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Editor

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Editor's Note

It gives me immense pleasure to introduce the 15th volume of the *Interdisciplinary Journal of Linguistics (IJL)*. The greater delight is that fifteen volumes of IJL have been published without a break. Making a humble beginning in 2008, the journal has come a long way in establishing its reputation in the world of Linguistics and language studies. Interdisciplinary Journal of Linguistics (IJL) is a peer reviewed and refereed journal published annually by the Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir, Srinagar. The journal has a team of erudite linguists on its Editorial Advisory Board. It constantly endeavors to publish quality research papers and has been received with great enthusiasm in Linguistic circles. The journal offers a platform for presenting quality research papers covering a wide variety of fields in Linguistics and allied disciplines. It continually aims to map new frontiers in emerging and developing areas of linguistic studies to increase visibility and disseminate relevant and updated research findings.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the authors who submitted their papers in response to our call. Continuing with the tradition of bringing the best of the papers to our readers, the editorial board has selected seventeen papers for publication this year. The papers cover a wide variety of themes, ranging from core to applied linguistics and allied disciplines. I take this opportunity to congratulate the contributors whose papers have found place in this volume. The efforts of all those whose papers have not been selected for publication are equally appreciated and we encourage them to make fresh submissions after revising their manuscripts. I also extend sincere gratitude to all the members of the editorial board for sparing their precious time to make the publication of this journal possible. I would also like to convey my special thanks to all the reviewers for their valuable suggestions. The research scholars of the department, namely, Zahid, Uzma, Shabrooz, Ishrat and Mehreen deserve thanks for their efforts in assisting the editorial team in bringing out this journal on time.

Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh
Editor

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MAPPING NEOLOGISM IN THE URDU PRINT MEDIA

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Abstract

From the time of the Jam-i-Jahan Numa, the first ever attempt to inscribe Urdu prose for the print journalism, the language of Urdu Journalism has gone through a hard process of transformation. Following the shock delivered by Covid-19, the twenty first century has been the year of profound and rapid change for Urdu print media. The COVID-19 pandemic strongly impacted the media industry and affected journalists' work. Many vernacular newspapers have been severely affected by losses in revenues. Lockdowns and other restrictions helped in breaking old habits of journalism, and created new styles of expressions. It resulted in new linguistic coinages and adoption of new phrases across the globe.

The paper attempts to provide an in-depth analysis of the lexical innovations and word crafting of Urdu print media at a time where narratives and moods were related to the spread of COVID-19. The paper makes a comparative analysis of five Urdu print media platforms (Siasat Jadid, Qaumi Awaz, Rashtriya Sahara, Inqilab, and in dinon) to filter out the lexical innovation and word crafting related to the COVID-19 outbreak.

Keywords: Coinages, Neologism, Word Crafting, Communicative Load, Communicative Relevance, Urdu Print Media, Urdu News Media, Linguistic Innovation.

Introduction

In its journey from 1822 when the first copy of *Jam-I Jahan Numa* was published from Kolkata, Urdu print media never faced a situation where word crafting (neologism) was so much essential to disseminate an honest communication about what is known and unknown about the pandemic and the virus. The language of newspapers is somewhat specific. This is caused by several reasons. One of them is that newspapers have always been written to be read, which means to communicate effectively. Obviously, the language of newspapers has not only been formed by desire to disseminate information to a larger audience. Cotter (2010:27) points out that the characteristics of

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newspaper language “are embodied in stylistic consistency, rhetorical accessibility, and brevity as well as appropriate story structure”. He emphasizes that journalists work with a set of tendencies rather than rules and parameters. Among others, the most important tendencies are deadline and access to sources. It suggests that the language of newspapers is a very complex issue. It has its specific restrictions and limitations as well as possibilities and opportunities as it has to serve to a number of readers with a wide range of interests and needs which are not easy to fulfill. In spite of this, journalists have developed a style of expression commonly known as Journalistic style that varies both within a particular newspaper and two or more kinds of newspapers. A newspaper is written by a number of authors, so that there must logically be a little incoherence in terms of style.

