s/, /t/>/t̪/)

The Arabic coronal segments voiceless alveolar plosive /t/, voiced alveolar plosive /d/, voiceless interdental fricative /θ/, voiced interdental fricative/ð/, and voiced alveolar fricative /z/ are ill-formed segments in Malayalam. When Arabic words are borrowed into Malayalam, the Arabic segments /t/, /d/, /θ/, /ð/ and /z/ are realised as the voiceless dental plosive /t̪/, the voiced dental plosive /d̪ /, thevoiceless alveolar fricative /s/, the voiced dental plosive /d̪ / and the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ respectively.

In Malayalam, /t̪/ is the phonologically closest segment to the Arabic /t/ as both differ in terms of only one point of articulation feature [+/- distributed]. Hence, the Arabic /t/ ([-distributed]) is realized as /t̪/ ([+distributed]) in borrowed words. Similarly, Malayalam /d̪ / ([+distributed]) is the phonologically closest segment to the Arabic /d/ ([-distributed]). Therefore, /d/ changes into /d̪ / during borrowing.

In the case of Arabic segment /θ/, the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is the phonologically closest Malayalam segment, as /s/ differs from /θ/ only by a point of articulation feature [-distributed]. Hence, /θ/ is adapted to /s/ during borrowing in Malayalam. As faras /ð/ is concerned, unlike the adaptation of its voiceless counterpart /θ/, due to the absence of a voiced alveolar fricative in the Malayalam inventory, the phonologically closest segment available is /d̪ /. The relevant adjustment involved is a change in the mannerof articulation - /ð/ is occlusivized to /d̪ /.

Due to the absence of the voiced alveolar fricative in Malayalam native inventory, /z/ in Arabic loanwords gets devoiced, producingthe native phoneme /s/. It is also observed that like the segment /f/, some Arabic loanwords have retained /z/ rather than being adaptedor deleted. This is probably due to an increase in bilinguals among the speakers, who have access to the phonology of foreign languageswith the segment /z/.

4.7 Vowel Epenthesis

Vowel insertion is another strategy adopted by Malayalam during loanword adaptation. Vowel insertion in Malayalam is normallytriggered to rectify violations at the syllabic level.

4.7.1 Cluster Reduction

In cluster reduction, vowels are inserted to break the consonant clusters in loanwords that are not recognised in Malayalam. The following data shows the cluster reduction in Arabic loanwords:

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss
/ʔixla:sˤ/	/ihəla:sə/	'Fidelity'
/raħma:n/	/rehəma:ə/	'Merciful'
/ibli:s/	/ibəli:sə/	'Satan'
/maʁrib/	/magəribə/	'Sunset'
/maðhab/	/madəhab/	'School of religious thought'
/takbi:r/	/t̪akəbi:r/	'Takbir'
/ðikr/	/ḍ ikərə/	'Prayer'

Consonant clusters that do not undergo cluster reduction are given below:

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss
/sultˤa:n/	/sult̪t̪a:n/	'King'
/ʕilm/	/ilmə/	'Knowedge'
/ʃarbah/	/sarʋat̪t̪ə/	'Drink'
/miski:n/	/miski:nə/	'Needy'
/nasˤra:ni/	/n̪ asra:n̪i/	'Christian'
/tardʒam/	/t̪ərɹama/	'Translation'
/madrasah/	/maḏ rasa/	'Madrasa'
/barakah/	/barkat̪t̪ə/	'Blessing'

From the data, it is observed that most of the consonant clusters that do not undergo vowel insertion or cluster reduction are those in which the first consonant is a sonorant or those clusters that can form licit onsets in Malayalam. In the former, the sonorant in the cluster goes to the preceding syllabus, and the second consonant goes to the following syllable. It does not violate the syllable structure of Malayalam as sonorants can occupy the coda or word-final position in Malayalam. No vowel insertion takes place here. The consonant clusters that can form legal onsets in Malayalam, such as [ḍ r], [sr], etc, also do not undergo vowel insertion.

Apart from the consonant cluster types that are mentioned in the last paragraph, all other clusters undergo vowel insertion. Vowel insertion in Mappila Malayalam involves only one step – Nucleus insertion. This empty nucleus position is then filled by the default or unmarked vowel in Malayalam, which is 'schwa [ə]'.

4.7.2 ə-Epenthesis

In colloquial Malayalam, [ə] is inserted word finally when a morpheme ends in a consonant other than [m] and [n], and is not followed by a vowel-initial form (Mohanan, 1989). So Arabic loanwords in Mappila Malayalam that end in consonants undergo ə- Epenthesis to avoid the word-final consonant.

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss
/rabb/	/rabbə/	Lord'
/χatʕ/	/kat̪t̪ə/	Letter'
/ðikr/	/ɖikərə/	Prayer'

Here, a nucleus is inserted, and this empty nucleus position is filled by the unmarked or default vowel [ə] in Malayalam.

4.8 Gemination

In Malayalam, single or non-geminate voiceless plosives do not occur intervocalically or word-medially; it get geminated (Asher & Kumari, 1997).

Arabic	Malayalm	Gloss
sultʕa:n/	/sult̪t̪a:n/	'MuslimKing'
ʃajtʕa:n/	/ʃejt̪t̪a:n/	'Satan'
χatʕam/	/kat̪t̪am/	'Conclusion'

Gemination is also triggered when consonants other than /m/ and /n/ occur at the end of the Arabic loanword. Malayalam does notallow consonants word-finally other than /m/ and /n/. Example, /paɳam/ - 'Money', /ma:n/ - 'Deer'. Nevertheless, the occurrence of some final consonants in certain words is contingent upon the level of formality. Extremely formal speech allows sonorant consonantssuch as /m/, /n/, /ɭ/, /l/, /r/ etc. word finally. Example, /pa:l/ - 'Milk', /kajar/ - 'Rope', /ʋa:ɭ/ - 'sword'. The colloquial Malayalam tends to disallow even these sonorant consonants as word-final consonants. In colloquial Malayalam, /ə/ is inserted word finally when a morpheme ends in a consonant other than /m/ and /n/, and is not followed by a vowel-initial form (Mohanan, 1989). In Colloquial Malayalam, we find /pa:lə/ - 'Milk', /kajarə/ -'Rope' and /ʋa:ɭə/ - 'Sword'. According to Asher and Kumari (1997), consonants /m/, /n/, occur word finally, and stops, fricatives, the nasals /ŋ/, /ɲ/ and the labio-dental velar approximant /ʋ/ do not occur word finally. As far as the word-final/ɳ/, /l/, /ɭ/, /r/, /ɾ/ and /j/ are concerned, there is a degree of optionality. So when consonants other than the word-final consonants occur in Arabic loanwords, it attracts ə-epenthesis to avoid the illegal word-final consonant. Since single or non-geminate voiceless plosives do not occur intervocalically or word-medially, they then get geminated.

Additionally, Malayalam has a bimoraicity condition according to which all free-standing stems must minimally contain two moras (Mohanan, 1989). A mora is a short vowel or each half of a long vowel. So long vowels themselves are bimoraic. Post-vocalic consonants may or may not be moraic. According to Mohanan (1989), schwas are non-moraic. An intervocalic geminate must be moraicto express its duration. A word of CVC structure is monomoraic in Malayalam. /ə/ is added to this structure to avoid illicit codas. However, it doesn't contribute any moras to the word. In order to satisfy the bimoraicity condition in Malayalam, a monosyllabic wordshould have either a long vowel or a short vowel followed by a geminate consonant. Loanwords tend to accept either of these strategies during the adaptation process, i.e. either

lengthening its vowel or geminating the consonant after the short vowel. So Malayalam acceptsCVC:ə structure but not *CVCə. Hence, a word of structure /kallə/ is acceptable in Malayalam, but not */kalə/. An example of gemination in a monosyllabic loanword is given below:

Arabic	Malayalam	Gloss
χatˤ	kaṭṭə	Letter'

5. Conclusion

The analysis has shown how foreign segments in Arabic loanwords are adapted and processed at the segmental level to suit the phonology of the borrowing language. There is a significant degree of regularity in the adaptations of these loanwords despite very fewirregularities due to non-phonological factors. The study provides insights into the phonology of the borrowing language. Because of limitations in length, this article has not thoroughly explored the adaptation at the phonotactic level. However, we should keep in mindthat phonotactics also play a big role in the loanword adaptation process. The analysis shows that the loanword adaptation is more phonological than phonetic. The borrowers correctly identify the foreign phonological segments in the loanwords and adapt them to suit their native phonology. The study also does not reject the idea that non-phonological factors can affect loanword adaptation. However, such cases are very rare in the database.

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LOCATING BISHNUPRIYA MANIPURI THROUGH THE LENS OF LEXICON

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ABSTRACT

The European plantation creoles have been analyzed by creating a schism between the superstratum and substratum languages in most studies. Generally, the lexicon of creoles is restructured to the extent that it becomes often difficult to trace its lexifier languages. In this paper, we make an attempt to scrutinize the 'basic and the cultural' lexicon of Bishnupriya Manipuri, a lesser- known contact language spoken in parts of Assam and Tripura in North-East India. The structure and distribution of these semantic categories of lexicon enable us to locate the socio-historical and demographic contact of the language varieties of two distinct language families, Eastern Indo-Aryan, and Tibeto-Burman that lead to the creation of Bishnupriya Manipuri. This study reveals that identifying and filtering the lexifier language in Bishnupriya Manipuri is not possible given the complex process of multiple contacts among diverse linguistic and cultural groups that led to the emergence of Bishnupriya Manipuri. This study shows how lexicon can provide cues in tracing the genetic composition of a contact language, especially in Indian context.

Keywords: Contact Language, Basic Lexicon, Cultural Lexicon, Sylheti, Meitei

1. Introduction

Bishnupriya Manipuri is a contact language that arose as a result of interactions between varieties of Eastern Indo-Aryan (primarily Sylheti[1] and Assamese) and Tibeto-Burman (particularly Meitei) in the

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[1] Sylheti is considered as a variety of Eastern Bengali (Chatterjee, 1926). It is spoken in southern Assam (covering Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi Districts), Tripura and extends upto Sylhet in Bangladesh. Though it is considered as a variety of Bengali, it is phonologically and structurally very different from standard Bengali. In Assam and Tripura, the Sylhetis are referred to as Bengali both in public discourse and official documents.

north-eastern state of Manipurin India. At present, the BishnupriyaManipuris are found in small concentration in the southern part of Assam, Tripura and parts of Bangladesh.[2] The oldest linguistic description of Bishnupriya Manipuri is found in Grierson (1903), where it is described as a 'mongrel form of Assamese'. Following Grierson, Sinha (1968, 1981, 1986) documents Bishnupriya Manipuri as an Indo-Aryan language despite acknowledging the presence of various Tibeto-Burman features in Bishnupriya Manipuri. Drawing evidences from a large corpus of natural data of Bishnupriya Manipuri, we have analyzed Bishnupriya Manipuri as a contact language (Laskar, 2003, 2008, 2012, 2020-2021; Satyanath and Laskar, 2003, 2008, 2009).

There are various theories on the origin of Bishnupriya Manipuri (henceforth BM). Some theories trace the presence of Bishnupriya Manipuris to sixth century (see Singh, 1987; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). Based on the evidences from available sources we proposed in our earlier studies that the Bishnupriya Manipuri developed in Manipur due to the spread of Vaishnavism and its adoption by the Meitei Kingin late seventeenth century or eighteenth century (See Laskar, 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). In the present study, we endeavor to show BM as a contact language by drawing evidence from the lexicon that covers everyday life of the BM speech community. The study is based on 55 hours of natural data collected from 45 BM speakers ranging from 6-91years from the BM settlements in Hailakandi, Karimganj and Cachar Districts in South Assam. The data was collected utilizing sociolinguistic interviews and participant observations following Labovian paradigm (Labov, 1984; Feagin, 2002)

1.1 Lexicon of Bishnupriya Manipuri

In this section, we present a discussion on the lexicon of Bishnupriya Manipuri. The lexicon forms the basic foundation structure of a language. The most vital information for establishing the genetic relationship of a language is yielded by lexicon (vocabulary). The BM lexicon can be traced to various languages belonging to the Eastern Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman (see Laskar 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). The primary lexifier languages of BM appear to be Sylheti, Assamese (Eastern Indo-Aryan) and Meitei (Tibeto-Burman). In this paper, we delve on nouns representing kinship terms, body parts, festivals, costume, cuisine etc.

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[2] In all these regions, the Bishnupriya Manipuris live in close proximity with the Sylheti population with whom they are in a second contact.

2. Kinship Terms

The kinship terms in BMcan be traced to various sources. The kinship terms attested in our data suggest that 70 % of these terms in BM are from Indo-Aryan (I-A) sources while 30% are shared with Tibeto-Burman (T-B), specifically Meitei (Laskar, 2003; Satyanath and Laskar, 2008) as shown in examples (1)-(30). However, it is to be noted that a majority of kinship terms in BM that are traced to Indo-Aryan sources are suffixed with -*k, nak* or –*lak* terminations. The suffixes -*nak* or -*lak* are used with kinship terms denoting females. The kinship terms in Tibeto-Burman are attached with pronominal affixes to designate the relationship with the possessor (Grierson, 1903). Assamese, though an Eastern Indo-Aryan language, also illustrates this pattern of marking kinship with pronominal affixes (Kakati, 1941). The -*k* termination occurs in Assamese kinship terms as well. A few Meitei kinship terms also use -*k* termination as in '*ābok*', '*tambak*' 'only child'. Hence it is difficult to ascertain the source of -*k* termination in BM kinship terms. BM uses the term *'imā'* for mother like the Meiteis by prefixing the Meitei first person pronominal affix *i*- with '*mā*' 'mother'. In our data, '*imā*' alternates with 'mālok'in the speech of Bishnupriya Manipuris. But most often '*imā*' 'mother' is used exclusively as a direct address term.

Kinship Terms		Gloss	Source
1.	mālok	'mother'	Indo-Aryan
2.	bāpak	'father'	Indo-Aryan
3.	khurtāk	'father younger brother'	Indo-Aryan
4.	jertāk	'father's elder brother'	Indo-Aryan
5.	jetāk	'father's elder brother'	Indo-Aryan
6.	peyanak	'father's sister'	Indo-Aryan
7.	beyak	'brother'	Indo-Aryan
8.	banak	'sister'	Indo-Aryan
9.	māmāk	'mother's brother'	Indo-Aryan
10.	māmiek	'mother's brother's wife'	Indo-Aryan
11.	mohonak	'mother's sister'	Indo-Aryan
12.	girak	'husband'	Indo-Aryan
13.	putak	'son'	Indo-Aryan
14.	jilak	'daughter'	Indo-Aryan
15.	haurak	'husband/wife's father'	Indo-Aryan

16.	hauriek	'husband/wife' s mother'	Indo-Aryan
17.	dehorok/deyorok	'husband's brother'	Indo-Aryan
18.	nātinak	'grand-daughter'	Indo-Aryan
19.	bauei	'daughters-in-law'	Indo-Aryan
20.	bābā	'father'	Indo-Aryan
21.	dādu	'grand-father'	Indo-Aryan
22.	kākā	'father's younger brother'	Indo-Aryan
23.	didi	'elder sister'	Indo-Aryan
24.	dāmān	'husband'/ 'groom'	Indo-Aryan
25.	baudi	'brother's wife'	Indo-Aryan
26.	nātinātal	'grandchildren'	Indo-Aryan
27.	nātin	'grand-daughter'	Indo-Aryan
28.	bauji	'brother's wife'	Indo-Aryan
29.	imā	'mother'	Meitei
30.	niŋŋal	'daughter'/'girl'	Meitei

Some of the kinship terms which can be traced directly to Assamese and Sylheti have undergone phonological changes. Terms such as *jerthāk* 'father's elder brother', *khurtāk* 'father's younger brother' can be traced to Assamese '*jethāk*' and '*khurāk*'. In BM, there is an insertion of [r] before the second consonant in these words, creating a medial consonant cluster. Some of the kinship terms used in BM are also found in some of the regional varieties of Bengali spoken in southern part of Assam but are not present in the mainstream Bengali of Kolkata. These terms also take -*k* termination as in (31) – (32).

	Bengali	**Bishnupriya Manipuri**	**Gloss**
31.	hāi	heiyak	'husband'
32.	māug	mailak	'wife'

There are some lexical (used to form kinship) items, which BM does not share with Assamese, Sylheti or Meitei, though they appear to be of Indo-Aryan origin. These terms do not take -*k* terminations, but are affixed with other morphemes denoting gender distinction. This pattern of morph-agglutination is similar to the ones found in Tibeto-Burman. For example, the most frequently occurring term is '*sau'* 'child' that is affixed with other morphemes. The kinship terms formed with '*sau'* refer to terms, which generally connote younger ones (endearment) and

show affinity with the speaker. Such terms occur very frequently in the data. The list of such kinship terms is given in (33) – (38).

33. sau   'child'
34. jelā   'female/girl'
35. muni   'male/boy'
36. muni-sau-go   'son/boy'
     male-child-Cl
37. jelā-sau-go   'daughter/girl'
     female-child-Cl
38. puri-jelā- go   'woman'
     full-female-Cl

2.1 Festivals

The Bishnupriya Manipuris have cultural affinities with the Meiteis. Like the Hindu Meiteis, the Bishnupriyas Manipurisare followers of Vaishnavism as well[3]. Hence, Lord Krishna is the main deity worshipped by both Bishnupriya Manipuris and the Hindu Meiteis. The Hindu festivals like *Janmashtami* and *Holi* form an integral part of the religious life of Meiteis as well as Bishnupriya Manipuris. *'Rasa lila'* a devotional dance-drama celebrating the love of Lord Krishna and Radha, forms the main cultural engagement of the Bishnupriya Manipurisand the Hindu-Meiteis. It is to be noted that '*Rasa lila*' is not significant for the other Indo-Aryan population, such as, Sylheti co-existing in the region. It is observed that Goddesses Durga and Kali which are worshipped by Bengali Hindus (Sylhetis)living in the adjacent areasdo not occupy an important place in the religious life of the Bishnupriya Manipuris. Bishnupriya Manipuris also share the indigenous gods, deities and rituals of the Meiteis as shown in (34) – (38). The Bishnupriya Manipuris, like the Meiteis, have a tradition of revering their ancestors by performing various rituals.

39. āpokpā
40. pāhāŋpā
41. sarārel/n
42. lamordau
43. githanipuŋ

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[3] Vaishnavism is a Hindu sect that practices devotion to Krishna or Vishnu as God.

2.2 Costume

The traditional costume of the Bishnupriya Manipuris is identical with the Meiteis. Weaving forms an important part of the life of BMwomen as with the Meitei womenfolk. All the rural BMwomen seem to have knowledge of weaving. The older urban women also possess the knowledge of weaving. The ethnic motifs and the materials used by Bishnupriyas Manipurisare the same as that of the Meiteis. Even the terms used by the Bishnupriya Manipuris, to refer to their costume, are shared with that of the Meiteis. On the contrary, the Sylhetis, residing in adjacent localities, have no knowledge of weaving and there are no looms in the houses of Sylheti families living in proximity with the Bishnupriyas Manipuris. The attire of these Sylhetisis distinct from that of the Bishnupriya Manipuris. Though modern costumes have become popular with the BM younger generation, the traditional dresses are used in festivals, weddings and day-to-day casual use. The names of the costumes that the Bishnupriya Manipuris share with the Meiteis are listed in (44)- (49).

	Costumes	Gloss
44.	khutlei	'shawl'
45.	irupi	'towel'
46.	phenek	'garment worn by women that hangs down the waist'.
47.	lisempi	'blanket'
48.	moiraŋpi	'dress of women which is woven in Moirang'
49.	potloi	'bridal dress'

2.3 Cuisine

The traditional cuisine and food items of the Meiteis also form part of the food-habits of the Bishnupriya Manipuris. The list of such recipes and food items, such as, vegetables, fruits is given in (50) - (59). Some BM speaker revealed that Sylheti recipes have recently made their entry in the BM cuisine.

	Food items and recipes	Gloss
50.	ikāitāpi	'water-plant'
51.	yānām	'a type of garlic'
52.	kontum	'bottleguard'
53.	owāphālitām	'leafy vegetable'

54.	thorow	'flower of banana'
55.	iralpā	'a dish of boiled vegetables and fermented fish'
56.	āthumpā	'sweet dish'
57.	guwā	'betelnut'
58.	heināu	'mango'
59.	selkam	'milk'

With the exclusion of '*guwā*' 'betelnut' and '*thurow*' 'flower of banana', the food items enlistedin (50)- (59) are not shared by the local non-Bishnupriya Manipuri population living in the area. These food items and cuisine are shared by the Bishnupriya Manipuris with the Meiteis residing in Manipur or elsewhere. Despite the fact that the Bishnupriya Manipuris left Manipur and settled in the Sylheti dominated areas of Assam long ago, we see the presence of such terms in Bishnupriya Manipuri. This strongly suggests that an intimate contact between the IA population and the Meiteis might have existed in Manipur, which led to the genesis of a new group called Bishnupriya Manipuri with a distinct cultural and linguistic representation.

2.4 Body Parts

The names of the body-parts in Bishnupriya Manipuri appear to be primarily from Indo-Aryan sources though there are a few that are from other sources. Bishnupriya Manipuri shares these names with Assamese, Sylheti and Hindi. The list of body-parts in Bishnupriya Manipuri is shown in (60).

	Body-parts	**Gloss**	**Sources**
60.	āth-hān	'hand'	I-A
61.	jāŋ-hān	'leg'	I-A
62.	kān-hāni	'ears'	I-A
63.	kakāli-hān	'waist'	I-A
64.	kohoni-hān	'elbow'	I-A
65.	ju-hān	'tongue'	I-A
66.	ātartarā-hān	'palm'	I-A
67.	bākal-khān	'palm'	I-A
68.	niral-hān	'forehead'	Unknown
69.	pāmpol-hān	'bicep'	Meitei
70.	mur-go	'head'	I-A

71.	āhi-go	'eyes'	I-A
72.	gāl-gi	'cheeks'	I-A
73.	nāk-go	'nose'	I-A
74.	oth-gi	'lips'	I-A
75.	peth-go	'stomach'	I-A
76.	chuwal-go	'chin'	Unknown
77.	nok-gi	'fingers'	I-A
78.	mudā-go	'heel'	I-A
79.	ātu-gi	'knees'	I-A
80.	urāth-gi	'lower legs'	I-A
81.	bukh-go	'chest'	I-A
82.	aaŋguli-gi	'fingers'	I-A
83.	thoruwā-gi	'thigh'	Unknown

The names of body-parts cannot occur on their own in BM. Though the body parts are primarily of I-A origin, they are obligatorily marked with classifiers *-hān* and *-go*, which is neither the practice in the relevant I-A languages nor in Meitei. Both in Meitei and in other T-B languages, the body-parts, like the kinship terms have to be affixed with pronominal prefixes (Grierson, 1903). The names of body-parts are not simply borrowed from the source languages. They have gone through phonological changes as shown in (84) – (87).

Hindi	Assamese	Sylheti	Meitei	Bishnupriya	Manipuri
84.	ākh	soku		souk	--āhi-go
85.	jibh	jibhā		jibrā	--ju-hān
86.	--	--		muɽā--	mudā
87.	--	--		--	pāmbon pāmpol

There is innovation also as we can see in *dāthsuri* 'jaw'. As *siri* means a line in Sylheti, *suri* in *daathsur i*may have been taken from Sylheti and *dāthsuri* may be an innovation in Bishnupriya Manipuri as in:

88.   dāth + suri 'jaws'

       teeth   line

3. Meitei Lexicon in Bishnupriya Manipuri

Apart from sharing thecultural lexical items, Bishnupriya Manipuri shares a large number of lexical items belonging to various grammatical categories with Meitei as exemplified in (89) – (90). These words embody various aspects of everyday life. These words are neither shared nor understood by the local non-Bishnupriya population. Except for a few words that have undergone specific phonological changes, the words are similar to their Meitei correspondences. The word *nuarā* 'sick' in Bishnupriya Manipuri shows an integration of a Meitei morpheme *nua* 'sick' and infinitival affix from IA *-rā* (from *korā* 'to do', *pārā* 'to be') to form a noun/adjective. It is important to note that in Assam, the Bishnupriya Manipuris do not reside near the Meitei speaking population. Hence, the possibility of borrowing lexical items from Meitei is very less.

Meitei word in Bishnupriya Manipuri	Gloss	Category
89. niŋŋal	'daughter'	N
90. hadzak	'medicine'	N
91. marup	'friend'	N
92. ishālpā	'singer'	N
93. yāri	'story'	N
94. leirik	'book'	N
95. ojā	'teacher'	N
96. niŋsing	'memory'	N
97. phām	'bed'	N
98. nuŋei	'happy'	A
99. leirāpā	'poor'	N
100. nuŋsi	'pity'	N
101. yāthāŋ	command'	V
102. sau	'angry'	A
103. niyām	'many'	A
104. siŋ	'intelligent'	A
105. nuarā	'sick'	A
106. selpā	'man'	N
107. siŋkāp	'an instrument for weaving'	N
108. siŋāl	'weaving tool'	N
109. siŋlup	'committee','feast'	N
110. sei	'threshold'	N
111. sākti	'bad'	A
112. leimā	'queen'	N
113. lālon	'cross'	V

4. Discussion

We have considered the basic lexicon (kinship and body-parts) and cultural lexicon (cuisine, clothes, festivals) in Bishnupriya Manipuri. The basic lexicon, that is, kinship and body-parts though primarily may be traced to Indo-Aryan sources, follow morpho-syntactic features of Tibeto-Burman. The Indic kinship terms are affixed *-k, -nak, -lak*, a pattern that is analogous with Tibeto-Burman kinship terms. We have also seen Bishnupriya Manipuri forming kinship terms through morph-agglutination (*munisaugo,jelāsaugo*). The formation of poly-lexemic kinship terms through agglutination is ubiquitous in Tibeto-Burman. A few Meitei kinship terms are also used by the Bishupriya Manipuris. Even though the body-parts in BM are largely from Eastern Indo-Aryan, the obligatory use of classifiers with these terms is suggestive of a contact between Indic and Tibeto-Burman (See Laskar, 2003; 2008; forthcoming; Satyanath and Laskar, 2003; 2008; 2009). The use of classifiers, though very common in Tibeto-Burman, is not a typical feature of Indo-Aryan. The lexicon from various sources are not simply implanted in BM. In BM, these lexicons undergo various innovations and internally motivated changes. The lexicon reflecting cultural practices, such as, cuisine, costume, religious and spiritual activities are primarily from Meitei. This is indicative of an intense contact between Meitei and Eastern Indo-Aryan population that led to the genesis of a new linguistic community, the Bishnupriya Manipuri. The presence of Meitei cultural lexicon in the synchronic data gathered from Bishnupriya Manipuris in Assam provide evidence for the stability and continuity of this community as a mixed linguistic community. We have noted in our earlier study that approximately 67% of nouns in BM are of I-A origin (see Satyanath and Laskar, 2008). It is interesting to note that the rest 30%Meitei terms are the vocabularies that represent the cultural and religious life of Bishnupriya Manipuris. In addition, the lexicon from Meitei mentioned in section 1.2are words that involve mind, cognition and emotion (niŋsing, siŋ, nuŋei, nuŋsi, sau). The presence of these Meitei words in Bishnupriya Manipuri cannot be simply attributed to borrowing. Campbell (2003: 264) asserts that basic vocabulary occurs more due to common inheritance than diffusion. The nature of the Meitei words in Bishnupriya Manipuri suggests that these words must to be residues of intense contact. The genetic composition of the Bishnupriya Manipuri nouns throws light on the socio-historical contact of multiple linguistic groups that eventually led to the emergence of a new linguistic identity called Bishnupriya Manipuri.The study of lexicons (nouns) provides diachronic evidence to the multiple layers of contact that Bishnupriya Manipuri owes its origin to in Manipurand its subsequent existence in Assam and Tripura. Unlike structural features, lexicon didnot get much prominence in the study of language contact. The study of Bishnupriya Manipuri lexicon

(basic and cultural) reveals the historical relationship Bishnupriya Manipuri had with Eastern Indo-Aryan varieties and Meitei. Lexicon provides vital cues for reconstructing the genetic composition of the contact language like Bishnupriya Manipuri.

Abbreviations
Cl   Classifier
I-A   Indo-Aryan
T-B   Tibeto-Burman

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SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL LANGUAGE PREFERENCES: A CASE STUDY OF MIGRANT KASHMIRI PANDIT YOUTH

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Saima Jan**

ABSTRACT

The present paper aims to discern the socio‑psychological preferences given to different languages being the part of verbal repertoire of migrant Kashmiri Pandit Youth who have migrated to Jammu and Udhampur areas during the turmoil of 1990's. To understand the linguistic situation of the migrant community, the socio‑psychological tendencies in the patterns of language preservation, language use and language shift towards another language/s was examined. For the present study, data was elicited from a random sample of 400 informants (200 each from Jammu and Udhampur), falling within the age group of 10 to 30 years.

Keywords: Pandit, Community, Migration, Verbal Repertoire

1. Introduction

Kashmiri Pandits are the inhabitants of Kashmir valley. The origin of the community covers more than a period of five thousand years. Kashmiri Pandits are the Saraswat Brahmins (Chitralekha Zuthshi, 2003: 11). Kashmir is considered as the land of their ancestors and forefathers. However, Kashmiri society has experienced migration throughout from antiquity till date. Migration has shaped as well as de‑shaped the Kashmiri society at important epochs of history and in all stages of development. Migration has caused a large‑scale impact on Kashmiri society, especially on religion, economy, culture, language, demography, education, occupation, and many other fields. With the rise of the militancy in the year 1989, Kashmiris started to migrate to different areas. At that time, most of the Pandits migrated to Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua, Shimla, Chandigarh, Delhi and other cities‑towns in the state and in the country (Dabla, 2008).

The mass exodus in 90's led a remarkable effect on the language of the migrants, which in turn reflected in the choices of their language preservation and language shift. The present paper aims to study the socio‑psychological preferences given to different

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languages by the migrant Kashmiri Pandit Youth falling under the age group of 10-30 years. However, it is interesting to note that majority of migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth who fall under the age group of 10 – 30 years are not the direct victims of migration process, rather their n+1 (parents) and n+2 (grandparents) generations are the direct sufferers of migration. No doubt, informants falling in the age group of 25 – 30 years would have been of the age 5 or 6 years at the time of migration. It was due to this fact that the youth were selected forth is study, as majority of them were born in Jammu and Udhampur or were infants at the time of migration. Assuch they were born and bred in a different linguistic environment than their elders including parents and grandparents who grew in Kashmir valley where Kashmiri is the dominant language. On the other hand, Dogri is the mother tongue of majority of residents of Jammu and Udhampur and Hindi is the dominant language of the place, therefore, it is interesting t o see the socio-psychological language preferences among them.

The analysis procedure for the present research was carried out using SPSS. The data collected from Jammu and Udhampur was codified, tabulated and quantified for every informant. After codification, tabulation and quantification, all the data was entered into a Microsoft excel spread sheet, which was then transferred to the SPSS software to draw out the results. For the present paper, data was collected from the migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth residing in the areas of Jammu and Udhampur and falling within the age group of 10-30 years. The respondents were enquired using the questions which directly or indirectly investigated their socio-psychological preferences for different languages. The answer to these questions were elicited from the informants which were 400 in number (200 from each; Jammu &Udhampur) in order to mark out the socio-psychological preferences for different languages, thereby giving the idea regarding the language attitudes and views of Kashmiri migrant Pandit youth.

2. Analysis

2.1. Language/s in Mind while Praying
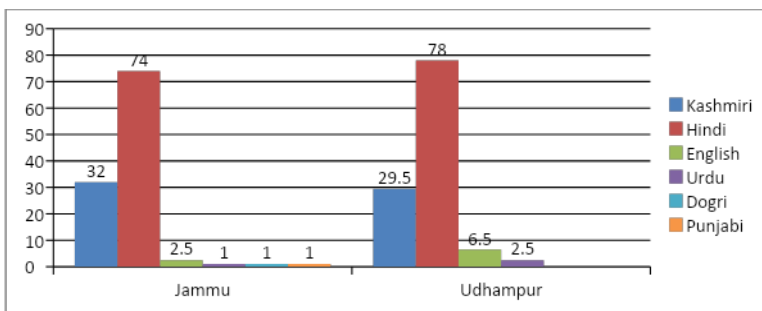
Fig.1: Language in Mind while Praying

From the figure, it can be observed that majority of respondents have claimed to use Hindi language (in mind) while praying, which is followed by Kashmiri language. Hindi language gets maximum score, which may be interpreted as their strong emotional connect with the Hindi language and it certainly reveals that Hindi is taking over the place of Kashmiri language in the emotional as well as mental sphere. From the graph, it is also clear that respondents from both the areas have shown a tremendous shift towards Hindi language. However, Kashmiri language is preserved to some extent, as it takes the second place among all the six languages under study.

Analyzing the above data on the basis of the variables of age and gender reflects the following frequency scores.

| Age Group/ Languages | Jammu | | | | | | Udhampur | | | | | |
| | Males | | | Females | | | Males | | | Females | | |
	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30
Kashmiri	1	2	2	0	37	22	4	4	13	2	13	23
Hindi	12	33	15	36	30	22	31	24	35	20	28	18
English	1	0	1	1	2	0	4	0	4	2	3	0
Urdu	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
Dogri	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Punjabi	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1: Language in Mind while Praying

From the above table, it is evident that females belonging to Jammu region use Hindi language more frequently for praying as compared to males. While as, the results are contrary for Udhampur region, where males are observed using Hindi more frequently as compared to females. Interestingly, the scores for females of Jammu regions are considerably higher than their male counterparts in case of use of Kashmiri language, particularly high range of usage among 16-22 years of age group. Almost same scenario is found in case of use of Kashmiri in Udhampur region; however here the age group of 22-30 years has higher score for using Kashmiri language.

2.2   Language/s Used in Dreams
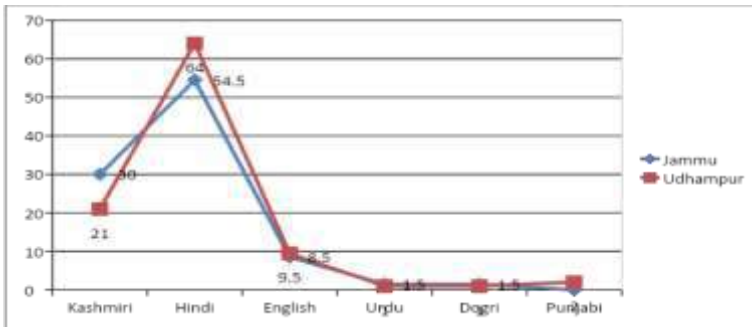
Fig. 2: Language Used in Dreams

Respondents from Jammu as well as Udhampur claim that the language they dream in is Hindi. Kashmiri gets less percentage score than Hindi, which once again divulges the fact that Hindi is emotionally more dominant among migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth than Kashmiri language.

Categorizing the above data on the basis of gender and age group, the frequency score is tabulated as under:

| Age Group / Language | Jammu | | | | | | Udhampur | | | | | |
| | Males | | | Females | | | Males | | | Females | | |
	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30
Kashmiri	1	5	32	1	1	20	2	9	13	0	4	14
Hindi	8	9	22	28	30	12	31	23	10	25	13	26
English	3	6	3	2	0	3	4	6	3	2	2	2
Urdu	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Dogri	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Punjabi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0

Table 2: Language Used in Dreaming

From the above table it is clear that both males as well as females falling under the age group of 22-30 years show high frequency score of Kashmiri language. While as, the overall frequency score for Hindi language is more as compared to the Kashmiri language when taking into consideration the language informants usually dream in.

2.3 Language Used when Angry or Happy
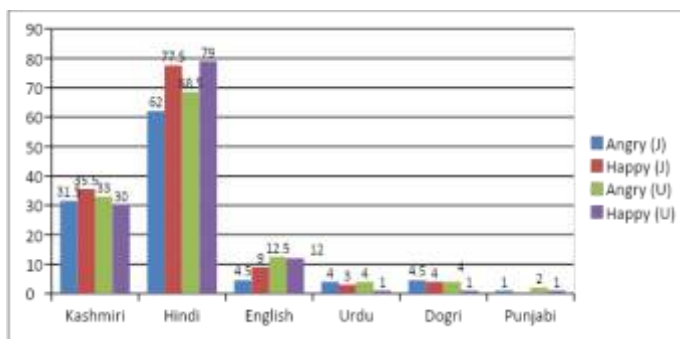
Fig.3: Language Used when Angry or Happy

The above figure gives a clear picture that Hindi language is more frequently used by migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth of Jammu as well Udhampur. Language used while expressing emotional state of mind reveals more closeness towards that language, thus, the above figures, depict more emotional bond of respondents with Hindi language than Kashmiri. Respondents from Jammu as well as Udhampur seem less emotionally attached to Kashmiri as compared to Hindi language.

Categorizing the above data on the basis of gender and age

groups, the frequency score is provided below.

| Age Group / Language | Jammu | | | | | | Udhampur | | | | | |
| | Males | | | Females | | | Males | | | Females | | |
	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30
Kashmiri	2	1	36	8	0	16	9	11	9	14	5	23
Hindi	10	11	32	21	24	26	31	29	32	24	20	19
English	0	3	2	1	2	1	0	2	10	0	3	3
Urdu	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	0
Dogri	0	1	2	1	4	1	2	6	0	0	0	0
Punjabi	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3: Language Used when Angry

From the above table it is clear that, male respondents from Jammu and female respondents from Udhampur falling within the age group of 22-30 years use Kashmiri language more frequently as compared to Hindi language. While as, the overall frequency for the usage of Hindi language is more among the respondents when they are angry.

| Age Group / Language | Jammu | | | | | | Udhampur | | | | | |
| | Males | | | Females | | | Males | | | Females | | |
	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30
Kashmiri	2	5	38	1	2	18	4	13	11	9	5	18
Hindi	11	14	34	28	28	22	29	29	32	24	20	24
English	1	6	3	2	8	5	4	4	8	2	3	3
Urdu	0	0	4	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
Dogri	0	0	2	1	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Punjabi	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4: Language Used when Happy

From the above table it is clear that, Hindi gets the maximum frequency score than any other language in the inventory when taking into consideration the language/s use while happy. However, the frequency score of males from Jammu falling within the age groupof22-30years using Kashmiri when happy is more as compared to the males falling under the same age group from Jammu using Hindi.

2.4. Language Used when Sad

| Age Group / Language | Jammu | | | | | | Udhampur | | | | | |
| | Males | | | Females | | | Males | | | Females | | |
	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30	10-16	16-22	22-30
Kashmiri	2	1	34	6	0	18	6	7	9	9	5	21
Hindi	12	14	30	24	31	22	33	27	32	24	20	24
English	0	1	3	1	2	2	2	4	0	0	0	0
Urdu	0	2	4	1	2	5	2	2	8	0	3	3
Dogri	0	2	4	1	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Punjabi	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Table 5: Language Used when Sad

From the above table it is clear that, Hindi language is mostly used by the males and females of Jammu and Udhampur, which depicts that Hindi language has greater emotional connect than any other language included in the inventory for the present study. However, Kashmiri language is seen with a good frequency score among the males and females of both the regions falling under the age group of 22-30 years. Hindi language is found to be more acquainted than Kashmiri language while explaining the emotional connect of the migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth of Jammu and Udhampur. Dogri being one of the dominant languages of the field areas show very less usage score, hence revealing its feeble bond with the migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth of Jammu and Udhampur.

3.   Conclusion

The main aim of the paper is to discern the socio-psychological preferences given to different languages being the part of verbal repertoire of migrant Kashmiri Pandit Youth who have migrated to Jammu and Udhampur areas during the turmoil of 1990's. To understand the linguistic situation of the migrant community, the socio-psychological tendencies in the patterns of language preservation, language use and language shift towards another language/s was examined. Thus, to examine the issue data was elicited from a random sample of 400 informants (200each from Jammu and Udhampur), falling within the age group of 10 to 30 years.

The study has shown that migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth form Jammu as well as Udhampur region has shown remarkable shift towards the Hindi language. The primary reasons being:

- Less percentage of joint families in both the regions, thereby, decreasing the role of n+2 generation in imparting the knowledge of Kashmiri to their children.

- Kashmiri is not taught in schools; thus, migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth do not possess the language skills in Kashmiri.

- Kashmiri is not the predominant language of Jammu and Udhampur, thus, migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth do not find the need to communicate in Kashmiri language.

The study also points out the fact that migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth in Jammu and Udhampur are in a transitory state, a state where they cherish their Kashmiri language but, at the same time, are influenced by the changing trends and alien language environment around them. Migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth have no doubt shifted towards Hindi language, but at the same time they have not altogether lost Kashmiri language. The preservation of Kashmiri language is although less as compared to the shift towards Hindi language. However, the preservation of Kashmiri language to some extent among the migrant Kashmiri Pandit of Jammu and Udhampur is due to following reasons:

- n+2 generation plays the vital role in imparting the knowledge of language skills (mainly speaking and listening) of Kashmiri to their children, and to some extent they have succeeded, as the present generation understands and speaks Kashmiri quite well. Usage of Kashmiri language is mostly seen in home domain between youth and their grandparents, thus rendering them with the knowledge of Kashmiri language.

- Migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth consider Kashmiri as their mother tongue and at the same time want its preservation. They are positively inclined towards Kashmiri language and Kashmiri culture. This emotional attachment keeps the spark alive in them to preserve Kashmiri, and home domain in this regard plays very significant role in its preservation. Other language like Dogri, English, Urdu and Punjabi are also part of the linguistic repertoire of the migrant Kashmiri Pandit youth of Jammu and Udhampur, but the influence of Hindi language over the youth is much more than any other language included in the inventory of languages for the present research.

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CASE ALIGNMENT IN KINNAURI

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines and discusses the ergativity in Kinnauri in terms of the alignment properties in nominal domain, i.e., the case marking of core arguments and their interpretations, as well as in verbal domain, i.e., agreement between the core arguments. The language shows split behavior; the ergative manifests in alignment pattern in different tense/ aspect and case marking of subject and object (i.e., differential case marking) and in agreement which cross references the core argument in verbal domain and shows verbal agreement with the subject or the object and also illustrates default agreement. This paper particularly examines the case marking of core arguments of the clause i.e. S, A and O.

Keywords: Agreement, Argument, Case, Ergativity, Kinnauri, Object Marking, Subject Marking.

1. Introduction

Kinnauri is placed in the subgroup of West Himalayish languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Negi 2012). The language is spoken in the tribal district of Himachal Pradesh in North India. Kinnauri has a SUB-OBJ-VERB constituent order and exhibits nearly all characteristics of a SOV language. The paper describes the language in terms of its case alignment pattern to conform to its ergative characteristics which is discussed in the paper in terms of its alignment properties in nominal domain, i.e., the case marking of core arguments and their interpretations, as well as in verbal domain i.e. agreement between the core arguments, S, O and A.

Ergativity, in terms of alignment pattern in a language, means: (a) the case marking of the core arguments and (b) the verb agreement pattern (Bickel & Nichols 2009). The alignment of core arguments also encodes grammatical relations that these core arguments (S, A, O) exhibits based on their syntactic role. These grammatical relations are described variously in typological studies. The approach adopted here is based on the Dixonian approach (Dixon 1978; 1994) wherein the label S stands for the subject of an intransitive verb; A is the subject of a transitive verb and O is the direct object of a transitive verb. A/ O are

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grouped together, based on transitivity of the subject of NP. In such languages, an ergative case appears at the subject position in contrast to a nominative case. An ergative type language receives an overt case at the subject position of nominal phrase in perfective and nominative in imperfective aspect while the verb is in agreement with its core arguments in the clause. Ergative case assignment encourages object agreement in the clause which is in contrast to the patterning of case and agreement in an accusative language which marks the subject with a nominative case and encourages subject agreement. When the verb cannot agree with the subject or the object in the clause, verb takes a default form which is third person singular. The distribution of ergative case and nominative case can be illustrated in Hindi in examples (1-3)–

1. chotti   bittu-ko   pitt-tii   ha

    name-NOM   name-ACC   hit-IMPERF-F-SG   be-PRE-3SG

    Choti hits Bittu.

2. chotti-ne   chitthi   di

    name-ERG   letter-NOM   give-PERF-F-S

    Choti gave letter.

3. chotti-ne   bittu-ko   pittaa

    name-ERG   name-ACC   hit-PERF-3MS

    Choti hit Bittu.

In example (1), the subject takes a nominative case in imperfective and takes an ergative case when the verb is in perfective form, as in examples (2-3). In above illustrations, the subject agrees with verb in example (1), while the verb agrees with object in example (2), depending on the ability of the subject or the object to trigger agreement with the verb.[1] If neither of the two can trigger verbal agreement, the verb takes a default form, as in (3).

2. Case Marking in Kinnauri

Case, in alignment typology, is regarded to code grammatical relations of the core arguments of sentence constructions. Along with word order and agreement, case is one way of indicating grammatical relations of clause and of distinguishing one relation from other (Kroeger 2005:102). In Kinnauri, S or A (or the object) is case marked by affix or postposition depending on the transitivity of the sentence constructions. In examples (4-11), case marking on nominal forms is either oblique (ergative, accusative, dative, instrumental, locative, genitive) or is absent (nominative). In the following section, we will focus on describing cases that are central to our discussion, i.e., marking of S, A, O which is nominative, ergative, dative, and marking on object. Examples 4-7, is the distribution of nominative case in Kinnauri:

4. kitab   dam   du/to

    NOM   good   be-PRE

    Book is good.

5. gi   kinu   shec-o   tok

    i-NOM   you (hon)- DAT   recognize-PROG   be-PRE

    I am recognizing you.

6. chotti   kim-o   tosh

    NOM   home-LOC   be-pre-3SG

    Chotti is at home.

7. gi   rima   khyac   duk

    i-NOM   field-pl-NOM   see/care   be-PRE-1SG

    I see/care fields.

In examples 4-7, subject NP takes nominative case which is phonologically null or unmarked. A clause can have more than one nominative (Butt 1993), as in example (7). In example (6), the locative case -o, marks an inanimate object. Some other cases in Kinnauri are marked as follows.

8. bittu-s   kitab   hushis

    name-ERG   book-NOM   read-PERF-3SG

    Bittu read a book.

9. bittu   choti-dwakc   halu   karash

    name-NOM name-ABL potato-NOM   bring-PST-3SG-HON

    Bittu brought potato from Chotti.

10. sudesh-is   choti-u   naamang   tvashis

     name-ERG   name-GEN name-NOM   call-PST-3SG

     Sudesh called Tanu's name.

11. ama-s   ang-u   bergaa-s   kulcis

     mother-ERG me-DAT   stick-INST   beat-OBJ-PST-3SG

     Mother beat me with a stick.

Ergative and instrumental case markers are identical; -s and -is (11). The distribution depends on the syntactic meaning. Ablative case is marked as postposition with animate noun or pronoun (9). It follows the animate base.

2.1 Grammatical Case and Semantic Case

Grammatical case marks subject, object and indirect object, and can be marked with nominative case for subject, accusative case for

object and dative case for indirect object. Unlike this, semantic case marks oblique arguments and adjuncts, and may be marked as genitive case for possessor, instrumental case and locative case for instrument and location, respectively. Semantic cases are generally overtly case marked (Siewierska and Bakker 2009). In addition to assigning grammatical relations between subject/ object, and ergative/ absolutive, case also attests alignment patterns and other properties in alignment typology, like verb agreement relationship which means agreement between verb and object or the O argument (Haspelmath 2005). Kinnauri has grammatical and semantic case markers which are used for arguments S, A and O, and oblique arguments and adjuncts, respectively. In Kinnauri, subject of a noun phrase are marked or unmarked depending upon the valency of the verb, object may or may not be marked for case relations and number. Considering example (12), subject of an intransitive verb takes unmarked nominative case whereas in examples (13, 14), the subject of a transitive verb in past is marked by ergative case -is and -s.

Case marking on S:

12. chang   yoc-id   du

    child-NOM   play-IMPF   be-Pre-3SG

    Child plays.

    Case marking on A:

13. chang-is   khau   jashid

    child-ERG   Food   eat-PERF-3SG

    Child ate food.

14. ga-s   ang   kamang   lanshid

    I-ERG. my-DAT work   do-PERF.SG

    I did my work.

3. Marking of Core Arguments (S, A, O)

Nominal can bear any case marking on the grammatical subject position in the clause; we are concerned with the direct cases on the subject that marks the agent of the verb. Ergative case marks subject of a transitive verb (A) in perfective, in contrast to unmarked direct object and the nominative marked subject of intransitive verb (S), which is indicated in unmarked form. Kinnauri displays the use of affix -s or -is as ergative marker. These structures, i.e., marking on S and A can be illustrated in examples (15-19) and examples (20-21), respectively. "A" bears nominative case if the verb in other than perfective, as illustrated in examples (22-23):

a) Case Marking on 'S'

15. sita   thuriashid   du

     name-NOM   run-IMPF   be.PRE

      Sita runs.

16. sita   yag-o   dwe

     name-NOM Sleep-PROG   be.PST

     Sita was sleeping.

17. change   yoco   nito

     boy.NOM   play.PROG   be.NON PST

      Boys will be playing.

18. gi   bazaar-o   biyo   duk

     I-NOM market-OBL   go.PROG be.PRE

      I am going to market.

b) Case Marking on "A": "A" bears nominative case in the non perfective tense.

19. guruji   changa-nu   kul-c   du

     teacher-Nom   children-ACC   beat-IMPF be.3PS

      Teacher beats up children.

20. choti   nasom dzang   jogta

     name-NOM   tomorrow   gold-ACC buy.FUT

      Choti will buy gold tomorrow.

c) Case Marking on "A" in Perfective Form

21. caiki-s   khau   jaashid

     all-ERG   food-NOM   eat-PERF-PST

      All have eaten food.

22. gi-s   ki-nu   tangc

     I-ERG   you-ACC   see-OBJ-PST

      I saw you.

     It can, therefore, be argued that transitivity is not the only criteria for ergativity; subjects may bear nominative or ergative on semantic basis.[2] It is crucial to check the nature of case marking on S and A when the subject is nouns and pronouns in order to reach at a generalized case marking pattern in the language.

d) S/A Marking on Nouns

This section illustrates case marking on common nouns and pronouns in simple constructions. In examples 23-25, illustrated is intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses respectively, in present tense. The recipient i.e., the indirect object in ditransitive clause is marked with a dative case.

a) Present tense, Past and Future, Non perfective

23. lattu   biyo   du

    boy-NOM   go-ACC   be-PRE

    Kaka is going

24. mastar   kyum   juriao   tokesh

    teacher-NOM   house   make-IMPRF   be-PST-3SG (HON)

    Teacher was making the house.

25. changa   skulo   kamang lan   to

    child-Pl-NOM   school-DAT   work do-PROG   be-FUT

     Children will do school (home) work.

Nouns as subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in present, non. perfective tenses are marked nominative case as is exemplified above. In past tense, (A) argument gets ergative case and dO is overtly marked absolutive.[3] The ergative markers –s and –is, have their use in the clause as phonologically conditioned.

b) Past tense, Future, Non Perfective

26. changa-s skulo   kamang   lanlan   du

    child-PL-ERG school-DAT work-ACC finish-PERF be-PST

    Children have finished school (home) work.

27. mastar-is   kyum   juriashid

    teacher-ERG house-NOM   make-IMPRF. PST-3SG (HON)

     Teacher made the house.

28. bowa   kyum   juariato/sh

    father-NOM house-NOM   make-FUT-3SG
    (NONHON/HON)

    Father will make the house.

29. golu-s   skulo kamang shungshid

    name-ERG school work finish-PERF-PST

    Golu finished school work.

30. mainga-is   zori lanlan   to

     Inflation-ERG   trouble do-PERF   be-PRE

     Inflation has done trouble.

     S, A takes case markers depending on their semantic role and valency. The case markers of arguments are- unmarked for nominative (S) in all tense, aspects; -is, -s for ergative case (A) in perfective and past and –u, -o for dative (IO) and unmarked for nominative, accusative for dO. Case marking of common nouns and proper nouns in simple clause is shown in table 1. The case is inflected in all tenses based on the valency of arguments.

Table 1: Case Inflection on Arguments

Arguments	S	dO	A	IO
Case	Nominative	Accusative	Ergative	Dative
Case markes	Ø	Ø	-s, -is	-o, pung

c) Marking on Pronouns in S, A position

     Pronominal case marker of subject (S) in intransitive clauses is –ø 'Nom'. In terms of case suffixes and number marking, personal pronouns behave similar to animate nouns. First person personal pronoun has different forms for inclusive exclusive numbers, and the second person and third person has different forms to indicate honoroficity in all numbers. First person pronoun has gi- form in direct case and ergative case; in all other case it is replaced by -ang, whereas second persons and third person forms remain unchanged in all number and case. Table 2 and 3 illustrates personal pronoun paradigm of nominative case with S, A in non perfective and ergative case with A in perfective.

Table 2: Personal Pronoun Paradigm in Nominative Case

	Sg	Dual (incl/ excl)	Pl (incl/ excl)
1P	Gi	kashang/ nishi	kashanga/ ninga
2P	Sg (hon/ nonhon)	Dual (hon/nonhon)	Pl (hon/ nonhon)
	ki/ka	Ki nish/ ka nish	kina/ kanega
3P	Sg (hon/ nonhon)	du (hon/ nonhon)	Pl (hon/ nonhon)
	do/ dogo	do sung/ do nish	dogo/ doga

Table 3: Ergative Case on A in Perfective

	Sg	Dual (incl/ excl)	Pl (incl/ excl)
1P	gi-s	kashang-is/ nishi-s	kashang-sa/ ninga-s
2P	Sg (hon/ nonhon)	Dual (hon/nonhon)	Pl (hon/ nonhon)
	ki-s/ka-s	ki nish-is/ ka nish-is	kina-s/ kanega-s
3P	Sg (hon/ nonhon)	du (hon/ nonhon)	Pl (hon/ nonhon)
	do-s/ dogo-s	do sung-is/ do nish-is	dogo-s/ doga-s

From Table 3, pronominal forms that end with consonant takes –is as affix and –s when it ends with a vowel sound. The examples below exemplify case marking in different tenses- present, past and future:

a.   Present, Past, Future Tense:

1Person Singular

31. gi   changa-nu   kulo   tok

i-NOM   boy-PL-ACC   hit-IMPF-PRE   AUX-1SG

I am hitting boys.

1Person Dual (excl/incl)

32.	nishi/ kashang we-DUAL-(EXCL/INCL)-NOM	changa-nu boy-PL-ACC	kulo Call-IMPF-PRE	Toc AUX-1SG

We are hitting boys.

1Person Plural (excl/incl)

33.	ka shanga/ ninga we-PL-(EXCL/INCL)-NOM	changa-nu Boy-PL-ACC	kulo Call-IMPF-PRE	Toc AUX-1SG-PL

We are hitting boys.

2 Person Singulars (hon/nonhon)

34.	Ki/ka you- (HON/NONHON)-NOM	changa-nu Boy-PL-ACC	kulo call-IMPF-PRE	toi/ton AUX-2SG

You are hitting boys.

2 Person Dual (hon/nonhon)

35.	Kinish/kanish you-DUAL-(HON/NONHON)-NOM	changa-nu Boy-PL-ACC	kulo Call-IMPF-PRE	toc/toc AUX-2SG

You (two) are hitting boys.

2 Person Plural (hon/nonhon)

36.	Kina/kanega you-PL-(HON/NONHON)-NOM	changa-nu Boy-PL-ACC	kulo Call-IMPF-PRE	toc/toc AUX-2P

You (pl) are hitting boys.

3 Person Singular

37.	dogo/do he- (HON/NONHON)-NOM	changa-nu Boy-PL-ACC	kulo Call-IMPF-PRE	tosh/to AUX-3PL

He is hitting boys.

3 Person Dual

38.	dosung/donnish	changa-nu	kulo	tosh/toh
	he- (HON/NONHON)-NOM	Boy-PL-ACC	Call-IMPF-PRE	AUX-3PL

They (two) are hitting boys.

3 Person Plural

39.	dogo/doga	changa-nu	kulo	tosh/toh
	they-HON/NONHON-NOM	boy-PL-ACC	hit-IMPF-PRE	AUX-3PL

They are hitting boys.

From examples 31- 39, pronoun exhibit nominative accusative case pattern in present imperfective in all number and person. Kinnauri has an extensive pronoun patterns for inclusive, exclusive and honoroficity, and the pronoun takes different forms to show it. In examples 40-48, pronouns are inflected for ergative case when the subject appears at agentive position and the aspect type is perfective.

b) Simple Past Tense and Perfective Aspect:

1 Person Singular

40.	gi-s	changa-nu	Kulkul
	i-ERG	boy-PL-NOM	hit-IMPF-PRE

I hit the boys.

1Person Dual (excl/incl)

41.	nishi-s/ kashang-s	changa-nu	kulkul
	we-DUAL-(EXCL/INCL)-NOM	boy-PL-ACC	hit-PERF

We hit the boys.

1Person Plural (excl/incl)

42.	kashanga-s/ ninga-s	changa-nu	kulac
	we-PL-(EXCL/INCL)- NOM	Boy-PL-ACC	Hit-PERF-PST

We hit the boys.

2 Person Singular (hon/nonhon)

43.	ki/ka	changa-nu	kulo	tokein/token
	you-(HON/NONHON)-NOM	Boy-PL-ACC	HIT-PROG	Be-2P-PST

You hit boys.

2 Person Dual (hon/nonhon)

44. kinish-is/kanish-is   changa-nu   kulkul
     you-DUAL-(HON/NONHON)-NOM   boy-PL-   hit-PERF
                                          ACC
     You (two) hit the boys.

2 Person Plural (hon/nonhon)

45. Kina-s/kanega-s   changa-nu   kulkul
     you-pl-(hon/nonhon)-nom   boy-pl-acc   hit-perf
     You (pl) hit the boys.

3 Person Singular

46. do-s   changu   kulkul
     he- (hon/nonhon)-nom   boy--acc   hit-perf
     He hit the boy.

3 Person Dual

47. donishi-s   Radha-pang   Kukkul
     he- (HON/NONHON)-Nom   radha-ACC   hit-PERF
     They (two) hit Radha.

3 Person Plural

48. doga-s/dogo-s   Kinu   Kuce
     they-NONHON/HON-NOM   boy-PL-ACC   hit-IMPF-PRE
     They called you.

4. Differential Object Marking

The stated alignment patterning assigns nominative/ absolute to the object of the transitive verb in ergative type languages and accusative to the object of transitive verb in accusative type languages which is unmarked. In languages, this pattern is not an absolute phenomenon. In Kinnauri, the O argument of both transitive and intransitive verb in imperfective and perfective is marked to express specificity, thus alternating with nominative in O marking. In examples 49-50, O argument is marked with a postposition –nu, when the speaker wishes to be specific.

49. Anita-s-   Gasa   Cici   To
     name-ERG   cloth-NOM   clean-   be-PRE
                                       PERF
     Anita has cleaned the clothes.

50. Anita-s   gasa-nu   cici   To
     they-NONHON/HON-NOM   boy-PL-ACC hit-IMPF-PRE   be-PRE
     Anita has cleaned the clothes.

The marking of O argument is possible in different ways depending on the semantic criteria like animacy, definiteness/ specificity, volationality and topicality. The varying marking of O is a

phenomenon found in many languages and is called differential object marking (DOM).In Kinnauri, object is always marked and inanimate objects are marked when the object is definite. The postpositions marking the O argument are –u, -nu and –pang. Notice the marking of O in examples (51-55);

51.　　Gi　　　　　　　　do-pang　Khyac　　　　　　Duk
　　　　I-ERG　　　　　　he-ACC　　see-NONPROG　be-PRE
　　　　I see him.

52.　　gi-s　　　　　　　　do-pang　khyashid
　　　　I-ERG　　　　　　he-ACC　　see-PST-MS
　　　　I saw him.

53.　　gi-s　　Chang　　　　Khyashid
　　　　i-ERG　child-ACC　　see-PST
　　　　I saw a boy.

In examples 51 and 52, the DO is marked with the postposition –pang and –u when the object is definite. The object doesn't take postposition when it is not definite, as in (53). In examples (54-55), the object is inanimate and definite, and it takes the postposition –u:

54.　　gi-sdoga-s/dogo-s　　　　changu　　　　　　khyashid
　　　　i-ERG　　　　　　　　child-ACC　　　　see-PST
　　　　I saw the child.

55.　　biTTu-s　　　gasa-nu　　　esacis　　Tashid
　　　　name-ERG　　clothes-　　carefully　keep-PST-3PSG
　　　　　　　　　　ACC
　　　　Bittu kept the clothes carefully.

In pronominal objects, the postposition -pang is used to mark the singular form of the non proximate or the remote object whereas –u and –nu are used to mark dual and plural forms of the proximate bjects. Demonstrative pronoun objects are marked only when the object is animate (56). Pronominal objects are marked almost obligatorily since they are animate and definite (56-58).

56.　　Kis　　　　　Angu　　　　thu　　ma　　kucis
　　　　you-ERG　　me-DAT　　Wh-Q　　　　call-PST
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　NEG-
　　　　Why didn't you call me?

57.　　Ki　　　　　Dogon　　　　　Kurin
　　　　you-NOM　them-ACC　　　call-FUT
　　　　You call them, in future.

58.　　Gi　　　dogo-nu　　Kutok
　　　　I-NOM　Them　　　call-FUT
　　　　I will call them.

4.1 Marking of Indirect Object (IO)

In Kinnauri, O argument show dual marking when there is an indirect object (IO) in a sentence along with the direct object (DO). IO is marked dative case and DO is marked accusative case, as illustrated in examples above, by similar postpositions markers. Dative case of IO expresses the notion of goal or experiencer in theta role criterion while the DO expresses the notion of benefactor or patient role in thematic role in agent-patient relationship. IO is marked obligatorily in Kinnauri. "Dative case marked on IO indicates the semantic notions of 'goal', 'focus', 'physical state', 'possession' and 'non-volitionality'" (Das 2011). In Kinnauri, dative case marking on IO is obligatory:

59. | sarita-s | kinu | Kimo | Kucis |
     | name-ERG | you-DAT | Home | call-3-PST-3SG |

Sarita called you home.

60. | Rimo | poonamu | Chang | Kuco | Du |
     | field-NOM | name-DAT | Child | call-IMPF | be-PRE |

A child is calling Poonam in the field.

In examples 59 and 60, IO is marked dative case –u. Dative case always marks animate IO and express specificity.

61. | Kis | angu | Kimoc | kucis |
     | you-ERG | me-DAT | home-LOC | call-IMPF |

You called me from home.

62. | Ki | changa-nu | Khau | ranc | toin |
     | you-NOM | children-DAT | food-GEN | give | be-PRE |

You give food to children.

In examples 61 and 62, IO expresses the notion of recipient but not the direct beneficiary. Beneficiary benefits from an action directly whereas the recipient benefits when a transfer of an action takes place. IO, thus is an indirect beneficiary.

5. Verb Agreement in Kinnauri

A language by cross referencing of verbs with the NPs identifies the language as accusative or ergative. Ergative agreement treats intransitive subjects and transitive objects alike, with the exclusion of transitive subjects (Comrie 1978; Dixon 1979). The verb includes affixes which marks for person, number or gender features of the NPs. A language shows a nominative-accusative agreement if the affixes cross referencing of NPs in S and A is similar with the exclusion of O.

Kinnauri shows subject and object agreement with the verb in different numbers (singular and dual/ plural) and persons (first person, second person and third person). Kinnauri lacks grammatical gender so the verb does not inflect for gender agreement. Agreement is realized by affixes that are attached to the verb and occur between the verb and the person and tense/ aspect markers.

4.2 Subject Agreement in Kinnauri

The agreement markers are inflected to the verb showing agreement and other correlations. Both transitive and intransitive verbs take the same subject markers. The inflectional suffixes in subject agreement are- first person singular is takes suffix –k; first person dual and plural inclusive takes suffix –c, exclusive suffix form is unmarked; second person singular honorific takes suffix -in; dual and plural is -c. Non honorific marker is –n for all numbers. Third person honorific marker is -sh in all number and is unmarked in non honorific in all number. The distribution of affixes in subject agreement in Kinnauri is tabulated in Table 4.

Table 4: Subject Marking Affixes in Kinnauri					
	1P	**2P**		**3P**	
		Hon	Nonhon	Hon	Nonhon
Sg	-k	-in	-in	-sh	ø
Du/ Pl	-c	-c	-n	-sh	ø

Agreement in a language shows grammatical properties of the subject of the clause on the verb. Various agreement affixes in different tenses and aspects in the language are illustrated in the following sections:

a. Subject Agreement in S

Most of the intransitive verbs in Kinnauri show subject agreement. The 'S' according to the theta gird criteria has an external argument and doesn't have an object. The 'S' thus is eligible to show subject agreement only with the verbs taking agreement features of its subject. Depending on the tense of the verb, subject agreement is shown in person and number:

63 Gi   thuriashid Tok
    i-NOM   run-IMPF be-PRE
    I run.

64. Kashanga Yoco   Tokec
    we-NOM   play-PROG be-PST

  He has liked you.

In examples 63 and 64, intransitive verbs being one place predicate with regard to the argument structure, can take just one argument i.e. the external argument (subject). There is no object

agreement in the clause. The verbs agree with their subjects in number and person.

In cases where intransitive verb takes a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, i.e., an NP/ a PP dominated by main verb and a helping verb, the verb do not shows agreement with it pp or adjunct. Intransitive verbs, when they take a postpositional phrase as an adjunct, do not show agrseement with it. The intransitive verb and the auxiliary, if any, agree with the subject in person and number, as in examples 65, 66:

65. | Kina | wali | Koshtang | lanc | toc |
    | you-HON— | very | Hardwork | do | be-PL-PRE |
    | NOM | | | | |

    You are working very hard.

66. | Change | Bairang | Yoco | du |
    | children-NOM | outside-LOC | play-PROG | be-PRE |

    Children are playing outside.

So, 'S' in Kinnauri shows a nominative type agreement alignment where the intransitive verbs agree with the subject in person and number. There are agreement markers for honoroficity; the plural forms in first and second person have similar subject affix markers, example 64.

b. Subject Agreement in A

'A' has a subject and the direct object, i.e., an external and an internal argument, respectively. The verb in a transitive clause can show agreement with the nominative subject in both imperfective and perfective aspects. Verbs in imperfective takes the agreement features in person and number of its external argument, which, in these examples, are overtly marked. The verbs and auxiliaries, in example 68, agree with their subjects in number and person. In example 68, the objects khau and pado are unmarked and the verbs do not agree with these objects. This is due to the Silverstein hierarchy, where the higher NPs tend to get precedence in feature markings:

67. | Mohan | chang-u | Kulc | Du |
    | name-NOM | boy-ACC | beat-IMPF | be-PRE- 3SG |

    Mohan hits the boy.

68. | Doga | kha | Pado | Dwe |
    | they-nom | food-ACC | cook-PROG | be-PST |

    They were cooking the food.

The verbs show agreement with 'A' i.e., their external argument in perfective aspect as well. This type of agreement is not a straight forward phenomenon. In languages, particularly in case of ergative languages, expected agreement alignment in perfective aspect

will be the verbs agreeing with the objects or when the object is overtly marked, the verbs take default form:

69. gi ju   kamang   lanlan tok

  i-NOM this work   do-PERF BE-PST-1SG

  I have done this work.

70. Pinki   Rang bowa Simla Bibi du/ nito
  Name-NOM and father Place go-PERF be-PRE/ FUT-SG
  Pinki and father have/ will have gone to Simla.

   The verbs, in these examples, in perfective aspects agree with their subjects. The perfective is marked by reduplication of the main verb in Kinnauri (in most cases), be- verb, i.e., auxiliaries (tok, nito, du) in such constructions appear like a light verb (LV) instead of its usual role of an inflectional entities. In these examples, the light verbs affect the marking of agreement features of the verb and its subject i.e. 'A'. This LV marks for tense and aspect and subject markings where as the main verb carries the semantic meaning of the verb with the LV. In Kinnauri ditransitive or three place predicate sentences, dO can be marked or unmarked, but IO is always marked. Verb agrees with subject in imperfectives, ex. (71) and the verb takes default form in perfective, example (72):

71. Tanvi   angu Hindi huchid du
  name- me- Hindi teach- be-
  NOM ACC   IMPERF PRE
  Tanvi teaches me Hindi.
72. mansi-sinki   Angu Kitab keke
  name-NOM   me-DAT book-ACC give
  Mansi gave the book to me.

c. Object Agreement in Kinnaur

   Ergative languages conform object agreement to the ergative alignment where the subject is overtly marked and the verb is not able to agree with it. The verb instead agrees with object argument which is in bare form. But in Kinnauri, object agreement is very rare: verb either agrees with 'A' argument, if the subject is unmarked, or it takes default form. Kinnauri show object agreement only with the first and second person pronouns. The object marker is suffixed with the main verb. Object agreement occurs in all tenses and aspects.

73. doga-s   Angu Kucis
  they-ERG me-DAT call-OBJ-PST-3P
  They called me.
74. Gi   kasturi-pang Tangak
  i-NOM name-ACC   see-PST
  I saw Kasturi.

75. mansi-s Ral   Jashid

      name-ERG   rice-ACC   eat-PST
      Mansi ate rice.

In examples 74 and 75, object agreement is absent when the object is third person. Object-verb agreement arise when subject ceases to control the agreement of verb and giving rise to ergativity where subject loses control over agreement due to being overtly case marked and direct object of transitive verb which is in bare form controls the agreement.

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[1] In order to trigger verbal agreement by subject or object, requirement is that the participant, i.e., subject or object, should be bare form in order to facilitate agreement.

[2] Several studies are available in Hindi- Urdu on ergative and transitivity association. See Kachru (1981) for details.

[3] Lot many theories are floating regarding the use of absolutive in place of accusative to mark direct object of transitive verb, we do not intend to resolve that debate and will simply adopt absolutive to mark dO.

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TRANSITIVITY SELECTIONS IN PRESIDENTIAL DISCOURSE: A STUDY OF OBAMA AND TRUMP

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the application of Halliday's theory of transitivity in the political discourse of the two US presidents, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. The paper aims to identify and explain how the two presidents made use of processes of transitivity in their announcements on the killing of Bin Laden and Baghdadi, respectively, and what that implies. The objectives are twofold: First is to find out the type of transitivity processes employed by Obama and Trump. Second is to reveal the communicative implications in the use of the processes. The study employs Halliday's theory of transitivity and the data included the full oral announcements of the two presidents. From the analysis, it was found that the two presidents used the transitivity processes: material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential. The findings show that material and relational processes dominate the other processes, which indicates that both announcements are concerned with actions and characterization of violence. Mental processes indicated that Trump used cognition more than Trump did. It was also found that the presidents used less behavioral and least existential processes.

Keywords: Transitivity Selections, Political Discourse, Halliday'S Functional Grammar

1. Introduction

The 'war on terror' started after the terrifying act of 19/11. During the Bush Administration, America, lunched a military operation on Afghanistan to topple the Taliban regime. It also lunched a military operation against Al Qaeda hiding in Pakistan (Wright, 2003).The 'war on terror' escalated during the Obama administration. In Afghanistan, America deployed tens of thousands of troops against the Taliban insurgency. In Pakistan, the Pakistani armed forces, with the help of America, conducted military operations against the Taliban insurgents who were hiding along the border with Afghanistan. The efforts

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resulted in eliminating Osama Bin Laden, the head and founder of Al Qaeda.

During the Trump administration, fighting continued in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the radicals managed to capture more areas in Arab region especially after Arab Spring which resulted in the collapse of some states there. ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), a radical organization operating in Iraq and Syria, announced Caliphate. Abu Bakar Al Baghdadi announced the Caliphate (Islamic State) and declared himself as the self-proclaimed Caliph (Georges, 2020).

The current study selected two important presidential speeches delivered immediately after the killing of the two most wanted enemies of the United States. The presidential talks are very important as they signify the triumph of the United States on their enemies. No previous study has attempted to compare and analyse the two addresses from a linguistic point of view. The study attempts to describe how the two presidents used transitivity processes to present and convey the messages in their announcements about the killing of Bin Laden and Al- Baghdadi. This will enable the language user to better understand the intentions of the speakers in such addresses. The paper begins by quantitatively analyzing the common transitivity processes employed by both presidents and attempts to throw light on the intentions about Transitivity processes selections.

1.1 Theory: Transitivity System

According to Halliday (1985), there are three major functions of language, namely, the ideational, the textual, and the interpersonal. The ideational function is manifested in the analysis of transitivity. Simpson (1993) is of the view that "transitivity refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. It shows how speakers encode their mental picture of reality in language and how they account for their experience of the world around them […], because it is concerned with the transmission of ideas, is part of the ideational function of language" (p. 88).There are three components of transitivity process: (a) the process itself, (b) participants in the process, and (c) circumstances associated with the process (Halliday, 1994).

Transitivity processes are made up of six major types. The first type is the material processes which are 'simply processes of doing' (Simpson, 1993, p. 89).Participants may be 'agents', 'goals' or 'beneficiaries' (Halliday, 1994).

The second type is the mental processes which are processes of 'sensing' (Simpson, 1993, p. 91). Mental processes are subcategorized into three types: process of perception (see, hear), processes of reaction (like, fear) and processes of cognition (think, believe). The major participant is the 'Senser'. The phenomenon is "that which is perceived, reacted to or thought about" (Simpson, 1993, p. 91).The third type is the verbal processes which are 'processes of saying' (Simpson, 1993, p. 90).The major participants in this process are

'sayers'or 'targets/ receivers'. The 'verbiage' is the message both sayers and targets exchange. The fourth type is the relational processes, which are "processes of being" (Halliday, 1994, p. 119). Relational processes can be either attributive or identifying. In case they are attributive, the participants are either 'carriers' or 'attributes'. In case they are identifying, the participants are 'token' and 'value.' They may be 'intensive' (x is A); possessive (X has A) or 'circumstantial' (X is at/on A). The fifth type is the behavioral process. It draws aspects from verbal and mental processes. Therefore, sensing and saying are considered as behaviors for verbs like gossip, chat, watch, ponder, listen, grin, smile, etc. The sixth type is called the existential process which posits existence and are headed by the empty particle 'there' as in 'There is no room for negotiation.

2. Methodology

2.1 Data Sources

The data analyzed in this study were essentially oral announcements made by Obama and Trump on the occasion of killing of bin Laden and Baghdadi, respectively. The speeches are then typed in a transcript form in the respected websites.Obama textual Announcement on Bin Laden's Death was obtained from:https://obam awhitehouse.arc hives.gov/blog/ 2011/05/02/osama-bin-laden-dead. Trump's announcement, on the other hand, was obtained fromhttps:// www.np r.org/2019/10 /27/773842999/read-trump-statement-on-baghd adis-death

The rationale behind choosing these specific announcements is that both statements signify a milestone in fighting and defeating America's most wanted enemies.

2.2 Analysis Procedure

Having collected the data from the given websites, a thorough and comprehensive analysis of each and every clause was undertaken according to Hallidayian Systemic Functional Grammar. Each announcement was analyzed individually. To prepare the data for analysis, the texts have been divided into numbered clauses. The process types, the participants and the circumstances were identified. These analyses were reread and peer checked to ensure its completeness. The ratios of choice of types of process was counted by using Excel.

3.1 Findings

This section presents the results of the analysis. The thorough analysis of the two announcements shows that all the processes are invariably recorded occurrence in the data analysed.
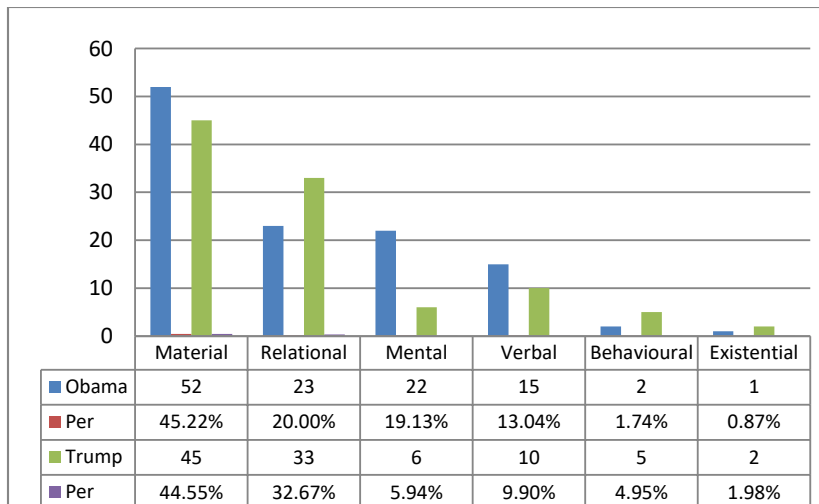
	Material	Relational	Mental	Verbal	Behavioural	Existential
■ Obama	52	23	22	15	2	1
■ Per	45.22%	20.00%	19.13%	13.04%	1.74%	0.87%
■ Trump	45	33	6	10	5	2
■ Per	44.55%	32.67%	5.94%	9.90%	4.95%	1.98%

Diagram. 1 Transitivity Verbs

Results in diagram one show that comparatively speaking, the two presidents have adopted the transitivity verbs of "Material" more frequently in the two oral announcements. The frequency of material processes is 52 (45. 22%) and 45 (44.55%) in Trump and Obama, respectively. The second process, in terms of the highest occurrence, is the relational with a frequency of 23 (20.00%) by Obama and 33 (32.67%) by Trump. The verbal processes are shown to be equal to 15(13.04%) and 10 (9.90%) by Obama and Trump, respectively. In addition, there is a significant variation in the number of mental processes used by Obama 22(19.13%) and Trump 6 (5.94%). The behavioral and the existential processes show insignificant frequency. That is, both the number of presidents adopted less behavioural processes in their announcement, shown as only 2 (1.74%) and 5 (4.95%) verbs by Obama and Trump, respectively. The least verbs were "existential" and are shown as only 1 (0.87%) and 2 (1.98%) by Obama and Trump, respectively. Having presented the findings of the analysis, the next section discusses the findings.

3.2 Discussion

The study finds that both presidents employed transitivity processes in their announcement. Specifically, the data showed that "material" and "existential" verbs were commonly adopted and there is a predominance of the material process over others

Firstly, material processes are processes of doing, or processes indicating events. These processes are associated with actions and physical events. In Obama speech, material processes are used to indicate force (1), professionalism (2), military competency (3) and accomplishment (4). Meanwhile, material processes in Trump's speech indicated force as shown in (5) and professionalism as in (6).

1. In Afghanistan, we <u>removed</u> the Taliban government, which had given bin Laden and al Qaeda safe haven and support.

2. and <u>authorized</u> an operation to get Osama bin Laden.

3. A small team of Americans carried out the operation with extraordinary courage and capability.

4. After a firefight, they <u>killed</u> Osama bin Laden.

5. We <u>obliterated</u> his caliphate, 100 percent, in March of this year.

6. U.S. Special Operations Forces <u>executed</u> a dangerous and daring nighttime raid in. northwestern Syria and <u>accomplished</u> their mission in grand style.

Secondly, relational processes are found to be the second highest used processes in the speeches. There are three types of relational processes: attributive, identifying and possessive, of which attributive relational processes are the highest. Obama used attributive relational processes to favorably depict America and to reveal its commitment to the cause and the values they embrace as in (7-10). He does not talk much about the enemy. However, he asserted that Bin Laden was not a Muslim and he is responsible for killing Muslims, too, as in (11, 12).

7. We were <u>united</u> as one American family.

8. We must –- and we will -- remain <u>vigilant</u> at home and abroad.

9. We will be <u>relentless</u> in defense of our citizens and our friends and allies.

10. We will be <u>true</u> to the values.

11. Bin Laden was not a Muslim leader.

12. He was a mass murderer of Muslims.

On the other hand, Trump assigns America and Americans the following attributes: 'incredible' in (13), 'very long'in (14), and 'the very best' in (15). He uses relational processes to indicate America's supremacy.

13. The U.S. personnel were <u>incredible</u>.

14. Our reach is <u>very long</u>.

15. You are <u>the very best</u>.

Besides, Trump used relational processes to expose and to negatively characterize the enemey as underlined in (16-20).

16. In some cases, they were <u>very frightened puppies</u>.

17. In other cases, they were <u>hardcore killers</u>.

18. Their murder of innocent Americans — James Foley, Steven Sotloff, Peter Kassig, and Kayla Mueller — were especially <u>heinous.</u>

19. He was <u>a sick and depraved man</u>.

20. Baghdadi was <u>vicious and violent</u>.

Thirdly, mental processes were used more frequently by Obama than Trump. There are four types of cognitive processes: perceptive, cognitive, desiderative and emotive. Trump used only one mental (desiderative) clause as in (21). Using less mental processes may be due to the president's inability or unwillingness to reveal his mentality.

21. Things that we very much <u>want</u>.

Obama, however, used a lot of cognitive verb processes. For example, the verb process 'know/knew' occurs more than five times as represented in (22) and a wide variety of cognitive verbs have been used such as 'learned' in (23), 'determined' in (24), 'understand' in (25), 'tolerate' in (26), 'forgotten' in (27), 'think' in (28), 'reminded' in (29), and 'remember' in (30). The wide use of mental processes indicates the president's attitudes regarding the issues he touched upon in his announcement.

22. If we <u>knew</u> where bin Laden was.

23. we quickly <u>learned</u> that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by al Qaeda –

24. And finally, last week, I <u>determined</u> that we had enough intelligence to take action.

25. So Americans <u>understand</u> the costs of war.

26. Yet as a country, we will never <u>tolerate</u> our security being threatened.

27. That we have never <u>forgotten</u> your loss.

28. And tonight, let us <u>think</u> back to the sense of unity.

29. But tonight, we are once again <u>reminded</u> that America can do whatever we set our mind to.

30. Let us <u>remember</u> that we can do these things not just because of wealth or power.

    Finally, Obama used verbal processes to a lesser extent to show power as in (31) and to officially make declaration on the incident to the listeners as in (32).

31. And so shortly after taking office, I <u>directed</u> Leon Panetta, the director of the CIA, to make the killing or capture of bin Laden the top priority of our war against al Qaeda.

32. Good evening. Tonight, I can <u>report</u> to the American people and to the world.

    However, Trump used the verbal process only one time to make official declaration as in (33). The other remaining verbal processes are used to communicate his thanks to those who

accomplished the mission and provided logistics and intelligence help as represented in (34).

33. last month, we announced that we recently killed Hamza bin Laden, the very violent son of Osama bin Laden.

34. I want to thank the nations of Russia, Turkey, Syria, and Iraq.

To sum up, the findings reveal that both the presidents employed a language that emphasized tangible actions and relationships, albeit with some variations in the focus.

4. Conclusion

This paper applied Halliday's theory of transitivity to the oral announcements following the elimination of Bin Laden and Al-Baghdadi. It was found that the presidents used all transitivity process. The analysis revealed some significant patterns.

The most frequently employed transitivity process by both President Obama and President Trump was "Material," accounting for 45. 22% and 44.55%of the data, respectively. This emphasis on material processes indicates a strong focus on actions and activities related to the elimination operation. The second most commonly used transitivity process was "Relational" with Obama using it in 20.00% of his speech and Trump in 32.67%. This suggests that both presidents sought to link the incident to broader geopolitical or ideological contexts. "Verbal" processes were utilized to a lesser extent, with Obama employing them in 13.04% of his speech and Trump in 9.90%. These processes were employed to signify power and authority in the efforts of eliminating the enemy. A notable disparity between the two presidents is observed in the use of "Mental" processes, with Obama employing them in 19.13% of his speech, while as Trump used them in only 5.94%. This discrepancy suggests that Obama focused more on cognitive and psychological aspects in his announcement. This may indicate a deliberate strategy to engage the audience on an intellectual level, possibly to justify and explain the actions taken. Both behavioral and existential processes were used minimally, with only 1.74% and 4.95% of verbs used for behavioral processes and 0.87% and 1.98% for existential processes by Obama and Trump, respectively. This indicates that both the presidents chose to employ these processes sparingly, suggesting that their primary goal was not to emphasize behavior in their discourse.

In summary, this study underscores the dominance of "Material" and "Relational" processes in the presidential announcements, indicating a strong emphasis on actions, relationships, and connections in the discourse surrounding the elimination of the enemy. Understanding these linguistic choices sheds light on the communicative intentions and strategies of the presidents in conveying the significance of these events in the context of eliminating America's enemies.

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Appendix

Obama Announcement on Bin Laden Death

Good evening. Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world that the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama bin Laden, the leader of al Qaeda, and a terrorist who's responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women, and children.

It was nearly 10 years ago that a bright September day was darkened by the worst attack on the American people in our history. The images of 9/11 are seared into our national memory -- hijacked planes cutting through a cloudless September sky; the Twin Towers collapsing to the ground; black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon; the wreckage of Flight 93 in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where the actions of heroic citizens saved even more heartbreak and destruction.And yet we know that the worst images are those that were unseen to the world. The empty seat at the dinner table. Children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father. Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace. Nearly 3,000 citizens taken from us, leaving a gaping hole in our hearts.

On September 11, 2001, in our time of grief, the American people came together. We offered our neighbors a hand, and we offered the wounded our blood. We reaffirmed our ties to each other, and our love of community and country. On that day, no matter where

we came from, what God we prayed to, or what race or ethnicity we were, we were united as one American family.We were also united in our resolve to protect our nation and to bring those who committed this vicious attack to justice. We quickly learned that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by al Qaeda -- an organization headed by Osama bin Laden, which had openly declared war on the United States and was committed to killing innocents in our country and around the globe. And so we went to war against al Qaeda to protect our citizens, our friends, and our allies.

Over the last 10 years, thanks to the tireless and heroic work of our military and our counterterrorism professionals, we've made great strides in that effort. We've disrupted terrorist attacks and strengthened our homeland defense. In Afghanistan, we removed the Taliban government, which had given bin Laden and al Qaeda safe haven and support. And around the globe, we worked with our friends and allies to capture or kill scores of al Qaeda terrorists, including several who were a part of the 9/11 plot. Yet Osama bin Laden avoided capture and escaped across the Afghan border into Pakistan. Meanwhile, al Qaeda continued to operate from along that border and operate through its affiliates across the world.And so shortly after taking office, I directed Leon Panetta, the director of the CIA, to make the killing or capture of bin Laden the top priority of our war against al Qaeda, even as we continued our broader efforts to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat his network.

Then, last August, after years of painstaking work by our intelligence community, I was briefed on a possible lead to bin Laden. It was far from certain, and it took many months to run this thread to ground. I met repeatedly with my national security team as we developed more information about the possibility that we had located bin Laden hiding within a compound deep inside of Pakistan. And finally, last week, I determined that we had enough intelligence to take action, and authorized an operation to get Osama bin Laden and bring him to justice.Today, at my direction, the United States launched a targeted operation against that compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan. A small team of Americans carried out the operation with extraordinary courage and capability. No Americans were harmed. They took care to avoid civilian casualties. After a firefight, they killed Osama bin Laden and took custody of his body.

For over two decades, bin Laden has been al Qaeda's leader and symbol, and has continued to plot attacks against our country and our friends and allies. The death of bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation's effort to defeat al Qaeda.Yet his death does not mark the end of our effort. There's no doubt that al Qaeda will continue to pursue attacks against us. We must –- and we will -- remain vigilant at home and abroad.

As we do, we must also reaffirm that the United States is not –- and never will be -– at war with Islam. I've made clear, just as President Bush did shortly after 9/11, that our war is not against Islam.

Bin Laden was not a Muslim leader; he was a mass murderer of Muslims. Indeed, al Qaeda has slaughtered scores of Muslims in many countries, including our own. So his demise should be welcomed by all who believe in peace and human dignity.

Over the years, I've repeatedly made clear that we would take action within Pakistan if we knew where bin Laden was. That is what we've done.   But it's important to note that our counterterrorism cooperation with Pakistan helped lead us to bin Laden and the compound where he was hiding. Indeed, bin Laden had declared war against Pakistan as well, and ordered attacks against the Pakistani people.Tonight, I called President Zardari, and my team has also spoken with their Pakistani counterparts. They agree that this is a good and historic day for both of our nations. And going forward, it is essential that Pakistan continue to join us in the fight against al Qaeda and its affiliates.

The American people did not choose this fight. It came to our shores, and started with the senseless slaughter of our citizens. After nearly 10 years of service, struggle, and sacrifice, we know well the costs of war. These efforts weigh on me every time I, as Commander-in-Chief, have to sign a letter to a family that has lost a loved one, or look into the eyes of a service member who's been gravely wounded. So Americans understand the costs of war. Yet as a country, we will never tolerate our security being threatened, nor stand idly by when our people have been killed. We will be relentless in defense of our citizens and our friends and allies. We will be true to the values that make us who we are. And on nights like this one, we can say to those families who have lost loved ones to al Qaeda's terror: Justice has been done.

Tonight, we give thanks to the countless intelligence and counterterrorism professionals who've worked tirelessly to achieve this outcome. The American people do not see their work, nor know their names. But tonight, they feel the satisfaction of their work and the result of their pursuit of justice.We give thanks for the men who carried out this operation, for they exemplify the professionalism, patriotism, and unparalleled courage of those who serve our country. And they are part of a generation that has borne the heaviest share of the burden since that September day.Finally, let me say to the families who lost loved ones on 9/11 that we have never forgotten your loss, nor wavered in our commitment to see that we do whatever it takes to prevent another attack on our shores.

And tonight, let us think back to the sense of unity that prevailed on 9/11. I know that it has, at times, frayed. Yet today's achievement is a testament to the greatness of our country and the determination of the American people.The cause of securing our country is not complete. But tonight, we are once again reminded that America can do whatever we set our mind to. That is the story of our history, whether it's the pursuit of prosperity for our people, or the struggle for

equality for all our citizens; our commitment to stand up for our values abroad, and our sacrifices to make the world a safer place.

Let us remember that we can do these things not just because of wealth or power, but because of who we are: one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.Thank you. May God bless you. And may God bless the United States of America.

Trump Announcement on Baghdadi's Death

Last night, the United States brought the world's number one terrorist leader to justice. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is dead. He was the founder and leader of ISIS, the most ruthless and violent terror organization anywhere in the world.The United States has been searching for Baghdadi for many years. Capturing or killing Baghdadi has been the top national security priority of my administration. U.S. Special Operations Forces executed a dangerous and daring nighttime raid in northwestern Syria and accomplished their mission in grand style. The U.S. personnel were incredible. I got to watch much of it.

No personnel were lost in the operation, while a large number of Baghdadi's fighters and companions were killed with him. He died after running into a dead-end tunnel, whimpering and crying and screaming all the way. The compound had been cleared by this time, with people either surrendering or being shot and killed. Eleven young children were moved out of the house and are uninjured. The only ones remaining were Baghdadi in the tunnel, and he had dragged three of his young children with him. They were led to certain death.

He reached the end of the tunnel, as our dogs chased him down. He ignited his vest, killing himself and the three children. His body was mutilated by the blast. The tunnel had caved in on it, in addition. But test results gave certain immediate and totally positive identification. It was him.The thug who tried so hard to intimidate others spent his last moments in utter fear, in total panic and dread, terrified of the American forces bearing down on him.

We were in the compound for approximately two hours, and after the mission was accomplished, we took highly sensitive material and information from the raid, much having to do with ISIS origins, future plans, things that we very much want.Baghdadi's demise demonstrates America's relentless pursuit of terrorist leaders and our commitment to the enduring and total defeat of ISIS and other terrorist organizations.Our reach is very long. As you know, last month, we announced that we recently killed Hamza bin Laden, the very violent son of Osama bin Laden, who was saying very bad things about people, about our country, about the world. He was the heir apparent to al Qaeda.

Terrorists who oppress and murder innocent people should never sleep soundly, knowing that we will completely destroy them. These savage monsters will not escape their fate, and they will not escape the final judgment of God.Baghdadi has been on the run for many years,

long before I took office. But at my direction, as Commander-in-Chief of the United States, we obliterated his caliphate, 100 percent, in March of this year.Today's events are another reminder that we will continue to pursue the remaining ISIS terrorists to their brutal end. That also goes for other terrorist organizations. They are, likewise, in our sights.

Baghdadi and the losers who worked for him — and losers they are — they had no idea what they were getting into. In some cases, they were very frightened puppies. In other cases, they were hardcore killers. But they killed many, many people. Their murder of innocent Americans — James Foley, Steven Sotloff, Peter Kassig, and Kayla Mueller — were especially heinous.The shocking publicized murder of a Jordanian pilot, a wonderful young man — spoke to the King of Jordan; they all knew him, they all loved him — he was burned alive in a cage for all to see. And the execution of Christians in Libya and Egypt, as well as the genocidal mass murder of Yazidis, rank ISIS among the most depraved organizations in the history of our world.The forced religious conversions, the orange suits prior to so many beheadings, all of which were openly displayed for the world to see, this was all that Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi — this is what he wanted. This is what he was proud of. He was a sick and depraved man, and now he's gone. Baghdadi was vicious and violent, and he died in a vicious and violent way, as a coward, running and crying.This raid was impeccable, and could only have taken place with the acknowledgement and help of certain other nations and people.

I want to thank the nations of Russia, Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. And I also want to thank the Syrian Kurds for certain support they were able to give us. This was a very, very dangerous mission.Thank you, as well, to the great intelligence professionals who helped make this very successful journey possible.I want to thank the soldiers, and sailors, airmen, and Marines involved in last tonight's operation. You are the very best there is anywhere in the world. No matter where you go, there is nobody even close.I want to thank General Mark Milley and our Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I also want to thank our professionals who work in other agencies of the United States government and were critical to the mission's unbelievable success.

Last night was a great night for the United States and for the world. A brutal killer, one who has caused so much hardship and death, has violently been eliminated. He will never again harm another innocent man, woman, or child. He died like a dog. He died like a coward. The world is now a much safer place.God bless America. Thank you.

REPORTS OF DEATH IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Kavita Yadav[*]

ABSTRACT

The discourse of death spans across various disciplines and not limited to religion, philosophy, social sciences, and life sciences. As discourse analysis in linguistics aims at bringing out the features of language in a particular context, the context of death becomes all the more interesting as it is an inevitable reality closer to human beings, considered a taboo to talk directly about (in many cultures). Death is a social event and language is closely associated to the social processes. The language, in the given context, changes significantly when it comes to talking about it, writing about it or even at the mention of it. The present paper looks at how language features as an instrument with which the expressions are relayed at an event of death. The analysis of the paper adheres to the analytic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) conducted on the corpus of reports published about death of three prominent persons, chosen based on the manner of their death, in five most-circulated English newspapers in India. While analysing the heading and the subheading, based on Fairclough's approach to CDA, the study would focus on how the prestige of the deceased affects the reporting of their death. The findings of the paper are preceded by the way CDA is defined, the theories of language included in CDA frameworks, the relationship of CDA and context, methodology, and finally a comparison between these reports.

Keywords: Death, Language, Critical Discourse Analysis, Prestige

1. Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an analytical approach that examines the relationship between language, power, and ideology in social contexts. It recognizes language's non-neutrality and its role in shaping power structures. CDA is vital in linguistics for uncovering hidden meanings, power dynamics, and fostering critical engagement. It investigates language's form to reveal the influence of ideology on

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discourse, reciprocation to ideology, and how power shapes the emergence of meaning.CDA challenges and complements mainstream linguistics, breaking the boundaries of dualistic models like synchronic and diachronic, language and speech, referential and expressive. It connects language research to social function, making research dynamic. CDA focuses on the form of language to reveal homogeneity between implied meaning, power dynamics, and ideology. It explores how language is used in different contexts and replicated in socio-political settings.

The basis of CDA lies in theories like Gramsci's hegemonic theory, showing how ideology maintains systems with societal consent. Foucault sees discourse and power as dialectically linked, where discourse is part of power. CDA's foundation in systemic functional linguistics links language and social context, with various influences from social semiotics, cognitive science, psychology, and others. It explores language change in discourse due to social factors like age, sex, religion, power, and ideology. Instances of discourse become research topics in CDA, where changes in language are evident, and factors may be implicit. For example, CDA studies the discourse of death, how it is reported based on various social aspects. Drawing on theoretical foundations, CDA analyses language, power, and ideology interplay. Works by scholars like Fairclough (1995), van Dijk (1985), and Wodak (2001) have contributed to its development. Key concepts like power, ideology, discourse, and social practice help understand language within broader socio-political contexts. With a multidimensional approach, CDA reveals the intricate connections between language use, social structures, and political agendas.

Methodological Approaches in CDA

CDA employs various methodological approaches to analyse discourse, including textual analysis, discursive analysis, and social semiotics. These methods examine linguistic features like lexical choices, rhetorical strategies, and discursive structures to uncover power relations and ideological assumptions. CDA uses diverse data sources, such as written texts, speeches, images, and online media, for a comprehensive understanding of discursive practices. A central focus of CDA is the analysis of power relations and ideological constructs within discourse. Language is seen as a site of power where dominant groups exert control, marginalize certain groups, and shape social hierarchies. CDA reveals how discourse reproduces power by legitimizing dominant ideologies and marginalizing alternative perspectives. It exposes how language influences public opinion, maintains social inequalities, and perpetuates systemic injustices.

CDA provides tools to uncover hidden meanings, implicit biases, and rhetorical strategies in discourse. It explores intertextuality, metaphor analysis, and framing analysis to reveal the persuasive power of language. By examining discourse construction and framing, CDA uncovers underlying agendas and manipulative tactics that shape public opinion and social behaviours. The key contributions of CDA are fostering critical engagement with discourse, encouraging individuals to question dominant narratives, challenge oppressive discourses, and develop critical literacy skills for social transformation. It empowers individuals and communities to recognize and resist power imbalances in language use, shaping a more just and equitable society.

1.1 Literature Review

In the field of linguistics, discourse typically pertains to the examination of speech/text patterns and language usage, among other aspects. Comprehending speech/text patterns necessitates a clear understanding of the terms 'discourse' and 'text'. In its simplest form, discourse denotes structured collections of meaningful texts (Parker, 1992). A text constitutes a component of the discourse process, representing the outcome of communication by a writer or speaker. It encompasses indicators for the interpretation process and traces of the production process. According to Fairclough (1989), this process consists of not only the text itself, which serves as its product, but also the production process and the interpretation process, where the text acts as a valuable resource. The text haslexico-grammatical expressions of three types of meaning associated with three fundamental language functions (namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions, as outlined in systemic linguistics). These lexico-grammatical indicators for ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings necessitate the assistance of external resources beyond the text for interpretation.

The concept of discourse finds frequent application in the works of notable social theorists (e.g., Foucault, 1972) and linguists (e.g., Stubbs, 1983; van Dijk, 1985). It denotes the utilization of language as a social phenomenon, consisting genres of thinking, communication, and interaction that are shaped by concurrent sociolinguistic conventions, ideological frameworks, and knowledge paradigms. Simultaneously, discourse is instrumental in the construction and formation of the following elements:

a. social identities

b. social selection

c. system of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1995)

Fairclough (1992) posits that discourse serves as a representation of the world and serves as a tool for individuals to exert influence on both the world itself and on one another. Furthermore, he contends that the connection between discourse and social structure is dialectical in nature. Discourse is both moulded and limited by social structure while simultaneously playing a role in the construction of said social structure. It is influenced, either directly or indirectly, by its own established norms, conventions, relationships, identities, and the institutions that underlie them. Ideology permeates discourse, and individuals consciously or unconsciously rely on it to make sense of the information presented. Readers employ mental schema and cognitive strategies, projecting these onto the data in order to interpret and comprehend it. Van Dijk (1995) discusses mental models as the bridge between the social and personal realms, as well as the connection between the general and the specific. He posits that individuals consistently construct and refine mental models in their daily lives, particularly through their engagement in communicative events. Consequently, he concludes that a text merely scratches the surface of what is contained within these models, and individuals typically comprehend far more from a text than what is explicitly expressed.