The novel COVID-19 infection deeply affected language of news media globally. The Urdu print media is no exception because the diction and the style of expression is often called the mirror of time in which we live. New objects in different spheres arise from time to time and they need to be named. That is why no social development can exist without neologisms and coinage of new words. Though the neologisms dominate in the field of knowledge, newspapers and the language of media can also feel the necessity to express and interpret reality by new ways and create new words that would reflect it. The language of newspaper is considered as a blend of ideas and thoughts which automatically generates and coins new words to accomplish the needs of conversational situations. The strength of new words depends mainly on the accumulative power to communicate the intended meaning. In this backdrop, the paper attempts to analyze the linguistic processes of crafting new expressions related to COVID 19 in Urdu newspaper to measure out their communicative relevance of the coined expressions.

The first component of neologism is Lexical deviation. Lexical deviation processes are based on neologism, compounding, blending, affixation, coinage, and acronym. Neologism happens when a news-editor makes up a word which has not existed before. It is one of the more obvious ways in which a writer exceeds the normal use of the language (Leech, 2014). Lexical deviation tends to produce neologism which refers to “creation of new words where existing rules (of word formation) are applied with generalization”.

The second component of this model is borrowing where the news editors intermix words from various sources for the acceptance of communication. According to the context and

situation they borrow words to make communication effective. Borrowing focuses a great impact on the corpus of the current study of Urdu newspaper.

Neologism

An example of neologism or the invention of new words is semantic deviation. A word is considered to be deviated if it violates the norm. In semantic deviation, it is important to deal with what Leech calls tropes (foregrounding or irregularities of content). According to him, they are classified largely into three sections:

1. Semantic Oddity:

Semantic oddity means semantic bizarreness of expression. There are five types of semantic oddity: pleonasm, periphrasis, and tautology have semantic redundancy, and oxymoron and paradox have semantic absurdity, which entail irreconcilability of meaning or reference (ibid.).

2. Transference Of Meaning:

According to Leech's classification, transference of meaning is classified into four types of figurative language: synecdoche, metonymy, metaphor and simile (ibid.).

3. Honest Deception:

Leech classifies the term honest deception into three tropes:

- (a) Hyperbole (Exaggeration)
- (b) Litotes (understatement)
- (c) Irony.

Leech (ibid: 171) defines these tropes as follows: they are all connected in that in a sense they misrepresent the truth: hyperbole distorts by saying too much, litotes by saying too little and irony often takes the form of saying or implying the opposite of what one feels to be the case. Honest deception means these three tropes misrepresent the truth for the sake not of deception, but of literary purpose.

During COVID 19 period the word 'quarantine' was frequently used as intransitive verb in English newspapers. The word quarantine has its origin from the Italian words "*quarantagioni*" which means 40 days. In 1343 AD, the bubonic plague, infamously known as the Black Death, was ripping through the continent and the disease wiped out an estimated one-third of

Europe's population. However, in Urdu newspapers قرنطینہ were phonetically modified to be used as an equivalent of quarantine.

1	بلوچستان میں حکومت کا 250 زائرین کو قرنطینہ میں منتقل کرنے کا فیصلہ	BBC
2	باپ قرنطینہ میں، معذور بیٹا بھوک سے ہلاک	BBC
3	دوران پرواز کورونا کی تشخیص، امریکی استانی کا جہاز کے ٹوائلٹ میں قرنطینہ!	BBC Urdu
4	دوران پرواز کورونا کی تشخیص: امریکی اسکول ٹیچر کو طیارہ کے بیت الخلا میں قرنطینہ کا تجربہ	سیاست حیدرآباد
5	بریدوار کمبہ سے دہلی واپس آنے والوں کے لئے 14 دن کا قرنطینہ ضروری: ڈیزاسٹر منیجمنٹ	قومی آواز
6	کویت میں داخلے کی نئی شرائط، ہوٹل میں قرنطینہ کے اخراجات مسافر کو خود ادا کرنے ہوں گے	قومی آواز
7	ٹیسٹ سیریز: چینی میں انگلیبڈ اور ہندوستانی ٹیموں کا قرنطینہ شروع	قومی آواز
8	چین: قرنطینہ کی وجہ سے شہر بند، عوام میں ایک بار پھر بارٹرسٹم رائج	سیاست حیدرآباد
9	بیٹی کو کورونا، اسرائیلی وزیر اعظم قرنطینہ میں	سیاست حیدرآباد
10	سوشائٹ سنگھ راجپوت معاملہ: بہار کے آئی پی ایس افسر قرنطینہ سے آزاد، ممبئی چھوڑنے کے احکامات	قومی آواز