Discourse analysis involves the examination of structure and purpose within verbal communication. However, as indicated by the discourse analysis terminology, there exist varying perspectives on the focus of study, encompassing aspects such as individual sentences, communicative functions, semantic meaning, social or political dimensions, or a combination thereof. Consequently, the field of discourse analysis becomes expansive, overlapping with pragmatics and sociolinguistics, and incorporating diverse analytical methods from these domains. Harris (1952) presents a formal linguistic or structural perspective on discourse analysis in his influential paper titled "Discourse Analysis," providing one of the earliest comprehensive formulations of the concept. Stubbs (1983), another linguist, adopts a sociolinguistic viewpoint and defines discourse analysis as the study of language organization beyond the sentence or clause level, focusing on larger linguistic units such as conversational exchanges or written texts. Brown and Yule (1983) adopt a functional approach to discourse, viewing it as the investigation of language usage. They argue that discourse analysis cannot be limited to describing linguistic forms independently from the purposes or functions these forms serve in human activities. They embrace the

Hallidayan perspective, which encompasses interpersonal, experiential, and textual functions.

Gee (2004) introduces a socio-political dimension to functional discourse analysis. He asserts that language is intertwined with actions, interactions, non-linguistic symbol systems, objects, tools, technologies, and distinct ways of thinking, valuing, feeling, and believing. According to Gee, language-in-action is always an active process of constructing meaning. Gee (2004) identifies various parameters from which discourse arises, including a network of relations between significant events, social activities, enacted identities and relationships, political implications, and connections of relevance between different pieces of information and sign systems (verbal and non-verbal). Widdowson (1995) conceptualizes discourse as a transactional process of generating meaning between the text and the reader. He suggests that discourse analysis involves the pragmatic process of negotiating meaning, where the text serves as the end product. In spoken interactions, the text is simultaneous and transient, leaving no trace unless recorded. The critical discourse analysts, such as Fairclough (1992, 2001), van Dijk (1991, 1997), and Wodak (2001), present an alternative perspective on discourse, considering it as a social and political entity infused with power and ideology. They argue that discourse plays a pivotal role in constructing social realities and that its comprehension reveals the asymmetry and marginalization experienced by specific individuals or groups. As a result, the concept of discourse emerges as multidimensional and characterized by multiple facets.

Fairclough's (2003) approach to discourse analysis, which aligns with critical discourse analysis, is grounded in the belief that language is an integral component of social life. He argues that language and other elements of social life are dialectically interconnected, necessitating the consideration of language in social analysis and research. Consequently, one fruitful approach to conducting social research involves examining language through some form of discourse analysis. Fairclough's approach aims to bridge the gap between social theory-inspired research, which often overlooks text analysis, and research focused solely on the language of texts without engaging with social theoretical issues. While text analysis remains a crucial component of discourse analysis, Fairclough emphasizes that discourse analysis extends beyond linguistic examination of texts, encompassing broader social theoretical considerations. Fairclough (2001) proposed a three-layered model of CDA, in which he distinguished three stages of the analysis:

a) Description: focuses on formal properties of text; values, such as experiential, relational, expressive, which words have, the grammatical features, and textual structures

b) Interpretation: focuses on connection between text and interaction, considering text as by-product of production and a resource of interpretation; interpretations are generated via dialectical interplay of cues such as the topic of text, the subjects of text, power dynamics, and finally the role of language

c) Explanation: concerns the relation between interaction and the social context in which the text is placed; focuses on displaying that discourse is a part of a larger social process

Lastly, the significance of analysing mass media discourse lies not only in the abundant and easily obtainable data it provides for research and education, but also in its influence on language use and attitudes within a community. Mass media usage serves as a valuable indicator of societal meanings, stereotypes projected through language and communication, as well as the shaping and expression of culture, politics, and social aspects. Consequently, exploring media discourse offers insights into the interplay between language and social dynamics, allowing us to gain a deeper understanding of the multifaceted relationships between media, language, and society (Bell & Garrett, 1998). Mass media plays a significant role in shaping and reflecting cultural values and ideas through various means. It involves the active participation of multiple stakeholders. In print mass media, producers and readers both play crucial roles. Cavalcanti (1983), referring to Widdowson (1979), characterizes reading as a non-reciprocal form of discourse. The reader exercises agency in the process of discourse, having the ability to pause, skip sections, or revisit specific parts according to their preferences. The reader is thus empowered and in control of the discourse. This observation about reader control aligns with the viewpoint expressed by Hodge & Kress (1993) regarding mass media discourse. The intended recipients within the targeted audience in the mass media tend to adopt the role of an ideal subject who shares the experiences and attitudes presented in mass media. Furthermore, the creators of mass media texts, unlike the recipients, are skilled professionals. Producers do not haphazardly assume the role of the audience; rather, mass media discourse is specifically structured for particular target audiences. These target audiences are identified through market research practices and discourse strategies, which influence and shape the subjects involved.

For the purpose of this study, Fairclough's three-layered model will be adopted. The researcher will examine the kind of language used in order to disseminate the information of death of these popular persons. The collected data will be examined for any indications of power relations and hegemony within the sample texts. Furthermore, the study will explore any discursive strategies employed to legitimize these power relations. These objectives have been chosen to uncover the underlying discursive practices, social practices, and social relations within society.

1.2 Objectives

The objectives of the present paper are:

i. To look at specific vocabulary used in cases of different deaths,

ii. To explore how the prestige of the deceased affect reporting in the newspapers,

iii. To identify similarities in different newspapers' reporting on the deaths of prominent individuals.

2. Research Methodology

The articles for the study are taken from highly circulated English newspapers (selected on the basis of number of circulation) in the mainstream media in India. These popular persons are chosen on the basis of similarities in the kind of death they suffered, i.e., natural cause and complications which arose post Covid-19. The popular persons are singer Lata Mangeshkar, former president Pranab Mukherjee, and actor Irfan; they are picked among other popular persons due to their familiarity among major population of India. The headline and subheading, from the articles, are the ones which were printed on the next day of the occurrence of their death i.e., 07 February 2022, 01 September 2020, and 30 April 2020. The selected articles are chosen only for the next day in order to capture the first reporting of death of these well-known persons. Further, the data was analysed on the basis of Fairclough's theory of CDA.

3. Analysis

The analysis is divided into two parts. Firstly, a detailed analysis will be done for each celebrity for all the five newspapers and then a combined analysis will be undertaken to elaborate on how the deaths of popular persons is covered in Indian English newspapers.

Pranab Mukherjee

In Hindustan Times paper, the headline immediately captures attention and sets the tone for the article. It employs the honorific "Pranab da" to show respect and familiarity, while also emphasizing Pranab Mukherjee's connection to the Indian nation. The use of "Bharat's bipartisan Ratna" positions him as a revered figure who transcended party lines, suggesting that he was esteemed and respected across political affiliations. This framing highlights his importance and legacy, shaping readers' perceptions of his impact and significance in Indian politics. The article does not have a specific subheading. The absence of a subhead in this article limits the additional information available to the readers. However, the absence of a subhead can also be interpreted as a deliberate choice to allow the hed to carry the main message and impact. Without a subhead, the headline bears the responsibility of summarizing the key points of the article and capturing the readers' attention.

The Indian Express presents the news by mentioning a positive and respectful depiction of Pranab Mukherjee in the headline, emphasizing his versatility and ability to navigate different situations. The use of the term "gentleman for all seasons" implies a figure who is adaptable, skilled, and dependable. Similarly, in Deccan Chronicle, the headline announces the death of Pranab Mukherjee, using the phrase "man for all seasons" to describe him. The choice of words again suggests Mukherjee's versatility and adaptability, indicating that he had the ability to handle various roles and situations throughout his life. The subhead here informs the readers that a seven-day national mourning period has been declared following Pranab Mukherjee's death. It also mentions that his funeral will take place on the same day in Delhi. The use of the term "national mourning" implies a widespread recognition of Mukherjee's importance and the impact of his passing on the nation. The provided analysis focuses on the language used in the headline and subheading to convey information about Pranab Mukherjee's death. It reveals how the choice of words, such as "man for all seasons" and "national mourning," contributes to the framing of his legacy and the significance attributed to his passing.

In case of The Tribune, the headline informs the readers about the passing of Pranabda, who was previously the President. The use of the term "Ex-Prez" abbreviates "Ex-President" to provide a concise identification of Pranab Mukherjee's former role. The inclusion of his age, 84, signifies the length of his life and adds a factual detail to the announcement. The headline demonstrates a straightforward presentation of the news, primarily focusing on Pranab Mukherjee's

death and his former presidential status. The language used provides concise and factual information without presenting any particular framing or narrative. On the similar lines, The Statesman straightforwardly announced the death of Pranab Mukherjee at the age of 84. The language used is again concise and factual, delivering the news of his passing without any additional elaboration or framing. The analysis of the headline reveals a straightforward presentation of the information, focusing on the fact of Pranab Mukherjee's death and his age at the time of passing.

Lata Mangeshkar

The headline in Hindustan Times immediately captures attention and sets a mournful tone for the article. It bids farewell to Lata Mangeshkar, referring to her as the "Nightingale," a title bestowed upon her for her captivating music. The language used in the headline evokes a sense of loss and acknowledges her significant contribution to the Indian music. By addressing her as the "Nightingale," the headline reinforces her iconic status and establishes a tone of reverence and remembrance. The subheading succinctly captures the emotional impact of Lata Mangeshkar's death. It emphasizes the nationwide mourning and acknowledges her immense influence as the "greatest voice." The phrase "falls silent" conveys the sense of loss and finality, while the mention of her legacy shaping Independent India's journey highlights her enduring impact. The subhead encapsulates the collective grief and recognizes Lata's significant contribution to Indian culture. Despite its brevity, it effectively conveys the profound loss and the lasting imprint Lata Mangeshkar left on the nation's music and identity. The mention of thousands of people lining the streets further emphasizes the scale of her influence and the collective mourning. This framing positions Lata as a revered figure and underscores her lasting legacy. In Indian Express the headline suggests the continued existence and significance of Lata Mangeshkar, emphasizing her enduring presence and impact. It implies that her legacy and influence persist beyond her physical existence. The subhead whereas provides a concise summary of Lata Mangeshkar's remarkable career, highlighting her extensive musical contributions over seven decades and the enduring nature of her legacy. The use of the phrase "25,000 songs" showcases her prolific output and underscores her significant contribution to the field of music.

The Deccan Chronicle article conveys the news of Lata's death while also emphasizing her enduring presence through her songs. The juxtaposition of "dead" and "she lives" creates a contrast that

highlights the immortal nature of her musical legacy. It implies that even though she is physically gone, her songs continue to resonate and live on. The subhead informs the readers that the nation is paying homage to Lata Mangeshkar, referring to her as the "Bharat Ratna" (India's highest civilian award) recipient. It highlights the extensive duration of her career, spanning 79 years, which signifies her long-standing impact and contribution to Indian music. The use of the term "nation" suggests the collective admiration and reverence she garnered throughout the country. The analysis of the headline and subheading reveals how the language used constructs an image of Lata Mangeshkar as an iconic figure whose songs transcend her physical existence. It emphasizes her enduring influence and the recognition she received from the nation for her exceptional career.

The headline in the Tribune bids farewell to Lata Mangeshkar, referring to her as the "melody queen." The use of the term "farewell" suggests a sense of departure or ending, while "melody queen" emphasizes her exceptional talent and influence in the world of music. The language used conveys a tone of reverence and respect for her. The subhead highlights the emotional farewell and adieu given to Lata Mangeshkar. The term "tearful adieu" signifies the sorrow and deep sentiment associated with her departure. Additionally, it mentions the participation of the President and Prime Minister in leading the tributes, indicating the high esteem and recognition she received from prominent figures. The words chosen evoke emotions and highlight the significance of her departure. The inclusion of esteemed personalities participating in paying tribute further underscores her importance and impact. Writing on the similar lines, the headline in the Statesman conveys the sentiment of national mourning following the death of Lata Mangeshkar, referring to her as the "Melody Queen." The use of the term "mourns" evokes a sense of collective grief and sadness, while "Melody Queen" emphasizes her exceptional status and influence in the realm of music. The language used constructs an image of reverence and respect for her and highlights the impact of her passing on the nation. The subheading provides specific details regarding Lata Mangeshkar's death, stating her age and the cause, which was multiple organ failure following complications from Covid-19. The mention of the Mumbai hospital establishes the context of her passing and also places the image of the place where she breathed her last. The language used remains factual and neutral, primarily focusing on providing the necessary information without presenting any particular framing or narrative.

The detailed analysis of the data surfaces the similarities between the kind of language being used in case of a popular known figure in all these newspapers. Few newspapers report in a similar fashion, even the vocabulary used is same with a little change in the phrase structure. Looking at the data with Fairclough's theoretical lens, it is evident that in both the cases honorific words are used to showcase the familiarity between the people. In some cases there is no direct mention of their passing but only about the legacy which they left behind, be it songs or the kind of politics they were engaged in. There are repetitive mentions of their achievements. Metaphors such as "falls silent", "farewell", "tearful adieu" are used to relay the information of their death. It is the phases like such which evoke a sense of national grief and mourning among the readers of these newspapers.

Irfan Khan

For Irfan, in Hindustan Times paper, the language used employs evocative and metaphorical terms, elevating his significance in Indian cinema. This attribution of greatness and possession implies power relations, raising questions about authority and hierarchy within the film industry. The framing of the event as a theatrical performance romanticizes Irfan's life, potentially overlooking complexities and controversies. Moreover, the focus on ''Indian cinema's greats'' reflects cultural values and national pride, but also reinforces traditional views of success and existing hierarchies. In case of Indian Express, the headline evokes powerful imagery of seamless integration into Irrfan's role. The absence of residue suggests a complete transformation, portraying the actor as a skilled professional. The phrasing implies Irfan's influence on the audience, with the essence lingering beyond his performance, potentially impacting public perception and reinforcing social and cultural norms. This celebration of artistic immersion reflects cultural values that appreciate creative expression and storytelling. Moreover, it highlights the emotional and psychological connections between actors and audiences, emphasizing the role of entertainment in shaping collective consciousness and shared experiences.

The language used in the Deccan Chronicle employs vivid imagery, characterizing Irfan with an "infectious charm", evoking a strong positive impression of his captivating and charismatic demeanour. This portrayal positions him as a figure with the power to influence and captivate others, potentially elevating his status within social and professional circles. The metaphorical phrase "struck a chord with all" reinforces Irfan's universal appeal, transcending

boundaries and connecting with people from diverse backgrounds. Such linguistic choices celebrate the significance of charm and likability, reflecting cultural values that appreciate interpersonal skills and the ability to foster emotional resonance. In this light, charm is portrayed as a compelling trait that spreads to those who encounter Irfan, suggesting a sense of admiration and authority surrounding him. Moreover, the phrase underscores the potential social implications of likability, as it fosters a sense of collective unity and shared experiences."

In the Tribune, the headline, employing informal and colloquial language, conveys a sense of amazement and admiration for Irfan. By using the term "wowed", the discourse positions him as possessing exceptional talent and skill, capable of impressing both critics and fans alike. This portrayal bestows a level of authority and esteem upon Irfan, potentially elevating his status within his profession or domain. Moreover, the inclusion of "alike" in "critics & fans alike" implies a sense of egalitarian appeal, suggesting that his impact transcends the traditional divide between discerning critics and a broader audience of fans. This universality of appreciation aligns with cultural values that venerate widespread acclaim and recognition of excellence. The phrase celebrates Irfan's exceptional talent and its ability to bridge the gap between two distinct groups, implying a shared experience of appreciation and validation that contributes to his broader influence and popularity. Finally, in the Statesman paper, the headline conveys essential information with directness. The metaphorical expression "loses battle with cancer" portrays Irfan's vulnerability, evoking sympathy and admiration for his courage. The mention of the "Mumbai hospital" adds immediacy to the news. The mention of Mumbai, a prominent city associated with the film industry and advanced medical facilities, may carry social and political implications. It can draw attention to issues of healthcare infrastructure, resource availability, and the experiences of those seeking treatment in urban centres. The headline also reflects the significance of his life and contributions to the film industry while shedding light on the broader impact of cancer and healthcare challenges.

4. Conclusion

The primary objective of CDA in linguistics is to highlight the intricate relationship between language, power, and ideology. Its significance lies in uncovering hidden meanings, exposing power dynamics, and fostering critical engagement with discourse. By analysing discursive practices, CDA contributes to a deeper

understanding of how language shapes social structures, influences public opinion, and impacts social transformation. In the context of the present study, the headlines can be regarded as a quintessential example of media reporting on the deaths of popular personalities. It is observed that these headlines blur the boundaries between the private and public lives of individuals through their narrative, effectively making readers feel more intimately connected to the deceased. The use of emotionally charged words like "grief" and "mourning" profoundly impacts the readers, eliciting a strong emotional response. As a result, framing headlines in a way that directly connects with the readers through words that align with their pre-existing mental schema becomes crucial, especially in cultures where direct mention of death is still considered taboo. When a prominent figure passes away, the emotional experience of sadness, grief, and mourning is evoked in the readers, creating a shared sense of collective mourning. These headlines are strategically constructed using the cultural, political, and shared knowledge of the readers, thereby intriguing and awakening their interest while simultaneously reinforcing their sense of belonging to a particular community.

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HUMOUR AS A SOCIALLY CONDITIONED REFLEX: A STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This research survey looks into the idea of whether our sense of humour is a socially conditioned reflex. We borrow the concept of Benign Violation Theory (BVT) to understand the psychology of the speaker of a joke and the listener of a joke and how puns work in a developing country where one has to place themselves in a social hierarchy and their existence revolves around their social status. The power struggle between the speaker and the listener is realized via the psychological distance between the two and that of the joke and them. An online survey was conducted among various age groups and gender groups of Indian citizens. The questionnaire used for the purpose consisted of multiple-choice questions, spread to participants through various online social media platforms. The survey focuses on the language of jokes, how the language of jokes has evolved and how language is used to manipulate jokes. India is a land of multi-diversity in its every nook and turn, how would it be able to incorporate puns into its society without harming any individual or identity? With stand-up comedies and other comedy reality shows emerging in the new media platforms, would the people of the country be able to address the concerns of humour irrespective of the social status and power asymmetry of the speaker and the audience? Would humour perception be able to integrate itself into Indian culture?

Keywords: Benign Violation Theory (Bvt), Psychological Distance, Social Status, Culture, Power Asymmetry, Humour Perception.

1. Introduction

This is an online survey analysis conducted within Indian society, to understand how Indians perceive humour. It is conducted as a sociolinguistic survey, carried out to acknowledge the evolution of language and "bad joke", keeping in mind the social hierarchy existing in the Indian society. It is further evaluated whether "our humour is only a socially conditioned reflex or not."

The thought for this paper emerged from an incident of a socially and morally questionable joke expressed "casually" by a famous

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Mollywood actor during one of his film promotions while interacting with his female colleague in the film:

The female actress when asked about her experience with the prominent male actor replies that the actor is like 'jaggery' (jaggery is a traditional raw cane sugar which is dark in colour. Here, the actress intended to mean that 'the person is very sweet'), to which the actor "jokingly" replies that she isn't addressing him as 'the whitish sugar' but prefers 'the brownish-black jaggery'. He further asks her how she would feel if he addressed her the same way, to which the actress and the audience laugh wholeheartedly.

When the above case became a controversial topic, the actor's supporters and fans came out with various justifications, some of which include that the actor was 'being funny', and that even though he was a famed and celebrated actor, he was being 'cool and was easing the atmosphere' with his 'jokes' to be 'considerate' to the young and budding actress, and that people should start considering 'jokes as jokes and shouldn't bug into its political correctness', and many more.

1.1. Benign Violation Theory

Caleb Warren and Peter McGraw proposed the Benign Violation Theory in 2010. Caleb Warren is a University of Arizona Professor of Consumer Behaviour. Peter McGraw is a marketing and Psychology Associate Professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder. McGraw is also the director of the University of Colorado, Boulder's Humour Research Lab (affectionately known as HuRL). The theory contends that humour exists only when three requirements are met: (1) a scenario is a violation; (2) the situation is benign; and (3) both perceptions take place at the same time. It builds on the work of linguist Tom Veatch and incorporates existing theories of humour. For instance, play fighting and tickling, which make people (and other primates) laugh, are benign infractions since they are aggressive acts that pose no bodily threat.

A violation, according to the Benign Violation Theory, is anything that threatens someone's beliefs about how the world should be. In other words, if anything appears to be menacing, unpleasant, or simply unnatural, it may be called a violation. Incongruities are violations where the reality of a situation does not match someone's expectations of what the situation should be. Keeping this in mind, violations can take numerous forms, including physical, psychological, cognitive, behavioural, logical, and moral ones. Physical infractions can take the shape of play fighting or tickling, which exposes the subject to a potential physical threat. Psychological infractions can take the shape of sarcasm or an insult that violates a person's mental well-being. Cognitive breaches can take the shape of a joke or pun, in which the person anticipates one thing and the joke or pun serves up an unexpected alternative. Behavioural infractions, which are usually

related to a social or cultural incongruity, might manifest as someone acting in a way that is not ordinarily acceptable in a specific environment. For example, someone catching his breath in a lift, burping loudly at the dinner table, or falling over during a solemn funeral service. Logical violations arise when a person encounters something unusual or illogical that does not conform to the regular processes, norms, or patterns. Moral infractions might include anything that calls into question a person's moral views, such as when someone questions your religious or political beliefs. It is critical to emphasise that a violation can only occur if the person experiencing it understands it to be one. There are several instances where a violation is more visible and is likely to be regarded as a violation by the majority of individuals. Other examples of infractions, on the other hand, are less well-defined and open to interpretation.

As a result, it is typical for a given circumstance to be regarded as a violation by one individual but not by another.

Violations do not generate humour on their own. A breach must also be seen as benign to generate laughter. To clarify, the term 'benign' refers to something that is regarded as safe, acceptable, and/or non-threatening. As with infractions, the person determines whether a situation is benign or not, with different options being offered by different people for the same event. One person may think a scenario is harmless, whereas another does not. A joke that mocks a certain political position is an example of this. If the person is already hostile to the stance or has a weak association with it, being mocked will likely make the violation seem innocent, and so the joke will be hilarious.

Most transgressions, on the other hand, do not make people chuckle. For a violation to be humorous, it must also be viewed as innocuous. That is, it must appear to be okay, safe, or acceptable. According to HuRL research, there are three ways that a violation can appear to be innocuous:

- Alternative norms (for example, one meaning of a word in a pun doesn't make sense, but the other does).

- Commitment to a violated standard (for example, men find sexist jokes funnier than women).

- Psychological distance (for example, "comedy is tragedy plus time").

2. Research Questions

- Does social hierarchy play a role in whether a joke is acceptable or unacceptable in society?

- Can language tools be used to manipulate jokes into good or bad?

- Are people in Indian society expressing their unacceptability towards socially and morally questionable jokes?

- Have languages revolving around the context of joke evolved in India?

3. Methodology

Data was collected for this research article from online survey questions spread through various social media platforms. The age category included in the survey is 18-29, 30-49, and 50+ years. While the gender category is female, male, and transgender. The total number of responses received was 76, out of which 18-29 age group received the maximum responses, 64. From age group of 30-49, 9 responses were received, and the category 50+ received the least number of responses, 3. As for the gender category, we received a maximum number of responses from female participants, that is 57. There were no responses from the transgender category.

A total of 31 questions were included in the survey, involving the participant's age, gender, suggestions/ comments/ extra input, etc. We used the random sampling method and randomly selected 4 participants from each age category, which includes 2 females and 2 males each.

4. Literature Review

Similar to how language serves this objective, humour's main effect is the externalisation of ideas and conceptualization. This externalisation serves as a means of expressing specific emotions, a social tool, and an intellectual exercise, among other things. Some people can support themselves through a career as joke tellers thanks to the active engagement of this human ability. As a result, it is possible in a culture to use a sequence of jokes to express one's own opinions and worldview. According to Chafe (1994: 9), "The essence of human understanding: the ability to interpret particular experiences as manifestations of larger encompassing systems" is this characteristic of Homo sapiens that is inherent to them. By levelling the playing field, humour enables people to form social groupings with those they can relate to. Research on humour has recently been conducted in several fields, including linguistics (Raskin, 1985; Atardo & Raskin, 1991), semiotics (Dorfles, 1968), and psychology (Freud, 1960). According to Freud, using humour can help ease the psychological stress brought on by depression. Naturally, psychological researchers are more interested in humour's function in people's lives than they are in the linguistic and technical details of its creation. According to Dorfles (1986:102), humour will be viewed as a specific type of message that is effective when there is a change in the relationship between the sign and its referent. He continues by explaining that the sign's funny effect results from the fact that it no longer refers to its "natural" referent but rather to a different, "paradoxical" referent. The extent and level of shared comprehension in humour, as Raskin observes, "seems to be generally recognised to vary directly with the degree of the participants' social backgrounds" (1985: 16). The shared common ground and knowledge base that serve as the cornerstone of culture are created as a result of

this collective understanding. Thus, humour develops into a people's voice that is used frequently and in a variety of settings. It is a way for us to share knowledge and moral convictions while also emphasising our sense of community and common identity.

Complex cognitive, cultural, and social factors that interact with humour and language to produce a very particular kind of understanding between individuals are abundant. The definition of what is or can be amusing has never been clearly defined by prior theories of humour. However, this phenomenon has strong connections to the fields of cognition, culture, and society. For instance, humour is deeply ingrained in and influenced by culture. Our shared cultural experiences serve as the inspiration for jokes, witty insights, puns, ironies, satires, and punchlines that make us laugh. We can better understand the linguistic, cognitive, and cultural influences on humour by studying the humour of languages across a wide range of cultures, language families, and typologies. We can also observe these influences as cultural reflections in humour. A joke or a narrative can contain the very essence of a person's worldview, and language is the medium through which the abstract can take on shape and be communicated to others.

5. Data Analysis and Elicitation

5.1. Figure 1

Graphical representation of the answers to whether the participant had ever joked about someone's body, character, identity (gender, sex, sexual orientation, caste, religion, colour, etc.)

Have you ever joked about the following?
11 responses
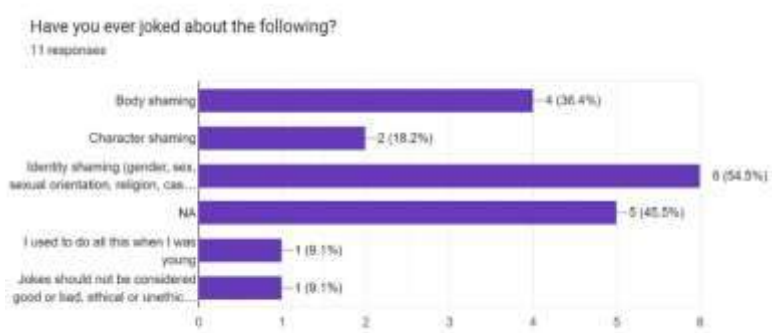
*Jokes should not be considered good or bad, ethical or unethical. The whole point of jokes is that anything goes.

5.2. Figure 2:

Graphical representation of the responses about whether the participants had ever pretended to enjoy the jokes from a speaker of higher authority.

Did you ever have to pretend to enjoy a joke that you felt unacceptable just because of the higher social hierarchy of the speaker of the joke (elder, tea... is person, politician, social media influencer, etc.)

11 responses

5.3. Figure 3:

Graphical representation about whether the participants had ever pretended to enjoy the jokes to which the participant felt unacceptable but was said by a friend/ fellow.

Did you ever have to pretend to enjoy a joke that you felt was unacceptable just because the speaker/listener is your friend/fellow?

11 responses
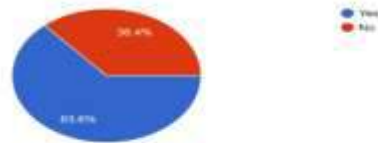
5.4. Figure 4

Graphical representation about whether the participants had come across instances when a particular joke is acceptable in a language/ dialect and not in some other.

Have you come across instances where a particular joke is considered "bad" in a specific language (also dialect) but "acceptable" in specific another language (or dialect)?

11 responses

5.5. Figure 5

Graphical representation of whether the participants had come across situations where a bad/ unacceptable joke was manipulated by the speaker to be an acceptable one with the aid of various language tools.

Have you come across any situation where the speaker manipulated a "bad joke" using language tools to satisfy a higher social hierarchical audience?

11 responses

5.6. Figure 6

Graphical representation about whether the participants think that a joke's acceptability is also determined by the language used to convey the joke.

Do you think that a joke's acceptability can depend on how they use the language to convey the idea?
11 responses
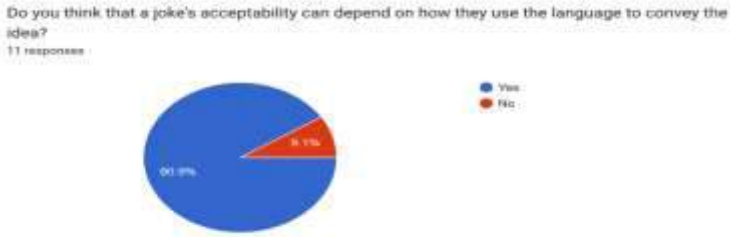
5.7. Figure 7

Graphical representation of whether the participants had come across words/ phrases/ sentences which was neutral in the past but is now being used in the context of joke.

Have you come across any sentence/ phrase/ word that was neutral in the past but now is being used in the context of a joke?
11 responses
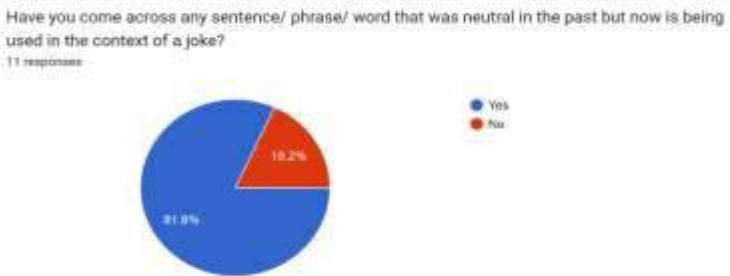
5.8. Figure 8

Graphical representation about whether the participants had engaged in listening/ and cracking jokes depending on the social hierarchy of the speaker.

Do you think that we engage with jokes depending on the Social hierarchy of the listener/ speaker?
11 responses
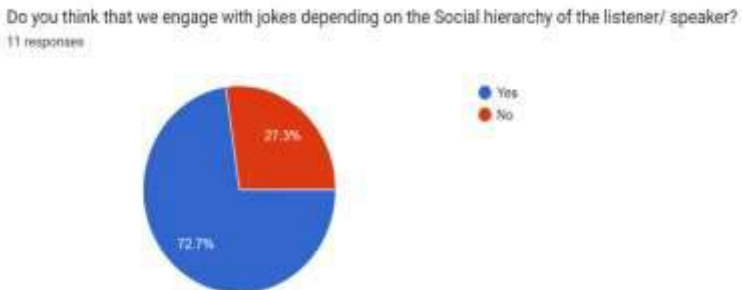
5.9. Figure 9

Graphical representation about whether the participants had ever a joke as toxic later in their life.

Have you ever laughed at a joke, which you later came to realize as toxic?
11 responses
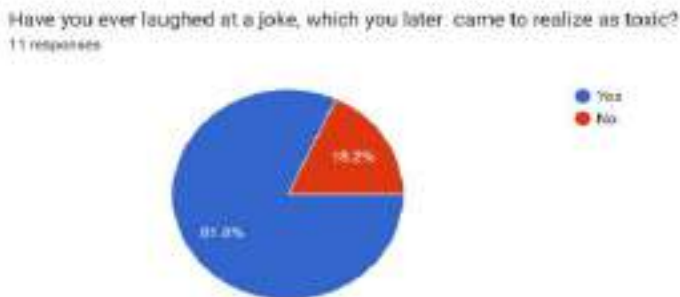
5.10. Figure 10

Graphical representation of what could be the possible reasons for not realizing a toxic joke immediately but realized later on in their life.

What could be the possible reasons why you had not previously realized that particular joke was toxic?
11 responses
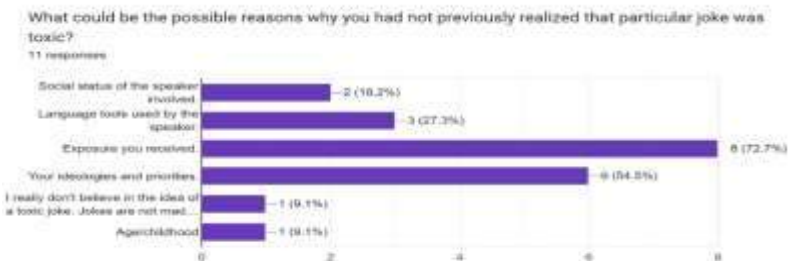
*I don't believe in the idea of a toxic joke. Jokes are not made to tutor people on ethics or values. The purpose of a joke is to have an unconditional laugh.

5.11. Figure 11

Graphical representation about whether the participants had ever come across people justifying a toxic joke because of the social status of the speaker of the joke.

Have you ever come across people justifying a toxic joke, because of the social status of the speaker involved?
11 responses
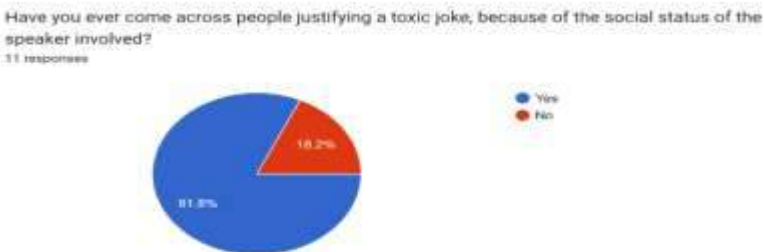
5.12. Figure 12

Graphical representation of whether the participants think that the language associated with the status of the speaker can make a joke acceptable/ unacceptable.

Do you think that the language associated with the social status of the speaker makes a joke acceptable/ unacceptable?
11 responses
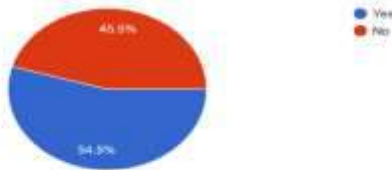
5.13. Figure 13

Graphical representation about the justifications that the people had given for a toxic joke.

What are the explanations you had come across in such situations to justify the said toxic joke?
11 responses
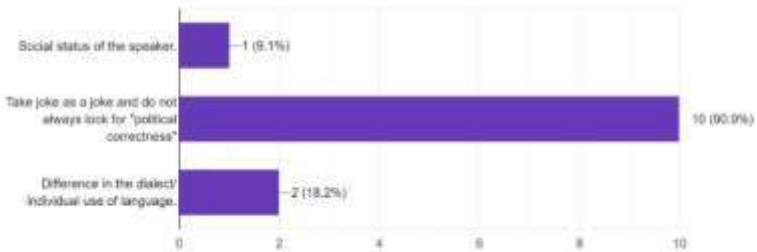
5.14. Figure 14

Graphical representation about whether the participants think that the language revolving around the context of joke has evolved.

Do you think that the language revolving around the context of jokes has evolved?
11 responses
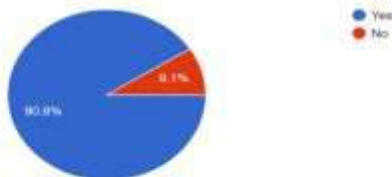
5.15. Figure 15

Graphical representation of how the participants evaluate the context of humour considering India as a developing country.

How would you evaluate the evolution in the context of humour considering India as a developing country?
13 responses
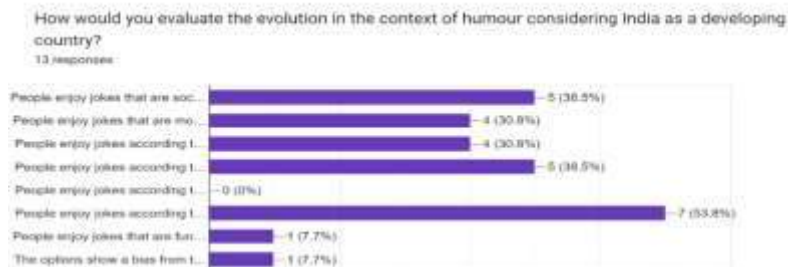
a. People enjoy jokes that are socially acceptable.

b. People enjoy jokes that are morally acceptable.

c. People enjoy jokes according to the audience's social status.

d. People enjoy jokes according to the hierarchical difference between the speaker and listener.

e. People enjoy jokes according to the speaker's social status.

f. The options show a bias from the researcher to prove that there is a hierarchical ethical dimension to enjoying a joke. These factors matter only in theory among academics and intelligentia. People simply live in the moment and enjoy the joke. Else none would be able to laugh at oneself.

5.16. Figure 16

Graphical representation on how the participants would evaluate the evolution of jokes considering India as a diverse country.

How would you consider the evolution of language in jokes, considering India's diversity?
11 responses
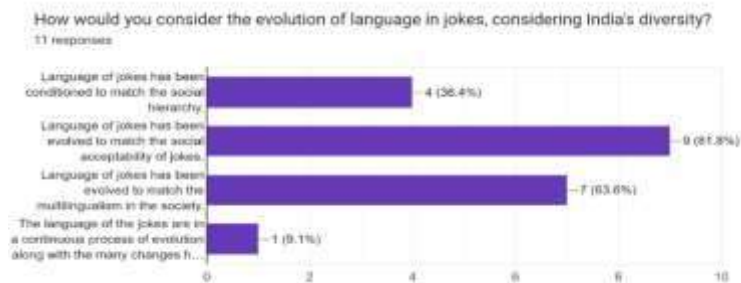
*The language of the jokes is in a continuous process of evolution along with the many changes happening in society.

6. Limitations

There were lesser responses from the age categories: 30-49 and least from 50+. There were zero responses from transgender category.

In comparison to females, the number of responses from male were less. Questions in the survey lacked examples of jokes to the question pointed to for reference to the respondents and let the participants evaluate from their day-to-day experience. Though it has a positive side that the survey doesn't limit the respondents thinking and world view there might be an issue of misinterpretation of the questions by the respondents. A participant also pointed out in the survey that certain options show a bias from the researcher. It was also pointed out by a participant, "Why take jokes so seriously and kill the whole point of it! Why analyse a joke when the whole point is to not analyse."

7. Conclusion

People tend to engage in jokes depending on the social hierarchy. They pretend to enjoy the jokes of speakers from a higher class/caste/category while looking down and questioning the same jokes when the hierarchy changes. Language plays an important role in the development and in establishing humour. When language tools are employed efficiently, a bad joke can be weaved into the best one and vice versa. It can be very well used to manipulate jokes. Thus, language is an important component in expressing humour. It is also important to understand that society has started expressing its non-acceptance of bad jokes which can typically harm the social and moral integrity of the society.

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Appendix

7.1. Survey Questions

1) Age category:

- 18-29

- 30-49

- 50+

2) Gender

- Female

- Male

- Transgender

3) Highest Educational Qualification

- 10th/ SSLC

- 12th/Plus two/ Diploma

- Degree

- PG/ and above

4) What kind of jokes do you often listen to?

- Physical/Slapstick Humour

- Deadpan/Dry Humour

- Wordplay/Puns

- Witty Humour

- Satirical Humour

- Self-Deprecating Humour

- Surreal/Absurd Humour

- Aggressive Humour

- Other

5) Do you enjoy jokes that would include the following?

- Body shaming

- Character shaming

- About identity (race, colour, religion, caste, gender, sex, sexual orientation....)

- None of the above

- Other

6) Have you ever joked about the following?

- Body shaming

- Character shaming

- About identity (race, colour, religion, caste, gender, sex, sexual orientation....)

- None of the above

- Other

7) Have you ever come across jokes that might fall into the following?

- Body shaming

- Character shaming

- About identity (race, colour, religion, caste, gender, sex, sexual orientation....)

- None of the above

- Other

8) Have you ever expressed your non-acceptance against jokes that might fall into the categories of body shaming, character shaming, identity shaming, etc.?

- Yes

- No

9) Did you ever have to pretend to enjoy a joke that you felt unacceptable just because of the higher social hierarchy of the speaker of the joke (elder, teacher, employer, media person, politician, social media influencer, etc.)?

- Yes

- No

10) Did you ever have to pretend to enjoy a joke that you felt was unacceptable just because the speaker/listener is your friend/fellow?

- Yes

- No

11) Have you come across instances where a particular joke is considered "bad" in a specific language (also dialect) but "acceptable" in specific another language (or dialect)?

- Yes

- No

12) Have you come across any situation where the speaker manipulated a "bad joke" using language tools to satisfy a higher social hierarchical audience?

- Yes

- No

13) Have you encountered any instances where you use more than one language simultaneously to express the joke?

- Yes

- No

14) Have you encountered any instances where a joke is expressed in one specific language and an interjection is used in another language to dramatically affect the joke (E.g., ooh! Ayyoo!)

- Yes

- No

15) Do you think that a joke's acceptability can depend on how they use the language to convey the idea?

- Yes

- No

16) Have you come across any sentence/ phrase/ word that was neutral in the past but now is being used in the context of a joke?

- Yes

- No

17) Do you think that we engage with jokes depending on the social hierarchy of the listener/speaker?

- Yes

- No

18) Have you come across a situation where a joke is considered bad/unacceptable just because the speaker of the joke is from a lower social status?

- Yes

- No

19) Do you think a joke can be bad/ unacceptable when the audience's social status changes?

- Yes

- No

20) Do you think a joke becomes bad/ unacceptable when the speaker's social status changes?

- Yes

- No

21) Have you ever laughed at a joke, which you later came to realize was toxic?

- Yes

- No

22) What could be the possible reasons that you had not previously realized that particular joke was toxic?

- Social status of the speaker involved.

- Language tools used by the speaker.

- Exposure you received.

- Your ideologies and priorities.

- Other

23) Have you ever come across people justifying a toxic joke, because of the social status of the speaker involved?

- Yes

- No

24) What explanations have you come across in such situations to justify the said toxic joke?

- Social status of the speaker.

- Take a joke as a joke and do not always look for "political correctness"

- Difference in the dialect/ individual use of language.

25) Have you come across situations where people manipulate toxic humour using various language tools?

- Yes

- No

26) Do you think that the language associated with the social status of the speaker makes a joke acceptable/ unacceptable?

- Yes

- No

27) How would you evaluate the evolution in the context of humour considering India as a developing country?

- People enjoy socially acceptable jokes

- People enjoy morally acceptable jokes

- People enjoy jokes according to the audience's social status

- People enjoy jokes according to the speaker's social status

- People enjoy jokes according to the hierarchical difference between speaker and listener.

28) What kind of people would you like to be engaged with?

- People who make you laugh

- People who laugh at your jokes

- Both

29) Do you think that the language revolving around the context of jokes has evolved?

- Yes

- No

30) How would you consider the evolution of language in jokes, considering India's diversity?

- The language of jokes has been conditioned to match the social hierarchy.

- The language of jokes has evolved to match the social acceptability of jokes.

- The language of jokes has evolved to match the multilingualism in society.

- Other

31) Do you have any suggestions to include?

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF TABOO WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FILM CHURULI ('CURUḶI')

Rahul Krishna H S∗
Syam S K∗∗

ABSTRACT

Every term in a language is not appropriate for all situations,with some having wrong and negative connotations also due to which people try to avoid to use them sensitive issues. Such terms are known as taboo terms. Words or expressions frequently viewed as inappropriate in specific contexts are considered taboo. The movie 'curuḷi' is a recently releasedMalayalam movie directed by the most celebrated filmmaker Lijo Jose Pellissery, son of great renowned actor Jose Pellissery, and screenplay by S Hareesh. The plot of this film is rather unusual and unique when contrasted to most other traditional Malayalam films. This paper aims to study the linguistic aspect of the taboos used in the movie Curuḷi. The specific objective of the paper is to analyse the taboo used in the movie based ontheir structure and semantics.

Keywords: Malayalam Taboo, Taboo Word, Curuḷi, Taboo Structure, Linguistic Study

1. Introduction

Not every term in a language is appropriate for all situations. Some need tobe avoided due to the sensitivity involved. Such terms are known as taboo terms.Words or expressions frequently viewed as inappropriate in specific contextsare referred to as taboo language Milner,2011.However, Margaret Need defined the notion of taboo as a "negative sanction whose infringement results in an automatic penalty without human or superhuman mediation" Need, 1935.

The movie 'curuḷi'is a recently released Malayalam movie directed by the most celebrated filmmaker Lijo Jose Pellissery, son of great renowned actor Jose Pellissery, and screenplay by S Hareesh. The movie was initially premiered at IFFK on February 11 2021, and was later released via Sony Liv, an OTT service, on November 19, 2021. When the film 'curuḷi' was released, the Malayali audience at various phases received it with varying reactions. They split into many

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sections to condemn and praise the film's use of profanity. The vocabulary utilised in this film was completely different from that of other Malayalam films. The film's screenplay extensively uses taboo terms uncommon in Malayalam films. This sparked several heated disputes on the news stations. A person filed a petition to have curuḷi removed from the OTT platform. As a result, the Kerala High Court asked the police to view the movie curuḷi to investigate and submit a report on the language used throughout the film. Linguists, not cops, are the best people to research the language of the film.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The plot revolves around a bunch of people who habitually use taboos in their everyday lives. As a consequence, the plot of this film is rather unusual and unique when contrasted to most other traditional Malayalam films. This video contains several buzzwords with multiple meanings as well as forbidden terms. Furthermore, a movie of this type developed a new fad in society, providing a helpful context for language study. Thevarious taboos used in the movie need to be analysed utilising a linguistic method.

1.1.1 Aims and Objectives

This paper aims to studythe taboos used in the movie Curuḷi from a linguistic perspective. The specific objective of the paper is to analyse the taboos used in the movie based on its structure and semantics.

1.1.2 Review of the Literature

Social and Linguistic Culture of New Generation Movies (Robert, 2014)showed that several obscene terms are used in Mollywood's new generation movies. The study also defined distinct types of taboos, including lexical and sentence-based taboos, as well as their context and instances. Furthermore, the author says that while these derogatory phrases utilised in movies truly reflect the friendship group, society regards them as unclean and nasty.

teRippadaṅṅaḷ :sa:mska:rika – sa:mu:hika – manahśa :strviśakalanam (Das, 2017)explored the linguistic, sociological, and psychological elements of taboo word development in Malayalam and the cultural relation to gender status for variables such as gender and Sex. According to the study, the meaning of taboo phrases is a function of historical, social, and psychological aspects.

1. Methodology and Data Collection

The study is conducted withina descriptive and analytic framwork.The data for the study was gathered after intensive watching of the movie. The collected data for the researchwasthen charted, classified and analysed. The secondary data sources, such as books, library materials, dictionaries and encyclopaedia, and conference papers, were utilised for the research.

2. Data Analysis

The usage of taboo words in the aforementioned movie is pretty much higher than the conventional Malayalam movies. The frequency of the forbidden terms is estimated to be upto *170* times by utilising *70*restricted words during the movie's progression. So, a viewer can expect a taboo word every *41* seconds of the movie. The structural and the semantic aspects of the taboo words of the movie are discussed below.

2.1 Structural Aspects

In this section, the categories of taboo words and use of case markers is provided.

6.1.1 Simple words

Nouns

1.   koṇṭam'scrotum'

2.   aṇṭi'penis'

Adjectives

1. kampi'sexual desire'

2. n̠a: Ri 'smelly person or dirty'

Adverbs

1. u:mpa:n'to have oral sex'

2. mo:n̠tiyiṭṭu'after drunk'

Verbs

1. mu:ñci'licked/fucked up'

2. tu:Ra:n'to excrete faeces'

3.1.2 Compoundwords

Noun+Noun

1. balipi:ṭham'sacrificial pedestal'

2. maittaṇṭikal'pubic hair'

Noun + Verb

1. erumaykkiṭṭuke:RRiyiṭṭu'to copulate buffalo'

2. taḷḷaykkuoṇṭa:kka:n'to fuck mother'

Adjective + Noun

1. ku:tticcimakkaḷe'children of a prostitute'

2. kuññikuṇṇa'short penis'

3.1.3 Case Markers

The following lines describe the various case forms used in the movie.

The accusative case marks the direct object of the transitive verb. Therehave been only three prohibited terms observed in the collected data.

1. ṇi-nRe   appanumamma:mayum   ku:ṭe
                   paṉṉin-e   kaśśa:ppuceyyuṉṉuṇṭu

you-GEN   father and grandmother   together pig-ACC slaughtering

Your father and grandmother are slaughtering a pig.

*The dative case*marks the recipient or beneficiary of an action. Thereare only five situations where collected terms come with a dative case.

2. a:yiram   taṉtay-kku   oṇta:ya

   thousand   father-DAT   born to

   Born to thousand fathers.

The genitive case, also known as the possessive case, indicates possession or some close kinship of the   noun.This case occurs with seven restricted terms observed in the collected data.

1. kaḻuve:Riy-uṭe   mo:ne

    gallowedcriminal-GEN   son-ACC

     Son of gallowed criminal.

The locative case directs the location or position of the noun. The collected data shows that this locative caseoccurs with only three situations.

1. kuRR-il

   vagina-LOC

   In vagina

Vocative case marks when a noun addresses a person or animal etc.This case is the most frequently occurring than anyother cases in the gathered data.

1. ṇa:y-e:

   dog-VOC

   dog

1. kuṇṇ-e:

   penis-VOC

   penis

2.2 Semantic Aspects of Taboo

The prohibited terms used in the movie were examined and grouped in this part based on their sense.They are divided into 11 groups based on semantic domains, such as *animal-related, sex organ,sex, food,excretion, body, object, quality, kinship, religious* and *mental ailment or defect.*

Animal-related taboos are made with the names of the animals whose manner is least ferocious and most defamed quality in the animal kingdom.

1. n̠a:ye

dog (male)

2. marapaṭṭi

asian palm civet

In almost all languages, words related to*sex*are still considered taboo. These remarks are forbidden in public but permitted in private conversations if bothparties agree.

1. kal̠appu

sexual desire

2. avara:ti

prostitute

Like sex, the words related to the *sex organ*are also considered taboo in almost every language. These taboos are made with the names of male and female sex organs.

1. pu: Ru

vagina

2. kuṇṇa

penis

The *food*-related taboos found in the data do notvisibly indicate any forbidden item but indirectly point to restricted terms by their usage or structure. In most cases, these jagged towards the name of the sex organ.

1. ku:l̠accakka

a kind of Jackfruit

2. kumpal̠aṅṅa

pumpkin

In the*body*-related taboos, the namesof the different body parts were employed to form taboos. However, these terms refer to or denoteuseless or worthlessthings.

1. maire

 hair

2. maittaṇṭikal

Pubic hair

In the category of *excretion,* except for tears, all other body excretions are considered taboo in many languages. All words denoting excretion and its accompanying terminology and activities are grouped in this area.

1. tu:Ra:n

To excrete faeces

The terms in the *object* category are typically seen as the names of the weapons or things. However, these categories imply the various sex organs or are related to sex. These instruments may have the appearance or a distinguishing attribute of the sex organ they represent.

1. to:kku

 gun (penis)

2. toḷatiriya:ttavane

Do not know to categorise between female sexual organs

In *kinship*, the taboos are employed in these categories to malign the targeted person's family or family members. Relationship or kinship terminology is blended up with disparaging or sex-related ones. This group of taboos is considered to have the most vulgarised words in the whole categorisation. A proverb in English 'A man's home is his castle', indicates that a person's family is more vital to him than any other. As a result, a curse on his or her family or a family member hurts more than any other curse. Such use of taboos jeopardises the honour of his family. In most situations, the targeted individual is males rather than females.

1. ku:tticcimakkaḷe

children of a prostitute

1. ta:yo:ḷi

motherfucker

The category of *quality* is concerned with the vilified human characteristics or distinctive qualities.

1. n̲a:Ri

A smelly person or dirty

2. pan̲n̲a

useless or bad

*Mental ailment or defect*includes the terms of mental illness and handicap. They are commonly used among adolescents and other age groups to address an individual to assert that this type of handicap or mental disease afflicts him or her.

1. poṭṭan

   deaf

Religion and religious practices are associatedwith the *religious* category. These phrases are forbidden because they are sacred and holy.

1. n̪arakam

   hell

2. aḷtta:ra

   thealtar

Of all the semantic domains listed above, the terms related to sex organs and body have greatest frequency, and the terms related to mental ailment or defect and excretion haveless frequency in the movie.

a. **Dialectal Variation**

This section looks at the dialectal variation of the collected taboo words in the movie *curuḷi*.The *phonological variation* observed in the data is that/i/ changed to /e/ in the example of 'eṭa', which means between, whose actual form is 'iṭa'. It can be seen that /i/ changed to /e/ after the influence of the open vowel /a/ in the succeeding syllable.

In *Case variation*,'pan̠n̠iye' is changed topan̠n̠inewith the addition of accusative case marker -e towards the term pan̠n̠i,which might have caused the alteration of the link morpheme -y- to -n- in the example. The standardised form uses 'pan̠n̠iye' with the addition of an accusative case marker.In another example,'eṭayil'is changed to'eṭayilu', and the locative case marker '-il' is changed to '-ilu'. Furthermore, in the above two examples, similar occurrencescannot be found anymore, which can be decided that changes might be idiolect variation.

In *Lexical variation*, the term 'amarttumo' changed into 'amakkumo',in which the root formis changed and assimilated to the vowel -u.

In the case of*Semantic variation*, the terms such as'n̠a:ye' and 'mo:n̠tiyiṭṭu'are the examples. In various regions of Kerala, the dog's standard name is'na:ye'. However, in other areas of Kerala, it is used to designate or indicate the masculine gender of a dog.Furthermore, in the northern region of Kerala, the term'mo:n̠tiyiṭṭu'means to drink. To the southern parts of Kerala, however, the term carries a pejorative

connotation that suggests the recipient is not a favourable of the speaker.

3. Findings and Conclusion

From the study, it has been found that the usage of taboo is much higher with the movie under discussion than the rest of the conventional movies premiered in the Malayalam Film Industry. The frequency of taboo terms is computed up to 170 timesby looking at a sample of 70 terms. A viewer is forced to expect a taboo every 41 seconds of the movie's development.Based on the structure, the terms were mainly divided into simple and compound words in the study. The grammatical cases such as accusative case, genitive case, locative case, dative case, and vocative case are observed in the collected data.The prohibited terms used in the movie were examined and grouped, based on their sense, into 11 groups:*animal-related, sex organ, sex, food, excretion, body, object, quality, kinship, religious* and*mental ailment or defect.*The study also found a slight dialectal variation in phonological, morphological, lexical and semantic domain levels in the collectd data.

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ANALYZING TYPES OF AFFIXES IN KHORTHA

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ABSTRACT

The present research work attempts to analyse and identify different types of affixes present in the Khortha language as it is a lesser-known language of India and it has yet to be significantly analysed at its grammatical levels to identify its different grammatical structures. McCarthy (2006) and Herman (2015) state that Affixation is the process for a bound morpheme that is attached or joined before, after or within a base; it means simple structure (as in "happy," the base to which –ness is attached to yield "happiness"), or complex structure (as in "happy", the base to which un- is attached to yield, "unhappiness"). Generally, the affixes are classified into prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. Khortha is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in 16 districts of Jharkhand. As per the data of the 2011 Census, Khortha has 8.04 million native speakers and the number of speakers of the Khortha language has been decreasing continuously over time. Prasad and Shastri (1958) consider Khortha to be a variety of Magahi but as per Das (2013) it is a variety of Angika. Khortha has the pattern of SOV and it is a verb-final language. The objectives of the present research are to identify the forms, the meaning and the usage of the affixes used in Khortha. It also investigates how they are equally important for forming the word formation process in Khortha. To achieve the aims of the study, it is hypothesized that affixation is found in Khortha language. For doing research, both primary and secondary sources of data have been used. Primary sources of data have been collected from the Hazaribag district of Jharkhand and for secondary sources of data, we have consulted books written in Khortha, magazines, newspapers and folktales. The findings of this study reveal the fact that Khortha employs the use of prefixes and suffixes and the use of infixes in the language is rarely seen. The study helps us understand the morphological structure of Khortha language. Moreover, the study contributes something meaningful to the area of linguistic research on lesser-known languages.

Keywords: Affixation, Khortha, Lesser-Known Language, Indo-Aryan Language Family, Morphological Analysis

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1. Introduction

The present research work attempts to analyze and identify different types of affixes present in the Khortha language as it is a lesser-known language of India. It is yet to be significantly analyzed at grammatical levels to identify its different grammatical structures. Khortha language belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family. As per Prasad and Shastri (1958), Khortha is a variety of Magahi but Das (2013) considers it to be a variety of Angika which is the languageof western Jharkhand and Bihar. Khortha language is spoken mainly in 16 districts of North Chotanagpur, Palamu and Santhal Parganas (Ohdar 2021. The geographical location of this language is 23½°58'10" to 25°19'15" north latitude and 83°20'50" to 88°4'40" east longitude (Dangi 2012:19). As per the data of the 2011 Census, Khortha has 8.04 million native speakers but due to socio-economic and some prestige-related issues, the speakers of the language are decreasing gradually. Although Hindi functions as the primary language in Jharkhand, Khortha is spoken in the area as a second language. As Hindi is so widely spoken in the area, Khortha is not used as a primary language. The younger generation prefers to speak and communicate in Hindi and other languages. It is miserable that older members of society do not feel at ease speaking their native tongue. Khortha speakers use it frequently in informal situations or family interactions and are also apprehensive about using it in society.

The study of affixation has drawn the attention of many linguists. Some of those who have significantly contributed to the topic include Syarifatarrahman, W. et al. (2021), Singh, S. & Sarma, V. (2010), Smith, K. (1969), Khan, F. (2020), Nurganah, S. et al. (2018), Kumar, V. (2020), Prathibha, RJ. (2016), Nalalia, S. & Wulandari, T. (2017), Harley, H. (2013), Igaab, Z. & Kareem, I. (2018), Hasanah, A. (2014) and Kumar, R. (2013).

Several scholars have attempted to study the Khortha language. The research work of Priya & Singh (2018) highlights Khortha to be an endangered language and there is an urgency to save it. Further, Aman et al. (2020) examine the phonological features, whereas Kumari (2021) analyzes Ergativity and its agreement in the Khortha language. The latest work on the Khortha language includes research work done by Ray & Kumar (2022) on person agreement in Khortha. The review of the research on affixation reveals that the Khortha language has received little attention and there have been very few attempts to analyze language from a Morphosyntactic perspective.

2. Data and Methodology

Primary and secondary data sources have been used for the data collection. The primary data were collected from the native speakers of the Khortha language. The sample size consisted of 60 people of different age groups. For collecting primary data, we have used a random sampling method. In contrast, secondary data have been taken from an online magazine, competitive books and research work

related to the Khortha language. Finally, the primary and secondary data have been analyzed linguistically and the prominent linguistic features have been discussed at length in the following sections.

3. Data Analysis

A morphological analysis of the data was undertaken to study the process of affixation in Khortha. Affixation is a morphological process whereby a bound morpheme, an affix, is attached to a morphological base.

3.1. Affixes in Khortha

Affixes are a type of 'bound' morpheme, and the collective term for these types of FORMATIVES can only be used when combined with another MORPHEME (the ROOT OR STEM) (Crystal, 2008). Affixes include prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes.

3.1.1. Prefixes in Khortha

A prefix is a kind of affix that is usually attached to the beginning of a root. By attaching prefixes, we can create new words. Some examples of prefixes in Khortha are given below.

S. No.	Prefixes	Base	Derived Words	Gloss
1	*nir-*	*lədʒa:*	*nirlədʒəja:*	shameless
2	*be-*	*ma:n*	*beima:n*	dishonest
3	*an-*	*pətʰa:r*	*anpətʰa:r*	without noticing
4	*ku-*	*krəm*	*kukrəm*	evil doer
5	*bər-*	*jori:*	*bərdʒori:*	forcefully
6	*nəw-*	*tola:*	*nəwtola:*	new colony
7	*ni-*	*dər*	*nidər*	fearless
8	*bʰir-*	*Pet*	*bʰəirpet*	full of stomach
9	*bin-*	*pəɖʰəl*	*binpəɖʰəl*	illiterate
10	*að ʰ-*	*pa:gəl*	*aðʰpa:gəl*	half-mental

Table 1: Prefixes in Khortha

While analyzing the data, we found that in Khortha, most of the prefixes are negative markers and when they are attached to the words, they provide a negative meaning. Some of the prefixes of these types include **nir-, be-, an-, ni-** and **bin-** in Khortha. When these negative prefixes are attached to words like **ləja:, ma:n,** and **pəθa:r,** these prefixes derive words that are negative in meaning.

3.1.2 Infixes in Khortha

An infix is usually attached within a base and between words (Bauer, 1983). After analyzing the data, we found no single infix in the Khortha language.

3.1.3 Suffixes in Khortha

According to Lieber (2009: 35), "a suffix is an affix added at the end of base words. Suffixes usually have special requirements for the sorts of bases suffixes can attach to". Some of the examples of suffixes identified in the Khortha language are given in the table given below:

S.No.	Base	Suffixes	Derived Words	Gloss
1	*pəd̪ʰ*	*-niha:r*	*pəd̪ʰniha:r*	Studious
2	*dʒʰəgra:*	*-a:ha:*	*dʒʰəgra:ha:*	Argumentative
3	*pi:*	*-akkəɽ*	*pi:akkəɽ*	Tipsificator
4	*od̪ʰ*	*-ni:*	*od̪ʰni:*	Scarf
5	*od̪ʰ*	*-na:*	*od̪ʰna:*	Blanket
7	*ləɽ*	*-ait*	*ləɽit*	Fighter
8	*bʰu:t̪*	*-a:ha:*	*bʰu:ta:ha:*	Haunted
9	*gərəm*	*-wek*	*gərəma:wek*	Warm-ups
10	*a:pən*	*-wek*	*a:pəna:wek*	Adopt
11	*ba:p*	*-auti:*	*bəpəut:*	Legacy
12	*h̃a:θ*	*-wek*	*h̃əθija:wek*	Seizure
13	*kʰet*	*-wəin*	*kʰetwəin*	Farms
14	*kʰa:*	*-na:*	*kʰa:na:*	Food
15	*ga:*	*-ait*	*ga:wit*	Singing
16	*kʰa:*	*-a:il*	*kʰa:il*	Ditch
17	*pəd̪ʰ*	*-lə*	*pəd̪ʰəl*	Literate
18	*luiər*	*-gər*	*luiərgər*	Skilled
19	*ðəwa:*	*-wəija:*	*ðəwa:ija:*	Medicines

Table 2: Suffixes in Khortha

The given table provides examples of suffixes such as ***-niha:r, -a:ha:, -akkəɽ, -ni:, -na:, -ait, -wek, -wəin, -a:il, -lə, -gər, -auti***and-***wəija:***. It is also observed that some suffixes change the part of speech or the meanings of the words. For example, ***pəd̪ʰ***means 'read,' which is a verb, but when we add a suffix ***-niha:r***to the word (base), it forms a new word such as ***pəd̪ʰniha:r***. The suffix attached to the word has not only changed the grammatical category of the word but has also added a new meaning to it.

3.1.3.1 Inflectional Suffixes

Inflectional suffixes are usually the suffixes that are attached at the end of the stems and they are used in the language to show some grammatical relationships like number, gender, past tense, possession, etc.

3.1.3.1.1 Suffixes to Form Plural

In the Khortha language, it has been observed that suffixes like **'*-ain*'** and **'*-ba*:'**are attached to the base to make a plural. The plural marker suffixes that have been identified in the language are given below in the table. Consider some examples.

S. No.	Base	Plural Suffix	derived word	Gloss
1	*dʒni*	*-ain*	*dʒniain*	Women
2	*bʰedi:*	*-ain*	*bʰeɽi:ain*	sheep
3	*ləɽki:*	*-ain*	*ləɽki:ain*	Girls
4	*tʃõɽi:*	*-ain*	*tʃõɽi:ain*	Girls
5	*sona:r*	*-ba:*	*sona:rba:*	Jewelers
6	*beta*	*-ba:*	*beta:ba:*	Sons
7	*kita:b*	*-wəin*	*kitəbwəin*	Books

Table 3: **Suffixes to form Plural in Khortha**

3.1.3.1.2 Suffixes to Change Gender

Besides plural marker suffixes, some suffixes are used to change the gender in the Khortha language. In the table given below, the use of three different suffixes can be seen**.** The suffixes like **'-i:' '-ni:'** and **'-a:in'** have been added to masculine words such as **gʰoɽa:, cor, misir** respectively. After adding these suffixes, the grammatical category of the words has been changed from masculine to feminine. Consider the use of such types of suffixes in the table given below:

S.No	Suffixes	Masculine	Feminine	Gloss
1	*-i:*	*gʰoɽa:* *buɖa:*	*gʰoɽi:* *buɖi:*	*Mare* *Oldwomen*
2	*-ni:*	*tʃormor*	*tʃorni:* *morni:*	*Female thief peans*
3	*-a:in*	*bʰəgət* *misir*	*bʰəgəta:in* *misira:in*	*Lady devotee of the lordA woman from the Misra Caste*

Table 4: **Suffixes to Change Gender in Khortha**

3.1.3.1.3 Suffixes (Inflectional) at the Sentential Level

1. ha:min   *kʰa:*   *hi:*

  we   eat   be

  1.PL.NOM   V   PRS

   we eat

2. ha:min   *kʰa:i*   *rəhəl*   *həi*

  we   eat   prog   be

  1.PL.NOM   V   PROG   PRS

  We are eating.

The sentences in examples 1 and 2 are in the present tense. The sentence in example 1 is in the simple present tense and the sentence in example 2 is in the present progressive tense. After comparing both sentences, we find that in the first sentence, the word **k^ha:** is in the main verb and no suffix has been attached. Still, in the second sentence, it can be observed that the sentence in the present progressive tense uses **'-i'** as a suffix to the main verb '**k^ha:**' and changes it to **'k^ha:i'.**

3. ha:m̃e k^həil̃o

   i   eat-PST

    1. SG.NOM   V

    I ate.

4. tõɲ k^həilh̃i:

   you   eat-PST

    2. SG.NOM   V

    You ate.

5. sohən k^həilkəi

   sohan   eat-PST

    2. SG.NOM   V

   Sohan ate.

Further, in examples 3, 4, and 5, it can be observed that the language uses three different types of inflectional suffixes like '–*l̃o*', '-*h̃i:*'and '-*kəi*' in the past tense depending upon the use of the different pronominals in different persons. When the pronoun is 1st person plural the suffix used is '–*l̃o*' with the verb, whereas the pronoun '- *h̃i:*' is used when the pronoun is in the second person. Further, when the pronoun is third person singular, the suffixes attached to the verb is '-*kəi.*' The above-mentioned examples show that different types of inflectional suffixes are used in the past tense depending upon the use of different pronominals.

3.1.3.2 Derivational Suffixes

Derivational affixes alter the grammatical class of the morphemes to which they are attached (as in SUFFIXATION) (Crystal, 2008).

Derivational Affixes

Class-maintaining   Class-changing
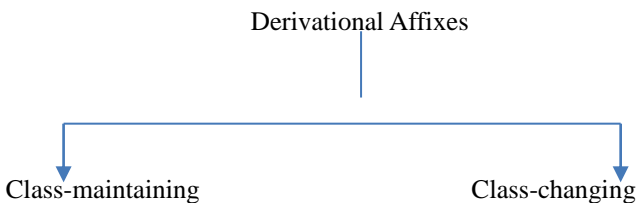
3.1.3.2.1 Class-Maintaining

Class-maintaining affixes create a new form of the word that belongs to the same class as the base or root. The following examples are illustrated below

3.1.3.2.1.1 Noun Forming Suffixes

Some suffixes are also used in the Khortha language to form nouns**.** The table below shows nominal formation suffixes such as '*-auti*', '*-a:li:*', and '*-ri:.*' These suffixes have been added with nouns like '*tʃəiga:,*' and '*budʰa:*'and we can see that the derived words are in the category of nouns.

S. No.	Suffixes	Nouns	Nouns	Gloss
1	*-auti*	*ba:p*	*bəputi*	Inherited from Father
2	*-a:li:*	*tʃəiga:*	*tʃẽga:li:*	Childhood
3	*-ri:*	*budʰa:*	*budʰa:ri:*	Old age

Table 5: Class Maintaining Suffixes to form Nouns in Khortha

3.1.3.2.1.2. Adjective Forming Suffixes

Some suffixes are used in the Khortha language to form adjectives too**.** The table below shows adjective formation suffixes such as '*-a:il.*'These suffixes have been added with adjectives like '*tʃikən* and '*ba:si:,*' can see in the table that the derived words are in the same category.

S.No.	Suffixes	Adjective	Noun	Gloss
1	*-a:il*	*tʃikən*	*tʃikəna:il*	Smooth
2	*-a:il*	*ba:si:*	*ba:sia:il*	Rancid

Table 6: Class maintaining suffixes to form Adjectives in Khortha

3.1.3.2.2   Class-changing

The class-changing suffixes are the kinds of suffixes that change the category of the words they are attached to. Such types of suffixes are also observable in Khortha. Some of the suffixes that are used in the language are discussed in the table given below:

3.1.3.2.2.1 Adjective Forming Suffixes

It is also observable that the Khortha language uses suffixes like '*-la*' to form adjectives. Here, in examples 1, 2, and 3 in the table given below, we can easily observe the use of the suffix '*-la:*' to form adjectives from verbs like *a:gu:, pa:tʃʰu:, upər*. Here, '*-la:*' can be seen as a derivational suffix as it changes the grammatical category and the meanings of the words.

S. No.	Suffixes	Verb	Adjective	Gloss
1	*-la:*	*a:gu:*	*aigəla:*	The next one
2	*-la:*	*pa:tʃʰu:*	*pitʃlʰa:*	The last one
3	*-la:*	*upər*	*upərla:*	The above one

Table 7: **Class changing suffixes to form Adjectives in Khortha**

3.1.3.2.2.2 Suffixes Forming Adjectives from Nouns

In addition, it is further observable that suffixes like **'-gər** and **wa:r'** are used to form adjectives from nouns. In examples 1 and 2 in the table below, we can easily observe the use of suffixes **'-gər** and **wa:r'** use to form adjectives out of nouns like **'buiɖʰ** and **gos.'**

S. No.	Suffixes	Adjective	Noun	Gloss
1	*-gər*	*buiɖʰ*	*buiɖʰgər*	One who is intelligent
2	*-wa:r*	*Gos*	*goswa:r*	One who is angry

Table 8: Class changing suffixes to form Adjectives from Nouns in Khortha

4. Conclusion

To conclude, it can be said that Khortha uses various affixes. It can be summarized from the analysis of the data that the language uses both prefixes and suffixes to form new words.

Khortha uses ten different prefixes in word formation processes which include **nir-, be-, an-, ku-, bər-, nəw-, bʰəir-, ni-, bin- and aðʰ-.**

No infixes were observed in the Khortha language.

Thirteen suffixes have been identified in the Khortha language they include **-niha:r, -a:ha:, -akkəɽ, -ni:, -na:, -ait, -wek, -wəin, -a:il, -lə, -gər, -auti** and **-wəija:.**

Suffixes identified in the language are sub-categorized into Inflectional and derivational suffixes.

Derivational suffixes include class-maintaining and class-changing suffixes

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THE OMNIPRESENCE OF *DHIVEHI* LANGUAGE IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THIRUVANANTHAPURAM CITY: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Charutha Sruthi M. Lal⁎

ABSTRACT

Linguistic landscape can be explained as studying perceived or actual language use in a particular environment. The city is an excellent place to cultivate the maximum use of language through the linguistic landscape. The use of languages or a specific language in a linguistic landscape of city space must be examined because it is likely to find a particular language in a specific environment. The present study considers Thiruvananthapuram Medical College Hospital (MCH), Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, as the domain and the street. The area has an omnipresence of the Divehi or Dhivehi language, the official language of the Republic of Maldives. This study analyses the type of signs found along MCH streets. The study is done under the point explained by Bloomart in 2013 that "signs will contribute to the organisation of that space by defining addressees and selecting audiences, and by imposing particular restrictions, offering invitations, articulating norms of conduct and so on to these selected audiences" (p.40). Here, the study takes an empirical approach and is a qualitative analysis methodologically. Photographs were taken from the main street near MCH and attempted to determine the function for which the Dhivehi language is employed publicly and the extent to which these signs reflect the identity of the Maldivian residents in Thiruvananthapuram city.

Keywords: Linguistic Landscape, Public Sign, Language Use, Maldivian Residents, Thiruvananthapuram City

1. Introduction

Thiruvananthapuram is a fast-growing city moving towards multilingualism like any other city. This is evident when we walk through the city's sidewalk. Different languages can be visibly seen and heard in the Linguistic Landscape of Thiruvananthapuram. The motivation for the study was the appearance of an unknown script found on premises in and around Thiruvananthapuram Medical College. This created an urge in the researcher's mind to learn more about the script; thus, the idea of the current paper came into being.

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The primary motivation of the research was to see the reason behind the specific language "Dhivehi" and who the speakers were. Why is such a language appearing in the linguistic landscapes in Thiruvananthapuram, especially in the Medical College hospital region? So, understanding the presence and need of a particular language led to the present study. The paper discusses the Linguistic Landscape in the area mentioned above, focusing on the *Divehi* language, the mother tongue of Maldivian citizens. The study also tries to determine the function of Linguistic Landscape (hereafter LL) in the city space. The paper is divided into five sections to achieve the goals and to explain the current study. The first section briefly introduces the study's motivation and interest, followed by the aim and objective. The second section deals with the background of the study, which includes the explanation of the term 'linguistic landscape' and a few theories and approaches used; this section aggregates the reason for the settlement of Maldivians in Thiruvananthapuram City. The third section is about the methodological perspectives and the data collection strategies used for the study. The fourth section deals with the discussion and findings, and the paper concludes in the fifth section.

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Linguistic Landscape

The linguistic landscape is an area that can flourish and be expanded to any discipline. There are emerging ideas and theories in this field. It is also one of the areas where significant updates happen regularly. There are different methods and perspectives on researching Linguistic Landscapes. One must focus on the process, and parameters must be redefined to a concerned project rather than to that of the field (Spier & Herrera Ruano, 2021). There are different approaches to the LL study among scholars. Nevertheless, the earliest study was by Landry and Bourhis in 1997. According to them, LL is "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" (p. 25). To this point of view, scholars later extended this definition by adding graffiti, restaurant menus, spray-painted, maintenance holes, etc. (Gorter, 2006 and Kasanga, 2012). A semiotic linguistic landscape approach in which "language in the environment, word and images displayed and exposed in public space" is also included by Shohamy and Gorter (2009). Blommaert (2013), in his study, took a rather complex dimension where he approaches LL as "signs will contribute to the organisation and regulation of that space by defining addressees and selecting audiences, and by imposing particular restrictions, offering invitations, articulating norms of conduct and so on to these selected audiences" (40). Blommaert's (2013) idea was based on the concept of 'diversity with diversity' due to the different forms of migration. More technologically sophisticated forms of communication result in 'an escalation of ethnic, social, cultural and economic diversity in societies almost everywhere' (Blommaert 2013). Language takes a privileged place in defying the impact of super-diversity. The LL

mainly have two purposes: function and indexicality (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). He demonstrated this with his study in his neighbourhood in Antwerp, Belgium. The results show multilingual signs primarily illustrate a place's social, cultural, and political histories. These literature studies postulate that signs in public spaces tell stories about communities' complex natures and identities. The signs of immigrant groups in the society provide evidence of their presence and needs and how the city incorporates them through different means, i.e., linguistics landscape.

1.1.2. Maldivians in Thiruvanantaapuram

Maldives is an island nation in the Indian Ocean. These neighbouring island nations share boundaries in the Laccadive Sea, about 700 kilometres southwest of Sri Lanka and 400 kilometres southwest of India. The Republic of Maldives is an Islamic country. Fishing and coconut cultivation were once Maldivians' traditional jobs, and now it is more of tourism management and water sports. The Maldives is popularly known for the tourism industry. Their language, *Dhivehi*, is closely related to Sri Lankan *Sinhala*. Maldivians have adopted their language*, Dhivehi,* from Arabic, Urdu, and Hindi.

The main settlement of Maldivians in Thiruvananthapuram is because of innumerable health facilities and education. Approximately 5,000 Maldivian people settled in India, especially in Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of Kerala and a major destination for education and health services. (The Embassy of the Republic of Maldives, 2018). Migration is considered one of the supportive factors for development. The Indian government has facilitated Maldivians as there is always a bilateral correlation between India and Maldives. In Maldives, the education and health care system is limited. People depend on other nations for medical treatment and higher education. Thiruvananthapuram is the nearest accessible place and easy to travel to. Sheeja Bheevi, in her study about the diaspora of Maldivians in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, found out that the migration to Kerala started in the early 90s. The best option for reducing their overwhelming challenges in transportation is for people of all ages to migrate to Kerala to avail of health services. The healthcare sector is an essential sector for both India and Maldives. India established the Indira Gandhi National Hospital in Maldives in 1995. Also, they follow the same method as the one followed in Kerala for developing the education system and literacy.

Thiruvananthapuram is a city with a set of official languages, and one of them is Malayalam, the mother tongue of most of the Keralites. One can identify multiple languages in the city space. Inclusiveness is essential in the function of other languages. The study's background shows a need and purpose for the Maldivian settlement in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, to interact with each other and the people of Kerala in the language they are comfortable with. This can be associated with studying language in a particular area or domain, which is valuable and necessary.

2.   Methodology and Theoretical Approach

Linguistic Landscape refers to the visibility and silence of language on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The current study selected the *Dhivehi* language in the MCH area of Thiruvananthapuram city. Data collection in the Linguistic Landscape involves photographing (Hult, 2009). For the study, thirteen distinct data were selected and documented along the street side of the Medical College Hospital (MCH) from Medical College Pazhaya Road to Murinjapalam Road, which stretches about 2km. It should be noted that these thirteen data were the only available signs constituting the area along with the other languages in the Linguistic Landscape of the site. Walking down the street on both sides and photographing the necessary sights, a questionnaire was also included to understand better the researcher's point of view and that of the passers-by. Subsequently, signs were categorised according to food, health, and accommodation. Signs that included text were only considered for the study. Other items, such as pictures and graffitis were not considered. It was also categorised into language patterns such as monolingual and bilingual. Out of thirteen, five bilingual signages were found. The script was in English and *Dhivehi* language. One trilingual (multilingual) signage was found, comprising Malayalam, English, and *Dhivehi*. According to Blommaert (2013), the "signs will contribute to the organisation and regulation of that space by defining addressees and selecting audiences, imposing restrictions, offering invitations, articulating norms of conduct and so on to these selected audiences". So, the present study tries to understand a particular language's function. It should be noted here that purpose is not to underpin the presence of a particular language (addressing the quantitative aspect like "how many signboards are present in a particular language) but rather to explain the function of the *Dhivehi* language in the Linguistic Landscape or "lingua-scape."Language categorisation according to pattern could yield only a little information, such as the presence of the language. An understanding of language's function requires a qualitative analysis, and hence, a questionnaire and one-to-one conversations with shop owners and a few passers-by[4] were made. An analysis of the thirteen signs' data, the questionnaires and direct interviews brought to light the creators' or the shop owners' views. Most of them said that the reason behind the implementation of such signboards was for commodification purposes. Moreover, language is a barrier since they must learn Maldivian. The people from Maldives are not proficient in English and do not know anything in Malayalam, the native language of those living in Kerala. Thus, communicating and attracting people from Maldives was needed. Even though they have implemented a name board and information in the *Dhivehi* language, the initial inquiry explains that the owner or the shopkeepers do not know "what is written in the name board" but explained that they had asked the name board makers to write their requirements in the respective boards. The need was to state 'what they sell, information about the restaurant, food

items available, menu details, shop's name, advertisements, etc.'. To learn about the written items and the signs, a native *Dhivehi* speaker was requested to translate and explain them in English. The sign's appearance was with a clear motive: "The immediate goal of these signs is to remain connected locally and globally through courier services, translation services, notaries, and technology" (Spier & Herrera Ruano, 2021). The corpus comprises approximately seventy words that have goals and functional utility in their messages. It should be noted that the data collected fit into the categories of food, health, services, and accommodation, which resonates with the earlier quote (ibid). The amount of data is smaller, and listing out the categories and finding the function words do not yield the functionality of the signs. The two main functions discussed in the previous studies are indexical and symbolic. The function of the LL is to index the presence of specific communities. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003), "A code may be chosen because it indexes the point in the world where it is placed." There is an Arabic-speaking community (or business or nation… this is a Chinese restaurant because Chinese are writing on the shop sign. Thus, here, we will find the function, need, and placement of all the sign boards collected. They also point out, according to Scollon, that the three systems -the code preference system, the inscription system, and the emplacement system - work together to create meaningful and socially constructed public space. He also emphasises that it gives specific identities to the people who have made them and those who read them. This is remarkably similar to the situation of the *Dhivehi* language in Trivandrum. This is further explained by the fact that sometimes language is excluded and included in the LL of the city space, especially in the top-down category, which abides by the law and policy of the state. Nevertheless, we can see a change in the bottom-up type, i.e., private signs. Hence, there is an inclusion of a language. Moreover, it shows the identity which it wants to project. Along with ideas from geo semiotics, as Scollon and Scollon (2003) suggested, the *Dhivehi* language holds significant power here, and secondly, is the English language. The discipline of the linguistic landscape is new, so there may be many methodologies and material selection; their categorisation, analysis, presentation, and conclusions still need to be clarified. Sometimes, it seems controversial; therefore, a process that suits one research might not apply to another, but it paves the way for further similar studies.

3. Discussion and Findings

From the collected data and after translating and categorising them as mentioned in the previous section, the following were the understandings inferred. The signboards are in strict categories according to the needs and functions. The primary needs of Maldivians are food, shelter, and medical access. These are provided near the MCH location, and it is dubious about being found in any other zone of Thiruvananthapuram. The same goes with the Lingua scape of the

Maldivian language. The languages or the script found on the signboards are English and Maldivian, and one sign board has a

Malayalam script on it. This adheres to the fact that Lingua-scape happens only for a particular function. Here, it is commodified and highly selective in participants, which involves only targeting the Maldivians. There is purposeful and needful creation of signs of another language in Thiruvananthapuram's Linguistic Landscape, i.e., a Lingua scape is found. This shows that the community accepts the plurality, and the creators cater for the community's needs.

Figure 1: Name of a Restaurant in Dhivehi Language

The signage is monolingual and contains only the *Dhivehi* language. The signage's content is the restaurant's name, which translates into *BG restaurant*. This clearly shows that the signage is for a particular category and excludes the others. As *Dhivehi* is a foreign language, it takes the privilege of appearing in a specific place (Blommaert, 2013). Here, the privilege is bilateral in the sense of commodification and identity. The creator uses it as a commodity and takes benefit of the privilege. The needy Maldivians find it attractive and helpful; thus, language becomes an essence of identity. Even though Malayalam is one of the main languages in the Linguistic Landscape of Thiruvananthapuram, the sign boards do not entertain the Malayalam language in this scenario. However, the *Dhivehi* language, i.e., choosing a particular language, as Scollon and Scollon (2003) mentioned.

Figure 2: BG Restaurant

When we analyse the lexical entry in the LL, we can see that the sign ages are functional, i.e., each signage brings out the usage. Most of the lexical terms found were related to food and shelter. According to Blommaert (2010, p.26), the integration of immigrants depends on the shared assumption whenever they settle in a new host society or environment. Here, we can see how language is essential in integrating and establishing shared beliefs. The restaurant shop menu is in the *Divehi* language (**Figure 3**). When the researcher enquired about the food and menu details, the shop owner explained that most of the menus are the staple food of Maldivians, and the name is given in their language. Other cuisines are less available at the place, and people from the Maldives prefer food that feels homely and suits their palate. Furthermore, the customers are generally Maldivians, and sometimes people[5] other than Maldivians come to have food at the restaurant to know the taste of the food or to taste a variety of other cuisine. Nevertheless, that is rare, and the restaurant mainly focuses on customers from the Maldives.

Figure 3: Menu in Dhivehi Language

The reflection of the commodification of language, food, and culture is reflected here. Since no other language is used, the direct translation of the words in the signage seems to show the same effect, i.e., the words asked to be translated by the researcher. There were only a few recognisable English words; the rest were directly translated, e.g., "normal omelette", "vegetable omelette", and a few others were just transliterated. (**Figure 3)** The script was in English, but the words were in Dhivehi. The exact phrase and pronunciation were not considered here; nevertheless, it was important for the researcher to ask for a translation of the signage's content to clarify the language's function. Overall, Blommaert's approach enabled the researcher to observe the emerging super-diversity of the adjacent neighbourhood. According to Geo Semiotics, there are three systems of code preference here:

Dhivehi language and language apparency on the signs. Most signs have the *Dhivehi* language at the top and are preceded by English. The inscription system is highly personalised and marketed for a targeted audience, so they do not abide by rules or formats. It is colourful and attractive. The third point on geo semiotics is the emplacement system, which focuses on where a given sign is in the physical world. Here, the central location is MCH. The research proves the claim Geo Semiotics put forward. Sometimes, needs are given priority over the look and design, and the details on the board may contain more information.

Sometimes, the board is monolingual, and it acts as a directional sign board as well. This is kept near the entrance of the road. There is no language other than *Dhivehi*, and pictures of food are from the Island of Maldives.

Figure 4: Multiple Advertisements in one Frame

Figure 5: Signs that Serve as a Directional Board

4. Conclusion

Linguistic landscape cannot be an isolated aspect of human language. There is a direct connection to sociology, linguistics, psychology applied linguistics, culture studies, and anthropology (Shahzad et al., 2020). Furthermore, the appearance of a sign is not a coincidence. Though only thirteen signages were in the LL of MCH, they served a purpose. LL is an inevitable aspect of linguistics, demonstrated by the translated data showing these messages' obvious objectives and functional utility, language and the domain in which it occurs correlate. There is a consistency in the domain in which they appear related to food, shelter, medical and finance. Regarding the creator's point of view, all the signs are directed towards one targeted audience, and they prefer mostly the Maldivian community in their shops. Taking away that situation seldom creates the opportunity to displace such signboards in the given space. The presence of foreign languages shows the plurality of the LL, and city space is proceeding towards multilingualism.

Notes

1. The speakers were not selected by any means. However, they had one-to-one conversations with people walking by, shopkeepers, taxi drivers, and auto drivers in the nearby stand and a few speakers of the *Dhivehi* language, i.e., natives of Maldives.

2. Only a few pieces of data were available, and shop owners said many signages were taken down when the renovation happened. They were not replaced, but the shops are still Maldivians friendly.

3. The translation was done by a native speaker who knows English.

4. Points of view here means the point of view of the owner of the shops and not the style and design or the name board makers)

5. Passer by [four] here includes the non-speakers of the *Dhivehi* language and *Dhivehi* language speakers

6. *(People[5] native people of Kerala or anyone who wants to try a different food sometimes visits the place)*

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TEMPORAL TERMS USED FOR DIVISION OF TIME IN A DAY: A HERMENEUTIC SEMENTIC ANALYSIS

Muhammed Ashraf K﹡

ABSTRACT

This paper is on temporal divisions and their references in a day, which are exhibited in Quran. The aim of this article is to introduce andanalyse4 temporal divisions of time; fajr /fdʒr/, /subh /subħ/, /luha /dˤuħa/ and /lwahi:ra /ðˤahi:ra/ by hermeneutic semantic analysis designed by professor Peep Koort (1920– 1977) and to discuss it as a methodology for research in lexical semantics. The aim of this paper is to find deeper understanding of essential meaning content of the terms by referring the dictionaries. The qualitative methodology of hermeneutic semantic analysis is described step by step as created by Koort, interpreted and developed by the authors from the science background. From a linguistic perspective, it can be find that the hermeneutic methodology of semantic analysis is suitable for analysis and researcher developing their understanding of core concepts and theoretical constructs connected to the development of word meanings and lexical units.

Keywords: Time Frames, Temporal References, Prayer Terms, Arabic
           Language

1. Introduction

Time is an essential aspect of our lives and the universe, shaping the way we think and the way we experience the world around us. Many scientists and scholars are defined the concept of time in different ways. The concept of time has been used for thousands of years to measure and track the duration of events and the sequence in which they occur. It is a linear progression of moments that seem to move from the past, through the present, and into the future. However, the experience of time can vary greatly from person to person, and its perception can be influenced by a wide range of factors. For example, the subjective experience of time can seem to speed up or slow down depending on a person's mental state. When we are having fun, time seems to fly by, while during boring or monotonous tasks, it can feel like it is dragging on forever. And this is something that we all as experienced in our lives. There are so many

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divisions of time which we are familiar with. This paper discusses the divisions of time in a day what we experience each day of our lives.

The divisions of time are manifested in the language with so many terms like second, minute, hour, day, week, month, and year and so on. It can be seen in all the languages of the world. See the following (table: 1).

Time Terms		
English	**Arabic**	**IPA**
Time (as a general concept)	الزمان	az-zamaːn
Time	وقت (ج) أوقات	waqt (pl.) awqaːt
Time (countable unit; as in "three times, four times," etc.)	مرة (ج) مرات	marra (pl.) marraːt
Century	قرن (ج) قرون	qarn (pl.) quruːn
Decade	حقبة (ج) حقبات	hiqba (pl.) hiqbaːt
Year	سنة (ج) سنوات	sana (pl.) sanawaːt
Week	أسبوع (ج) أسابيع	ʔusbuːʕ (pl.) asaːbiːʕ
Day	يوم (ج) أيّام	yawm (pl.) ayyaːm
Hour	ساعة (ج) ساعات	saːʕa (pl.) saːʕaːt
Minute	دقيقة (ج) دقائق	daqiːqa (pl.) daqaːʔiq
Second	ثانية (ج) ثواني	θaːnja (pl.) θawaaniː
Moment	لحظة (ج) لحظات	laħðˤa (pl.) laħaðˤaːt

Table 1

Although the common divisions of temporal terms are in use in almost all the languages of the world, but some languages are exceptional and also having unique expressions in this regard due to their culture and practices. In India, the Kashmir language has different and interesting terms like /pəhar/, /dɔh/, /reth/, /patʃh/ and /wəriː/ See the following table 2. It is clear that the use of calendar connected with lunar system manifest different terms in Kashmir as well as in Arabic.

Sl. No	Term	Meaning
1	/brunz/	a second (or flip of a finger)
2	/gər/	24 minutes
3	/pəhar/	7 1/2 gars
4	/dɔh/	4 pahars
5	/dɔh-raːt/	8 pahars (full day of 24 hours)
6	/hafti/	7 full days
7	/patʃh/	2 haftahs
8	/reth/	2 pachhs (one lunar month)
9	/wəriː/	24 Pachhs (12 lunar months)
11	/ad raːt /(or nysfshab)	Midnight
12	/pətim pəhar/	3 o'clcok AM
13	/gazal/	Just before day break

14	/ad kodʒ/	about 2 1/2 hours after sunrise
15	/Koːdʒ/	about 4 1/2 hours after sunrise
16	/khandəwav kodʒ/	about 11 o'clock am
17	/du pəhar/	Midday
18	/seh pəhar/	about 3 o'clock pm
19	/digar/	4 o' clock pm
20	/ad digar/	Sunset

Table 2

The terms are manifested in the language in connection with the movement of moon and sun during the day and night. The crescent moon holds a lot of religious significance in Islamic practices. The moon sighting denotes the start and the end of the lunar months; before Ramadan begins, people and religious authorities look at the night sky to view the crescent moon.

The different manifestations, it can be seen in different languages, this paper discusses only the available terms in Arabic which are mentioned in the Holy Quran. According to assa'alabi (2009), there are 24 terms, each hour having a separate unique term, which can be classified into day and night time as follows (see table: 3).

Divisions of time in a day						
S. No.	Day time	Arabic term	IPA	Night time	Arabic term	IPA
1	Shruuq	الشروق	aʃʃuruːq	Shafaq	الشفق	aʃʃafaq
2	Bukuur	البكور	albukuːr	Gasaq	الغسق	alɣasaq
3	Gadva	الغدوة	alɣadwa	Atamat	العتمة	alʕatama
4	Luha	الضحى	adˤdˤuħa	Sadafat	السدفة	Assadafa
5	Hajira	الهاجرة	alhaːdʒira	Fahmat	الفحمة	Alfaħma
6	Laheera	الظهيرة	aðˤðˤahiːra	Zullat	الزلة	Azzulla
7	Ravah	الرواح	arrawaːħ	Zulfat	الزلفة	Azzulfa
8	Asr	العصر	alʕasˤr	Buhrat	البهرة	Albuhra
9	Qasr	القصر	alqasˤr	Sahar	السحر	Assahar
10	Asweel	الاصيل	alʔasˤiːl	Fajr	الفجر	alfadʒr
11	Ashiyy	العشي	alʕʃijj	Subh	الصبح	asˤsˤubħ
12	Guruub	الغروب	alɣuruːb	Sabah	الصباح	asˤsˤabaːħ

Table 3

These 24 terms are in connection with the movement of moon and sun. Here, in this paper discusses only four terms in a day. Which are fajr /fdʒr/, subh /sˤubħ/, luha /dˤuħa/ and lwahi:ra /ðˤahiːra/.

1.1 Conceptual Meaning

Semantics, in the broad sense of the term, may be considered to study 'all that is communicated by language, but some scholars would like to restrict semantics to the study of logical or conceptual meaning,

only those aspects of meaning which are logically acceptable leaving out deviation and abnormalities. Geoffrey Leech (1981), in his book semantics, breaks down 'meaning' in its widest sense into seven different types giving primary importance to logical or conceptual meaning. The seven types are (1) logical or conceptual meaning (2) connotative meaning (3) social meaning (4) affective meaning (5) reflected meaning (6) collocative meaning (7) thematic meaning (Leech, 1981). Here it is clear that the meaning of a term can be understood by conceptual meaning determination. Concept determination is easy through the approach of Koort which analyses it through the discrimination paradigm method. Discrimination paradigm can be analysed by the given dictionary meanings.

It is very important to understand a term or a word in the proper way. Concept determination is according to Lubcke, a definition demarcating or explaining the meaning content of a concept; it is more than a description of things or a lexical definition of the meaning of a certain word. A variety of terms have been used on concept determination, as 'determination of concepts', 'concept exploration', 'concept definition', 'concept development' and 'concept analysis'.

1.2 Aims of the Study

- To introduce and differentiate four temporal references in a day.

- To describe the hermeneutic semantic analysis designed by Professor Peep Koort (1920-1977) and to discuss it as a methodology for research in lexical semantics.

- To explore the maximum conceptual meaning of the expressions by discrimination paradigm.

2. Methodology

The methodology employed in this paper is hermeneutic approach that differs from the traditions of semantic analysis in science domain. Different dictionaries also used for the analysis.

2.1 Hermeneutic Semantic Analysis

The hermeneutic task is to bring forth better or deeper understanding of the conceptual meaning; in semantic analysis, the central research task is to better understand the meaning of central theoretical concepts – the approach is also called 'meaning analysis'.

Here, analysis is applied not to divide meaning into pieces but to make evident the often fascinating and meaning variation related to a word or term in order to better understand the whole of the concept according to the hermeneutic principle of parts-whole-parts.

Semantic analysis used by Koort has three main purposes, aiming at meaning determination: (i) to explore and understand conceptual or ontological meaning content of constructs, (ii) to discriminate between two close concepts and (iii) to explore how concepts in one conceptual family are related to each other.

2.2 Name and Timing of the Five Prayers

Five daily prayer terms are connected with temporal meaning and specific time frames. Each has a particular time frame. The time for Zuhr is from when the sun has passed its zenith and a man's shadow is equal in length to his height, until the time for 'Asr comes. The time for 'Asr lasts until the sun turns orange. The time for Maghrib lasts (from sunset) until the twilight has faded. The time for 'Isha' lasts until midnight. The time for Subh (Fajr) prayer lasts from the beginning of the pre-sunrise twilight so long as the sun has not yet started to rise.

- 1st Prayer - Fajr: The time for the Fajrsalah begins at dawn and ends at sunrise.

- 2nd Prayer - Zuhr: The time for the Zuhrsalah starts post-noon and ends at the beginning   of the last part of the afternoon.

- 3rd Prayer - Asr: The time for the Asrsalah begins during the later part of the afternoon and ends just before sunset.

- 4th Prayer - Maghrib: The time of the Magribsalah begins at sunset and ends when the night begins.

- 5th prayer – Isha: The Ishasalah begins at night and ends just before dawn.