Table 1: Examples of Urdu News Headlines:

The headlines of Urdu newspapers presented above suggest that the expression قرنطینہ (An Arabicised form of Quarantine) has become part and parcel of everyday communication and, therefore, it occupies a prominent place in most of the Urdu newspaper. The term قرنطینہ refers to a strict isolation regime forced on people to put to a stop the spread of disease. The practice of quarantine specifically involves segregating people or groups of people who may have come into contact with a communicable disease but are asymptomatic, from others who have not been exposed so as to arrest the possibility of the spread of the communicable disease. However, an exact semantic equivalent of the word Quarantine in Urdu is the Urdu expression *Chilla* (چلہ). In contrast, *Chilla* is a noun which

specifically refers to the act of living separately with a group of people for forty days. It is commonly used in religious discourse, and therefore most of the Urdu newspapers have preferred to use قرنطینه in Urdu newspapers. The term قرنطینه (quarantine) is an example of medical jargon that has been used over the years. However, due to the pandemic ravaging the world today as already existing words, they have gained more currency in their use due to the existing social situation. It has been strengthened by forming a compound like رضاکارانہ قرنطینه Voluntary quarantine (رضاکارانہ قرنطینه) occurs when someone is not coerced into quarantine but does so, on his own volition out of abundance of caution. It is also called self-quarantine. This is a strategy that helps stop the disease from spreading. The term رضاکارانہ قرنطینه is formed through the process of compounding, since it consists of two units رضاکارانہ, an adjective, and the noun قرنطینه. The term رضاکارانہ قرنطینه therefore acts as a noun modifier, thus رضاکارانہ قرنطینه is an example of a compound noun. This is an example of already existing words that have gained more currency in their usage in Urdu newspapers due to the existing social situation – COVID-19.

The intended stylistic effect of the use of the expression قرنطینه is to make texts appear more dramatic, interesting, and accessible and presumably, also to involve the reader emotionally. The aim of these Urdu newspapers is to not only maximize information density, but also to avoid stylistic formality in order to remain readable. It helps in developing a journalistic style to arouse readers' curiosity. The way each element of the CORONA news is ordered in many of the Urdu newspaper designate that it an attempt to simplify the news by providing sufficient background information to make the CORONA issue comprehensible for Urdu news readers. It is reflected in a prodigious display of clichés like قرنطینه in newspaper headlines presented in the Table I. A close look at these headlines puts forward the point that the style of these headlines looks to be highly conventional and unadventurous.

Acronyms

Acronyms are orthographically-based, and, as such, differ significantly from most other word-formation processes (cf. Bauer 2002). In respect to pronunciation, they behave like ordinary words. They have somehow preserved their phonological value, thus words like AIDS /eidz/, laser /lerzə/, TEFL /tefəl/ are pronounced in this expected manner. Acronyms are frequently formed on the basis of proper names, especially in case of organizations (cf. Jackson 1991), e.g., UNESCO (the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) or NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Quirk et al. (2006) claim that there is a kind of acronymic convenience, i.e., acronyms are, at times, carefully coined to be easily remembered. To illustrate the point further, the paper attempts to present acronyms related to COVID 19