It is obvious that the five daily prayer time expressions are termed temporal entities and voluntary prayer terms as well. There are 24 temporal terms which are depicted below. See the figure:1.
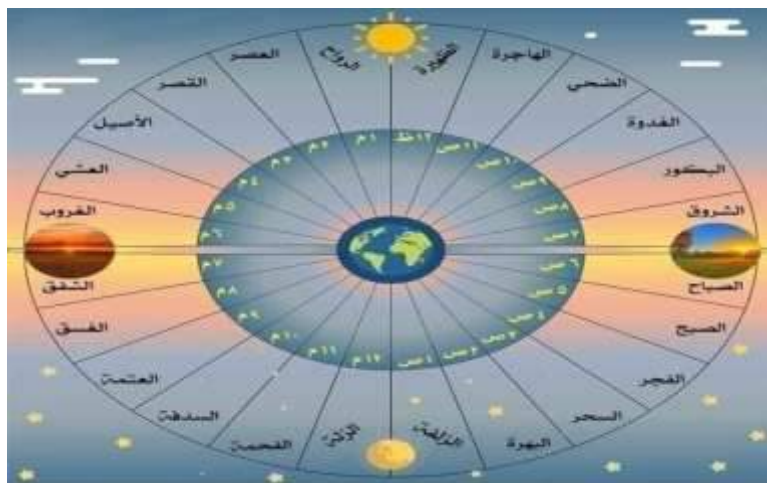
Figure 1

Pictorial Representation - Divisions of Time in a Day

2.3   Discrimination Paradigms of the Terms

Discrimination paradigms are useful to analyse and know the deeper meanings of the terms. Four divisions of time are discussed here. The more connected meanings are collected for the selected terms.
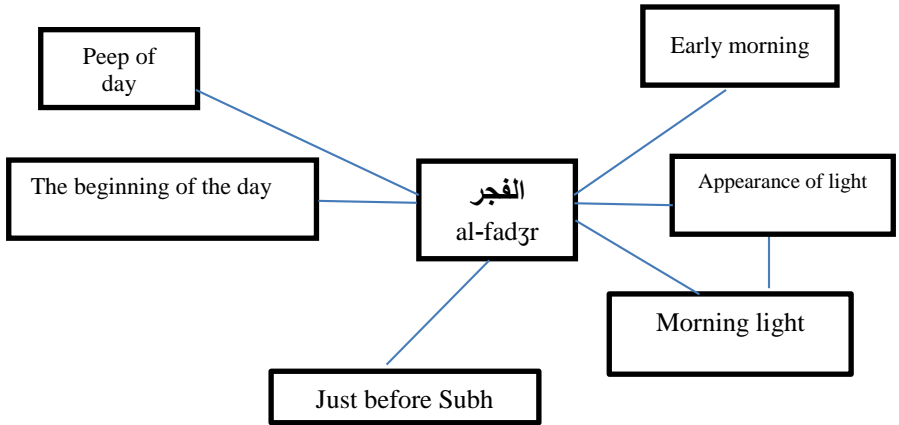
Figure 2

Discrimination Paradigm of fajr
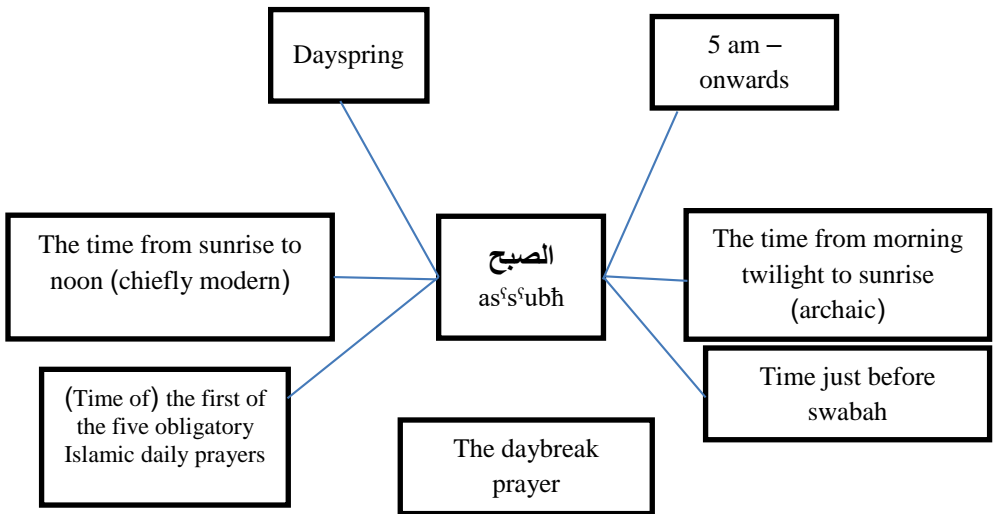
Figure 3

Discrimination Paradigm of subh
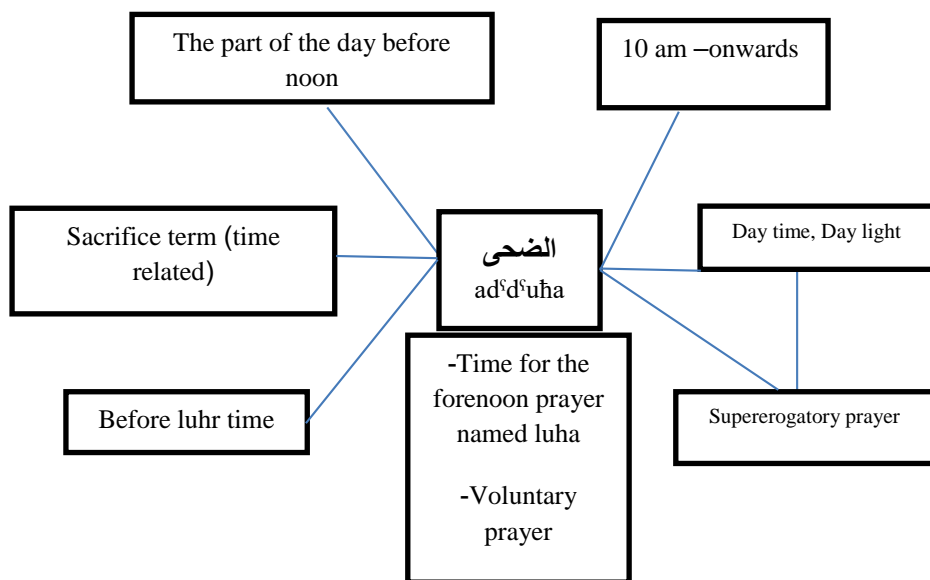
Figure 4

Discrimination Paradigm of luha
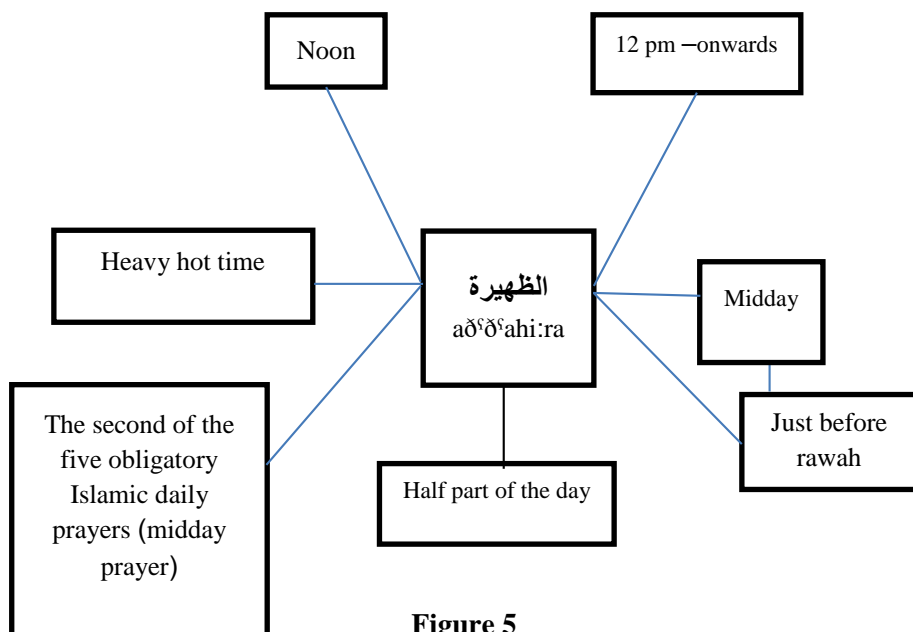
Figure 5

Discrimination Paradigm of lah:ra

The hermeneutic approach is that language, the term, the word, is a creative force. Understanding dimensions of meaning in a concept-family brings the conceptual core of the term and helps when forming ontological constructs. Ontological constructs and discrimination paradigms are helpful to elaborate and to deepen the meanings of a concept or a term in any domain. It is clear that each discrimination paradigm shows the different meanings of the respective term

3. Conclusion

According to the hermeneutic approach, the discrimination paradigm can be interpreted on several levels in our understanding. Here, the surface level only considered for this study. The patterns of relatedness of concepts included can indicate several dimensions of conceptual meaning. First, the main meaning contents are declared when deciphering the discrimination paradigm.

The first two tersms fajr and subh are used interchangeable in Islamic texts to refer one of the five daily prayers performed at early morning, it is used in the prayer terminology perspective. In terms of temporal perspective, it varies. Two hours are different and it has different attributes to denote and specify that particular period of time. The second two terms are also day time divisions of time but differs at large.

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SYLLABLE STRUCTURE IN GUJARATI: EVIDENCE FROM A WORD GAME

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with word games in Gujarati. Gujarati belongs to the Indo-European language family. Gujarati word game known as "Asma ne Tasma" involves insertion of a "nonsense syllable" with the CCV structure. The main aim of this paper is to observe the changes in the internal syllable structure brought about by the insertion of a nonsense syllable 'smV' to the original words in the word game. The paper attempts to deal with the following research questions: (i) Whether the addition of 'smV' keeps the canonical structure intact? (ii) If it breaks the canonical structure of the syllable, then what kind of structure it opts for?

Keywords: Language Games, Gujarati, Syllable Structure, Words

1. Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to observe the changes in the internal syllable structure brought about by the insertion of a nonsense syllable 'smV' to the original words in the word game played in Gujarati. Word games are a phenomenon of language which may reveal facts about the language and its speakers. The word games provide evidence for the phonological structures and rules of a language and consequently are very helpful to phonologists (Surintramont 1973, Wakhale and Sarvaiya 2019). People often use a word game, with the help of insertion of a nonsense syllable having syllable structure of CCV, to converse in a secret code. This word game called "Asma ne Tasma", is mainly used by a group of friends or by the members of a family to exchange information with others who understand the game, which otherwise they are not comfortable sharing with everyone.

The paper focuses on how introducing nonsense syllable to the words affects the syllable structure of the words, and also what other changes it brings about to the word. The data for this paper was gathered from two informants who are native speakers of Gujarati, residing in Vadodara, Gujarat. Both the speakers are female, one of whom is 37 years old and the other is 62 years old. The data was collected by

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recording the conversation between the informants, which was later decoded and tabulated, according to the different types of syllables. The data was categorized as:

1) Monosyllabic Words

2) Disyllabic Words

3) Trisyllabic Words

4) Quadrisyllabic Words

The data was then analysed to find the changes brought about in the syllable structure of a word by the addition of the nonsense syllable with focus on the following questions:

(i) Whether the addition of 'smV' keeps the canonical structure intact?

(ii) If it breaks the canonical structure of the syllable, what kind of structure does it opt for?

2. Data Analysis

Researchers have identified around fourteen types of canonical syllables structures for Gujarati (Desai 1992, Mistry 1997, Pandey 2014), but this paper does not cover all of them. Only the most common canonical structures are dealt with in this paper.

The syllable structures undergo changes when the nonsense syllable is inserted. This insertion is done by the nonsense syllable "smV", where the consonants are constant throughout the game and the 'V' changes according the presence of the vowel in the syllable immediately preceding smV. When the 'smV' is added to various categories of syllable structure, the nonsense syllable splits itself, such that the 's' becomes a coda to the existing syllable and 'mV' creates another syllable, thus following the Maximum Onset Principle.

For the purpose of this study, a categorization is done based on the syllable structure and the data is further divided as follows:

a) No Coda Syllable Structure

b) No Onset Syllable Structure

c) Simple Coda and Simple Onset Syllable Structure

d) Branching Onset Syllable Structure

e) Branching Coda Syllable Structure

f) Branching Coda and Branching Onset Syllable Structure

2.1 Monosyllabic Words

In this paper six different types of syllable structures, based on the complexity, are dealt with to study the changes that are brought about in the original structure of the word by the insertion of the nonsense syllable 'smV' in the word game. The data and examples for the same are given below:

a. No Coda Syllable Structure

This type of syllable structure includes a simple CV structure where, one onset and one nucleus are present in a syllable but the coda is absent. When 'smV' is added to this kind of syllable structure it can be seen that the number of syllables in the word gets doubled, resulting in the output syllable structure as follows:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ma/	CV	/mas.ma/	In
/tʃʰe/	CV	/tʃʰes.me/	Is
/le/	CV	/les.me/	Take

Table 2.1a: CV Syllable Structure

As seen from the above data, the syllable structure of CV changes when 'smV' is added and the resulting syllable structure becomes CVC.CV. Also, it is observed that the onset and nucleus are seen as a single unit. So, it can be said that for a No Coda Syllable Structure, following process takes place in the word game:

Output 1: CV + smV = CVs.mV

b. No Onset Syllable Structure

This type of syllable structure includes a simple VC structure, where one nucleus and one coda are present in a syllable, but the onset is absent. When 'smV' is added to this kind of syllable structure, a few changes occur due to its addition. The output of the same can be seen below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ek/	VC	/es.me.kəs.mə/	One
/ap/	VC	/as.ma.pəs.mə/	Give
/ag/	VC	/as.ma.gəs.mə/	Fire

Table 2.1b: VC Syllable Structure

As seen in the data, the input of VC changes to VC.CV.CVC.CV when the nonsense syllable 'smV' is added to it and the number of syllables increases to four. It is observed that when there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' becomes the mid-central vowel [ə]. Also, it is noticed that nucleus and coda are seen as two different units. The output for the same is shown below:

Output 2: VC + smV = Vs.mV.CVs.mV

c. Simple Coda and Simple Onset Syllable Structure

This type of syllable structure includes CVC structure, where there is one onset, one nucleus and one coda present in its syllable structure. When 'smV' is added to this type of syllable structure, some changes take place in the original structure of the word, which can be seen as follows:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/mor/	CVC	/mos.mo.rəs.mə/	Peacock
/dʰel/	CVC	/dʰes.me.ləs.mə/	Peahen
/gɪṱ/	CVC	/gɪs.mɪ.ṱəs.mə/	Song

Table 2.1c: **CVC Syllable Structure**

Monosyllabic words of CVC syllable structure have a similar result to output 2, wherein the nonsense syllable 'smV' increases the number of syllables to four, but with an addition of a C before the first syllable in the output, which can be seen below:

Output 3: CVC + smV = CVs.mV.CVs.mV

d. Branching Onset Syllable Structure

This type of syllable structure includes CCV and CCVC syllable structures, where there are two onsets, one nucleus and either one or no coda. When 'smV' is added to the existing syllable, a structure similar to No Coda syllable structure is found, with the exception of an extra onset before the nucleus. The data for the same is given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ṱjã/	CCV	/ṱjãs.ma/	There
/ʃri/	CCV	/ʃriʃ.mi/	Mr.
/dʒjã/	CCV	/dʒjãs.ma/	Where

Table 2.1d-i: **CCV Syllable Structure**

Monosyllabic words with a CCV syllable structure have a similar result as the output 1, where addition of 'smV' results in doubling of the number of syllables; the only difference here being in the number of onsets. So, again branching onsets and nucleus are perceived as a single unit. Also, it can be observed that in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV'. Therefore, the output for the same becomes:

Output 4: CCV + smV = CCVs.mV

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/vjadʒ/	CCVC	/vjas.ma.dʒəs.mə/	Interest
/prem/	CCVC	/pres.me.məs.mə/	Love
/ṱrəɳ/	CCVC	/ṱrəs.mə.ɳəs.mə/	Three

Table 2.1d-ii: **CCVC Syllable Structure**

In monosyllabic words with CCVC syllable structure, we get a similar result as that of the output 3, where the number of syllables becomes four. Once more, it is seen that when vowel is absent in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel

[ə]. Moreover, it can also be seen that again branching onset and nucleus are seen as one unit, while nucleus and coda are perceived as separate units. The output for the same will be:

Output 5: CCVC + smV = CCVs.mV.CVs.mV

e. **Branching Coda Syllable Structure**

This type of syllable structure includes VCC and CVCC syllable structures, where one nucleus, two codas and either one or no onset is present. When 'smV' is added to this type of syllable structure, very similar results to No Onset syllable structure can be seen, excluding the fact that in order to follow the Maximum Onset Principle, the branching coda splits, where the first C remains the coda of the original syllable and the second C becomes the onset of the succeeding syllable. The examples of the same can be seen as follows:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ənd̪ʰ/	VzCC	/əs.mən.d̪ʰəs.mə/	Blind
/ənʃ/	VCC	/əs.mən.ʃəʃ.mə/	Part/Section
/ərt̪ʰ/	VCC	/əs.mər.t̪ʰəs.mə/	Meaning

Table 2.1e i: VCC Syllable Structure

In monosyllabic words with VCC syllable structure, the first consonant becomes a coda to the nonsense syllable mV, rather than becoming an onset and creating a new syllable and the second consonant forms a new syllable altogether. Also, it is observed that the second consonant takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since there is no vowel in the word final position and that in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV'. The output for which can be put together as:

Output 6: VCC + smV = Vs.mVC.CVs.mV

ii. **CVCC Syllable Structure**

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ʃant̪/	CVCC	/ʃaʃ.man.t̪əs.mə/	Silent
/dost/	CVCC	/dos.mos.t̪əs.mə/	Friend
/ləkʃ/	CVCC	/ləs.mək.ʃəʃ.mə/	Goal

Like in the above seen monosyllabic words with VCC syllable structure, monosyllabic words with CVCC syllable structure gives a similar output, where the first consonant becomes a coda to the nonsense syllable mv and the second consonant forms a new syllable. The only difference here is the presence of an onset. Here also, in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV' and the second consonant takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since there is an absence of vowel in the word final position. The output of this syllable structure is:

Output 7: CVCC + smV = CVs.mVC.CVs.mV

f) Branching Coda and Branching Onset Syllable Structure

This type of syllable structure includes CCVCC structure; it consists of two onsets, two codas and one nucleus. Only monosyllabic words are included here for this type of syllable structure. When 'smV' is added to this type of syllable structure, a few changes are seen in the internal syllable structure of the word. First, the number of syllables increases to four from one and secondly, just like in branching coda syllable structure, the codas split in order to obey the Maximum Onset Principle. The data for the same is given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/svarṯʰ/	CCVCC	/svas.mar.ṯʰəs.mə/	Self-seeker
/grənṯʰ/	CCVCC	/grəs.mən.ṯʰəs.mə/	Book
/pranṯ/	CCVCC	/pras.man.ṯəs.mə/	Province
/svərg/	CCVCC	/svəs.mər.gəs.mə/	Heaven

Table 2.1f: CCVCC Syllable Structure

As seen from the above given data, the syllable structure of CV changes when smV is added and the resulting syllable structure becomes CCVC.CVC.CVC.CV. Again, it is noted that when there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə]. So, it can be said that for Branching Coda and Branching Onset Syllable Structure following process takes place in the word game:

Output 8: CCVCC + smV = CCVs.mVC.CVs.mV

2.2 Disyllabic Words

The disyllabic words are also divided in the same manner as those of monosyllabic words but separate outputs are not mentioned for these words as the outcomes are a combination of the main 8 outputs mentioned in the above given section. The examples of the same can be seen as follows:

a. No Coda Syllable Structure

For this type of syllable structure, a similar output to output 1 is seen where the syllable structure of CV changes when 'smV' is added and the resulting syllable structure becomes CVC.CV. The only difference being the doubling of the number of syllables in both, the original word as well as the output word. Also, it is observed that onset and nucleus are seen as a single unit. In addition to this, here as well in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV'. The examples are given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/pa.ɳɪ/	CV.CV	/pas.ma.ɳɪs.mɪ/	Water
/ḍe.ʃo/	CV.CV	/ḍes.me.ʃoʃ.mo/	Countries
/gə.me/	CV.CV	/gəs.mə.mes.me/	Like

Table 2.2a: **CV.CV Syllable Structure**

b) No Onset Syllable Structure

For disyllabic words having this syllable structure, the structure of the first syllable is VC, while as the structure of the second syllable is CV. So, the changes in the first syllable happen according to the output 2, while the changes in the second syllable are according to the output 1. Here in the first syllable, it is observed that when there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə]. The examples are given as follows:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/aṱ.ma/	VC.CV	/as.ma.ṱəs.mə.mas.ma/	Soul
/uʈʰ.vũ/	VC.CV	/us.mu.ʈʰəs.mə.vũs.mu/	To Get Up
/əpʰ.va/	VC.CV	/əs.mə.pʰəs.mə.vas.ma/	Rumour

Table 2.2b: **VC.CV Syllable Structure**

c. **Simple Coda and Simple Onset Syllable Structure**

The disyllabic words of this syllable structure have a similar result as the output 3, the only difference here is in the total number of syllables in input and output, as disyllabic words have two syllables. Also, like in the other syllables mentioned above, which end in a consonant, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since the vowel is absent in the word final position and in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV'. Given below are the examples for the same:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/pəʃ.tʃɪ/	CVC.CVC	/pəs.mə.ʃəʃ.mə.tʃɪ s.mɪ.məs.mə/	West
/nan.pə/	CVC.CVC	/nas.ma.nəs.mə.p əs.mə.ŋəs.mə/	Childhood
/ḓur.bɪn/	CVC.CVC	/ḓus.mu.rəs.mə.bɪ s.mɪ.nəs.mə/	Binoculars

Table 2.2c: CVC.CVC Syllable Structure

d. **Branching Onset Syllable Structure**

In the disyllabic words of this syllable structure, the first syllable has a CCVC syllable structure, while the second syllable has a CVC syllable structure. So, the first syllable produces the same output as the output 5, while the second syllable produce the same output as the output 3. It is seen here also that since there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə]. The examples are given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/tras.vaḍ/	CCVC.CVC	/tras.ma.səs.mə.v as.ma.ḍəs.mə/	Terrorism
/prəkʱ.jaṭ/	CCVC.CVC	/prəs.mə.kʱəs.mə .jas.ma.ṭəs.mə/	Famous
/vjəv.har/	CCVC.CVC	/vjəs.mə.vəs.mə. has.ma.rəs.mə/	Behaviour

Table 2.2d: CCVC.CVC Syllable Structure

Branching Coda Syllable Structure

There are two types of syllable structures considered in this paper under the Branching Coda Syllable Structure:

The first category includes the disyllabic words with the first syllable having CVCC syllable structure and the second syllable having CV syllable structure which produces an output which is a combination of the output 7 and the output 1, respectively. Also in the first syllable, in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV' and the second consonant takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since there is an absence of vowel in the word final position. The examples are given as follows:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/mənṭ.r/	CVCC.CV	/məs.mən.ṭəs.mə.rəs.m ə/	Slogan/Spell
/ʃɪŋg.ḍũ/	CVCC.CV	/ʃɪʃ.mɪŋ.gəs.mə.dũs.mu/	Horn
/dʒɪnḍ.g/	CVCC.CV	/dʒɪs.mɪn.ḍəs.mə.gɪs.mɪ/	Life

Table 2.2ei: CVCC.CV Syllable Structure

And, in the second category the placement of syllables is reversed, so the first syllable has a CV syllable structure and the second syllable has a CVCC syllable structure, which provides us with an inverse result, which is the output of the first syllable is same as output 1 and that of the second syllable as output 7. The same changes occur in the second syllable here - in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV' and the second consonant takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since there is an absence of vowel in the word final position.

ii) CV.CVCC Syllable Structure

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/gʱə.məɳɖ/	CV.CVCC	/gʱəs.mə.məs.məɳ.ɖəs.mə/	Ego
/nɪ.bənɖʱ/	CV.CVCC	/nɪs.mɪ.bəs.mən.ɖ̪ʱəs.mə/	Essay
/su.gənɖʱ/	CV.CVCC	/sus.mu.gəs.mən.ɖ̪ʱəs.mə/	Fragrance

2.3 Trisyllabic Words

Similar to the disyllabic words, independent outputs for the trisyllabic words are not created and an amalgamation of the main 8 outputs are used to explain the below given examples of different complex syllable structures: that of the output 1 is seen where the syllable structure of CV changes when 'smV' is added and the resulting syllable structure becomes CVC.CV. The only difference is that instead of doubling of the number of syllables in both original word as well as the output word, the number of syllables is tripled. It is also observed that onset and nucleus are seen as a single unit. Moreover, it is observed that in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV'. The examples for this type of syllable structure are given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ʃɪ.ja.ɭo/	CV.CV.CV	/ʃɪʃ.mɪ.jas.ma.ɭos.mo/	Winter
/və.he.v/	CV.CV.CV	/vəs.mə.hes.me.vũs.mu/	To Flow
/lə.kʱo.ʈɪ/	CV.CV.CV	/ləs.mə.kʱos.mo.ʈɪs.mɪ/	Marble

Table 2.3a: **CV.CV.CV Syllable Structure**

b. No Onset Syllable Structure

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/kəm.nə.sɪb/	CVC.CV.CVC	/kəs.mə.məs.mə.nəs.mə.sɪs.mɪ.bəs.mə/	Unfortunate
/ger.sə.mədʒ/	CVC.CV.CVC	/ges.me.rəs.mə.səs.mə.smə.dʒəs.mə/	Misunderstanding
/pər.tʃu.rəɳ/	CVC.CV.CVC	/pəs.mə.rəs.mə.tʃus.mu.rəs.mə.ɳəs.mə/	Loose Change

The structure of trisyllabic words given above is similar to disyllabic words given in table 2.2b) above, except for the addition of another CV syllable after the second syllable, so the output for the first syllable is the same as that of the output 2 and for the second and third syllable, the output is identical to the output 1. Again, it is seen that since there is no

vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə]. The examples are given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ek.d̤ʰa.rũ/	VC.CV.CV	/es.me.kəs.mə.d̤ʰas.ma.rũmu/	Constant
/əŋ.gə.mo/	VC.CV.CV	/əs.mə.ŋəs.mə.gəs.mə.mos.mo/	Dislike
/ak.ru.tɪ/	VC.CV.CV	/as.ma.kəs.mə.rus.mu.tɪs.mɪ/	Diagram

Table 2.3b: **VC.CV.CV Syllable Structure**

c. simple Coda and Simple Onset Syllable Structure

In trisyllabic words under this category, the first and third syllables have the syllable structure of CVC, while the second syllable has the syllable structure of CV, so the output of these words is a blend of the output 3 for the first and third syllables and the output 1 for the second syllable. Here also, the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV' and it is seen that since there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə]. The examples of these words are given below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/kəm.nə.sɪb/	CVC.CV.CVC	/kəs.mə.məs.mə.nəs.mə.sɪs.mɪ.bəs.mə/	Unfortunate
/ger.sə.məʤ/	CVC.CV.CVC	/ges.me.rəs.mə.səs.mə.smə.ʤəs.mə/	Misunderstanding
/pər.tʃu.rəŋ/	CVC.CV.CVC	/pəs.mə.rəs.mə.tʃus.mu.rəs.mə.ŋəs.mə/	Loose Change

Table 2.3c: **CVC.CV.CVC Syllable Structure**

d) Branching Onset Syllable StructureTrisyllabic words in this category are a mix of three different syllable structures. The first syllable has a CCV syllable structure, the second syllable has a CV syllable structure and third syllable has a CVC syllable structure. The output of these words is an amalgamation of output 4, output 1 and output 3, respectively. Also, it is observed that since there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə]and that in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV', which can be seen here:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/prə.və.tʃən/	CCV.CV.CVC	/prəs.mə.vəs.mə.tʃəs.mə.nəs.mə/	Lecture
/nja.ja.d̤ʰɪʃ/	CCV.CV.CVC	/njas.ma.jas.ma.d̤ʰɪs.mɪ.ʃəʃ.mə/	Judge
/prə.tʃə.lɪṱ/	CCV.CV.CVC	/prəs.mə.tʃəs.mə.lɪs.mɪ.ṱəs.mə/	Prevalent

Table 2.3d: CCV.CV.CVC Syllable Structure

e. Branching Coda Syllable Structure

In the trisyllabic words that fall under the syllable structure of CVC.CV.CVCC, three different syllable structures are found. The first syllable has a CVC syllable structure, the second syllable has a CV syllable structure and the third syllable has a CVCC syllable structure. So, the output of this is a combination of output 3, output 1 and output 7, respectively. Also, like in the other syllables mentioned above, which end in a consonant, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since the vowel is absent in the word final position, as seen in the below given examples:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/d̤ʰəg.la.bənd̤ʰ/	CVC.CV.CVCC	/d̤ʰəs.mə.gəs.mə.las.ma.bəs.mən.d̤ʰəs.mə/	Abundant
/t̪ən.d̤u.rəst̪/	CVC.CV.CVCC	/t̪əs.mə.nəs.mə.d̤us.mu.rəs.məs.t̪əs.mə/	Healthy
/pər.ma.nənd̤/	CVC.CV.CVCC	/pəs.mə.rəs.mə.mas.ma.nəs.mən.d̤əs.mə/	Bliss

Table 2.3e: **CVC.CV.CVCC Syllable Structure**

2.4 Quadrisyllabic Words

For quadrisyllabic words also, distinct outputs are not stated here since the results are a mix of the main 8 outputs found in the analysis of the monosyllabic words. Examples for different categories of syllable structures are given below:

a. No Coda Syllable Structure

For this type of syllable structure, a similar output to that of the output 1 is seen where the syllable structure of CV changes when 'smV' is added and the resulting syllable structure becomes CVC.CV. The only change is in the number of syllables increasing four times. Also, it is observed that onset and nucleus are seen as a single unit. Moreover, in presence of post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ], the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV'.

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/ma.t̪ʰa..re/	CV.CV.CV.V	/mas.ma.t̪ʰas.abʰas.ma.res.me/	Challenging
/le.va.d̤e.a/	CV.CV.CV.V	/les.me.vas.ma.d̤es.me.vas.ma/	Concern
/ʃa.ka.ha.r/	CV.CV.CV.V	/ʃaʃ.ma.kas.ma.has.ma.rɪs.mɪ/	Vegetarian

Table 2.4a: **CV.CV.CV.CV Syllable Structure**

b. No Onset Syllable Structure

For quadrisyllabic words in this category, the first syllable has the syllable structure of VC, while as the other three syllables have the syllable structure of CV, but the second syllable follows the principle of VCC syllable structure where rather than forming a new syllable as an onset, the 'C' – which is a nasal consonant, becomes the coda of the nonsense syllable 'mV'. So, the first syllable has a similar result as that of the output 6, while as the second, third and fourth syllable have the same result as the output 1, which can be seen in the below given examples:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/əŋ.gə.re.dʒɪ/	VC.CV.CV.CV	/əs.məŋ.gəs.mə.res.me.dʒɪs.mɪ/	English
/ən.d̪ʰa.rɪ.jũ/	CV.CV.CV	/əs.mən.d̪ʰas.ma.rɪs.mɪ.jũs.mu/	Dark

Table 2.4b: **VC.CV.CV.CV Syllable Structure**

c. Simple Coda and Simple Onset Syllable Structure

Here, different outcomes are seen in the below given examples, where there is presence of a nasal consonant in the word medial position, the word follows the principle of the CVCC syllable structure and gives us the result similar to the output 7. So, in the first example, the first and the fourth syllables have the same outcome as the output 3, the second syllable has the same result as the output 1 and the third syllable has the same result as the output 7. In the second example however, the outputs of the first and the third syllables are exchanged, but the outputs of the second and the fourth syllables remain unchanged. Also, it is seen that since there is no vowel in the word final position, the 'V' of the 'smV' takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], which can be seen as follows:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/vər.ŋə.səŋ.kər/	CVC.CV.CVC.CVC	/vəs.mə.rəs.mə.ŋəs.mə.səs.məŋ.kəs.mə.rəs.mə/	Mixed-breed
/səŋ.ge.mər.mər/	CVC.CV.CVC.CVC	/səs.məŋ.ges.me.məs.mə.rəs.mə.məs.mə.rəs.mə/	Marble

Table 2.4c: CVC.CV.CVC.CVC Syllable Structure

d. Branching Onset Syllable Structure

The quadrisyllabic words that fall under this category of syllable structure are a combination of two different syllable structures, the first syllable being of CCV syllable structure and the other three syllables being of simple CV syllable structure. So, the outcome for this type of syllable structure is a blend of two outputs – output 4 for the first syllable and output 1 for the other three syllables. The examples for the same can be seen below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/dʒva.ɭa.mu.kʰɪ/	CCV.CV.CV.CV	/dʒvas.ma.ɭas.ma.mus.mu.kʰɪs.mɪ/	Volcano
/prə.bʰa.tɪ.jũ/	CCV.CV.CV.CV	/prəs.mə.bʰas.ma.tɪs.mɪ.jũs.mu/	Devotional song
/prə.na.lɪ.ka/	CCV.CV.CV.CV	/prəs.mə.nas.ma.lɪs.mɪ.kas.ma/	Custom

Table 2.4d: CCV.CV.CV.CV Syllable Structure

e. Branching Coda Syllable Structure

In the quadrisyllabic words falling in this category, words have a different first syllable while as the other three syllables have the same structure. The results produced here are the same. In the first example, the first syllable has the same result as the output 3 and in the second example, the first syllable has the same result as the output 1. The second and third syllables have the same result as the output 1. And in the fourth syllable, the first coda becomes the coda of the nonsense syllable 'mV', rather than becoming a new syllable and the second coda forms a new syllable much like seen in the output 7 – in the monosyllabic words – of CVCC syllable structure. Also, the nonsense syllable 'smV' changes to 'ʃmV' and the second consonant takes on the mid-central vowel [ə], since there is an absence of vowel in the word final position, which can be seen below:

Word	Syllable Structure	Output Word	Gloss
/sɪl.sɪ.la.bənd̪ʰ/	CVC.CV.CV.CVCC	/sɪs.mɪ.ləs.mə.sɪs.mɪ.las.ma.bəs.mən.d̪ʰəs.mə/	Orderly
/sə.pa.ʈa.bənd̪ʰ/	CV.CV.CV.CVCC	/səs.mə.pas.ma.ʈas.ma.bəs.mən.d̪ʰəs.mə/	At once

Table 2.4e CVC.CV.CV.CVCC/CV.CV.CV.CVCC Syllable Structure

3. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it was found that there are a number of different outcomes in different categories of syllable structures. However, there are a few commonalities that can be established in order to understand this word game better:

- A phonological change which can be noticed across the different syllable structures is that when, in the input word, a post-alveolar voiceless fricative [ʃ] is present, the nonsense syllable immediately succeeding it changes from 'smV' to 'ʃmV'.

- Words ending with a consonant take on the mid central vowel schwa [ə], in order to form a new syllable, as a syllable cannot be formed without a vowel.

- To answer the first question, as mentioned in the introduction of the paper, whether the insertion of the nonsense syllable 'smV' keeps the canonical structure of the syllable intact or not, the

number of onsets does not affect the internal syllable structure of the word in this game. Also, after the addition of the nonsense syllable, the onsets always remain attached to the V of the original syllable, irrespective of whether a simple onset is present or a branching onset is present.

- The number of codas does influence the output in this word game. A simple coda becomes an onset producing a new syllable, while a branching coda splits itself in order to follow the Maximum Onset Principle. The first coda attaches itself to the nonsense syllable 'mV' and the second coda forms a new syllable as an onset. This observation provides us the answer for the second question raised in the introduction of the paper as well as presents us the opted syllable structure.

It needs to be mentioned that there are a few syllable structures which were not taken into consideration here. These syllable structures are:

V

V(V)

CV(V)

CCCV

CV(V)C

CCCV(V)C

Taking into account the discussion, it can be said that although different syllable structures give different outputs, there are a few commonalities that all these syllable structures share.

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GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN GOJRI OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

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ABSTRACT

Gender in language occurs structurally as bound morphemes, sound changes, or as clitics. In Gojri, the gender segregation is observed as morphemic units, and vowel change. Grammatical gender in Gojri is a way of classifying nouns that unpredictably assign them to gender categories that are often not related to their real-world qualities. The present study aims to analyse gender in Gojri and give a comprehensive description of Gojri gender and gender forming processes. The data presented in this study was collected from the native speakers of Gojri by direct interactions using a questionnaire as the tool to fetch primary data. The data was transcribed, analysed using the morphological analysis, Leipzig rules for interlinear glossing, and examined for different suffixes, and vowel changes that form the part of feminine and masculine genders in Gojri.

Keywords: Gojri, Gender, Femininity, Masculinity, Bound Morphemes, Sound Change.

1. Introduction

The topic of grammatical gender has long captivated scholars and linguists throughout history. The phenomenon of categorization, a morphological feature, involves the classification of nouns into different genders, which include masculine, feminine, neuter, or even more complex distinctions. The phenomenon of grammatical gender is not only a captivating subject of inquiry within the field of linguistics, but also provides valuable insights into the complex frameworks of many languages. One of the primary inquiries regarding grammatical gender revolves around the process of assigning nouns to specific genders within a given language. According to Boroditsky's (2001), the allocation of gender to nouns is not a random process, but rather frequently associated with the intrinsic characteristics of the objects being referenced. The grammatical gender works as cognitive

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representation of linguistic categorization of nouns into masculine, feminine and neuter genders. The correlation between grammatical gender and cognitive representation enhances our comprehension of how languages classify the surrounding world.

In addition, Gennari et al., 2012 claims that grammatical gender exerts an impact on language processing and interpretation by speakers. The phenomenon of gender agreement, which entails the requirement for adjectives and verbs to exhibit grammatical agreement with the gender of the noun they modify or accompany, has a notable impact on the efficiency and precision of language comprehension. The aforementioned studies have significant consequences for the process of acquiring language categories and the cognitive mechanisms underlying the production and comprehension of speech.

The inclusion of grammatical gender might also have sociolinguistic ramifications. Languages that employ gendered nouns may exhibit connections between the grammatical gender assigned to nouns and the societal gender roles associated with them. For example, certain languages exhibit gendered distinctions for professions, with occupations being categorised as either masculine or feminine (Hellinger & Bußmann, 2001). Grammatical gender can serve as a reflection and reinforcement of social beliefs on gender roles, thereby establishing its status as a sociocultural phenomenon.

While gendered performances remain available to all, they enforce limitations on the individuals who can embody specific personas without facing negative consequences. At this juncture, gender and sex converge, as society endeavours to harmonize behavioural tendencies with their corresponding biological designations. Sex is a biological categorization that is mostly determined by an organism's reproductive capability, while gender is a social construct that has developed over time. Gender is not an inherent characteristic of an individual; it does not originate from their biological makeup or predisposition towards a specific personality type. Gender is a social construct, and the social order incorporates the gender of any individual or object or even an entity.

2. Gojri: An Introduction

George Abraham Grierson classified Gojri as an Indo-Aryan language and grouped it under Rajasthani group of languages with a resemblance to Mewari dialect (see, (Rahi, 2012; Sharma, 1979). However, Ethnologue records the language as unclassified after Marwari group of Indo-Aryan decedents with three dialectal variations, viz., Dhed Gujari, Eastern Gujari, and western Gujari. It is worth mentioning that Dhed Gujari is an alternate name given to a lesser-known indigenous language called Khandesi which is orally used in North-West parts of Maharashtra, and in South-eastern parts of Gujrat. The alternate spellings for the language name comprise of Gujari, and Gujri (Ethnologue, 2023). As reported by the Census of India, Gojri/ Gujari/ Gujjari is grouped under Hindi with

approximate1.3 million people identifying themselves as the Gojri speakers - includes all the dialectal variations of the language (Census, 2011). Predominantly, Gojri is spoken in northern parts of India, and Pakistan. However, the language is spoken in some parts of Afghanistan also. In India, the language is used by the Gujjar communities of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh while in Pakistan, the language is spoken in the regions of Pak occupied Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan.

Although, some authors such as Kothari (2014) mention that as early as the 12th century, it was employed as a literary language and was called Gaurjar Apabhramsha (also known as Gurjar Apabhramsha) which was mentioned by the poet Bhoja in 1014 AD. The Apabhramsha group of languages was referred to the languages spoken towards northern parts of India as classified in *vaiyākaraṇāḥ* by ancient Indian Philosopher Patanjali (Kothari, 2014). However, in Indology, the term Apabhramsha is used as an umbrella term (Shapiro & Michael, 2003), therefore, it cannot be claimed that Gojri was specifically called Apabhramsha and thus Gojri is not the modern version of Gurjar language or dialect. In addition to many other regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh the language is spoken in Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttaranchal, Punjab, and Gujarat also. The effect of different socializations has rendered Gojri assimilated among different sociolects such as Gojri in Jammu and Kashmir is full of Persio-Arabic, and Turkish vocabulary while as the Gojri spoken in Himachal Pradesh or Rajasthan, the Gojri vocabulary, at large, comprises of words from Sanskrit.

Gojri is a low resource language and is written in two types of scripts viz. Persio-Arabic which is a cursive Abjad script and Devnagri- an Ibugida script; thus Gojri lacks an agreed upon set of writing script. However, it's written literature is available in Persio-Arabic script. A large part of Gujjar population in India has been identified as Gujjar-Bakarwals (Census, 2011). Bakarwals are a nomadic tribe in northern and western parts of India who trace their origin same as Gujjars and hence they speak the same Gojri language. Gujjar-Bakarwals in India is a Muslim tribe using Gojri as their mother-tongue in some specific domains of language use within the group. The Census of India (2011) has recorded the literacy rate of Gujjar-Bakarwals between 32 and 42 percent. The community was granted schedule tribe status in 1993. Gujjar-Bakerwals are the third largest ethnic group after the Kashmiris and the Dogras in Jammu and Kashmir.

In contemporary times, Gojri language exhibits significant variation at regional and social levels. Regional variations are dialects spoken in Pir-Panjal area and in Jammu district and Hazara Gojri dialect which is spoken in Pakistan; these dialects show regional variation in vocabulary as well as in some aspects of grammar. Nonetheless, the grammatical studies of Gojri do not segregate the dialectal variations

3. Earlier Studies

Rahi (2012) mentions about Gojri history and how the Gojri language has evolved and also writes a comprehensive description of Gojri origin and composition of Gojri speakers in the different areas of Asia. The author is of the view that Gojri has descended from *Apabhramsha* and examines two dialects, viz., Hazara Gojri dialect spoken in Pakistan and the Punchi Gojri, spoken in India. This dialectal variation is, however, not accurate linguistically because of the fact that Gojri in Kashmir division of Jammu and Kashmir is different from Punchi Gojri and has much affinity in morphology and typology with Pahari. Further, the author explores the orthography of Gojri in which the author discusses linguistic and sociolinguistic constraints on standardized orthography for Gojri of south Asia and explains the emergence of *Nastaliq* form of Persio-Arabic script as the script of Gojri (see: Rahi,2012). Nonetheless, the author calls it *Urdu* script which is linguistically an invalid term. It is important to mention, however, that all the written material such as folk and literature of Gojri language in Jammu and Kashmir is written in Persio-Arabic script which is continued as the script of Gojri in contemporary times.

Sharma (2010) writes about Gojri and its relationship with Rajasthani.The author reconsiders the relationship of Mewati and Gojri language and examines some of the shared linguistic features between Gojri and other Indo-Aryan languages and mentions that the geographical contiguity with neighbouring languages influence Gojri for language contact phenomena such as different types of borrowings leading to phonological changes and morphological development. Moreover, the author examines the language contact situations of Gojri and Rajasthani speakers that might have happened at some point of time in history and, therefore, such contact makes it really difficult to distinguish between the native elements and the borrowed ones. Furthermore, the nasalization in Gojri, Rajasthani, and Punjabi are observed behaving the same as other Indo-Aryan languages, such as, nasalization being phonemic in nature. Nevertheless, the observed morphological patterns in Rajasthani and Gojri are distinct thereby making Gojri a distinct language. Bashir and Iram (2016) maintain that the ethnolinguistic study of Gojri is similar to that of Kashmiri and Pahari in Jammu and Kashmir and all the languages are descendants of Indo-Aryan languages.

During the current study it was observed that the literature survey of Gojri language contains in it the descriptive and sociolinguistic studies however, there is only one study i.e. Rahi (2012) which only provides a superficial sketch of the grammar of Gojri and none of the studies explain(s), so far, the process of gender assigning in Gojri language. As already mentioned, Gojri is a gendered language and has distinct gender roles observed as masculine, feminine and neuter for both animate and inanimate entities. In this backdrop, this study explores the gender morphology

of Gojri with the aim that it will add to the linguistic literature of the language.

4. Method

In order to analyse that Gender roles in Gojri, a morphological analysis is carried out in this study. The data was collected as part of random cluster sampling in areas of Rajouri, and Bandipora in Jammu and Kashmir. An intensive fieldwork was carried out to collect the primary data by employing a questionnaire intelligible to the informants. The questionnaire contained a basic sentence list developed by the authors. The answers to the questionnaire were recorded by using SONY – IC Digital PX470 LPCM voice recorder. The data was elicited into parsed components of the sentences. The parsed components were analysed on Field Language Explorer 9.0 for morphological analysis. For morpheme-morpheme glossing of the sentence components, Leipzig rules (2015) were employed.

5. Objective

The main objective of this study is to describe the grammatical and or morphological gender in the Gojri language which provisions for the understanding of gender roles in the language.

6. Data Analysis and Outcome

Across languages of the world, the categorisation of nouns into genders is based on three different methods, viz., morphological, semantic, and lexical categorisations. While the morphological categorisation is based on their form, i.e., form-based criterion, that semantic and lexical are done on the basis of logical meaning and arbitrary convention, respectively. The gender in Gojri is observed occurring as morphological form-based unit. In most of the cases, it is observed to be a bound suffix. Nouns or noun-forms in Gojri contain gender as part of their morphological content, which therefore, provide a noun with specific gender roles. Such a pattern is observed for both animate and inanimate entities in Gojri. The gender of inanimate nouns can be deduced from their respective word ends.

Moreover, the assigning of the gender roles or gender creation mechanisms in Gojri involve vowel alteration apart from suffixation.

a. Suffixation

The assignment of gender to nouns in Gojri is predominantly devoid of semantic basis.It is not predicated on any characteristic (such as animacy or sex) of the entity or individual that the noun signifies. There may exist, to a lesser or greater extent, a correlation between gender and the noun form in such languages such as the suffix with which it ends.Some examples are provided below:

6.1.1 Forming Suffixes Masculine Gender

[-ɖɑɾ]

The suffix [-ɖɑɾ] attached to an inanimate noun turns it into masculine gender, as follows:

Voh	coki-ɖɑɾ		hɑe
he.3SG	station3SG.M.POSS		is

'He is the watchman.'

so-gɪ-j-o		hɑe
shop-3SG.M. POSS		sleep-PRS-PROG-M is

The shopkeeper is sleeping.

thɑn-e-ɖɑɾ	thɑnɑ		mɑ	hɑe
police station-CONJ-3SG.M.POSS	police station		LOC	is

The inspector is at police station.

6.1.2 [- ɑl̪o]

The suffix [-ɑl̪o] attached to both animate and inanimate nouns create masculine gender. Some examples of such a suffix act as a morpheme and thus does not form a separate lexeme. The following examples illustrate such formation of masculine gender in Gojri:

kəm-ɑl̪o	**kəm**	**vər**	**ni**	**gjo**
work-3.Mwork-Von-LOC			not-NEGv.pst	

The labourer did not attend his job.

pəɽn-ɑl̪o	**kət̪ab**	**paɽ-elgo**	**hɑe**
reader-3.Mbook-Nread-PRSis-AUX			

The reader is reading the book

vo	**likh-ən-ɑl̪o**	**hɑe**
he-3.Mwrite-POSS-3.M is-AUX		

He is the writer.

kɑɾ-ɑl̪o	**kɾɑjo**	**mɔ̃gələgo**	**vi**	**hɑe**
house-3.POSS.Mrentask-3 M.PRSPFVis-AUX				

The Landlord is asking for the rent.

The following table shows the gloss of the lexemes formed by the addition of morpheme [- ɑl̪o] at suffix position:

Lexeme	Gloss
bəkⱤial̮o	shepherd
kamal̮o	labour
parnal̮o	student / reader
likhnal̮o	Writer
dinal̮o	Religious
kaⱤal̮o	house owner /husband
gədjal̮o	vehicle owner

6.1.3 [-ni]

The creation of feminine gender from the nouns by adding suffix [-ni]is common in Gojri feminine gender formation. The nouns which give rise to such feminine genders are masculine or male nouns or names respectively added with a suffix [-ni]. The social meaning of such feminine nouns thus created is used to describe 'wife' of someone. Hence, the suffix [-ni] is added to animate countable nouns only. Following are some examples:

zamınḍaⱤ-ni   kaⱤ gja vi   hae

landlord-3.Fhouse-N go-PSTPFVis-AUX

The landlord's wife went to home.

məstəⱤde   məstəⱤ-ni   maⱤa   kaⱤ   aja

teacher-3.MPOSSteacher-3.Four-1.PLhouse-Ncome-V.PST

The teacher's wife came to our home.

kəmaⱤ-ni   panda   bnavə

potter-3.F utensils-Nmake-V.PRST

The potter's wife makes utensils.

fıkiⱤ   genal   fikiⱤ-ni   vi   ajiṯhi

poor-3.Malong-PSTPpoor-3.FPFVcome-V.PST

The poor man came along with his wife.

Lexeme (masculine)	Lexeme (Feminine)	Gloss (Feminine)
zəmⱤdaⱤ	zəmidaⱤni	landlord's wife
sɔ	sɔ ni	beautiful
siː	siːni	lioness
piⱤ	piːⱤni	muslim priest's wife
kəmaⱤ	kəmaⱤni	potter's wife
fikiⱤ	fikiⱤni	poor man's wife

6.1.4 [-eni]

Interestingly, Gojri distinguishes the feminine gender by substituting different suffixes. Such suffixes are used to distinguish the profession of feminine gender from being wife of a professional to

being the professional itself. Among examples given above in 6.1.3 [-ni] all the feminine represent females of the males or females of the professionals. However, the suffix[-eni] is substituted to represent the professional females and not just the feminine. Following examples illustrate the difference:

nəi   de   ne-eni   ɑjɑ   hɑe

barber-3.Mandbarber-3.SG.Fcome-V.PST is-AUX

Barber and lady barber came.

dɑktərde   dɑktər-enihəspṭɑl   gj-ɑ

doctor-3.SG.Manddoctor-3.SG.Fhospitalgo-V.PST.PL

The doctor and lady doctor went to hospital.

hun   məstɑr   hɑvɑ   məstr-eni   hɑe

I-1.SG.Mteaher-SG.Mam-AUX3.SG.Fteacher-SG.F   is-AUX

I am a teacher and she is a teacher(lady).

ṭhaṇḍɑr   ṭhaṇeḍar-eni   nɑl   gjo

inspector.SG.Minspector.SG.Fwith-PSTPgo-v.PST

The inspector went with the lady inspector.

Lexeme (Masculine)	Lexeme (Feminine)	Gloss (Feminie)
cəmar	cəmareni	cobbler
nəi	nəieni	barber
pəndiṭh	pəndiṭheni	priest
dɑktər	dɑktəreni	Doctor
mɑstər	mɑstəreni	Teacher
ṭhaṇḍɑr	ṭhaṇḍɑreni	inspector

Thus, it is evident from the above-mentioned illustrations that, in Gojri, such feminine forms are derived from masculine forms (stem). The suffixation and the subsequent occurrence results in gender transition in one direction such as masculine to feminine. Also, such feminine gender forms are transitioned or created from masculine forms to serve in line with the individual's biological gender and the social meaning i.e. female.

6.2 Vowel Change

One of the prominent Indo-Aryan language features is reflected by the vowel change at the word final position in Gojri nouns. Such a feature is transitioning feature for grammatical gender from masculine to feminine and this process is observed taking place for animate and inanimate objects/entities alike. A masculine noun is changed for the vowel at its word final position to form a feminine noun. However, such a vowel change can be observed as a suffixation or morphemic change as well besides the prominent phonemic change. The vowel

[o] is replaced by *[i]*at the end of the nounand forms a feminine gender in Gojri. The following examples illustrate the process:

koɽ-o koɽ-i   kə   cəralgo   vi   hae

horse-Mhorse-Fgrassgraze.V.PRSPFVis-AUX

Horse and mare are grazing.

geḍr-obləvalgo   vi   geḍr-i   nɑ

boy-Mcall-V.PRSPFV   boy-F is-AUX

The boys call the girl.

bil-o mɑɽ-gj-o   de bill-i   zĩnd-ɪ hɑe

cat-Mdeath-PST-Mandcat-Falive-Fis-AUX

The cat died and the cat(molly) is alive.

bed-ode bed-i

bull-Mand   bull-F

The bull and the cow.

Lexeme (Masculine)	Lexeme (Feminine)	Gloss (Feminine)
koɽo	koɽi	mare
geḍro	geḍri	girl
Billo	Billi	cat (molly)
Bedo	Bedi	cow
lɑmo	lɑmi	tall
kuṭo	kuṭi	bitch

Conclusion

The instances of feminine formation or creation in Gojri are the instances of suffixation or phonemic change. The five different occurrences of gender transformation in Gojri, thus can be interpreted as the morphological processes of word formations. Gojri exhibits however, some distinguishing characteristics of feminine formation which is not observed in other Indo-Aryan languages so far. Such examples have been given above in 6.1.3, and 6.1.4 explain the associative feminine formation and true feminine formations. Therefore, such a feature is observed as a distinguished feature of Gojri among Indi-Aryan languages.

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POLYSEMY IN SOME MARATHI ADJECTIVES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to examine polysemy in Marathi adjectives, more specifically, the physical property adjectives viz., wet, cold, tiny, hard, and hot. These adjectives are studied by analysing as to how different meanings relate to the central or primary meaning. Some meanings are very close to the central meaning, while others may be more farther off. It is to be noted that different contexts often lead to slight differences in meaning. This paper will take a look at these differences and study their relatedness to the central meaning.

Keywords: Polysemy, Meaning, Physical Properties, Adjectives, Marathi

1. Introduction

Usually, a distinction is made between homonymy and polysemy. They both deal with various senses of the same phonological word, but if the senses are judged to be related then the words are said to share the relation of polysemy (Saeed, 2016). According to Oxford Research Encyclopaedia, polysemy is characterized as the phenomenon whereby a single word form is associated with several related senses. In the lexicon if a word form has various related meanings, those meanings are all listed under a single entry. Lexicographers tend to use various criteria to identify polysemy. These criteria include relatedness of meaning, speakers' intuitions, and what is known about the historical development of the items.

Polysemy arises because words are linked to a network of lexical concepts. However, there is usually a central or 'typical' meaning that relates the others (Vicente and Falkum, 2017). A polysemous item associates a phonological form with a number of more or less discreet though related meanings, which cluster in a family resemblance category (Taylor 2003).

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The purpose of this paper is to look for polysemous meanings of some commonly used Marathi adjectives that describe physical properties of objects and to note how these meanings relate to the central meaning. The data was collected by referring to different Marathi-Marathi or Marathi-Marathi-English dictionaries for lexical entries of the adjectives and finding different meanings under the same entry. The informants were asked to form sentences using different adjectives. These sentences were then analysed for differences and nuances in meaning. Finally, these meanings were analysed in relation to the central meaning using the criteria of relatedness of meaning and the native speakers' intuition.

2. Analysis of Different Adjectives

In the backdrop of the above discussion the paper aims to look at five Marathi adjectives viz. /olə/ 'wet', /gar/ 'cold', /barik/ 'tiny', /kədək/ 'hard', and /gərəm/ 'hot' and analyse the different meanings that they take through polysemy.

2.1 /olə/

/olə/ means 'wet' in Marathi. It is a declinable adjective, and, as such, has case inflections. The various polysemous meanings of /olə/ are provided below.

1. /kʌpd̪e ole ahet̪/

clothes wet are

The clothes are wet.

In this sentence the meaning of /olə/ is 'wet'. This is the core meaning of /olə/ as given in the dictionary (Savarkar, 2016). The sentence is describing the clothes as having the property of wetness. Here wetness carries a simple and straightforward meaning of something that has moisture in it.

2. /mi oli hələd̪ t͡ʃi koʃɪmbɪr keli ahe/

I wet turmeric's salad made have

I have made a salad of fresh turmeric.

Here, the adjective /olə/ takes on the meaning 'fresh'. The sense of fresh comes through due to fresh turmeric having moisture content in it, as opposed to something that is dry or without moisture.

3. /olja narəl͡at͡sə paɳi piʃɪl ka/
   wet coconut's water drink question
   Will you drink green coconut water?

/olə/ refers to a green coconut in this sentence. A green coconut is both fresh and has more moisture or water content than a brown or dried one. In this case /olə/ is taken to mean 'green' coconut.

4. /ʃaskiə karjaləjaʈɪl kahi kərmətʃari swʌʈahtʃe haʈ ole kərʊn gʰeʈlʲiaʃɪvaj

government office's some workers of their own hands wet do without koɳʈehi kam kərəʈ nahi/

any work do not

Some government officers don't do any work without getting benefit from it.

Here, the adjective /ole / is used in a metaphorical sense, and it means 'taking advantage or getting benefit'. The action of getting hands wet is like taking some sort of bribe, or stealing someone's things while doing their work. In this context, it has the meaning of giving oneself advantage in financial terms, or kind.

5. /haʈ ola tər məɪʈrəbʰ əla/

hand wet then friend good

Our friend is friendly whilst our hand is full.

This is an idiomatic use of the adjective /ola/ (Apte, 1990). It implies that as long as someone is affluent and helping his friends, he has a lot of friends. This idiom came from the practice of making money wet before gifting it to someone or giving it as charity. For example, when invited over for some celebration, guests are given some amount of money as a gift, but that money is first made wet. In this example, the cultural practice of making the money wet is transferred over to the hand, through metonymy.

6. /ʈʲa bʰʊkelʲa mʊlala ai ne oli bʰikʃa dili/

that hungry boy mother cooked alms gave

Mother gave cooked food to that hungry boy.

In this sentence, /oli/ carries the meaning of 'cooked'. When giving alms to someone, it is generally money or fruit. But when cooked food is given it is known as /oli bʰikʃa/, literally 'wet alms', to suggest cooked food given as alms.

7. /səʈʌʈ ʈʃʲa mʊsəlɖʰar pavsane maharaʃʈrə mʌɖʰe oli aːg pəɖali/

constant heavy rain Maharashtra in wet fire came

Constant heavy rains caused floods in Maharashtra.

In this example, the term /oli aːg/ 'wet fire' means floods (Apte, 1996). Fire is dangerous and destructive when out of control. So, /oli aːg/ literally translates to "wet fire", which is a metaphorical usage of /oli/, and is, therefore, used for floods that cause high levels of damage.

8. /tɪt͡ʃi kus azʊn oli ahe/

   her uterus still wet is

   Her uterus is still delicate.

It is an expression used for a new mother who has recently given birth to a child (Apte, 1996). The adjective /oli/ 'wet' is used for uterus to indicate that it is still delicate, immediately after giving birth.

The central or core meaning of /olə/ is 'wet' with various polysemous meanings including 'fresh', 'affluent', 'taking advantage', 'cooked', 'wet fire', and 'delicate'.

2.2 /gar/

/gar/, in Marathi, primarily means 'cold'. It is an indeclinable adjective, so it doesn't have case inflections. Examples of polysemy are provided below:

9. /gar vara suʈla ahe/

   cold wind left   is

   A cold wind is blowing.

In this sentence, /gar/ means cold in the general sense of cold temperature. The wind is described as being cold.

10. /kʌpɖe gar vaʈəʈ ahe/

    clothes cold feel   are

    The clothes feel damp.

In this sentence, /gar/ is taken to mean dampness. Generally, during winters, it isn't easy determining whether clothes have dried or not, as the clothes get cold and one can't tell if it's due to the weather or if it's because they're damp. So the sense of damp is implied in this usage of /gar/.

11. /mərɳjavər maɳsat͡sə aŋg gar pəɖʈə/

    on death man's body cold becomes

    On death, man's body turns cold.

In this context, usually, if one says a body has turned cold, its implication is that the person is dead. When someone dies, his/her body

does turn cold as there is no more circulation of blood. So here /gar/ takes on the meaning of 'dead'.

12. /ʧaʦə vagŋə bəgʰʊn mi gar pədɭe/

   his behaviour seeing I cold became

   I was shocked on seeing his behaviour.

   The meaning of /gar/ here is a metaphorical one. When expressing immense shock, /gar/ implies the intensity of surprise or shock to be death-like. Just as in example 11, a dead person's body turns cold; similarly, the experience of an intense shock is likened to death and the body of the person experiencing the shock, turns cold like a dead body.

13. /poɭi gar hoɪl ʧa adʰi kʰaʊn gʰe/

   flat bread cold will happen that before eat

   Eat the flatbread before it gets cold.

   In this sentence, the meaning of /gar/ is 'hard'. When flatbread gets cold, it hardens up and becomes difficult to eat. This sense of /gar/ generally applies to food items that tend to harden when dried out due to cold.

   The adjective /gar/ has various polysemous meanings. The central meaning is cold temperature. Other meanings include 'dampness', 'death', 'shock', and 'hardness'.

2.3 /barik/

/barik/ means 'tiny or small' and is an indeclinable adjective, which means that it doesn't take case inflections. The various polysemous meanings of /barik/ are provided below through examples.

14. /ʈanɖuɭa la barik kide lagleʈ/

   rice acc. tiny   insects has

   The rice has tiny insects.

   Here, the dictionary meaning of /barik/ is 'tiny' which is its core meaning (Savarkar, 2016). It is used to describe the size of the insects infesting the grain. The central meaning for /barik/ is used here.

15. /ɖʊbəɪ ʧi reʈ kʰʊp barik ahe/

   Dubai 's sand very fine   is

   The sand in Dubai is very fine.

In this example, the adjective /barik/ means 'fine'. Here, it is used to indicate something that is granulated and has a dusty or powdery texture, as opposed to something coarse.

16. /mi t̪ud͡ʒʰja vəjat̠ʃi əst̪ana ɪt̪kɪt̠s barik hot̪i/

    I your age when being this thin was

    When I was of your age I was this thin too.

Here, /barik/ takes the meaning 'thin or the quality of thinness', which is physical in this context. It also has an extended meaning when used for animate nouns, for reduced weight, indicating someone has gotten thinner due to loss of weight.

17. /mazʰə t̪ud͡ʒʰja kama vər barik ləkʃə ahe/
    my your work on close attention is
    I'm paying close attention to your work.

Here, /barik/ indicates close attention one is giving to someone or something. When something is being observed closely, /barik/ is used with /ləkʃə/ (attention or focus). So, in this context, /barik/ implies paying attention to the smallest details.

18. /t̪ʲanːi lakɖa vər barik korɪvkam kelə ahe/
    they wood on fine carving   done is
    They have carved on wood with great detail.

In this sentence /barik/ takes the meaning 'intricate'. It emphasizes the carving work done on wood as being intricate or having fine detail. This connects to the central meaning as intricate work is a result of working on the smallest or minutest details. This is generally used when describing details in art, and hence, this sense of /barik/ can also be used to talk about embroidery.

19. /redɪo t͡sa awaz barik kʌr/
    radio's sound less do
    Reduce the volume of the radio.

Here, /barik/ refers to lowering of the volume of the radio. The meaning relates to the central meaning by virtue of the low amplitude of sound.

20. /t̪ʊzʰa awaz barik ahe/

    your voice thin is

    Your voice is thin.

Here, /barik/ is used to call a person's voice 'high pitched' or 'thin'. In this example, the 'thinness' is applied to the auditory sense.

The central meaning of /barik/ is 'tiny' or 'small'. Other polysemous meanings include 'fine', 'intricate','close attention','low volume', and 'high pitched'.

2.4 /kəɖək/

The adjective /kəɖək/ primarily has the meaning 'hardness or stiffness'. It is an indeclinable adjective and so it doesn't take any case inflections.

21. /poli kəɖək vʰaɪt͡ʃʲa aɖʰi kʰaʊn gʰe/

flatbread hard becomes before eat

 Eat the flatbread before it gets hard.

Here, the meaning of the adjective is the primary meaning which is 'hard'. When flatbread gets cold, it starts to get hard which makes it difficult to break and eat. This applies to all kinds of flatbread. The colder it gets, the harder it is to eat.

22. /ek kʌp kəɖək t͡ʃaha ʈak/

one cup strong tea make

Make a cup of strong tea.

Here, /kəɖək/ means strong. Generally, people who drink tea like it strong, which is achieved by adding more tea leaves than the required amount, giving it a stronger taste and flavour. So the meaning of strong derives from the increase in the intensity of its taste. This use of /kəɖək/ for strong can be seen as a metaphoric extension from a tactile sense to the sense of taste.

23. /t̪ʲanːi t̪ʲant͡ʃʲa poranːa kəɖək ʃɪst̪ə laoli ahe/

they their children strict discipline apply have

They have taught strict discipline to their children.

In this sentence, /kəɖək/ means 'tight'. This meaning is also used in contexts like arrangements or organisation of events like /kəɖək bʌnɖobʌst̪/ meaning 'tight arrangement'. Just as it is difficult to break through something that has a hard surface or texture, similarly when a disciplinary condition or an arrangement is difficult to break through, it is referred to as being tight or strict. This too is a metaphorical extension of the use of the word /kəɖək/.

24. /aɖʰi t͡ʃʲa kaɭat̪ ʃaɭet̪ kəɖək ʃɪkʃa mɪɭaɪt͡ʃi/

Before of   time in school harsh punishment got

In the old times punishment was very harsh in school.

In this example, /kəɖək/ refers to harshness of a punishment. This meaning is also used as /kəɖəkswəbʰav/ 'strict or short tempered nature' for a person's character or temperament. This meaning of 'harshness' and the above sense of 'strict' are similar in that both have the sense of hard, as something that is difficult to breach or get through. Moreover, they can be used to mean one of the both meanings simultaneously, as in harsh punishment, harsh discipline, harsh temperament or strict punishment, strict discipline, strict temperament.

25. /paʊsat͡ʃi agaɪ alɪje kəɖək viz pəɖɑjt͡ʃi sʌmbʰavəna ahe/

    rain prediction came intense lightning come chances are

    Rainfall has been predicted, intense thunder and lightning might take place.

In this sentence, while the word /viz/ means lightning, when one says /kəɖək viz/ the meaning is generally taken for both lightning and thunder. In this example, /kəɖək/ refers to the highly intense or powerful thunder and lightning.

The central meaning of /kəɖək/ is 'hard'. Other polysemous meanings that it indicates are 'strong flavour', 'strict', 'harsh', 'angry temperament or nature' and 'high intensity'.

2.5 /gərəm/

The adjective /gərəm/ primarily means 'hot' or 'high in temperature'. It is an indeclinable adjective. The adjective /gərəm/ is the opposite of 'gar' discussed in section 2.2.

26. /ʌn:ə gərəm ahe t̪o pərjən̪t̪a d͡ʒevʊn gʰe/

    Food hot is till then eat

    Eat while the food is still hot.

This is an example of the primary meaning of /gərəm/. It is used to modify the noun /ʌn:ə/ meaning 'food' to indicate that the food is hot.

27. /səkaɭ pasʊn mazʰə dokə gərəm ahe/

    Morning from my head hot is

    I am angry since morning.

Here the adjective /gərəm/, when paired with /dokə/ 'head', means anger or being angry. Like in English when people say a person is hot headed, here the person's head is 'hot' when they're angry. It is also used to describe an individual's temperament, much like its English counterpart. It is also used for a person's overall temperament, like /gərəmswəbʰav/ 'hot temperament'.

28. /bazaraʈnə gərəm məsala gʰeʊn je/

    From market hot masala take come

    Bring garam masala from the market.

    The name of the spice itself is garam masala where /gərəm/ literally means 'hot' and /məsala/ means 'spices'. But the meaning is rooted in the heat of the spices that leave a burning sensation in one's mouth. It is a metaphorical extension where heat, as a tactile sense, is mapped onto the taste or gustatory sense.

29. /nɪʃa t͡ʃi prəkrʊʈɪ̪ gərəm ahe/

    Nisha's   tendency hot is

    Nisha's body tendency is hot.

    As per Ayurveda, there are three *doshas*'body types' based on the constitution of individuals. These include/vatə/ 'wind (body type)', /pittə/ 'acidic (body type)' and /kapʰə/ 'cough or cold (body type)'. It is believed that a healthy person tends to have these *dosha*s in balance, however, when a person has more /pittə/or acidic constitution, his/her body tendency (or body type) is said to be hot. This is because the /pittə/ *dosha* is made up of the water and fire elements and a person who is primarily of this type is a considered to have a fiery, bold and decisive personality. So the meaning of /gərəm/ in the context of the body temperament has the meaning 'acidic'.

30. /kaʃmir la gərəm kʌpɖe gʰeʊn za/

    Kashmir to hot clothes take   go

    'Take warm clothes to Kashmir.

    In this example the meaning of /gərəm/ is warm. The degree of heat as expressed by the general use of /gərəm/ is reduced when it collocates with clothes, as warm clothes. The clothes themselves are not warm but they provide warmth to the ones who wear it. This is an example where /gərəm/ 'warm' collocates with clothes instead of the people. It is the people who wear clothes to keep their body temperature warm, but we see a case of metonymic transference from the people to the clothes that they wear.

    The central meaning of the adjective /gərəm/ is 'hot'. Other meanings that it indicates are 'anger' or 'hot headedness', 'spiciness', 'acidic body constitution', and 'warm clothes'

3. Conclusion

    In section 2, the words with their central meanings of /olə/ 'wet'; /gar/ 'cold'; /barik/ 'tiny'; /kəɖək/ 'hard'; and /gərəm/ 'hot' are

demonstrated with peripheral meanings, which move away from the central meaning but are still related in some aspect. This relatedness of meanings is what makes them polysemous. This notion of central and peripheral meanings brings about metaphorical usages of these words. Ungerer and Schmid (2006) argue that even though metaphors and metonymies are viewed as figures of speech used in rhetorical style, in fact they are an integral part of how we use language on a day-to-day basis by extending meanings of common words and by applying new interpretations in new and varied contexts.

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LANGUAGE CHOICE ON TWITTER: A STUDY OF KASHMIRI BILINGUALS USING TWITTER

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ABSTRACT

Twitter is a famous social networking site in today's global world wherein people are able to communicate with each other by means of texts, voice and videos. Depending upon ones choice, people use different languages and scripts while posting on twitter. The present study is an attempt to assess the language choice of the Kashmiri speakers while using the social networking site twitter. The study also takes into account the script used by the Kashmiri speakers while on twitter. Kashmiri is the mother tongue of majority of the residents of Kashmir valley. A well-developed questionnaire was framed for collection of data. After the data collection, data was codified and analysed using SPSS version 25. The findings of the data support the view that people of Kashmir do use Kashmiri and Urdu rarely while using twitter and use English language quite often. It was also revealed that Roman script is preferred as compared to the Perso Arabic Script.

Keywords: Language Choice, Twitter, Script, Kashmiri

1. Introduction

Language preference and use is a much debated field in the domain of sociolinguistics. In determining the language preference and choice, researchers try to see the language behaviours of the language users in order to see which language is taken as the prestigious language by the speakers and for which language there is a perception of low prestige language among the speakers.

Communication and information technology has achieved new heights with the introduction of different social media networking sites where people are able to easily communicate with each other without

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any difficulty. One such social media network is the twitter. Twitter is a social media handle where people can share text, videos, audios and images instantly. There is no language barrier and people can share the content and can chat in any language. Despite the global spread of the twitter, very little research has been carried out on cross language behaviour on twitter (Hong, et al, 2011). Thousands of tweets are being tweeted by the users in different languages of the world. Kashmiri bilinguals also use twitter and this research is basically to identify their language behaviour while using twitter.

1.1. Literature Review

Humans have been bestowed with a unique trait i.e., language, through which they share their thoughts, information and are able to communicate with others in the society. It is said that emotions are best expressed in one's mother tongue. Due to the advent of communication technology our communication mediums changed from traditional models to new means of communication, like twitter, a social networking site. The language use can vary from person to person and from one context to the other. A study revealed that Hindi-English bilinguals tend to use Hindi while using negative comments and swearing on twitter as compared to English (Rudra, et al, 2016). Similarly, in a study, it was found that there is significant difference between the males and females in using personal pronouns while using the twitter (Abdurahman, 2017). It has been argued that behaviours of English language users generalise to other language users as well but it was seen that from the studies that other language users differ considerably while using different twitter conventions (Hong, et al 2011).

2. Methodology

Descriptive Research design was followed in this research study. This is the most common research design which is used in social sciences, psychology and Education (Nassaji, 2015). Data was collected directly from the users of different social networking sites who belong to Kashmir valley of India. The population of this research consists of the users of Twitter in Kashmir valley.

2.1. Sampling Technique

Stratified random sampling technique was used for the selection of a representative sample from the population. The whole population area (Kashmir) was divided into two strata's: Rural and Urban. Taking into consideration the population size, proportionate sample was selected randomly from each stratum

2.2. Sample Size

For selecting the representative sample from the population, various techniques and formulas are used. Itemized sampling criteria was used to determine the sample size which says that at least ten respondents should be selected for each item in a scale to test the hypothesis (Wang, 2012). And, as such, 17 items were developed in the questionnaire. However a sample size of 200 was considered for the present study in order to be more representative sample of the population.

The questionnaire was designed after consulting different studies that have been conducted on language preferences on social media. The questionnaire has two sections: - one related to the demographic information of the respondents and the second is related to language preferences of Kashmiri speakers while using Twitter. The items were framed on a five point Likert scale.

Before administering the questionnaire to the participants, a pilot study was conducted to check the validity and reliability of the research instrument. The first draft of the questionnaire was given to two research scholars and one expert from Linguistics to confirm the validity of the questionnaire. After receiving their opinion, some items were deleted, some were added and some were modified. After incorporating the changes, the final draft of the questionnaire was created using the Google form. The questionnaire was distributed among 70 participants. The data was codified and tabulated and was entered in SPSS version 25. Cronbach's alpha was used to check the reliability of the questionnaires. Cronbach's alpha for the items was above 0.70 **(Table 2.1)** for the questionnaires which is considered as the acceptable value for the reliability of a measuring instrument.

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.937	18

Table 2.1: Reliability of the Questionnaire

3. Analysis and Results

Analysis of the data was carried out in different steps by using SPSS version 25. In the first step, the analysis of the demographic variables was carried out and then descriptive analysis was carried out to check the percentages, mean and standard deviation of the different items and their responses by the respondents. For comparative analysis of the

statements, Anova and t-test were carried out to check whether there is a significant or insignificant relationship of the different groups of demographic variables**.**

3.1. Analysis of the Demographic Variables

Table 3**.**1**:** Provides the Description of the Demographic Variables of the Respondents

Gender			
	Male		Female
N	101		99
%	50.5		49.5
Geographical Location			
	Rural		Urban
N	136		64
%	68.0		32.0
Educational Qualification			
	10th	12th	Graduation	Post-Graduation
N	46	48	50	56
%	23.0	24.0	25.0	28.0
Age			
	10-20	21-30	31-40	40 above
N	50	59	46	45
%	25.0	29.5	23.0	22.5

Table 3.1: Demographic Variables

3.2: Descriptive Analysis of the Items

Descriptive analysis of the items was carried out and accordingly, for every item, percentages, mean and standard deviations were calculated**.**

Table 3.2: provides the item wise analysis of the responses regarding the use of their language while using Twitter. Respondents responded that they do use twitter sometimes. Regarding the language use it was observed that they use Kashmiri and Urdu rarely while sharing, commenting and for positive comment they use English quite often. For negative comments, they rarely use Kashmiri and Urdu and use English sometimes. They also use Roman script often as compared to Perso Arabic script which they rarely.

Item Statements		N (f) (%)	R (f) (%)	ST (f) (%)	O (f) (%)	A (f) (%)	Mean	SD
I Use Twitter		0	101	71	18	10	2.69	.836
		0	50.5	35.5	9.0	5.0		
Language use while posting on Twitter	Kashmiri	136	20	32	7	5	1.63	1.034
		68.0	10.0	16.0	3.5	2.5		
	Urdu	106	31	49	12	2	1.87	1.045
		53.0	15.5	24.5	6.0	1.0		
	English	0	97	34	30	39	3.06	1.191
		0	48.5	17.0	15.0	19.5		
Language Use while Commenting on Twitter	Kashmiri	134	24	30	7	5	1.63	1.025
		67.0	12.0	15.0	3.5	2.5		
	Urdu	108	26	48	17	1	1.89	1.076
		54.0	13.0	24.0	8.5	.5		
	English	1	91	37	31	40	3.09	1.195
		.5	45.5	18.5	15.5	20.0		
Language Use while Posting Positive Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	139	23	27	8	3	1.57	.970
		69.5	11.5	13.5	4.0	1.5		
	Urdu	111	26	49	11	3	1.85	1.066
		55.5	13.0	24.5	5.5	1.5		
	English	0	96	32	25	47	3.12	1.241
		0	48.0	16.0	12.5	23.5		
Language Use while Posting Negative Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	143	25	24	3	5	1.51	.940
		71.5	12.5	12.0	1.5	2.5		
	Urdu	119	21	50	7	3	1.77	1.036
		59.5	10.5	25.0	3.5	1.5		
	English	0	113	30	19	38	2.91	1.191
		0	56.5	15.0	9.5	19.0		
Script Used while Using Twitter	Perso-Arabic Script	80	42	56	13	9	2.15	1.154
		40.0	21.0	28.0	6.5	4.5		
	Roman Script	17	60	42	35	46	3.17	1.310
		8.5	30.0	21.0	17.5	23.0		

Table 3.2: **Descriptive Analysis of Items Frequency, Percentages, Mean and Standard Deviation**

Five Point Likert Scale: Strongly Disagree (SDA), Disagree (DA), Neutral (N), Agree (A) and Strongly Agree (SA)

3.3. Comparative Analysis Anova and t-test

Comparative analysis was carried out in order to check whether there is any significant difference between different groups. One way Anova was carried out for the groups which have more than two

categories and for the analysis of two categories of groups t-test was calculated.

Comparative analysis on the basis of educational qualification is presented in **Table 3.3**. It can be seen that there is no difference in the use of Twitter by different groups of educational qualification. There is also a significant difference in the use of Kashmiri language while sharing on Twitter and in English language use while writing a negative comment between the different groups belonging to the different educational backgrounds. Using the Perso Arabic script by the different groups while writing in Urdu and Kashmiri, the groups have shown a significant difference.

Item Statements	Educational Qualification		Mean	Std. Dev.	F Value	Sig.
I Use Twitter	10th		2.76	.874	.777	.508
	12th		2.79	.874		
	Grad		2.64	.776		
	Post Grad		2.57	.828		
Language Use while posting on Twitter	Kashmiri	10th	1.93	1.218	2.711	.046
		12th	1.38	.914		
		Grad	1.50	.974		
		Post Grad	1.70	.971		
	Urdu	10th	2.02	1.145	1.271	.286
		12th	1.67	.996		
		Grad	1.78	.975		
		Post Grad	1.98	1.053		
	English	10th	3.17	1.270	1.899	.131
		12th	2.88	1.104		
		Grad	2.84	1.149		
		Post Grad	3.30	1.205		
Language Use while Commenting on Twitter	Kashmiri	10th	1.80	1.128	1.267	.287
		12th	1.44	.943		
		Grad	1.54	.973		
		Post Grad	1.71	1.039		
	Urdu	10th	1.87	1.067	.702	.552
		12th	1.73	1.086		
		Grad	1.88	1.118		
		Post Grad	2.04	1.044		
	English	10th	3.30	1.209	1.356	.258
		12th	3.00	1.167		
		Grad	2.86	1.161		
		Post Grad	3.20	1.227		
Language Use while Posting Positive	Kashmiri	10th	1.83	1.235	1.985	.118
		12th	1.38	.789		
		Grad	1.46	.862		
		Post Grad	1.61	.928		

Comment on Twitter	Urdu	10th	1.85	1.074	.983	.402
		12th	1.77	1.096		
		Grad	1.70	.974		
		Post Grad	2.04	1.111		
	English	10th	3.17	1.253	.932	.426
		12th	3.04	1.237		
		Grad	2.92	1.243		
		Post Grad	3.30	1.235		
Language Use while Posting Negative Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	10th	1.67	1.076	.935	.425
		12th	1.35	.863		
		Grad	1.48	.953		
		Post Grad	1.54	.873		
	Urdu	10th	1.78	1.052	.364	.779
		12th	1.67	1.038		
		Grad	1.74	.965		
		Post Grad	1.88	1.096		
	English	10th	3.09	1.279	2.784	.042
		12th	2.81	1.123		
		Grad	2.56	.972		
		Post Grad	3.16	1.290		
Script while Using Twitter	Perso-Arabic Script	10th	2.65	1.233	4.892	.003
		12th	1.98	.934		
		Grad	1.82	1.082		
		Post Grad	2.16	1.203		
	Roman Script	10th	3.61	1.220	2.338	.075
		12th	3.02	1.422		
		Grad	3.02	1.332		
		Post Grad	3.05	1.212		

Table 3.3: Comparative Analysis Anova for Educational Qualification

Table 3.4: presents the comparative analysis of items on the basis of age of the respondents.

The findings show that there is no significant difference between the different age groups of Kashmir valley when it comes to the frequency of using twitter. For most of the items there is no significant difference between the different age groups in the language use preferences. However, it can be observed that a significant difference is present between the use of

Kashmiri language while posting on twitter and the use of Perso-Arabic script by different age groups.

Item Statements		Age Years	Mean	Std. Dev.	F Value	Sig.
I Use Twitter		10-20	2.76	.847	.186	.906
		21-30	2.66	.921		
		31-40	2.67	.732		
		40 Above	2.64	.830		
Language Use while Posting on Twitter	Kashmiri	10-20	1.92	1.226	3.418	.018
		21-30	1.69	.969		
		31-40	1.57	1.109		
		40 Above	1.27	.654		
	Urdu	10-20	2.02	1.169	.924	.430
		21-30	1.93	1.015		
		31-40	1.76	1.037		
		40 Above	1.71	.944		
	English	10-20	3.08	1.259	.141	.935
		21-30	3.10	1.199		
		31-40	3.07	1.162		
		40 Above	2.96	1.167		
Language Use while Commenting on Twitter	Kashmiri	10-20	1.74	1.103	.892	.446
		21-30	1.69	.951		
		31-40	1.61	1.201		
		40 Above	1.42	.812		
	Urdu	10-20	1.88	1.100	.763	.516
		21-30	2.05	1.121		
		31-40	1.76	.993		
		40 Above	1.80	1.079		
	English	10-20	3.22	1.200	.293	.830
		21-30	3.07	1.216		
		31-40	3.00	1.155		
		40 Above	3.07	1.232		
Language Use while Posting Positive comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	10-20	1.78	1.200	1.813	.146
		21-30	1.63	.869		
		31-40	1.46	.959		
		40 Above	1.36	.773		
	Urdu	10-20	1.84	1.095	.209	.890

		21-30	1.93	1.081		
		31-40	1.78	1.052		
		40 Above	1.80	1.057		
	English	10-20	3.08	1.243	.162	.922
		21-30	3.20	1.270		
		31-40	3.04	1.192		
		40 Above	3.11	1.283		
Language Use while Posting Negative Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	10-20	1.66	1.062	1.247	.294
		21-30	1.58	.914		
		31-40	1.46	1.048		
		40 Above	1.31	.668		
	Urdu	10-20	1.78	1.075	.068	.977
		21-30	1.81	1.042		
		31-40	1.74	1.042		
		40 Above	1.73	1.009		
	English	10-20	3.02	1.253	.450	.718
		21-30	2.80	1.141		
		31-40	3.00	1.193		
		40 Above	2.84	1.205		
	English	10-20	2.98	1.152	.032	.992
		21-30	2.97	1.174		
		31-40	2.91	1.132		
		40 Above	2.98	1.323		
Script while Using Twitter	Perso-Arabic Script	10-20	2.50	1.266	2.756	.044
		21-30	1.88	.948		
		31-40	2.17	1.355		
		40 Above	2.07	.963		
	Roman Script	10-20	3.42	1.295	.917	.434
		21-30	3.03	1.203		
		31-40	3.07	1.405		
		40 Above	3.16	1.364		

Table 3.4: Comparative Analysis Anova for Age

Gender wise analysis of the items is given in **Table 3.5**. It can be seen that both males and females use twitter equally and for all the items it can be seen from the figures that both males and females use language equally for sharing, commenting, and positive comment and for negative comment. Table also shows that females tend to use Roman script more times than males.

Item Statements		Gender	Mean	Std. Dev.	t-test for Equality of Means	
					t-Value	Sig. (2-tailed)
I Use Twitter		Male	2.67	.826	-.200	.842
		Female	2.70	.851		
Language Use while Posting on Twitter	Kashmiri	Male	1.68	1.076	.803	.423
		Female	1.57	.991		
	Urdu	Male	1.97	1.144	1.446	.150
		Female	1.76	.927		
	English	Male	3.03	1.162	-.303	.762
		Female	3.08	1.226		
Language Use while Commenting on Twitter	Kashmiri	Male	1.66	1.070	.534	.594
		Female	1.59	.979		
	Urdu	Male	1.93	1.125	.606	.545
		Female	1.84	1.027		
	English	Male	3.11	1.182	.225	.822
		Female	3.07	1.214		
Language Use while Posting Positive Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	Male	1.58	.962	.282	.779
		Female	1.55	.982		
	Urdu	Male	1.95	1.161	1.417	.158
		Female	1.74	.954		
	English	Male	3.15	1.244	.385	.701

		Female	3.08	1.243		
	Kashmiri	Male	1.58	1.022	1.127	.261
		Female	1.43	.847		
Language Use while Posting Negative Comment on Twitter	Urdu	Male	1.88	1.160	1.543	.125
		Female	1.66	.883		
	English	Male	2.98	1.208	.841	.401
		Female	2.84	1.175		
Script while Using Twitter	Perso-Arabic Script	Male	2.18	1.244	.410	.682
		Female	2.11	1.058		
	Roman Script	Male	2.98	1.233	-2.031	.044
		Female	3.35	1.365		

Table 3.5: Comparative Analysis t-test for Gender

Table 3.6: figures out the classification of the language use while using twitter by rural areas and urban areas. It is observed that no significant difference is found in the use of twitter by rural and urban areas. There is significant difference in the use of English language by people belonging to the rural and urban areas when it comes to sharing, commenting, and positive comment. Urban people tend to use English more frequently than rural people. When writing a negative comment, rural people use Kashmiri more than the urban people. Difference can also be seen in using roman script. People belonging to the urban areas use Roman script frequently than that of people belonging to rural areas.

Item Statements		Geographical Location	Mean	Std. Dev.	t-test for Equality of Means	
					t-Value	Sig. (2-tailed)
I Use Twitter		Rural	2.73	.847	1.076	.284
		Urban	2.59	.811		
	Kashmiri	Rural	1.68	1.059	1.174	.242
		Urban	1.50	.976		

Language Use while Posting on Twitter	Urdu	Rural	1.85	1.065	-.237	.813
		Urban	1.89	1.010		
	English	Rural	2.93	1.152	-2.191	.030
		Urban	3.33	1.235		
Language Use while Commenting on Twitter	Kashmiri	Rural	1.71	1.081	1.929	.056
		Urban	1.44	.871		
	Urdu	Rural	1.88	1.071	-.191	.849
		Urban	1.91	1.094		
	English	Rural	2.96	1.160	-2.339	.020
		Urban	3.38	1.228		
Language Use while Posting Positive Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	Rural	1.65	.993	1.815	.072
		Urban	1.39	.902		
	Urdu	Rural	1.85	1.060	.011	.991
		Urban	1.84	1.087		
	English	Rural	2.99	1.208	-2.049	.042
		Urban	3.38	1.279		
Language Use while Posting Negative Comment on Twitter	Kashmiri	Rural	1.63	1.025	2.955	.004
		Urban	1.27	.672		
	Urdu	Rural	1.80	1.060	.626	.532
		Urban	1.70	.987		
	English	Rural	2.86	1.169	-.860	.391
		Urban	3.02	1.241		
Script while Using Twitter	Perso-Arabic Script	Rural	2.05	1.157	-1.679	.095
		Urban	2.34	1.130		
	Roman Script	Rural	2.97	1.253	-3.126	.002
		Urban	3.58	1.343		

Table 3.6: Comparative Analysis t-test for Area

4. Conclusion

Language preference has been always a topic of discussion in the academic disciplines of social sciences especially in the discipline of Sociolinguistics. The theme of this paper revolves around the languages used by the Kashmiri Bilinguals while using twitter, a social networking site. Kashmiri is the language spoken by the majority of the people of Kashmir valley and Urdu and Kashmiri are acquired as the second languages. The findings of the study revealed that Kashmiris' do use Twitter in addition to the other social networking sites. The findings also revealed that the language preferences of Kashmiris' varies from using Kashmiri and Urdu rarely to using English language often while sharing, commenting and for positive comment of twitter. People of Kashmir also prefer using English sometimes and Kashmiri and Urdu rarely while posting a negative comment on twitter. Further it was also revealed that they use Roman script instead of Perso Arabic script while using twitter. Findings of the data also support that there is no significant difference between different groups on the basis of educational qualification, age, gender and area in the language choice while using twitter. However, a significant difference was seen from the data that females tend to use Roman script frequently as compared to the males. People belonging to urban areas do use Roman script more frequently than rural areas.

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ATTITUDE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARDS MOTHER TONGUE: A CASE STUDY OF DOGRI

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ABSTRACT

The Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir is the only Union Territory in India with more than two official languages. In addition to Dogri, Union territory of Jammu and Kashmir has four other official languages including Kashmiri, Urdu, Hindi and English. English is the medium of instruction and mode of examination in higher education. Dogri isone of the major languages of the Jammu province and is taught as an elective subject in the curriculum. Although students in various spheres of life use Dogri, the attitude of students towards Dogri has not been studied till date. Given this backdrop, the present study aims to find out college students' attitudes toward Dogri. Due to its quantitative approach, this study used a survey research design. The data were collected through a five-point Likert scale questionnaire ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree' administered to a total 50 participants. The result of the study showed that the respondents tend to have a positive attitude towards the Dogri language. Still, a number of students reflect a neutral attitude in some of their statements.

Keywords: Dogri, College Students, Language Attitude, Multilingualism.

1. Introduction

Indian Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir is the only Union Territory of India with five languages as the UT's official languages. Following the abolition of Article 370 and the division of the state of Jammu and Kashmir into two Union Territories, a bill passed by the Parliament on September 22, 2020, declared Dogri, Kashmiri, Urdu, Hindi, and English as the official languages in the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. In Kashmir division, Kashmiri is the dominant language and is spoken by majority of Kashmiris. In the same manner, Dogri is dominantly used in Jammu division for oral communication in almost all domains. In contrast, Hindi and English

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are used in the fields of administration, education, written communication and in formal settings.

1.2 Dogri Language

Dogri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken primarily in the Jammu province of Indian Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. It is the official language of the Jammu division of the state and is also spoken in parts of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. The Dogri-speaking region of Jammu and Kashmir is in the southern part of the UT. It includes the districts of Jammu, Samba, Kathua, Udhampur, Reasi, and parts of Ramban, Doda and Rajouri. The language is also spoken in parts of Himachal Pradesh, particularly in Chamba, Kangra, and Una districts, and some parts of Punjab closer to Jammu. It is closely related to Punjabi and shares many linguistic features with other languages of the region, including Hindi and Urdu. However, its unique features distinguish it from these other languages.

1.3 Concept of Language Attitude

According to the *Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, language attitudes are the attitudes that speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or their own language. Positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of its linguistic complexity or simplicity, ease of learning or difficulty, importance or elegance, social status, etc. The measurement of language attitude provides useful information in language teaching and language planning. This is also the core of an enormous number of studies in Indian and foreign languages.

1.4 Literature Review

The study of language attitudes has a long and rich history. Research on language attitude started in the 1930s, with one of the pioneers in this area of investigation being Thomas Hatherley Pear. He questioned whether the voice was capable of yielding sufficient cues for a reliable and valid personality assessment. Joshua A. Fishman contributed significantly to the field and provided not only the theoretical underpinning of the field but also contributed a variety of techniques and approaches that are still in use among the scholars.

Crystal (1997) says that language attitudes deal with the speakers' feelings towards language (i.e. rich, poor, beautiful, ugly, sweet-sounding, etc.) and language maintenance and planning. In other words, language attitudes are actually "the feelings people have about their own language or the language of others."

According to Baker (1992), integrative attitude is to learn a language in order to attach to or be recognized or affiliated to a certain group or to practice their cultural dealings. "An instrumentally motivated attitude, on the other hand, is induced by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 14)

Holmes (Holmes, 2008 as cited by Dweik, 2015) says that people classify different languages or varieties as elegant, expressive, vulgar, musical, polite, impolite, pleasing or unpleasing (this categorization has influenced the users' attitudes towards the language because it reflects who they are and represents the social groupings they belong to). As a result, people develop either a positive or negative attitude to other languages based on how the community identifies and labels them.

Language attitudes refer to the positive or negative evaluations of a particular language or language variety that people hold. These attitudes are shaped by a variety of social, cultural, and linguistic factors, including the history of the language, the social status of its speakers, and its perceived usefulness or prestige. Understanding language attitudes is important because it can have significant social and political implications, including influencing language policy and affecting individual and group identity. There are various factors such as social status, ethnicity and race, education, and geographic region that influence attitudes toward a language.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Design

This study adopted a quantitative approach to study the attitudes of college students toward their mother tongue, Dogri, by means of a survey questionnaire.

2.2 Participants

The study involved 45 students from Government Degree College, Kunjwani, Jammu, and Government Degree College, Ranbir Singh Pura, Jammu. The respondents were graduate students falling in the age group of 18 and 25. All of them had studied Hindi till class 10 and English till class 12. A stratified random sampling technique was used in which the researcher can manipulate the sample according to several secondary variables; in other words, the researcher stratifies his/her sample based on different social factors (gender, age, social class, etc.).

2.3 Survey Instrument

One of the most common methods of collecting data on attitudes and opinions is the questionnaire survey since data collected through this method is easily quantifiable. The questionnaire for this study was adapted from the Questionnaire Bank for Sociolinguistic Surveys in India, developed by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. Some items were added, and others were modified to meet the needs of the current study. The questionnaire was a five-point Likert scale questionnaire consisting of 10 statements in total. All 10 statements were put to a five-point rating scale ranging from "Strongly agree", "Agree", "Neither agree/Neither disagree", "Disagree", and "Strongly Disagree".

2.4 Data Collection

Since the targeted population was not too large, the researchers administered the questionnaire himself. The researchers distributed copies of the questionnaire to the whole population. Therefore, all the participants on the day of administration were asked to complete the questionnaire. Thetotal number of copies distributed to the students was 50 but the valid completed copies obtained after administration were 45 only.

3. Findings and Analysis

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree/Neither disagree**	**Disagree**	**Totally Disagree**
I like Dogri and am proud of it.	40 (88.8%)	05 (11.2%)	00	00	00

Table 1

Inference: Table 1 displays the students' responses (which are converted into percentages for this study) whether they like Dogri and are proud of it. 88.8% of the respondents strongly agreed, followed by 11.2% who agreed with the statement. Although all the respondents speak equally fluently in Hindi and speak very well in English, there is no neutral or negative response from the informants which indicates that they have very positive attitudes towards Dogri.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree/Neither disagree	Disagree	Totally Disagree
Dogri is useful in business	18 (40.0%)	08 (17.7%)	09 (20.0%)	05 (11.2%)	02 (04.4%)

Table 2

Inference: 40.0% of the informants strongly agree and 17.7% agree that businesses are going the local way and that the possibility of making money with the help of one's mother language is enormous in today's business. Using one's mother tongue to communicate with the local customers is very much beneficial to become a businessman. However, still 20% of the respondents, one fifth, neither agreed/nor disagreed with the statement and 11.2% disagreed and 04.4% totally disagreed with it. Thus, it can be concluded that the informants show loyalty towards their mother tongue and reported that the usage of Dogri in their business would be beneficial.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree/Neither disagree	Disagree	Totally Disagree
Dogri is useful in science and technology	18 (40.0%)	05 (11.2%)	07 (15.5%)	11 (24.4%)	04 (08.8%)

Table 3

Inference: On the whole, English has been perceived as the language of science and technology. But still, 40.0% of informants strongly agreed and 11.2% agreed that Dogri is useful in science and technology. 15.5% do not take a concrete decision and said that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement. 24.4% of the informants, more than one-fifth, disagreed and 08.8% totally disagreed with the statement. Despite the fact that they have read all the science textbooks in English from 1st grade onwards, this outcome shows a positive attitude towards Dogri.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree/Neither disagree**	**Disagree**	**Totally Disagree**
Dogri is helpful in getting better employment opportunities	17 (37.7%)	11 (24.4%)	11 (24.4%)	03 (06.6%)	01 (02.2%)

Table 4

Inference: Statement number 4 dealt with Dogri's role in providing better employment opportunities. 37.7% of the informants strongly agreed with the statement followed by 24.4% who agreed. A good percentage of respondents, i. e., 24.4% neither agree/neither disagree with the statement while as 06.6% disagree and 02.2% totally disagree with this. The reason may be that native languages are assuming greater significance in the corporate world, with businesses going more local than ever before. As such, a good command of one's mother tongue, coupled with the ability to read and write, can be a great advantage in getting better employment opportunities.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree/Neither disagree**	**Disagree**	**Totally Disagree**
I will encourage my children to speak in Dogri	26 (57.7%)	09 (20.0%)	05 (11.2%)	03 (06.6%)	01 (02.2%)

Table 5

Inference: In table 5, the focus of the statement was on whether they will encourage their children to speak in Dogri and it is clearly evident that 57.7% strongly agreed and 20.0% agreed with the statement. It follows that they understand the importance of preserving their native language. 11.2% think that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement. Only 06.6% disagreed and 02.2% totally disagreed with the statement. We can see that there is a rapid transition in Dogra.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree/Neither disagree	Disagree	Totally Disagree
I would like to read literature through Dogri	18 (40.0%)	09 (20.0%)	13 (28.8%)	03 (06.6%)	02 (04.4%)

Table 6

Inference: The percentage above reflects the respondents' responses to whether they would like to read literature through Dogri. 40% of the informants strongly agree and one-fifth, i. e., 20.0% are of the opinion that they agree with the above statement. The reason for a positive attitude may be that the thought process of an individual becomes more active and the imagination level reaches its peak when someone reads literature in his/ her own mother tongue. Mother tongue is the language of our heart and mind and reading literature in our mother tongue might give us vividness and it helps in discovering our roots better and more imaginatively. Still, a good percentage 28.8% neither agree/neither disagree and the negative responses are very minimal 06.6% disagree and 04.4% totally disagree with the statement.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree/Nor disagree	Disagree	Totally Disagree
Dogri symbolizes my regional identity	34 (75.5%)	06 (13.3%)	04 (08.8%)	01 (02.2%)	00

Table 7

Inference: After all, language is an important marker of identity and people are often categorized by others according to the language they speak. The statement "Dogri symbolizes my regional identity" may be the most important for this section. 75.5% strongly agree that Dogri symbolizes their regional identity, followed by 13.3% agree. 08.8% of informants neither agree/nor disagrees and 02.2% of the informants claim Dogri does not identify their regional identity. There were no responses stating that they completely disagreed with the statement above. It is understood that our mother tongue is the key to our culture, identity and belief system. There is a strong bond between the mother tongue and culture, and the people, who don't know their mother tongue, have difficulty finding a connection to their roots and identity.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree/Nor disagree**	**Disagree**	**Totally Disagree**
Dogri is a symbol of prestige/social status	25 (55.5%)	13 (28.8%)	06 (13.3%)	01 (02.2%)	00

Table 8

Inference: Each language has its own place and status in society and using one's mother tongue is a matter of self-esteem and pride. It has a tremendous positive impact on an individual's personality. This builds confidence and affinity for the community. Table 9 indicates 55.5% of informants strongly agreed that Dogri is a symbol of prestige/social status for them followed by 28.8% agreeing. 13.3% neither agree/nor disagree with the statement and the remaining 02.2% disagree. As far as the informants are concerned, there are no totally disagreeable responses.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree/Nor disagree**	**Disagree**	**Totally Disagree**
I can express myself best in Dogri	26 (57.7%)	12 (26.6%)	06 (13.3%)	01 (02.2%)	00

Table 9

Inference: The finding in Table 7 shows that 57.7% of the informants strongly agreed with the statement followed by 26.6% agree. 13.3% neither agree/nor disagree with the statement and only 02.2% disagree. Informants do not respond totally disagreeably. It is a proven fact that personality, character and skills become truly revealed through our mother tongue. It is a powerful tool for people to communicate with one another. It allows them to better communicate with their family, friends and society which give them a sense of identity and belonging to them.

Statement Description	Attributes				
	Strongly Agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree/Neither disagree**	**Disagree**	**Totally Disagree**
Dogri is essential for promoting communication across groups	21 (46.6%)	11 (24.4%)	14 (31.1%)	01 (02.2%)	00

Table 10

Inference: As can be seen in table 10, less than fifty percent 46.6% respondents strongly agree and 24.4% agreed with the statement that Dogri is essential for promoting communication between groups followed by 31.1% neither agree/nor disagree, 02.2% disagreed, and there is no totally disagreed response. It seems that the respondents are well aware of the fact that communication is fundamental to the existence and survival of individuals, groups, societies and nations. The most common means of communication is language and there is no society that can function without language. As language is an integral part of society, it is the native language that plays a vital role in helping people build a bridge of relationships in society.

4.   Conclusion

This research shows that college students hold a positive attitude toward Dogri, which is consistently supported throughout all the statements. However, some students seem confused and neutral when it comes to some statements. Although, the college students are equally proficient in Hindi and English, they are becoming more aware about the growing demand for Dogri in the region, as well as its usage in the society. Students believe that the knowledge of Dogri will enable them to communicate with people of a similar culture. Despite the fact that and western education and culture are having a great deal of influence on the upcoming generation, this study reveals that the Dogri speakers exhibit a positive attitude towards their native language.

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NON-NOMINATIVE SUBJECTS IN KANNAUJI AND HINDI-URDU: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This study conducts a comparative examination of non-nominative subjects (NNSs) in Kannauji and Hindi-Urdu, questioning the traditional reliance on nominative case and verbal agreement as exclusive indicators of subject-hood across diverse languages. Utilizing data gathered through extensive fieldwork in villages around Karhal in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the research specifically delves into Kannauji, a lesser known non-scheduled Indo-Aryan language that has received very less attention in linguistic research. The non-nominative subjects in Kannauji are scrutinized in comparison to those in Hindi-Urdu using several subject-hood tests to prove whether the nominals under study are subjects or not. Therefore, the primary objective of this research is to show that in some languages like Kanauji and Hindi-Urdu subjects can also be formed other non-nominative case markers and postpositions. Approaching the issue through a comparative framework, this study contributes to the broader comprehension of non-nominative subjects in languages characterized by unique syntactic structures. This approach advocates for a more nuanced and language-specific perspective in delineating the concept of subjects.

Keywords: Non-Scheduled Languages, Kannauji, Lesser Known Languages, Non-Nominative Subjects, Hindi-Urdu

1. Introduction

Sentences in human languages are generally made up of two parts: a subject and a predicate, where the subject is the entity the sentence is about, while the predicate indicates the action the subject is doing or the state it is in and usually contains the verb(s) and optionally other object(s). Subjects are usually associated with a nominative case and verbal agreement, i.e., the verb in the predicate agrees in features like person, number, and gender, with the subject of the sentence. For example, in English:

1. She studies linguistics in JNU.

Here, 'she' is the subject, and the rest of the sentence 'studies linguistics in JNU' is the predicate. 'She' takes a nominative case, and the verb 'studies' agrees with the subject, as it takes the 3S (third-person singular) marker. But this is not the only way a subject needs

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to be. There are several languages, like Hindi-Urdu (and several of them are found even in the South-Asian/Indian subcontinent) where the subjects have been shown to take different case markers like ergative ([Erg]), dative ([Dat]), instrumental ([Inst]), genitive ([Gen]), etc. Among these, [Dat] subjects have been often attested as a feature of South Asia (or India) as a linguistic area (Emeneau 1956; Masica 1976) and are found in languages belonging to Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, and Austroasiatic language families spoken in the region (Subbarao 2012). These subjects do not necessarily agree with their verbs nor are they assigned nominative cases. In this paper, we will discuss different types of these non-nominative cases using examples from Kannauji and then compare them with those of Hindi-Urdu. We will also use some prominent subject-hood tests to verify whether the nominal constructions with respective postpositional markers are indeed subjects or not.

Non-nominative subjects have been studied extensively in South Asian linguistics. Mohanan (1994) has used the term 'Indirect Case' to refer to these constructions in Hindi-Urdu. Subbarao and Bharkararao (2004) have edited two volumes in the Typological Studies in Language series *Non-nominative Subjects* Vol 1 and 2 where several scholars have studied the phenomenon in different languages. In the volume 1, Arora and Subbarao (2004) have studied the non-nominative subjects in Dakkhini and Konkani while referring to the same in Hindi-Urdu.

Davison (2004) has studied the phenomenon in Hindi-urdu and has tried to define exactly what subject properties are present in the language and what parameter values account for these properties using Ura's (2000) extension of Chomsky's (1995) theory. She has checked the syntactic relationship to various functional heads, particularly Tense and the light verb in the vP projection in subjects having different case markers like ergative, dative, and other lexical cases. Bayer (2004) has done a comparative study of non-nominal subjects in German, Icelandic, and Bengali language among others. Montaut (2004) has studied the different sentence patterns Hindi offers to show how subject properties are distributed on more than one entity amounting to various dispositions.

Several other scholars have worked on the case system in Hindi. We are focussing on the work on Hindi as it is a very common link language for the speakers of Kannauji and other languages in the area. Spencer (2005) has argued that Hindi clitic postpositions are not case markers, and hence has classified the ergative and accusative/dative markers as postpositions. Mahajan (2017) has studied the accusative and ergative case markers in Hindi. Kannauji, as a language, has not been studied more than an occasional paper here and there. Kumar (2023) has studied reduplication in Kannauji verbs, Dwivedi and Kar (2016) have studied the sociolinguistics of the phonology of the language. Other than that, the language finds reference in works on

Awadhi language as they share a linguistic boundary. The present work, therefore, is aimed to fill that gap.

Kannauji[1]/Kanauji/Kanaoji is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in areas like Mainpuri, Etawah, Auraiya, Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Kannauj, etc., all located in the western part of the Indian state, Uttar Pradesh. It is spoken by around 9 million speakers, and the language is usually classified under western Hindi (starting from Grierson 1916) and is closely related to Braj, which is spoken in the nearby areas. Often, as the primary demographics of the language resides in what is called the 'hindi-belt', the language variety is considered to be a dialect of Hindi-Urdu.

In the next section, we will define what a subject is and list some broad characteristics that can be used to test the subject-hood of any given nominal. In section 3, we will discuss Non-nominative subjects, and then carry forward the discussions into section 4, where we will take data from both Kannauji and Hindi/Urdu and try to prove the subjecthood of differently case marked nominals; section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Subjects

The characterization of subjects in linguistic literature varies across different schools of thought, each emphasizing specific aspects to incorporate the concept into their respective language theories. Plato, credited with distinguishing *onoma* and *rhema*, was among the pioneers in highlighting the crucial nature of that part of the clause, which was later termed 'the subject' (Taverniers 2005).

This prominence of the subject recurs in diverse definitions. Langacker (2000: 27) outlines five potential grounds for defining grammatical roles, including case marking, grammatical behavior, syntactic configuration, semantic role, and discourse function. However, he asserts that only the concept of prominence aligns with a 'fully general schematic characterization' in harmony with cognitive grammar (CG) (Langacker 2000: 28). Langacker strongly opposes defining subjects and objects as syntactic notions based on grammatical features, deeming it 'doubly misguided.'The subject, according to Langacker (1986: 12, 2000: 36), is the constituent construed as the 'primary figure' or trajector of a construction, while other constituents are either secondary figures (e.g., objects) or part of the background.

Generative grammars, in various versions, offer different perspectives on the notion of prominence associated with the subject role. In Chomsky's transformational-generative grammar (Chomsky 1957), the subject is deemed 'prominent' in the clause model, occupying the first level below the tree diagram's top, represented as NP. Subsequent generative grammar versions, including Government

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[1] Ethnologue code: bijs

and Binding and Minimalist Theory, maintain the 'external argument position' of the subject. The subject's position becomes crucial in discussions on phenomena like control, extraction, relativization, and stranding.

Alternative proposals in more fine-grained models of the clause present divergent views on subject generation, ranging from specifier of IP (inflection) to VP, Fin (finiteness), TP (tense), or EventP. Non-transformational approaches, more functionally oriented, define the subject concerning various linguistic functions, particularly textual and ideational functions. Traditional definitions link the subject role to the 'agent' of an active clause, emphasizing the semantic functions onto which it is mapped. Multi-functional approaches involve hierarchies of functions or mappings in terms of hierarchy-to-hierarchy mapping.

Sophisticated versions of multi-functional approaches, based on hierarchies of semantic roles or hierarchy-to-hierarchy mapping, incorporate the notion of proto-typicality. These definitions focus on ideational or textual aspects, associating the subject with semantic roles. Halliday defines the subject as the second major element required to create a proposition, serving as the element 'by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied' or the element 'in whom the speaker vests the success or failure of the proposition' (Halliday 1994/1985: 76).

To be called a subject, a DP usually needs to qualify some subjecthood tests, and some broad characteristics of subjects are (more of these can be found in Keenan 1976; Taverniers 2005):

i. In languages where the predominant word structure pattern is SOV and SVO, subject occupies the first NP or spec position of an IP in the syntactic tree structure of declarative sentences.

ii. The subject may asymmetrically c-command all the elements in the sentence.

iii. The subject may be co-indexed with the anaphora.

iv. The subject serves as the controller of a PRO in the sentence (except when it is controlled by the object). In this case, the subject occupies the higher position in the sentence structure.

v. The process of conjunction/disjunction can aid in identifying the subject, where proper names are replaced with appropriate pronominals which are co-referential with the subjects of the sentence.

vi. A finite verb in general agrees with the subject of the sentence.

The subject is the addressee of an imperative sentence.

The subject can be of two types: (a) grammatical, and (b) logical. For example, see (2) and (3)

2. The cat killed the rat.

3. The rat was killed by the cat.

It is easy to spot the grammatical subject as we can see that it's 'the cat' which is doing the action. However, in (3) even though 'the rat' has taken the subject position, logically we feel that even then the subject is the cat only. This prompts us to divide the concept of subject into two: (i) grammatical subject, and (ii) logical subject. The grammatical subject fulfils all the criteria in the traditional view of a subject. Syntactically, grammatical subjects occupy the first NP or spec position of an IP in a declarative sentence in a language where the subject occupies the initial position and asymmetrically c-commands the rest of the sentence. The subject must be co-indexable with any anaphoric element, if present. It controls the PRO and agrees with the finite verb. In the case of logical subject, the finite verb may not agree with it as the subject is blocked by a case marker. They do not get the nominative case, and are given some other non-nominative cases. Other than this, logical subjects usually show similar properties as nominative subjects.

3. Non-Nominative Subjects

Languages endowed with a sufficiently rich system of morphological cases often exhibit constituent orders that deviate from the typical nominative preceding non-nominative pattern. This departure is, to a large extent, predictable based on the lexical and semantic considerations. Such languages are commonly referred to as those permitting non-nominative subjects.

Usually languages have subjects that are assigned a nominative case and they agree with the finite verb in person, number, and gender. However, South Asian languages like Hindi-Urdu and Kannauji only partially adhere to this pattern. In Hindi, finite verb agreement is observed only with nominative DPs. This restriction is not uncommon in languages with a single set of agreement features reflected in the verbal complex consisting of the verb, and tense and aspect inflection. Yet, languages like Hindi deviate from the common pattern found in languages where nominative case is associated with agreement. For example, in Hindi:

4.	sǝlmɑn-ne	Seb	kʰɑyɑ
	salman-	apple-	eat-3MS-Perf
	3MS-Erg	3MS-Acc	

Salman ate (an) apple.

5.	sǝlmɑn-ne	roṭi	kʰɑyi
	salman-3MS-Erg	chapati-3FS-Acc	eat-3FS-Perf

Salman ate (a) chapati.

As can be seen in examples (4) and (5), the subject nominals are not in nominative case, and the verb agreement is happening with the

direct object of the sentence. Now, compare these constructions with (6) where the verb agrees with the subject which is in nominative case just because there is no ergative postpositional to block it:

6. səlmɑn   ɑm/roṭi   kʰɑtɑ   hɛ

    salman-   mango-3MS-/chapati-   eat-3MS-   be-3S-Pres
    3MS-   3FS-Acc   Impf
    Nom

    Salman eatsmango/chapati.

Similar instances can be seen in Kannauji as well:

7. səlmɑn-nɛ   ṭəpkɑ   kʰɑo
    salman-3MS-Erg   mango-3MS-Acc   eat-3MS-Perf
    Salman ate (a) mango.

8.   səlmɑn-nɛ   Roṭi   kʰɑyi
    salman-3MS-Erg   chapati-3FS-Acc   eat-3FS-Perf
    Salman ate (a) chapati.

4. Non-Nominative Cases in Kannauji and Hindi-Urdu

The syntax of Hindi allows the subject constructions in a sentence to be marked with any other case marker/postposition along with the nominative. However, Hindi doesn't have non-nominative constructions where the subject is marked the accusative. Almost, similar things can be seen in the case of Kannauji as well:

9. zɛnəb   ɑm   kʰɑ   rəhi   hɛ
    zainab-3FS-Nom   mango-3MS- eat   stay-3FS-Impf be-3S-
                       Acc   Pres
    Zainab is eating (a) mango.

10.   zɛnəb-ne   ɑm   kʰɑyɑ
    zainab-3FS-Erg   mango-3MS-Abs   eat-3MS-Perf
    Zainab ate (a) mango.

zɛnəb-ko	ɑm	kʰɑne-mẽ	məzɑ	ɑtɑ	hɛ
zainab-3FS-Dat	mango-3MS-Acc	eat-Infv-Obl-Loc	fun	come-3MS-Impf	be-3S-Pres

11. Zainab likes eating (a) mango/mangoes.
    (lit. 'Zainab has fun in eating mangoes.')

12.

zɛnəb-se	am	nəhĩ	kʰaya	gəya
zainab-3FS-Inst	mango-3MS-Acc	Neg	eat-3MS-Perf	go-3S-Pst

Zainab could not eat a mango.' (lit. 'By Zainab, (a) mango could not be eaten.

13.

zɛnəb-ka	am	čori	ho	gəya
zainab-3FS-Gen	mango-3MS-Nom	theft	happen	go-3S-Pst

Zainab's mango was stolen.

14.

zɛnəb-mẽ	dəya	nehĩ	hɛ
zainab-3FS-Loc	mercy-3FS-Nom	Neg	be-3S-Pres

Zainab has no mercy.

In Kannauji sentences, these different subject constructions would be:

15.

jɛnəb	ṭəpka	kʰay	rəi	ɛ
zainab-3FS-Nom	mango-3MS-Acc	eat	stay-3FS-Impf	be-3S-Pres

Zainab is eating (a) mango.

16.

jɛnəb-nɛ	ṭəpka	kʰao
zainab-3FS-Erg	mango-3MS-Abs	eat-3MS-Perf

Zainab ate (a) mango.

17.

jɛnəb-kɔ̃	ṭəpka	kʰəibe-mẽ	məja	atʊ	ɛ
zainab-3FS-Dat	mango-3MS-Acc	eat-Infv-Obl-Loc	fun	come-3MS-Impf	be-3S-Pres

Zainab likes eating (a) mango/mangoes. (lit. 'Zainab has fun in eating mangoes.')

18.

jɛnəb-pɛ	ṭəpka	naĩ	kʰao	əo
zainab-3FS-Inst	mango-3MS-Acc	Neg	eat-3MS-Perf	go-3S-Pst

'Zainab could not eat a mango.' (lit. 'By Zainab, (a) mango could not be eaten.')

19.

jɛnəb-ko	ṭəpka	čori	hʊɪ	əo
zainab-3FS-Gen	mango-3MS-Nom	theft	happen	go-3S-Pst

'Zainab's mango was stolen.'

20.　　　jɛnəb-mɛ̃　　　dəya　　　naĩ　　　ɛ
　　　　zainab-3FS-　　mercy-3FS-　　Neg　　be-3S-Pres
　　　　Loc　　　　　　Nom
　　　　'Zainab has no mercy.'

In sentences (10) – (14) in Hindi-Urdu and (16)-(20), even though the subjects may not be directly associated with grammatical subjecthood, as they are not assigned a nominative case as in (9) and (15), but still they are subject nevertheless, and to prove that, we will do subjecthood tests for each construction. For the purpose of this paper, the subject-hood tests we would be using are:

i. Reflexive-antecedent test

ii. Pronoun-coreferent test

iii. Controller of PRO

iv. Coordination

4.1. Dative Subjects

Dative subjects are the most studied non-nominative subject structures in South Asian languages since Emeneau (1956). They are also known as 'experiencer' subject or 'inversion' construction. Dative subject construction in Hindi has been studied in detail in Bahl (1974), Shapiro (1974), Hook (1976), Kachru (19966, 1970), and Davison (1969) among others. These subjects can occur in a variety of domains:

a. psychological states and emotions
b. physiological and mental ailments
c. natural phenomena pertaining to body
d. perceiver of visual and auditory actions
e. to express possession and kinship
f. subject of predicates expressing obligation
g. to denote a recipient
h. acquisition of knowledge/skill

Some examples of Dative subjects in Hindi-Urdu and Kanauji are:

21.　　　tʊm-ko　　　　sərək-　　　　pɛse　　　　mɪle
　　　　　　　　　　　pər
　　　　you-2S-　　　road-3FS-　　money-3MPl-　get-3MPl-
　　　　H-Dat　　　　Loc　　　　　Acc　　　　　Perf
　　　　You found money on the road.

　　　　tʊmɛ̃/tʊm-kɔ̃　　sərək-pɛ　　rʊpəya-ø　　mɪle
22.　　　you-2S-H-Dat　road-3FS-　money-3MPl-　get-3MPl-
　　　　　　　　　　　Loc　　　　Acc　　　　　Perf
　　　　You (+H) found money on the road.

23.

bɑye/ba-kɔ̃	dəbɑi-ø	lɛ	lɛbo	čəɪỹɛ̃
S/he-3S-Dat	medicine-3FS-Acc	take-V1	take-V2-Infv	want-Opt

S/he must take the medicine.

In the Hindi-Urdu sentence (21) and Kannauji sentences (22) and (23) we can see that the nominal which is the logical subject in these cases has a dative postposition, *-ko* for Hindi-Urdu and *-kɔ̃* in Kannauji. Dative subjects can also be used in experiencer constructions, as can be seen in following sentences from Hindi-Urdu (24), and from Kannauji (25) and (26):

24.

mʊjʰ-ko	bəhʊt	t̪ʰənd̪	ləg	rəhi	hɛ
I-1S-Dat	very	cold-3FS-Nom	seem	stay-3FS-Impf	be-Pres

I feel very cold.

25.

bɑ-kɔ̃	dəbɑi	lɛ	lɛbo	čəɪỹɛ̃
s/he-3S-Dat	medicine-3FS-Acc	take-V1	take-V2-Infv	want-Opt

S/he must take the medicine.

26.

həmɛ̃	t̪ʰənd̪	ləgɪ	rəi	ɛ
I-1S-Dat	cold-3FS-Nom	seem	stay-3FS-Impf	be-Pres

I feel cold.

The dative subjects can be used in incapability constructions:

27.

həm-se	nəhĩ	dekʰɑ	gəya
I-1S-Dat	Neg	see-V1	go-V2-3MS-Perf

I could not see it.

28.

həm-pɛ	naĩ	dekʰo	əo
I-1S-Dat	Neg	see-V1	go-V2-3MS-Perf

I could not see it.

29.

həm-pɛ	naĩ	čəlʊ	jatʊ	ɛ
I-1S-Dat	Neg	walk	Go	be-Impf

I am unable to walk.

To account for such assignment of Dative case on subjects, there are two types of analyses found in literature (Mohanan 1994): one type treats the nominal as a grammatical subject by general principles of function assignment that assigns grammatical subjecthood to logical subjects. Here, the quirky dative case is assigned to subject by stipulation (Kachru et al 1976; Mohanan 1982) and, therefore, is not predictable. In another analysis, nominal gets dative case by usual principles of case assignment; however, it can be only assigned by the indirect object (Sridhar 1976; Klaiman 1988). Both these analyses and assumption have been refuted with evidence in Mohanan (1994).

4.1.1. The Grammatical Subjecthood of Dative Subjects

The antecedent of a reflexive is always a subject that means that the reflexive must be bound by a subject within its minimal finite clause.

30.

rani-ko	əpne	gʰər-ki	yad	a	rəhi	tʰi
rani-3FS-Dat	self-Gen	houseⱼ-3MS-Gen	Memory	come	stay-3FS-Impf	be-3FS-Pst

Raniᵢ was missing self'sᵢ/*ⱼhome/house.

31.

rani-kɔ̃	əpəyɛ̃	gʰər-ki	yadɪ	ayɪ	rəyi	həti
rani-3FS-Dat	self-Gen	houseⱼ-3MS-Gen	memory	come	stay-3FS-Impf	be-3FS-Pst

Raniᵢ was missing self'sᵢ/*ⱼhome/house.

The only eligible antecedent of the reflexives *əpəyɛ̃* and *əpne* in both the examples is Rani. Now, if Rani had not been the subject in the sentence then there must have been another possible antecedent in the sentence in order for it to be grammatical. However, the dative nominal is the only option, and it can lead to two alternative conclusions: (i) the nominal with the dative postposition is a subject, or (ii) these sentences have no subjects. We also know that contrary to reflexives, pronouns cannot be coreferent with the subject of its minimal finite clause.

32.

raniᵢ-kɔ̃	ba-kɛᵢ/ⱼ	gʰər-ki	yadɪ	ayɪ	rəyi	həti
rani-3FS-Dat	s/he-3(M/F)S-Obl-Gen	houseⱼ-3MS-Gen	memory	come	stay-3FS-Impf	be-3FS-Pst

'Raniᵢ was missing his/herⱼ*ᵢ/ⱼhome/house.'

In this sentence, the pronoun cannot be coreferent with the dative nominal, and in fact that reading would make this sentence ungrammatical. The only way, we can make this sentence grammatical is to assume that the nominal with the dative postposition is indeed a subject. This assumption can be further confirmed by the

fact that they can be the controllers of participial adjunct clauses with obligatory control sites, something which only subjects can do:

33.

rani$_i$-kɔ̃	[_____$_i$ kɪtɑb	pɑ-kɛ]	bɔt-əi	kʰʊsi	mɪli
rani-3FS-Dat	Book	get-Infv-do-Infv	much-Prt	happy	get-Perf

'$_i$ having got (a) book, Rani$_i$ was very happy.'

And even in this example, we can see that nominals with dative postposition behave like a subject. Finally, in a coordinate structure, a gapped element must be identical in case as well as function to its gapper.

(34)

rani$_i$-kɔ̃	kɪtɑb	mɪli	ɔ	ba-kə/_____$_i$	bɔt-əi	kʰʊsi	bʰəyi
rani-3FS-Dat	book-3FS	get-Perf	Conj	she-3FS-Dat	much-Prt	happy	happen-3FS-Pst

'Rani$_i$ got (a/the)book and she/$_i$ was very happy.'

Naturally, given the requirement of case identity, dative nominals can gap or be gapped only by other dative nominals, and not by any other case marked subjects.

Since, the nominals with dative postpositions satisfy all the abovementioned subjecthood tests, we can say that the dative nominals are indeed subjects.

4.2. Instrumental Subjects

Instrumental subjects have been comparatively less explored constructions in Hindi even though Hindi-Urdu and according to our findings, even Kannauji, uses a lot of subjects that are marked with instrumental case. For example, see the sentence (35) in Hindi and (38) in Kannauji, along with other equivalent sentences using [Erg] and [Nom] case.

35.

rani-se	šiša	Ṭuṭ	gəya
rani-3FS-Inst	glass-3MS-Nom	break-V1	ɡo-V2-3MS-Perf

'The glass was broken by Rani.'

36.

rani-ne	šiša	Toṛ	dɪyɑ
rani-3FS-Erg	glass-3MS-Abs	brea k-V1	give-V2-3MS-Perf

'Rani broke the glass.'

37.

rɑni	šišɑ	Toɽ	Di
rani-3FS-Nom	glass-3MS-Acc	bre ak-V1	give-V2-3FS-Perf

'?Rani broke the glass.'

38.

rɑni-pɛ	sisɑ	ṭuṭɪ	-əwo
rani-3FS-Inst	glass-3MS-Nom	break-V1	ɡo-V2-3MS-Perf

The glass was broken by Rani.

39.

rɑni-nɛ	sisɑ	Ṭoḍ	ḍaro
rani-3FS-Erg	glass-3MS-Abs	break-V1	give-V2-3MS-Perf

Rani broke the glass.

40.

rɑni	sisɑ	Ṭod	dəyi
rani-3FS-Nom	glass-3MS-Acc	break-V1	give-V2-3FS-Perf

?Rani broke the glass.

One may find surface similarities between instrumental subject constructions and passive constructions. One, the verb forms in both constructions are identical, the auxiliary carries the tense and aspect morphology. The subjects in these constructions get the instrumental case marking–*pɛ* (for detailed discussion in Hindi see Mohanan 1994). Therefore, initially these constructions may look like passive (Davison 1982; Pandharipande 1979; Kachru 1980). But, there are several differences between these constructions:

Consider (41), instrumental subjects are associated with the meaning of capability, while passives are not restricted in meaning:

41.

sisɑ	rɑni-pɛ	tʊṭɪ	əwo
glass-3MS-Acc	rani-3FS-Inst	break-V1	ɡo-V2-3FS-Perf

Rani broke the glass.

Usually, in passive constructions the accusative object of the active construction becomes nominative, but in the case of instrumental postposition, it retains it. Secondly, the demoted agent in the nominative case is optional in the passive and, therefore, generally omitted. In contrast, the instrumental nominal is obligatorily expressed in instrumental subject constructions, the omission of which will make the construction lose its intended meaning. Then, the word order, in passive is free to either follow or precede the nominative argument, but in [Inst] it must obligatorily precede the accusative argument

(unless it is post-verbal). Also, the *–pe* in passive constructions may be replaced with *ke dvara* in Hindi which can't happen in a construction with a instrumental subject. Finally, a passive requires a transitive subject, while intransitive subject constructions have no such requirements.

4.2.1. The Grammatical Subjecthood of Instrumental Subjects

The antecedent of a reflexive is always a subject that means that the reflexive must be bound by a subject within its minimal finite clause:

42   rani-pɛ   əpə̃   sisɑ   ṭuṭɪ   -əwo
     rani$_i$-3FS-Inst   self$_i$-Gen   glass-3MS   break   go-3MS-Perf
          Her own glass was broken by Rani.

The only eligible antecedent of the reflexive in this sentence is Rani, and following the reasoning that we used in (35) and (38) while testing the dative subject constructions, we will end up with two conclusions, of which only one may be true: either the nominal with the instrumental postpostions is a subject, or the sentence has none. But we can see that the sentence is completely grammatical. To further check our assertions, we can use the pronoun test:

	rani-pɛ	bako	sisɑ	ṭuṭɪ	-əwo
43	rani$_i$-3FS-Inst	she$_j$-3FS-Onl-Gen	glass-3MS	break	go-3MS-Perf
	Her glass was broken by Rani.				

The pronouns don't corefer to the subject in their own maximal projection, which as we can see holds true in (43). Because of these reasons, we can conclude that the instrumental subject construction and the passives are two syntactically distinct constructions in Kannauji (as well as in Hindi-Urdu), even though they might look similar initially.

4. 3. Genitive Subjects

Hindi and Kannauji don't have a verb of possession like English have, therefore, they use forms of *be* verb, like *ho* 'be/become' in Hindi-Urdu and *hʊɪbo* in Kannauji.

44.   bɑ-ki   dʊɪ   mə̃rɪyɑ̃   ɛ̃
        he/she-3S-Obl-Gen   Two   sister-3FPl-Nom   be-3S-Pres
             He has two daughters

	bɑ-ke	čar	ləlle	ɛ̃
45.	he/she-3S-Obl-Gen	four	boy-3MPl-Nom	be-3S-Pres
	He has four sons.			

46.	bɑ-kɔ	ek-əi	jɪji	ɛ
	he/she-3S-Obl-Gen	one-Prt	sister-3FS-Nom	be-3S-Pres

His/her victory is only one.

In the above examples, the genitive nominal that refers to the possessor agrees in the number and gender with the nominal that refers to the possessed entity. The relation of possession is one of kinship, not necessarily of ownership. The specific type of possession that does not involve ownership also extends to one's body parts. The use of non-nominative genitive is restricted to the relation of inalienable possession while nominative genitive can be used in a lot of other environments.

47.	bɑ-ki	Jit	pəkki	ɛ
	His/her-3S-Obl-Gen	victory-3FS-Nom	definite	be-3S-Pres

His/her victory is definite.

The given instances effectively highlight the presence of genitive subjects, and attempting to substitute a nominative construction fails to convey the intended meaning. Indeed, articulating the idea in an alternative manner that excludes a genitive construction appears exceedingly challenging.

In the provided example (48), introducing a nominative subject would result in a loss of coherence when the subject is omitted. The sentence lacking the genitive subject would read as follows:

48.	Jit	pəkki	ɛ
	victory-3FS-Nom	Definite	be-3S-Pres

?'Victory is definite.'

The sentence appears incomplete as it fails to specify whose victory is being discussed. The concept of possession is crucial for clarity, and this cannot be achieved without a genitive marker. Therefore, it can be asserted that while the genitive case is typically considered a phrasal property, instances where it constructs a subject, and the absence of which would lead to a loss of meaning or sense, can be identified as clear cases of genitive subjects.

These examples illustrate that Kannauji employs two types of genitive markers, *-ko/-ki/-ke,* and the other is where the marker is fused in the subject itself as in (49).

	meye/mere	kɛhbe-tɛ	kəčʰʊ	naĩ	bədəl	jəɣɪɣɛ
49	I-1S-Gen	say-Infv-Obl-Inst	any thing	l̃ eg	ch ange	g o-Fut

My saying won't change anything.

4.3.1. The Grammatical Subjecthood of Genitive Subjects

Check the following sentences:

	ba-kɔ	ek-əi	jɪji	ɛ
50.	His/her-3S-Obl-Gen	one-Prt	sister-3FS-Nom	be-3S-Pres

'S/he has only one sister'

	ba-kɔ	jɪji	ek-əi	ɛ
51.	His/her-3S-Obl-Gen	sister-3FS-Nom	one-Prt	be-3S-Pres

S/he has one sister.

Now, the difference between both sentences is not just of the order of the words but also in their meaning. In (51) the generative nominal is the modifier of sister, while in (50) it is an independent argument of the verb. We could predict that the generative nominal in (51) is in contrast to the one, and cannot be the antecedent to a reflexive. Therefore, (52) becomes ungrammatical (and even though some speakers may accept the sentence but would still not be comfortable).

	*ba-kɔ	əpəyĩ	jɪji	ek-əi	ɛ
52.	His/her-3S-Obl-Gen	self-3FS-Gen	sister	one-Prt	be-3S-Pres

S/he has only one sister (of herself).

However, in the case of (50), there won't be such issue and the subject will be an antecedent to the reflexive (53), showing that the nominals with genitive postpositions are also subjects.

	ba-kɔ	əpəyĩ	ek-əi	jɪji	ɛ
53.	His/her-3S-Obl-Gen	self-3FS-Gen	one-Prt	sister	be-3S-Pres

S/he has only one sister (of herself).

4.5. Locative Subjects

Kachru (1980) and Mohanan (1994) also discuss locative constructions as subjects. However, given that how locative nominals appear in a very narrow range of environments, not all the diagnostics may hold true to test their subjecthood. However, these nominals will exhibit behavior predictable of the grammatical subjects.

54.	ba-ke əndər	əpəyĩ	ləṛai	ləṛɪbe-ki	hɪmmət	ɛ
	S/he-3S-Obl-Geninside-Loc	self-FS-Gen	fight-3FS	fight-Gen	capacity-3MS	be-Pres

She has the capacity to fight.

In this sentence, the locative subject is the only possible antecedent of the reflexive, suggesting that either the locative nominal

is the subject or the sentence does not have any subject. Again, one can use pronominals to further test our assumptions.

55	bɑ-ke əndər	bɑ-ki	ləɾɑi	ləɾibe-ki	hɪmmət	ɛ
	S/he-3S-Obl-Gen inside-Loc	his/her-Gen	fight-3FS	fight-Gen	capacity-3MS	be-Pres
	S/he has the capacity to fight.					

The pronominal cannot refer to the subject in their minimal finite clause, and in sentence (55), the pronominal will always refer to someone other than the locative marked subject. Therefore, even locative subjects pass the test.

4.6. Ablative Subjects

56.	dʊkɑn-tɛ	log-ø	bɑer	jɑye	rəe	Te
	shop-3FS-Abl	people-3Pl-Nom	Outside	go	stay-3Pl-Impf	be-3Pl-Pst
	People were going out of the shop.					

57.	bij-tɛ	pədɑ-ø	nɪkəttʊ	ɛ
	seed-3MS-Abl	plant-3MS-Nom	out-3MS-Impf	be-3S-Pres
	Plants grow out of seeds.			

In Kannauji sentences (56) and (57), the ablative case marker-*tɛ*, is playing a crucial role in conveying the sense of source or origin in sentences. The semantic completeness of the sentences above relies on addressing both the source and the subject of transformation or change. Consequently, nominals marked with the ablative case are semantically treated as subjects, emphasizing their significance in these constructions.

4.7. Ergative Subjects

In the nominative–accusative construction in Hindi-Urdu and Kannauji, the verb agrees with the subject in the nominative case. In the ergative–absolutive construction, the subject carries an ergative marker depending upon the transitive nature, aspect, modality and finiteness of the verb (Davison 2004; Hook and Koul 2004; Kachru 1980) and agrees with the object since the subject is not blocked with a postposition.

Ergative subjects are the only subjects where the case marker is always given to an Agent. So, just by the semantic properties, DPs marked with an ergative can be said to be a subject. An ergative subject exhibits all the properties of the subject, for example ,as a local antecedent in Hindi-Urdu (58) and Kannauji (59):

58.	rahʊl$_i$-ne	əpəni	roṭi-ø	bənayi
	rahul-3MS-Erg	self-Gen	bread-3FS-Abs	make-3FS-Perf
	Rahul cooked his own bread.			

59.	rahʊlᵢ-nɛ rahul-3MS-Erg	əpəyĩ self-Gen	roṭi-ø bread-3FS-Abs	bənayi make-3FS-Perf

Rahul cooked bread.

or, as a long distance antecedent to an anaphor in Kannauji (60):

60.	rahʊl-nɛ	sɪmrən-tɛ	[PRO əpəɛ	ləyɛ̃	roṭi-ø	bənəyibe-kɔ̃	kəo
	rahul-3MS-Erg	simran-3FS-Inst	self-Gen	For	bread-3FS-Abs	make-3FS-Impf	say-3MS-Perf

Rahul asked Simran to make a bread for himself.

The subject can also be tested with a pronominal where the subject wouldn't be coreferred to by a pronoun in its own maximal projection:

61.	rahʊl-nɛ rahul-3MS-Erg	sɪmrən-tɛ simran-3FS-Inst	[PRO ba-kɛ his-Gen	ləyɛ̃ for	roṭi-ø bread-3FS-Abs	bənəyibe-kɔ̃ make-3FS-Impf	kəo say-3MS-Perf

Rahul asked Simran to make a bread for himself.

In this sentence, Rahul is asking Simran to make chapati for someone else who cannot be him as the subject and the pronoun are not coreferential. These subjects also satisfy the PRO test, as in sentence (60). Therefore, we can say that nouns marked with an ergative marker are also subjects.

5. Conclusion

The Nominative Case, traditionally considered a perfect fit for the role of a subject, is often designated for the agent. However, it is erroneous to conclude that the nominative case is universally indispensable, especially in the context of Indo-Aryan languages. Certain situations demand the use of other cases to express ideas more effectively or in a socially acceptable manner. These alternative cases, which legitimately fulfill the properties of a subject, are non-nominative in nature, and the subjects they form are called non-nominative subjects. In this study, we explored the various possibilities of subjects, particularly focusing on the data in Kanauji and Hindi-Urdu. The examples discussed illustrate that Kanauji behaves much akin to the related and neighboring languages in the area, especially Hindi-Urdu, in showing a rich system of case markings as well as having subjects with dative, instrumental, genitive, ablative, and locative case markers among others. Among these markers also, dative was found to be the most productive. Our investigation encompassed different parameters to determine the

extent to which the Non-nominative subjects display the fundamental properties of a subject.

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THE PROCESS OF CAUSATIVISATION IN MAITHILI: A MORPHO-SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This paper delves into the process of causativisation in Maithili, presenting a morpho-semantic analysis that unveils the mechanisms governing the formation of various causative forms. Building upon the work of linguists like Comrie, Dixon, and Shibatani, the study explores the interplay between morphological and semantic elements in creating causative constructions. The analysis classifies distinct patterns observed in intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs, with a comparison to Hindi. The paper provides explanation for the verbs in Maithili that cannot be causativised morphologically, and also discusses the formation of false causatives in Maithili with regard to the default form of causative verbs.

Keywords: Causativisation, Maithili, Verb, Mopho-Semantics

1. Introduction

There have been various attempts to categorise the process of causative formation in terms of valency, transitivity, theta roles, syntactic structure, etc. However, it appears as though the debate has settled down to the fact that the above-mentioned factors are not sufficient to understand an overall picture with regard to the types that the processes of causativisation create across the semantic-classes of verbs and, thus, these factors seem to have no relevance when discussed in isolation. It is widely agreed upon that a causative situation involves two components – the event, and the cause of the event (Comrie 1989) (Shibatani 1976: 1). For example,

1. mohən   əkʰbɑr   pəṛʰəyɪ čʰe

   Mohan.NOM   newspaper.ACC   read.PROG PRS

   Mohan is reading the newspaper.'

2. mɑ   mohən-ke   əkʰbɑr
   pə ṛʰ.abəyɪ   čʰe

   Mother. NOM   Mohan-DAT   newspaper. ACC
   read. CAUS. PROGPRS

   The mother is making Mohan read the newspaper.

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Here, we have the event of Mohan reading the newspaper, but this event is brought on by the mother making Mohan read the newspaper, which becomes the cause of the event. Dixon (2000) presents a different kind of characterization – "a causative construction involves the specification of an additional argument, a causer, onto a basic clause." In the above example, the addition of the argument 'ma' characterizes causativisation.

The primary objective of this study is to unravel the mechanisms underlying causativisation in Maithili, with a focus on how morphological and semantic elements interact to create different causative forms.

According to Yadav (1996), the analysis for causative constructions in Maithili must be able to:

"(i) readjustment of grammatical relations (e. g., subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique object, etc.) in view of the presence of an extra noun phrase (causer) in the corresponding causative sentence; and (ii) determining the case of the causee(s)." This perspective aligns for a need to perform a morpho-semantic analysis of the causative in Maithili.

The following section provides a comprehensive literature review on the morpho-semantic analyses of causativisation that examines the many theoretical approaches that have been pursued to undertake various studies on causativisation. Section 3 discusses the classification of the types of causatives in Maithili, and section 4 delves into a deeper evaluation for the rationale behind the classification.

2. Literature Review

Comrie (1989) emphasizes the existence of two component situations within any causative scenario, distinguishing the cause and its effect or result. He also discusses the characteristics of prototypical morphological causatives, highlighting their productivity and the limitations on iterativity in the causative process. Furthermore, Comrie addresses the semantic parameters of direct and indirect causation, drawing attention to the agency's role in controlling the realization of the effect.

Dixon's (2000) perspective adds an alternative characterization, focusing on the specification of an additional argument, the causer, in causative constructions. This perspective challenges the traditional 'two events' description, proposing a shift in how we conceptualize causative constructions.

Shibatani (2002) probes two important questions on the nature of causativisation, firstly, what are the types of events that are more likely to be lexicalized as an atomic unit, and secondly, how are these verbs related to other types of verbs morphologically and semantically. Shibatani also points out that inactive predicates are more likely to be

causativised than active predicates. This is because an event that has a patient as a subject is easier to causativise morphologically. Based on Shibatani (2002) findings, Launey (2002) offers an explanation for the '–tia' and '–l-tia' causativisation in classical Nahuatl. According to their analysis, since the agent slot is empty, causativisation can easily introduce a new agent argument, and when the agent slot is already filled, an extra step is needed to accommodate a new agent in the case of active and transitive verbs.

Schafer (2009)'s work on causative alternation provides a framework for us to analyze the actual base of a causativised verb. The question that needs to be answered is in a causative alternation, which one is the lexical base, and which is the derived base. It is also imperative to answer where does this derivation occur in our grammar. In Maithili, there are a number of verbs that appear to be the derived causative forms, but as we shall see later in our discussion further, those verbs are actually the lexical forms.

Shibatani's (2002) claim is found to be supported by Hasplemath (1993) by stating that the most important condition on ability of verbs to participate in a causative alternation is the absence of agent-oriented meaning component. Since the verb does not have an agent, it cannot contain agent oriented semantic elements. Verbs like these are classified as inactive, or unaccusative verbs, and as already mentioned before, this criteria does not hold true for Maithili. Therefore, a new approach towards the analysis of causative constructions in Maithili is needed.

Das and Choi (2007) delve into the semantics and morphology of causative verbs in Hindi, dissecting them based on their contextual functions. Through this comprehensive analysis, they introduce a systematic four-way classification for causative verbs in Hindi. Notably, they introduce two new terms to facilitate a clearer understanding of the causativization process: "de-transitivized verbs" and "pseudo-ditransitive verbs." These terms serve to categorize the causative verbs in Hindi, providing a more structured and insightful framework for understanding their usage and behavior within the language.

Saksena (1983) challenges the prevailing notion of causativisation as a merely agent insertion mechanisms, and instead views it as a foregrounding and backgrounding mechanism. This provides a comprehensive account for causativisation in languages where it manifests as subject contrast, and in those where it takes the form of an additional agent contrast.

Saksena (1982) underscores the limitations of the existing notions of first vs. second causative, and causative vs. non-causative, and instead makes generalizations based on direct and indirect causation, which is a largely semantic explanation. A causative paradigm is established where the number and types of permissible contrasts can be presented. In essence, the proposed model becomes

indispensable for achieving explanatory adequacy in our descriptions of causatives. By departing from relative notions like causative vs. non-causative or First vs. Second causative, which lack constant semantic values, and advocating for the use of a model with absolute semantic parameters, this paper argues for a more comprehensive and universally applicable framework for understanding causative semantics.

3. Classification

Verbs in Maithili are causativised in the following manner.

3.1 Intransitives

The intransitive verbs take on the '–(y)e' marker to form direct causatives, and '–be' marker to form indirect causatives.

For example,

3. bəčča   kʰəsle

   Child.NOM   fall.PST

   The child fell.

4. rɑm   bəčča-ke   kʰəselke

    Ram.NOM   child-DAT   fall.CAUS.PST

   'Ram made the child fall.

5. rɑm   mohən-sə   bəčča-ke   kʰəsbelke

   Ram.NOM Mohan-INSTR child-DAT   fall.CAUS2.PST

   *Ram made Mohan to fall the child.

In (4), the –e marker indicates the causer of the event is someone else (Ram), and not the subject of the verb, that is bəčča. Similarly, in example (5), the causer of the event is Ram indirectly, and Mohan directly. All intransitive verbs that can form causatives, have been observed to make both forms, C1 and C2[2]. This is similar to Hindi intransitive verb forms. Almost all intransitive verbs in Hindi can be causativised morphologically, and have both C1 and C2 forms.

However, there are some intransitive verbs in Maithili that cannot be causativised at all. Some of these verbs are – 'məhɪrɑ' (wither), 'kʰokʰiyɑ' (cough), 'kãpəyɪ' (shiver), 'hərɑ' (lose), 'mɑsɑl' (crush).

3.2 Transitive

Transitive verbs with valency two are shown to causativise in three ways. The first are verbs that can show both direct and indirect causation. Verbs in this class include 'pɑɽʰəyɪ' (read), 'kʰɑyɪ' (eat), 'sunəyɪ' (hear), etc. For example,

6. ram ək^hbar pəṛ^həyı č^he

   Ram.NOM   newspaper.ACC   read.PROG   PRS

   'Ram is reading a newspaper.

7. ma ram-ke ək^hbar paṛ^habəyı č^he

   mother.NOM Ram-DAT   newspaper.ACC   read.   CAUS1.
   PROG   PRS

   The mother is making Ram read the newspaper.

8. ma ram-ke rəmes-sə ək^hbar paṛ^hbabəyı č^he

   mother.NOM   Ram-DAT   Ramesh-Instrnewspaper.ACC
   read.CAUS2.PROG   PRS

   The mother is making Ramesh read the newspaper to Ram.

In the above examples, (6) has two arguments by virtue of 'read' being a transitive verb. In (7), the verb is causativised, and is presented with an additional dative argument. In (8), with the addition of a new participant in the instrumental role, we have the indirect causative form of the verb.

Next, there are the forms which have only one causative form, apart from the base form.

9. həm borḍ mıṭelıye

   1SG.NOM   board.DAT   erase.PST

   I erased the board.

10. həm borḍ ram-sə mıṭbelıye

    1SG.NOM   board.DAT Ram-Instr erase.CAUS2.PST

    I made Ram erase the board.

Then, there are transitive verbs which appear to create both causative forms, however, the first form is more often than not synonymous with the second form. For example

11. həm kəpṛa kaṭəlıye

    1SG.NOM   cloth.ACC   cut.

    I cut the cloth.'

12. həm kəpṛa dərjı-sə kəṭelıye

    1SG.NOM cloth.ACC tailor-INSTR cut.CAUS1.PST.PRF

    I made the tailor cut the cloth.

13. həm kəpṛa dərjı-sə kəṭbelıye

    1SG.NOM   cloth.ACC   tailor-INSTR   cut.CAUS1   .PST.
    PRF

    I made the tailor cut the cloth.

The sentence in (12) is synonymous with the sentence in (13), since there is no difference in the actual meaning of the sentences. Speakers can either say 'kəṭelɪye' or 'kəṭbelɪye' and there will be no difference in the meaning between both the sentences. Das (2017) calls these types of constructions in Hindi as false friends. A similar phenomenon can be seen in Hindi with verbs like 'kaṭnɑ' (to cut), 'toṛnɑ' (to break), 'pʰoṛnɑ' (to smash), 'bãṭnɑ' (to distribute). They have two physical forms of causatives that mean the same, and occur in similar contexts.

3.3 Ditransitive

The ditransitive verbs show a regular pattern in Maithili. None of the ditransitive verbs form the direct causative, and the addition of an extra participant can only be done through the addition of an instrumental object, since the roles of the direct and indirect object are already fulfilled. However, in Hindi, we find that even the ditransitive verbs appear to create both C1 and C2 form, but all these C1 forms are false causatives. As stated in Das (2017), the verb 'denɑ' (to give) can be causativised in two forms – 'dɪlɑnɑ' (C1) and 'dɪlwɑnɑ' (C2). However, both these verbs essentially mean the same, since they have the same valency. Maithili makes it impossible for verbs to have a fake causative form for ditransitive verbs:

14. həm   okrɑ   kɪ čʰ   kəhəlɪye

    1SG.NOM   3SG.DAT something   say.PST

    I told him something.

15. *həm   okrɑ   mohən-sə kɪčʰ   kəhelɪye

    1SG.NOM   3SG.DAT   Mohan-INSTR
    something   say.CAUS1.PST

    I made Mohan tell him something.

16. həm   okrɑ   mohən-sə kɪčʰ   kəhbelɪye

    1SG.NOM   3SG.DAT   Mohan-INSTR
    something   say.CAUS2.PST

    I made Mohan tell him something.

4. Analysis

This section shall deal with an in-depth analysis for the categorization proposed above.

4.1 Intransitives

When it comes to intransitive verbs, most of these verbs can be systematically accounted for. The morphological causativisation of intransitive verbs seems to be a regular productive phenomenon in Maithili, since these verbs have a low valency, and are more susceptible to an increase in valency. The empty space for participants to be added makes it easier for intransitive verbs to be causativised. However, there

seem to be some exceptions to this description. There are some intransitive verbs that can be causativised periphrastically, but not morphologically. Some examples are 'məhɪra' (wither), 'kʰokʰiya' (cough), 'kãpəyɪ' (shiver), 'həra' (lost)

It has been observed by Shibatani (2002) that intransitives show variation when it comes to undergoing morphological causativisation. He refers to Perlmutter's (1978) unaccusative hypothesis to state that the 'active intransitives' (unergative) are less susceptible to causative conversion, as compared to the 'inactive predicates' (unaccusative). These unaccusative verbs are the ones who have a theme or a patient in place of an agentive subject.

According to Shibatani (2002)'s analysis, verbs that have a subject performing the role of a patient, or an agentless subject, would be easier to causativise since the space for an agent would be empty, that would be then added by the causative form of the verb. It is also observed that in active transitives, since the slot of the agent is already covered, it would require an extra step, to remove the old agent, move it to a patient position, and add a new agent.

However, when we observe evidences from Maithili we find that the opposite of Shibatani's analysis is true. Verbs like 'məhɪra' (wither), 'kʰokʰiya' (cough), 'kãpəyɪ' (shiver), 'həra' (lost), which don't include an agent in their semantic structure, do not get causativised morphologically. The only way to causativise these verbs is by adding a clause that essentially means X caused Y to happen.

For example

17. həm   kãpəyɪ   čʰɪ
    1SG.NOM   shiver   PRS

    'I am shivering.'

18. həm   tʰənɖa   dware   kãpəyɪ   čʰɪ
    1SG.NOM   cold   cause   shiver   PRS

    'I am shivering due to cold.'

19. pʰul   məhɪræl   čʰe
    flower.NOM   wither.PRF   PRS

    'The flowers have been withered.'

20. gərmɪ   dware   pʰul   məhɪræl   čʰe
    heat   cause   flower   wither.PRF   PRS

    The heat has caused flowers to wither.

As opposed to Shibatani (2002), when it comes to the active intransitives, the ones who already have an agent, it is almost always possible to causativise them. These include verbs like cry, sleep, laugh, etc.

For example, cry

21. həm   kanəlıye

      1SG.NOM   cry.PST.PRF

      I cried.

22. rɑm   həmrɑ   kənelke

      Ram.NOM   1SG.DAT   cry.CAUS1.PST.PRF

      Ram made me cry.

23. rɑm   bəčča-ke həmrɑ-sə   kənbelke

      Ram.NOM   child-ACC   1SG.DAT-INSTR
      cry.CAUS2.PST.PRF

      Ram made me make the child cry.

An explanation for this can be based on Schaffer (2009), where he divides English unaccusatives into two: pure unaccusatives, and alternating unaccusatives. The latter are able to undergo causative alternation, that is they can be used as both transitive and intransitive verbs without a change of form. For example,

> The vase broke.

> John broke the vase.

The verb 'broke', in the first sentence, has a patient subject (making it unaccusative), and has then been causativised in the second sentence, to take an ageThe pure unaccusatives are the ones which cannot participate in causative alternation, for example, the verb 'fell' in English.

> The vase fell.

> *He fell the vase

This is because, as proposed by Schaffer (2009), causative alternation requires for the verb to participate in a change of state. The verbs that fall under the category of pure unaccusatives are the ones that do not express a change of state.

The intransitive verbs in Maithili that do not undergo morphological causativisation appear to fall under the pure unaccusative type.

A possible explanation for this is the semantic structuring of these verbs. The verbs that need an agent for the action to be performed, can add another agent to it which initiates the action indirectly. However, verbs like 'to cough', or 'to wither', that have patients as the subject of the sentence, cannot add an agent. Since, these verbs do not have a place for an agent to be added in their semantic framework in the first place.

4.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs have two arguments, the subject and the object. When they undergo a causative construction, the number of participants increases, and we have the subject, direct object, indirect object, and in some cases, an oblique object. For example

24. mohən   kɪtab   pəṛʰəyɪ   čʰe

    Mohan.NOM   book.ACC   read PRS

    Mohan is reading a book.

25. mohən   bhya-ke kɪtab   pəṛʰabəyɪ   čʰe

    Mohan.NOM   brother-DAT   book.ACCeadCAU2
    PRS

    'Mohan is making brother read a book.'

26. mɑ   mohən -sə bhya-ke kɪtab pəṛʰbabəyɪ   čʰe

    Mother.NOM   Mohan-INST   brother-DAT
    book.ACC read.CAUS2   PRS

'The mother is making brother read the book through Mohan.'

'pəṛʰəyɪ' (read) goes through both direct and indirect causativisation. In the direct form, it adds a dative participant, and in the indirect form, it adds and instrumental participant.

However, this is not true for all transitive verbs. There are two other classes of transitive verbs – one that have only the indirect causative form, such as 'jəlabəyɪ' (burn), 'bənabəyɪ' (make), 'sʊkʰabəyɪ' (dry), and one that appear to have both forms, but both forms actually mean the same, for example 'kaṭəyɪ' (cut), 'toṛəyɪ' (break), 'pʰoṛəyɪ' (smash)

The verb cut, can have the following forms

27. həm   peṛ   kaṭəlɪye

    1SG.NOM   tree.ACC   cut.PRF

    I cut the tree.

28. həm   mohən-sə   peṛ   kəṭelɪye

    1SG.NOM Mohan-IN tree.ACC   cut.CAUS1.PRF

    I made Mohan cut the tree.

29. həm   mohən-sə   peṛ   kəṭbelɪye

    SG.NOM Mohan-INSTR tree.ACC   cut.CAUS2.PRF

    I made Mohan cut the tree.

30. əɪ   sɑl   bəḍ   peɽ   kəṭle

    This   year   many   tree   cut.PRF

    This year many trees were cut.

(27) is straightforward. We have an agent subject, and a patient object. (28) and (29) have been described in the literature as the direct and indirect causative, respectively. However, upon a closer look on the verbs, we see that the so called direct and indirect form of the verbs actually mean the same thing. They lack the distinction that a direct and indirect form of causatives must have – the number of participants. In the first example, we have a nominative subject and an accusative object. However, in the second and third example, we have a causee, an instrumental participant, and an affected participant.

Drawing parallels with the transitive verbs that undergo a regular causative formation such as 'to read' –

31. mohən   kɪtab   pəɽʰəyɪ čʰe

    Mohan.NOM   book.ACC   read   PRS

    Mohan is reading a book.

32. mohən   bhya-ke kɪtab   pəɽʰabəyɪ   čʰe

    Mohan.NOM brother-DAT book.ACC read.CAUS2 PRS

    Mohan is mking brother read a book.

33. mɑ   mohən-sə bhya-ke kɪtab   pəɽʰbabəyɪ   čʰe

    mother.NOM   Mohan-INST   brother-DAT
    book.ACC   read.CAUS2   PRS

    The mother is making brother read the book through Mohan.

Here, the direct causative verb in (32) has a dative participant, and the indirect causative form in (33) has an additional instrumental participant, along with the dative participant. This is followed in case of other verbs in the category such as 'kʰenayɪ' (eat). However, the verb 'kaṭəyɪ' (cut) cannot take a dative participant, as seen in (28), which tells us that the form kəṭʰelɪe is actually a false causative form. Here, 'cut' can only take an additional instrumental participant, and this establishes that 'kəṭbelɪye'is the only true causative. However, both these forms are used interchangeably by speakers. This holds true for many verbs of the type, such as 'bãṭəlɪye'/'bəṭelɪye' (to say),' kʰoləlɪye'/'kʰulelɪye' (to open). A similar phenomenon can be seen in Hindi too, where the direct and indirect forms of some transitive verbs are used interchangeably.

The proposed reason for the creation of these false causatives is the presence of a phonological space in these verbs, and the speakers tend to overgeneralise the morphological rules of causativisation. The long vowel in the first syllable is shortened, and the second vowel is lengthened. The set of verbs that do not create a false causative such as 'bənelɪye' (to make), do not have that empty space needed for the direct causative marker to be added, since the vowel is already present there. However, we also need to establish that 'bənelIye' is indeed the default lexicon, and not 'bəIn'.

The verb 'to make' can take the following forms in Maithili

34. kʰenaɪ   bənəɪ   čʰe

    food.NOM   make   PRS

    Food is being made.

35. mohən kʰenaɪ   bənabəɪ čʰe

    Mohan.NOM   food.ACC   make   PRS

    Mohan is making the food.

36. mohən   sonu-sə kʰenaɪ   bənbabəɪ   čʰe

    Mohan.NOM   Sonu-INSTR   food.ACC
    make.CAUS2   PRS

    Mohan is making Sonu cook the food

According to the evidences provided by Rheinhart (2005) and Chiercha (1989), we propose that the verb 'bənəɪ' in (34) is formed through a process of morphological reduction. The actual verb stored in our lexicon is 'bənabəɪ' (35), the transitive verb. It undergoes a process of de-transitivisation to reduce the number of participants, and for removal of the agent from the semantic structure of the verb.

So here, we have a structure as follows –

Intransitive ← Transitive verb → indirect causative

Similarly, in examples (27) and (28), we can conclude that (28) is the default form of the form, and (27) is derived from it.

4.3 Ditransitive

Ditransitive verbs, as explained above, have only the indirect form of causative. Since the verb already has a valency of three, the process of causativisation is able to add only one more participant through an oblique case. This is seen uniformly throughout the language. The way transitive verbs create false forms of direct causatives is not applicable here, since most of these ditransitive verbs

are not able to support the direct causative morphology due to the structure of the sounds, as in the case of transitive verb 'bənelɪye' (to make). For example, the verbs like 'pəṭʰelɪye' (to send), 'delɪye' (to give), 'kəhəlɪye' (to say), etc, will not be able to support the direct causative morpheme. Therefore, neither the semantic framework of these verbs, and nor the phonetic form of these words, allow them to create a direct form of the causative.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has delved into the intricate mechanics of causativization in Maithili, focusing on the interplay of morphological and semantic elements in generating diverse causative forms. It is widely acknowledged that causative situations entail two crucial components: the event itself and the cause that precipitates it. Various scholars, including Comrie, Dixon, and Shibatani, have contributed differing yet complementary viewpoints to elucidate the underlying principles governing causativization.

The morphological causativization of intransitive verbs in Maithili demonstrates a systematic and productive phenomenon, primarily due to their lower valency, leaving room for additional participants. However, exceptions do exist, such as the inability of verbs like 'məhɪrɑ' (wither), 'kʰokʰiyɑ' (cough), 'kãpəyɪ' (shiver), 'hərɑ' (lost), to be causativized morphologically, which raises intriguing questions about the interplay of valency and causativization. Contrary to the analyses by Shibatani (2002), active intransitive verbs in Maithili, those already possessing an agent, are generally amenable to causativization, as they can easily accommodate another agent.

Transitive verbs in Maithili exhibit a diversity of causative formations, including both direct and indirect causative forms. However, a closer examination reveals that some verbs, like 'to cut' produce a false causative, as the direct and indirect forms effectively convey the same meaning, establishing the same semantic structure. Additionally, the presence of false causatives in some transitive verbs suggests the influence of phonological factors and overgeneralization in the morphological rules governing causativization.

As we delve into the complexities of this language's causative constructions, we enhance our understanding of the broader field of linguistics and the intricate mechanisms that underlie the creation and transformation of linguistic structures. Further research and exploration in this area promise to shed more light on the nature of causative processes, not only in Maithili but in language systems more broadly.

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ARTFUL UTTERANCES: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ART AND LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

Language plays a critical role in shaping our understanding and interpretation of art. Artistic expression, or, say, art forms, such as paintings, sculptures, poetry, music, literature, and performance art, often convey complex ideas, emotions, and experiences that are difficult to express through words alone. Art has a unique and universal language which everybody can understand and interpret.

The research employs case studies covering diverse artistic movements, spanning traditional fine arts to contemporary digital mediums. Key themes include using written language as an artistic medium and exploring how artists incorporate textual elements into their creations, whether as explicit narratives or symbolic codes. It further investigates the impact of linguistic theories, such as semiotics and structuralism, on the interpretation of visual art, unveiling how viewers engage with and derive meaning from artistic compositions.

Further, artful utterances contribute to the on-going discourse on the intersection of art and language, emphasising the significance of a holistic understanding for writers, scholars, artists, and enthusiasts alike. By unravelling the intricate layers of this dynamic relationship, the paper invites further exploration into the boundless possibilities and rich tapestry created when the realms of art and language intertwine.

The present study explores the symbiotic relationship between art and language, delving into the profound interconnections that shape the landscape of human expression. Through an interdisciplinary lens, the study investigates how language informs the creation and interpretation of visual art, examining the intricate ways in which artists utilise linguistic elements, symbols, and narratives to imbue their works with layered meanings.

Keywords: Language, Art, Linguistics, Culture, Symbolism.

1. Introduction

Human beings have been given an ability to communicate. Their communicative medium can be many, however, language and art are primarily significant. The two mediums of art and language, which are sometimes seen as separate forms of expression, work together in a

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way that is captivating and goes beyond the limits of visual and verbal communication (Hanna, 1987). A rich symphony of meaning is created by the complex interaction between brushstrokes and word rhythms, which deepens our comprehension of both artistic and linguistic expression (Booth & Hachiya, 2004). We can express our feelings, attitudes, inclinations, adoration and many other moods by selecting words in the form of language or through artistic symbols, shapes or forms. Our selection of a particular 'word' reflects our intention, motivation and subjective feelings. Similarly, in art, we can communicate our inner urges with the help of shapes, colour-tones and abstract forms. We may understand the psychology of colour schemes and convey our message accordingly. Thus, both language and art are the significant medium of human communication. However, both have their respective ways or modes of communication but art has its universality in this sphere.

2. The Visual as Verbal: Language in Visual Art

Throughout history, artists have acknowledged the significance of language as a powerful component in their artistic creations (Carter, 2015). Textural elements have made their way onto canvases, sculptures, and mixed-media works, ranging from ancient scripts to contemporary calligraphy (Ross, 2014). Words turn into brushstrokes, sentences develop into visual stories, and letters take on abstract forms in this subtle integration (Birch & Fulop, 2020). Art has its own specific language of communication. Its symbolic representation, colour expression, shapes and diagrams can be understood to all the lovers of art.

Examining the works of modern artists that use language as a primary media, such as Barbara Kruger and Jenny Holzer, these artists produce art that melds the visual and spoken arts together. While Holzer's LED installations illuminate public spaces with thought-

provoking words, turning language into a dynamic visual spectacle, Kruger's iconic black-and-white photographs embellished with bold textual declarations challenge viewers to examine the conventions of society.

2.1. Linguistic Theories at Play: Semiotics and Structuralism

Linguistic ideas must be investigated in order to delve further into the relationship between language and art (Bühler, 1990). Through the lens of semiotics, the study of signs and symbols, one can decipher the complex layers of meaning found in artworks (Najafi & Abbas, 2014). Allegories, metaphors, and symbols are used in art to entice spectators to participate in semiotic deciphering, in which visual signals serve as verbal signifiers (Mensah & Nyong, 2022).

Another well-known philosophy that emphasises the fundamental structures guiding language and culture is structuralism (Alexander & Smith, 2001). These structural frameworks are frequently used by artists to incorporate political, social, and cultural implications into their creations (Roseberry, 1994). By following and defying linguistic conventions, the visual takes on the role of a language and provides viewers with a multifaceted experience that extends beyond the canvas (Shenishen, 2023). Art has its language, which does not combine with words or sentences but symbols and diagrams or other art forms. It still plays a significant role in directing the commoner to know the authentic message for which the piece of art is meant. So, communication through art can be effective more quickly than any language composition based on words and sentences.

2.2. Reciprocal Influence: Language Shaping Art

Language and the arts have a mutually beneficial relationship. Linguistic trends are often shaped and reflected by artistic movements and cultural developments (Trend, 1992). During the Renaissance, topics and subject matter in art were affected by a resurgence of interest in classical literature (Kristeller, 1990). Comparably, the development of conceptual art in the 20th century upended preconceived ideas about the link between language and art, resulting in a mutually reinforcing and transforming effect (Apostolos-Cappadona, 2017). The digital era has led to the emergence of a new

type of linguistic and visual fusion in modern life. Memes, gifs, and digital art subvert conventional communication channels and produce a hybrid language that encapsulates our quickly changing cultural environment (Paul, 2023). So, instead of a long and challenging use of words, only symbols or digits can now work. Such a position has already been taken by abstract art.

2.3. Beyond Boundaries: The Cultural Impact of Artful Utterances

Creative expression adds to the cultural tapestry by offering a forum for discussion, criticism, and celebration (Haskins, 2015). Street murals, digital displays, and public art projects engage communities by promoting a feeling of shared identity and societal conversation (Cartiere, & Zebracki, 2015). The combination of language and art in education provides a comprehensive method of instruction. Through acknowledging the interdependence of different artistic mediums, educators may foster students' critical thinking, language proficiency, and cultural sensitivity (Garrett-Rucks, 2016).

2.4. The Endless Dialogue

"Artful Utterances" transports us to a realm where words and images converse constantly, reshaping our understanding, testing our assumptions, and encouraging us to investigate the deep relationships between language and the arts (Pamuk, 2019). By dissecting this complex interaction, we might discover fresh perspectives on comprehending, expressing, and valuing the beauty that results from words turning into art and art turning into language (Pearson, 2011). We must also understand that it is language with words and sentences that can explain the complexity of any artistic piece with its vitality. So, general masses can understand the deep meaning and message of a creative product art through linguistic analysis. Thus, language and art has their close affinity and both are essential for effective communication.

3. Conclusion

Artful utterances exploring the relationship between art and language demonstrate the close relationship between language and art, showing how they, both enhance and balance one another in a dynamic symbiosis. We have seen first-hand the ability of art to communicate

complex emotions, ideas, and tales through visual, aural, and tactile means by thoroughly exploring a wide range of artistic forms and linguistic expressions.

Art possesses a universal language that can elicit visceral reactions beyond the scope of words alone, connecting people from different backgrounds and generations. Language also acts as a framework for understanding, interpreting, and contextualising art, providing information on artistic expression's social, cultural, and historical aspects.

The inbuilt human urge to create, communicate, and establish connections with one another through artistic expression is brought to our attention as we negotiate the complex terrain of language and art. Artful utterances continue to grab our imagination, engage our intellect, and stir our souls, whether through a poem's brushstroke, melody, or cadence.

The interplay between language and art provides hope in a world where differences are frequently met with division and strife by promoting empathy, understanding, and harmony. Let's continue celebrating the diversity of human creativity while embracing the transformative potential of artful utterances. The conversation between art and language encourages us to build stronger bonds, widen our horizons, and foster a more lively and inclusive society.Finally, language is critical in shaping our understanding and interpretation of art and thought. Art can give a message that all can understand. Multiple artistic expressions or, say, art forms, such as paintings, sculptures, poetry, music, literature, and performance art, often convey complex ideas, emotions, and experiences that are difficult to express through words alone. Art has a unique and universal language that everybody can understand and interpret as per one's understanding and suitability. Language and art have a common platform—to convey a message. Words and symbols have standard modes of communication, and both complement each other. The message of art is brief, immediate and effective, whereas language can impart a complex and detailed one. Thus, language and art have a close relationship in conveying and understanding the message.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF PUNJABI LANGUAGE: A CRITICAL STUDY

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ABSTRACT

A dormant debate on Indian languages' historiography is densely shadowed by Orientalism. At least in India, no one looks into this field. The propositions are not allowing linguistics to expand beyond language structure. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the doctrines on which language historiography is based, in general, and with reference to Punjabi, in particular. As proto-languages are not the last resort to end all debates on language history, this paper made a step forward in analysing the offspring-origin theory. Neither of these doctrines is scientific, but biblical in interpretation. Language development is distorted by these considerations in linguistics, on which objective historiography should be based. Why was India only an import centre? Why couldn't Indian languages come from the subcontinent? In this paper, we will examine alternative trends in language history.

Keywords: Language Historiography, Orientalism, Offspring-Doctrine, Proto Language, Mosaic   Ethnology, Colonialism

1.   Introduction

Historiography of Indian languages has been dormant for a long time. In this field of study, we don't see any new theoretical discoveries; all the studies are based on orientalist propositions. Theoretically, these types of suggestions are biased and based on 'Mosaic Ethnology', which is a subjective interpretation. It is easy to relate this discourse to theological propagation. Language history was studied with a colonial mindset, making Indian languages destitute.

It is very problematic to interpret the historical development of languages based on biblical origin when Mosaic Ethnology doctrines are questionable. Unfortunately, most Indian research doesn't want to shed its colonial cloak. Following the path shown in the prior-mentioned outlook, they continued interpreting Indian languages.

In contrast, we can find alternative views on the historical development of languages; some scholars have firmly criticized colonialism. For instance, Ram Vilas Sharma (शर्मा1980), Bhagwan Singh (सिंह1973)and Abhay Kumar Dubey (दुबे2020)offer an initial

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glimpse into some of these alternative trends, contrasted with the popular but reactionary beaten path mentioned above.

Punjabi's historiography is no different from other Indian languages, especially Indo-Aryans; there is a doctrine claiming that contemporary languages are descendants of Sanskrit and ultimately, they are proto-Indo-European in origin.

In an alternative view, Indian languages originated on the subcontinent, and should be studied in a context of coexistence. There are two recent publications by Manzur Ejaz that discuss Punjabi's roots in the prehistoric era (Ejaz 2020, 2021). There are many writings by Ainul Haq Faridkoti, but his most famous work is a monograph titled Pre-Aryan Origin of Pakistani languages (Faridkoti 1992). It discusses the origins of Pakistani and north Indian languages - Urdu, Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi. He considered these languages to be continuations of the Dravidian language family. Punjabi is seen as the continuation of Munda languages by Ejaz. To support his doctrine, he developed a 380-page comparative dictionary of Punjabi and Austroasiatic languages (Ejaz 2019).

According to Rama Shankar Tripathi, Punjab is the native place of the Dravidian population, and Punjabi is related to all regional languages, including Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit (Tripathi 1942). According to Witzel an amount of attention was paid to Vedic and Davidian in the attempts to decode the seals of the Indus Valley, which overshadowed the other possibilities (Witzel 2008). He suggested that none other than Austroasiatic and Para-Munda be used to relate these under discussion languages. Nevertheless, he suggested leaving this debate open until a better and firmer study could be conducted (Witzel 2019).

This paper examines some alternative trends in the historiography of Indian languages by analysing the offspring doctrine, although Punjabi remains our focus. This paper will attempt to revive dormant debates about Indian languages' history.

1.1 Historiography of Languages: A General Discussion

Language is the practical consciousness (Marx & Engels 2015 [1846]); it is the creative aspect of human consciousness. Humans are social, consciousness is social, and language is social. Every human society (regardless of its size) has developed its own language. During inter-clan contact (social contact), these languages developed shared features of living along with other languages. Feature exchange occurs regularly between languages. Social and linguistic advancements were made by developing a contact language. As a result, various societies and languages are integrated.

The investigation of language origins and historiography of language are fields where distorted doctrines are imposed in a way that makes finding the true theory difficult. Actuality was blurred by these doctrines; they don't correspond objective reality.

It is essential to establish this objective correspondence for a proposed doctrine. Doctrines cannot be validated without this, they remain subjective propositions only (Khurana 2021).

A hypothesis is always determined by philosophy, i.e., the outcome (doctrine) of outlook and philosophy. Therefore, the idealist philosophy works behind the offspring doctrine; Known as the Genealogical Classification of Languages.

Historiography of this type considers pre-established languages and language families. The proto-languages established all their features before interacting with other languages. This first language was divine, and their descendant languages were cursed or polluted. The formation of languages through relative contact is ignored. The proponents of this theory see transformation as distortion, not as development. We can also find attempts to create a higher, macrolanguage that would be the mother of all known language families, the Nostratic language family (Bomhard 1984).

2. Analysis of the Genealogical Approach

The establishment of the genealogical approach and off-spring hypotheses denies the process of language development through mutual contact. They are contradictory, both can't stand true at the same time. Off-spring doctrine establishes the perception of the descendants of many languages from one single ancient and perfect language. These languages are projected to be dependent on the mother language for all their features and it is being preached that these languages borrowed their terminology from that ancient mother language, because it is rather pure, so the speakers should go back to the history and have to respect their divine language. But there is always a long-standing question in front of this approach, i.e. *Why the process of language development could not happen another way, the opposite of this?* The answer we get to this question is always; *silence.*

We have to address this question, *what if the so-called genealogical hypothesis was not right?* As it is not got proven yet, it comes with a speculative disclaimer. In the case of Aryan languages, it is widely accepted that the modern Indo-Aryan languages are the offsprings of Sanskrit; this doctrine comes to the scene with the orientalists, especially with William Jones, Friedrich Max Müller, Robert Caldwell etc. and many more.

We are justified in accepting so far, the native opinion that Sanskrit is the parent of the whole family (Beames 1872: 2).

In the lifetime of Max Müller, there was no excavation of Harrapan Valley taking place; it was started later in 1920, i.e., many years after Max Müller, Caldwell and Jones. The point here is that they did not have any practical idea of the presence of any ancient civilization in India. They had some propositions, on which they built a doctrine of Aryan invasion, and the perception of language families, whose validity was never tested, and, after that, all the pieces of

evidence were used isolated to prove their validity, indeed, only usable pieces of evidence were kept and others were ignored. Logically it is not possible to interpret a historical event without knowing, what is preceding it. Then how we got to know without this knowledge, that the event we are studying is an alien event to the preceding or just a continued succession.

The archaeologist cannot identify the language of a culture if there is no writing or if the writing cannot be read. Therefore, the archaeologist cannot identify an archaeological culture as 'Aryan'. We have to wait until the Harrapa script is read before the proposed the identification of Harappans with Aryans can be considered (Thapar 2008: 20).

So, it is up to us that we want to interpret history on orientalists' racial insights or there is any possibility of reinvestigate the history on actual terms.

This interpretation of language history also faced criticism in its initial interpretations. In Max Müller, the Indo-European language family was known as the Aryan language family at first. This was the point of contradiction between the European scholars, though both sides were following a genealogical approach but from opposite sources; according to the first, the source is the Indian sub-continent and the latter considers the source in Europe, it is essential to mention Crawfurd here; he was contemporary to Max Müller and firm critique. In one of his papers, he commented on the question of antiquity and the parent land of Sanskrit as follows;

…Now of this strange history the Sanskrit language, although containing abundant ancient written records, tells us nothing. The very word Sanskrit itself is a fictitious one, and not, as in almost every other case, whether with Oriental or European nations, ancient as well as modern, derived from the name of the people who spoke it, or of the country in which it was spoken. It simply signifies "adorned, completed, perfect," a definition obviously showing that the word is the more recent creation of grammarians. Its writings make no reference to the parent country of the people of whom it was the living tongue. On the contrary, the names of heroes, gods, and places are confined to Hindustan, and more especially to the north-western portion of it (Crawfurd 1861: 268-69).

In this paper, Crawfurd criticized the Sanskrit supremacy claimed by Max Müller, Bopp and other orientalists. He also criticized the efforts to claim one macro language family, imposition of general rules for the comparative study of these languages, etc. But the essence of this paper was the anti-Indian origin of the Indo-European languages, and it has nothing in counter to the notions of language families and offspring-doctrine, which indicates that the debate of that time had the intra-notion contradictions. At the initial stage of the colonial rule, India was viewed as an image of that ancient culture which was propagated in Europe as the glory of the past, and a match with this culture was

being proposed in Europe, but this view faced criticism and the notion of one race was eroded and European dominance over Indians was maintained.Orientalists' interpretation of Indian languages is usually known to be associated or started with Jones, but it was started many years before that so-called historical event of 1786. But Italian merchant Filippo Sassetti (16th century) was to suggest the link between Sanskrit and some European languages (Thapar 2008). Roberto de Nobili was an Italian missionary, who arrived in India in 1606, learned Telegu, Tamil and Sanskrit, and started living impersonating a pundit, as he declared himself a Brahmin and even started following untouchability.

Père Coeurdoux (1691-1779) was a Jesuit priest in Puducherry who wrote a letter to Paris back in 1766 almost twenty years before the *discovery* of Jones. He pointed the cognates between Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek and according to him there could not be any other reason for these similarities, except their common origin; i.e., '*une commune origin'.*

In his concern to maintain harmony with the literal statements of the Bible in the Book of Genesis, Coeurdoux postulated one primitive "language" before Babel, which after the miracle became different but related "languages," including Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, growing further apart with time(Godfrey 1967: 59).

We can see, in these examples, a clear tendency to relate the origin of languages with the 'story of tower of babel'. On which the whole 'science of orientalist' was based.

India is a geographical point for them instead of a country, they try to construct the whole of the universe on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea.It is difficult but not impossible to comprehend to what extent they remain inspired by the story of Tower of Babel and Eve and Adam while doing so (सिंह1973: 45).

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed was also before Jones, who wrote Grammar of the Bengali language and noted similarity of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic words (Max Müller 1855). He conceptualized that these similarities can be framed to have happened right after the dawn of civilization.

These comparative studies are older than the lecture of William Jones, hence he can't be credited as the first and foremost.

a. These studies fall under a trend of related Indian languages to the Tower of Babel story.

b. In fact, these are not mere studies, but a part of a much larger propaganda to distort historical interpretations under presupposed mythical thought to deepen the roots of colonialization.

We can see Goldstücker's critique of the efforts of orientalists in distorting the interpretation of Vedas and literature, in his work he states firmly that the orientalists deliberately misinterpreted Indian literature, which is the only source of reference in the whole knowledge for the

world about ancient India. (Goldstücker 1861). Their misconceptions turned into suppurating sore for Indian history. Their comparative method was biased, cognates in various languages could also be the result of their co-existence rather than being sister, daughter, and mother languages. They used these similarities to take advantage to forward their propaganda.

Their Comparative analysis focuses on singularity; scholars usually compare one desired form with several of the same meaning with the other most desired available forms of other languages. Their tracing of words was limited to form not meaning. Although the sound correspondence itself is not limited, that means it is not only an intra-family phenomenon. Similarities are the result of inter-language, inter-family contact in co-existing. Indeed, similarities are lesser in quantity than dissimilarities among the languages. For instance;

It is reasonably to be objected to the words selected by the advocates of the Aryan theory,that they consist often of a single synonyme out of the many which exist in Sanskrit. Thus, heli is one word out of a score, for the sun, and from this is supposed to come the Latin sol and the Gothic suil, the German, the English, and the Erse having no term in the least resembling it. The far more frequent words for the sun in Sanskrit, surya and rawi, are unnoticed. For the moon they give the word masa, which signifies also a month, and from this is supposed to come the Latin mensis, and the Erse mios, the far more frequent Sanskrit words, chandra and soma, being taken no notice of, The Erse word in this case usually pronounced mis, I have no doubt comes direct from the Latin mensis, but I have just as little doubt that the latter does not come from the Sanskrit masa (Crawfurd 1861: 282).

Commenting in this Context Bhagwan Singh noted:

As far as the question of logic-skill is concerned, we can conclude from the examples of the arguments given in this debate that even a lie can be proved true and has been done so far. Not only this, a lie presented with full skill appears to be truer, while the truth in front of them remains a ridiculous thing (सिंह1973).

By these comparative studies, Sanskrit was claimed as the mother of Indo-Aryan languages and also a source of many words in Dravidian languages, and the offspring hypothesis tends to be proven. Several burdened adjectival phrases were being attached to Sanskrit; *'the perfect language', richer than others, the mother language'* etc. and this practice are still alive, but Suniti Kumar Chatterji states;

Sanskrit was not exactly the home language of any part of the country: - only in the centuries B.C. the dialects of the Panjab and the 'Midland' (i.e., Western United Provinces of the present day) appear to have given to Sanskrit its basic form(Chatterji 1942: 159).

However, Chatterji is a firm supporter of Sanskrit offspring-doctrine, this statement could be an instinctive statement responding to the objective reality, but most of the time we distort studies, discrediting

the simple logical things. We know the study in the genealogical approach is not an area of universal certainties, hence, rather considering the research problem in its context and studying it as a whole, we isolate it and consider some preconditions essential to study the history of language. This situation raises some questions, i.e., *What are these preconditions? Why are they so needed? And how do they affect our results? Are they the sources of biases?* But indeed, these preconditions are neither essential nor true in the studies. They never take us to the correct conclusions but distort the studies and also the mind which, unfortunately, results in biased studies. Let's see the following statement in this context;

Languages of this type are not produced with a social testament by adapting all languages within them. However, a language that is more important from a political, economic, or religious standpoint tends to become dominant over others. They influence and are influenced by other languages of their dominant region. They get polished by intellectuals while acquiring a general form arising from their regional forms. In the process, they enrich themselves by adapting the features of other languages and by sowing a large part of their vocabulary in them by diminishing the distinctions of other regional languages, and thus a common culture and language develops over a very large region; in a nation-society made up of many nationalities, in a land made up of many customs and beliefs. By inverting this entire sequence, scholars corrupt their interpretations and results (सिंह1973: 20).

This statement is concluded with an endnote mentioning Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Russian, French, German, Hindi etc. as these types of languages, which have been discussed above in the previous paragraph. According to our doctrine, as a result of presupposed and speculative studies based on genealogical approaches, there has been little contribution to the analysis of the actual development of languages, rather, their propagation has resulted in the worst for them. For instance, the orientalists' hypothesis of Indian languages influenced Grierson while conducting the Linguistics survey of India. His survey is a reference text for Indian language historiographers. If we leave the rest of the survey aside and look at the Punjabi section only, it ruined every possibility to study Punjabi as a language of the land of Punjab and the continuation of languages being spoken there. Contrary to this, he separated Punjabi in Lahnda - Western Punjabi and Punjabi – Eastern Punjabi (Grierson 1903) based on their source of origin of which they are the descendants according to him. It is as a result of their misconceptions about the development of Indian languages being imposed in such a way that they appear to be true and all alternative doctrines are tossed aside without any discussion, in fact, as a joke.

These philological readings coincided with and were instrumental in the European reconstruction of the past and present. By the late nineteenth century Social Darwinism – the adaptation of Darwinism to social history – was linked to what was emerging as 'race-science'. History was seen as involving the inter-action of races. This view

became a further reason justifying high imperialism when the upper classes were said to be the superior from German Romanticism and culminated in Ariosophy and the Nazi ideology. This was also a view that undermined orthodox Christian theology. But by the middle of twentieth century the fallacies of racial theories had become apparent and the theories were generally discarded by biologists and cultural historians. But they remained popular in India and continue to be (Thapar 2008: 11).

In this way, the genealogical doctrine of the development of languages is still popular and has the big support of linguists and historians. This approach, as a whole, is the distortion of reality. It does not interpret the actual process of the development of languages. Hence, this approach in the historiography of languages needs a critical analysis, and all the doctrines related to this should be kept under the eye of scientific outlook to reinvestigate. Because language is a social phenomenon and, at the same time, a social product, the history of language or literature is always influenced by the historical form and transformation of society. That is a major missing in the genealogical approach. While dealing with the history of language and literature, it is necessary to discuss the fact, as to what is a form of social organization, society had at that time. Without having knowledge of that human society, and living in what stage of social development, it is not possible to interpret the history of language and literature (शर्मा 1986). So, we need a scientific theory in the historiographical studies of language.

2.1 Historiography of Indian Languages

It is an established perception that all the language families residing in India are not native to Indian soil; they all came from various foreign lands; We are all well aware of the yet-stated historical timeline of the Indo-Aryan Languages. The relationship of Dravidian with Scythian languages was also proposed in the studies of the 19th century (Caldwell 1856). But later in the 20th century the relation of Dravidian Languages, particularly with Finno-Ugric languages was proposed (Burrow 1944), yet another foreign language family. We can see more on the proposed relations of Dravidian languages in a work *The Dravidian Languages* (Krishnamurti 2003). Similar to these, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman language families are also non-native to India according to the hitherto available studies. Although we can also find many other different opinions about nativeness or non-nativeness, the names given to these language groups suggest the above-given connection. Indian sub-continent is only an import-colony of language and culture, for orientalists.

All of these doctrines, in one and another form, believe that all language forms in the world developed from very few or even one language, i.e., all modern languages are the descendants of few ancient languages and these few ancient languages are further descendants of one single language.

But this classification of Indian languages, notwithstanding its wide acceptance among linguists, did also face criticism for its problematic and theological propositions. Those who accept this can never have in mind that language families being spoken in India could also have an Indian origin. When you go to deal with this problem with the prior hypothesis that all the languages of India come from foreign sources, then you can't see the internal inter-language connections and keep your focus only to find the source to interpret every phenomenon in your imaginary doctrine.

All the writers agree that Aryans invaded India from the northwest, defeated Dravidians, occupied their land, and expelled them in the south of Vindhyachal. They consider Mosaic Ethnology as the basis of language family can never contradict the origin of language by a divine power ideologically. They are contrastive to scientific reality. In general vision it can be accepted without any issue, but in critical analysis, we have three situations basically; i.e.

i.   If Aryans were not native and invaded from the north-eastern side of India, then there are two possibilities;

   a.   They forced and exiled Dravidians, occupied their land and then imposed their foreign culture and language, or

   b.   They didn't force Dravidians to migrate and constructed a joint culture and language together.

ii. If Aryans were native Indigenous; they didn't come from any other place and no Dravidian migration happened, hence we will have the following possible outcomes;

   a.   We will have to give off the notionof foreign/alien races for them both.

   b.   And we have to consider their expansion due to the increase in their population, and the expansion for ages increased the visible differences.

iii. In the third situation, if we consider that all ancient clans were nomads, and none of them was originally native to any piece of land, then;

   a.   The need for better living conditions forced them to migrate from one place to another until their knowledge of the process of cultivation. Those who adopted agriculture early got settled early and started (continuously) developing towards the next possible stage according to their objective conditions.

   b.   All these primitive societies had developed their languages, capable of their communicational function. The common visible features between languages got developed by their inter-clan contact in co-existence. This validates the phenomenon of regular exchange of features between languages.

Romila Thapar discussed the so-called migration of Aryans and the history of the term *'Arya'* in '*The Aryan: Recasting Construct*(Thapar 2008). These migration stories are deliberately attached to the Biblical interpretation, and also to the mythological interpretation of *Puranas*.

Though, Language is a human fabrication, which they are weaving eternally, even without knowing that they are doing it. It is a fact that without getting the right process intellectually or lack of the development of natural sciences, there could be an idealist interpretation of this process. But in the contemporary world, when we have all the knowledge of this process, the preachers of pseudo-science in linguistics not letting us get rid of these unscientific notions. The following comment is essential to note in this context.

"To impose the radiating logic of segmentation upon language history or ethnological classifications one has to remove or ignore or deal in other ways with the phenomena produced by the convergence of languages and peoples in the formation of new languages and new peoples. Specifically, the segmentary logic of the family tree of languages or nations prevents and disallows the idea of the mixture as a creative principle" (Trautmann 1997: 11).

It can be noted in the trends of hitherto historiography of Indian languages that came into the discussion so far. For every language family, there is an imagined hypothetical proto-language, and all other possibilities are darkly shadowed under this. The actual process of language development turns upside down by this interpretation. By following this path Indian languages are racially classified in presently known language families, which deliberately divided the Indian population, and excluded all the possibilities to study Indian languages as the independently-relative languages, developed by remaining in contact for epochs.

2.2 Three Theses in the Historiography of Punjabi Language

According to the yet popular historiography of the Punjabi language, it is not the continuation of the languages of the Punjab region and doesn't correspond to its socio-historic development. Considering this it originated in the 10th-11th century as the descendant of Sanskrit along with other Modern Indo-Aryan languages. According to the established historical studies, Punjabi is just a language, which always imports sounds, words, syntactical expressions, etc. from other languages and accepts their socio-political effects, but never does anything contrasting to this holy process. They tend to prove that Punjabi is just another recipient language, as they consider many other languages, and leave them for the sake of Sanskrit or European languages. That is a firm racist conception.

All the pre-supposed and speculative studies hardly contributed to analyzing the actual development of languages, rather their propagations resulted in the worst for them. For instance, Grierson

while conducting the Linguistics survey of India, was so influenced by the orientalists' hypothesis of the Indian languages. His survey has been a reference text till now, for Indian language historiographers. But it was not conducted by professional and experienced surveyors; the presented data were collected by the patwaris without having any training and experience. If we leave the rest of the survey aside and have a look at the Punjabi section only, it ruined every possibility to study Punjabi as a language of the land of Punjab and the continuation of languages being spoken there. Contrary to this, he separated Punjabi in Lahnda - Western Punjabi and Punjabi – Eastern Punjabi (Grierson 1903), which on a big aftereffect played a role in the partition of Punjab.

There is a mixed response of agreement and disagreement in this context among the linguists who wrote on the history of Punjabi. But almost all of them couldn't see beyond the offspring hypothesis. We can also see its detailed analysis in the works of Javed Majeed (Majeed 2019).

When we see the historiography of Punjabi, we can see three different theses as follows.

a. In the Indo-European line, there is the same offspring-doctrine, in which the contemporary languages are the descendants of Sanskrit and ultimately, they come from the so-called Proto Indo-European. In Aryan languages, there is the kinship of descendants from Proto-Indo-European to Indo-Iranian, then a split into two branches Indo-Iranian to Iranian and Indo-Aryan or Indic, then Vedic Sanskrit → Classic Sanskrit → Pali → Prakrits → Apabhramsha → Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

b. Then we have another type of suggestion to find its roots in the so-called prehistoric era; there are two recent publications discussing this in detail by Manzur Ejaz. There are several writings of Ainul Haq Faridkoti also. Ainul Haq & Rama Shankar Tripathi consider Punjabi a Dravidian language. Faridkoti discussed the origin and development of Punjabi along with Urdu, Hindi, and Sindhi, as the continuation of the Dravidian language family. According to Rama Shankar Tripathi, Punjab was the native place of the Dravidian population, and not only Punjabi but all the regional languages, even Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrits are related to the Dravidian language family.

Manzur Ejaz and Michael Witzel suggest the origin of Punjabi in Austroasiatic and Para-Munda. According to Witzel there should be another means to decode the seals of the Indus valley, by leaving the Dravidian outlook aside, although, in one of his later works, he suggested leaving this debate open, until a better and firm study, is conducted. Whereas Ejaz suggests renaming the Punjabi language with 'Meluha' (a name with the Indus Valley people were known to Mesopotamians), which, according to him, was an Austroasiatic Language, and the present Punjabi is its continuation. But these Doctrines contrasting with the Indo-Aryan origin of the Punjabi

language are also revolving in the whirlwind. They also isolate the languages from their region and relate them with either of the language families monistically, instead of watching it as dialectically developed. They repeated the same offspring hypothesis varying only with the family name.

c. But according to a different outlook, Indian languages originated from the soil of the subcontinent, and suggest studying these languages in the context of co-existence. There, we see some scholars who firmly criticized the colonial offspring doctrine for languages. We can see the works of Ram Vilas Sharma and Abhay Kumar Dubeyto have an initial look at some of these alternative trends.

Every language is made up of various varieties, and the existence of a contact language among them is the fact, so they all exist dialectically, e.g., Punjabi can be Pothohari or Puwadhi or Majhi or can be any other so-called dialect (of Punjabi) and vice-versa at the same time. The known Punjabi to us is just a contact language between the speakers of hitherto known dialects of Punjabi. So, the fact to be noted is that Punjabi is a language group; a group of the languages of the Punjab region. Hence, Punjabi is the group of Punjabi Languages. This understanding is missing in the historiography of Indian languages

2.3 The Conflict

A fundamental conflict in the historiography of Indian languages is their origin and development. It is generally considered that the Aryan invasions were from the northwest, through Punjab. Aryan invasions started happening in this region, leading to Dravidians migrating southward, gradually. Several hundred years of invasions and migrations followed. As a result, a doctrine is built that the so-called lower caste people of North India are the remaining Dravidian slaves captured by Aryans. This Aryan invasion doctrine is politically beneficial and gave India a gulf of separation based on racism.

People who believe in Aryan invasion will also believe in language replacement, and will also consider the offspring hypothesis, i.e., that Indian languages originate from Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Dravidian. In their doctrine of development, Indian languages develop from already developed languages. As a result of this kinship mechanism, all other languages are considered to descend from this proto-language. As a result, advocates of this doctrine cannot accept relative language development.

There are phonological tendencies in every region that determine how words evolve. Importing words from other languages and transforming them accordingly. This process is not one-sided; as is being propagated in Punjabi and other Indo-Aryan languages that they import words from Sanskrit or dialects import their words from standard languages, and the words of these languages are only the transformation of these so-called higher forms of languages, and one-sided implies it is only being done from Sanskrit to other languages. It

initiates a notion of pure and polluted words. A language exchanges its properties with another. To understand the horizons of language development, we must keep this notion in our minds.

However, the above-mentioned discussion never considers contact as an empowering condition, rather, they regard it as a later phenomenon. Language contact and the import and export of various categories may have been restricted until a language family had fully developed.

3. The Alternative Notion (In Lieu of Conclusions)

Language groups don't exist in isolation. By identifying common features in many languages, the interpreters fabricated the hypothetical notion of a language family. This area of study considers the commonalities between various languages, while ignoring the differences.

It is therefore a firm need to overturn the notion of language families and linguistic interpretations based on Mosaic Ethnology, in order to reinterpret the history of Indian languages, and not just Indian languages.

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PEDAGOGICAL RELEVANCE OF IRRESISTIBLE LEXICAL ITEMS IN MEDIA

Mohd. Tahir∗

ABSTRACT

This paper brings to light a brief description of the significance of the irresistible lexical items of English used in media for the profession of teaching and learning. Irresistible lexical items play a crucial role in understanding pedagogical activities and analyzing learning and teaching theories. The paper explores how irresistible lexical elements in English media enhance communication validity and influence the pedagogical levels of teaching and learning. The paper aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the irresistible lexical items in English which impact the pedagogical structure of language teaching and learning.

Keywords: Irresistible Lexical Items, Pedagogical Structure, Pedagogical Approaches, Pedagogical Issue.

1. Introduction

The term pedagogy generalizes the theories and practices of teaching and learning and how these theories and practices influence the learners' social, cultural, political and psychological development. It includes the teaching and learning factors for the enhancement of the level of understanding of the learners. In the academic disciplines, pedagogy reveals the account of skills and knowledge and designated interaction among the learners' educational contexts. The term pedagogy refers to a way of understanding education, including human cultures, practices, experiences, and the essence of the collective biographical history. The pedagogical structure provides a theoretical and practical framework of actions, judgments, and further learning and teaching strategies.

The concept of the irresistible lexical items' pedagogical relevance is used in media to improve the level of the individuals' teaching and learning orientations. By irresistable lexical items we mean the words are lexical items which are employed by a person/ learner etc despite the presence of other items and whose use/employment can not be resisted by the person. The process of learning and teaching introduces new vocabulary and explores its use

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within educational methods. The teaching and learning factors are the major perspectives of the pedagogy to elaborate on the irresistible lexical items' formal functions. The pedagogy offers a perspective on education 'one of the humanities or arts than as a science' (Trohler, 2003). Professionals in education assess the pedagogy's issues and values and recognize the impact of the irresistible lexical items used in media on teaching and learning. The pedagogical relevance of the irresistible lexical items in media discloses a way of effort to understand the meaning interpretation and exposes the educational phenomena in the historical cultural particularity (Matthes, 2007). The relevance of the pedagogy to the lexical items in media refers to the structure of learning and how it influences the learners' social, political, and psychological development (Hegarty, 2015).

One of the central ideas of the pedagogy to use irresistible lexical items is to enhance the learners' psychological expressions. The irresistible lexical items affect the psychological expressions of the learners and enhance their capacity for understanding. The media used many irresistible lexical items to captivate learner's attention and engagement. In the field of the theories and practices of teaching and learning, the pedagogy included considerable innovations, incorporating simulations, role plays, experiential learning, and reflective learning into traditional classrooms and developing multiple models of field-based courses (Kelly & Featherstone, 2008).

2. Research Objectives and Methodology

The research objectives aim to explore the role of irresistible lexical items in media within pedagogical contexts, examining their impact on teaching and learning theories. Pedagogical strategies are evaluated for their effectiveness in enhancing psychological expressions and advancing learning and teaching practices. The study also aims to generalize the applications of media in attracting learner intentions through irresistible lexical items. The structure of pedagogy encompasses various innovative approaches, incorporating simulations, role plays, and experiential learning into traditional classrooms. Pedagogical theories and practices vary, reflecting social, cultural, and educational phenomena. Irresistible lexical items play a crucial role in understanding pedagogical activities and analyzing learning and teaching theories.

The research methodology involved data collection from participants using irresistible lexical items in language learning and teaching. The data was elicited from thirty participants with an account to use the irresistible lexical items relevant to the pedagogy and media. The respondents used various languages for communication and shared ideas and opinions related to learning and teaching theories and practices. Interviews and observations were used to gather data, which was then analyzed to understand the impact of these items on pedagogical practices. The nature of data and participants reflects the natural aspects of language use and learning behaviors.

3.   Pedagogical Plans for Innovative Learning

The pedagogical approaches covered the whole teaching instrument of learning to advance counselor and clients' cognitive values. These plans attracted the levels of intention and influenced the students for learning. The persistence of these approaches is to create new designs and thoughts to enhance the cycle of recalling all the former teaching methods and learning taught to them after a long time. The account of the pedagogical plans regarding the use of cases in language teaching and learning skills has suggested that it fosters reflective teacher and learner development, helps surpass the bridge between theory and practice, and enhances innovation (Jimenez & Raya, 2011, 2017). Innovative learning is a part of the pedagogical strategies in which the students or learners hold all the ideas and concepts discussed in the classroom for a long time. The pedagogical approach accepted the mechanism of teachers' and learners' shape and their actions, strategies, judgments, and the factors of the students' theories of learning, backgrounds, and benefits. The pedagogical approaches can be divided into three levels as given below:

➢   The account of general instructional design.

➢   The designs generalized the levels of the teaching and learning units.

➢   The methods of teaching and learning as part of the wider design

4.   Data Analysis

4.1 Assessment of Irresistible Lexical Items

The assessment process concerning the use of irresistible lexical items reveals the act of judgment for learning and teaching approaches. Assessment serves as the criteria for evaluating various aspects of the learning and teaching approaches providing feedback on learner's performance. The learners often employ words from other languages, regardless of their proficiency in their mother tongue. There may be two important aspects of using the words of another language, first is that the learner or teacher may impress others as a result of knowledge in a second or foreign language; the second may be lack of vocabulary in their native or first language due to the stages of bilingualism. The forms of the irresistible lexical items enhance the confidence level and improve the learner's and teachers' performance. Below are examples of some irresistible lexical items used by Urdu speakers:

Urdu	Irresistible Lexical Items
شعبہ	Department
عمارت	Building
اخبار	Newspaper
کتب خانہ	Library
ملاقات	Meeting
بستر	Bed
داخلہ	Admission
عام	Common
لازمی	Compulsory
مضمون	Subject
درخواست	Application
ترسیل	Delivery
خریداری	Shopping
قمیض	Shirt
تفویض	Assignment

These words encapsulate the assessment framework within the pedagogical context demonstrating how learners strategically employ irresistible lexical items to engage and impress others in communication, even if equivalent words exist in their first language. These types of irresistible lexical items are prevalent in media (print media, electronic media, digital media, social media, etc.) on a large scale to classify the systematic organizations of language functions.

4.2 Expressions of the Pedagogical Relevance and Strategy

The expressions of the pedagogical relevance and strategy focused on the behavior of the theories and practices of learning and teaching in particular regions. The pedagogical relevance confirmed the need and prestige of the irresistible lexical items used in the classroom and measured the degree of weight in communication. Learners, who use more borrowed words like English, receive attention but it is unclear if they do so to enhance communication effectiveness or due to lack of appropriate words in their native language. The account of the pedagogical relevance regarding the use of cases in language teaching and learning experiences has suggested that it fosters reflective teacher and learner development, helps surpass the bridge between theory and practice, and enhances innovation (Jimenez & Raya, 2011, 2017). In print media, the irresistible lexical items affected the learners' cognitive systems. The pedagogical strategies produced new techniques and methods for solving the theories and practices of learning and teaching. The strategies are evaluated based on their ability to meet new learning and teaching standards. The structures of the irresistible lexical items retained the factors of the methods and procedures of the pedagogy used to examine the understanding level. The pedagogical strategies motivated the learners to use the irresistible lexical items extensively

for learning a new language. A key principle of pedagogical strategies is to revisit the established teaching and learning methods. The popularity of online education is attributed to its accessibility and convenience, exemplified by the flexibility of study schedules and comfortable learning environment. However, despite the claims that online learning matches traditional learning, it still requires further refinement to deliver comparable outcomes.

The effectiveness of online education in improving teaching and learning remains uncertain. Despite its popularity and enormous investment, it is unclear if online college programs prepare better specialists. While online education has expanded access for working adults, disabled students, minorities and geographically isolated individuals, achieving multi –million enrollments by 2016, the extent on its impact on learning is questionable. While innovative technology may enhance performance in some areas it does not always directly benefit education. Questions arise about whether secondary benefits like convenience or enjoyment justify heavy investment. To improve education, it is essential to consider whether we control technology or allow it to control us, as highlighted by author Douglas Rushkoff. Effective pedagogy must harness technology's potential, recognizing that the pedagogy of online education is still in development after two decades. Rather than solely relying on technical solutions, efforts to enhance online learning should adopt a comprehensive approach that addresses all aspects of teaching and learning.

4.3. Results and Discussions

As the researcher defined, the values and issues of the irresistible lexical items relevant to the pedagogical approaches and strategies are unique properties of learning and teaching levels. In the irresistible lexical items' structure, it is found that learners often opt to use words from other languages despite having equivalents in their native language. It is widely observed that the irresistible lexical items' factors improve the confidence and performance of learners. The use of irresistible lexical items also enhances the beauty of the structure of the sentences. The researcher found that the respondents were increasingly inclined to incorporate lexical items from other languages during communication. In recent times, the media used irresistible lexical items to attract the learners' psychological expressions. The irresistible lexical items' structures attracted the learner's and teachers' intentions for the medium of expression. Various forms of media including print media, digital media, electronic media, social media, etc. played a significant role in individuals' lives to express ideas, concepts, and beliefs through the figures of irresistible lexical items.

In the pedagogical structures and strategies framework, the researchers analyzed the comprehension of learning and teaching theories and practices. It is examined that the learners used the forms of irresistible lexical items and implemented the principles of the theories of learning for communication. In the structure of the pedagogical relevance, the methods and techniques of teaching and learning improved the level of motivation of the individuals and retained the possibility to use the irresistible lexical items. The strategies improved the learning and teaching skills before, after, and during the action and discussion in the classroom. It is revealed that the learners and teachers adopted the pedagogical privileges and intervened in evaluating the skills. Choosing the account of the pedagogical and executive interventions, the learners and teachers clarified the vision of the irresistible lexical items used for the education convention. The pedagogical relevance factors determined the aspects of the irresistible lexical items for exploring learning and teaching activities. The researchers displayed the phenomena of the learner's and teachers' psychological expressions and expectations for the explorations of the pedagogy's actions. The pedagogical strategies and structures unveiled how to understand the contextual levels of the theories and practices in learning and teaching. Learning requires a structure that helps learners to embed and revisit their understanding, with narratives providing a means of linking events and experiences. Bricolage fosters practical learning through continual transformation of materials, supporting creative innovation. Leaning analytics inform and refine innovative designs, contingent upon reliable data and ethical consideration, facilitating improved course quality and understanding of learning variables.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that irresistible lexical items play a significant role in pedagogy, shaping communication and enhancing learning experiences. It is considered that the learners use irresistible lexical items for the generalization of the individual's impressions and expressions in the framework of communication. Learners often rely on these items, regardless of their proficiency in their mother tongue, possibly due to the emergence of bilingualism or educational bacground. These are used to attract the learners' cognitive and psychological expressions. Media literacy and pedagogical strategies are influenced by the use of these items, fostering collaboration, critical thinking, and problem-solving skills. Pedagogical strategies highlight the phenomenon of learning through the use of irresistible lexical items. Understanding the role of irresistible lexical items in education is crucial for creating effective learning environments and promoting lifelong learning.

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