	Acronym	Full Form	Urdu Headlines	Newspaper
1	COVID 19	Corona Virus Disease 2019	ملک میں کووڈ ٹسٹ کرانے والوں کی تعداد میں اضافہ	سیاست حیدر آباد
			کووڈ کی تینوں خوراک لینے والوں کو جاپان آنے کی اجازت: وزیر اعظم	سیاست حیدر آباد
			کووڈ ٹیکہ اندازی مہم میں 213.91 کروڑ سے زیادہ ویکسین لگیں	سیاست حیدر آبا

Table II Acronyms

Acronyms seem to be quite productive in current English. They enjoyed widespread popularity all through the 20th century, many of them originating during the CORONA period. Moreover, acronyms are also considered to be “a direct response to the communicative habitat of the twentieth century” (Mair 2006: 38), i.e., they help us to make manageable the vast amount of scientific terminology we have to face. However, Urdu does not have a tradition of forming acronyms and, therefore, most of the Urdu newspapers retain the English acronyms in their news reports and headlines. The table presented below suggests that among innumerable examples of acronyms used in medical jargon, SARS denoting severe acute respiratory syndrome has been retained in Urdu newspapers.

2	SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome	کیکوویکسن ٹیکہ سارس سی او وی-2 دوسری شکل کے اثر کو کم کرنے میں معاون	قومی آواز
			چین میں کورونا وائرس کیس سارس سے زیادہ ہو گئے	قومی آواز
			ومی کرون کے بعد کورونا کی ایک اور نئی قسم کا انکشاف	قومی آواز

Table II (b) Acronyms

The communicative strategy of Urdu newspapers to retain acronyms in their writings, have some adverse and damaging effect in the process of disseminating information. The Urdu news readers fail to comprehend the relevance and significance of SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) by reading the above headlines. Based on the analysis of the Urdu newspaper corpus, it was realized, that most of the acronyms were used without a Long Form (LF). This poses a difficulty for readers to validate Short Forms (SFs). The Urdu newspaper readers fail to reach to its possible LF. This motivates them to recognize SFs without the need to look at the possible LFs.

It is also pertinent to touch upon the sociolinguistic dimensions of acronyms, i.e., by pointing out that the use of them can be taken as a marker of social identity. Members of a certain group, but not outsiders, know what they are talking about when using an acronymic word. No-one else is familiar with them.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are similar in nature to acronyms as they also are composed of remaining parts of different words. Like acronyms, they also affect loss of material. However, not prosodic but rather orthographic boundaries play a prominent role in case of abbreviations. Although some linguists use synonymous terms such as alphabetisms when referring to abbreviated forms or even subsume them under the category of initialisms. The paper sticks to the usage of abbreviations in order not to interchange the terminology.

Abbreviations are pronounced as sequences of letters, e.g., DNA/di: ene/ or UN/ju: en/. They are normally written as the previous examples, nonetheless, occasionally, they could be spelt like ordinary words, as in deejay.

Abbreviations have come into vogue during CORONA period. A number of abbreviated forms have been coined to fill the lexical gaps in the medical field. However, the linguistic pattern of Urdu language does not encourage abbreviated expressions in writings, and therefore, most of the Urdu newspapers preserve and maintain English abbreviated expressions. A list of English abbreviated forms related to CORONA is given below to showcase their communicative relevance. Table III demonstrates the top nine abbreviated expressions of the COVID-19 outbreak from January to March. These abbreviated expressions have a statically significant frequency. All these abbreviated expressions occur in various patterns.

WFH	“Working from Home”
PPE	“Personal Protective Equipment”
ARDS	“Acute Respiratory Distress Syndrome”
CDC	“Centers for Disease Control and Prevention”
ARI	“Acute Respiratory Infection”
PUI	“Patient Under Investigation”
PCR	“Polymerase Chain Reaction”
CFR	“Case Fatality Rate”
WHO	“World Health Organization”

Table III: Abbreviations

A cursory glance over the Urdu newspaper headings suggests that most of these newspapers prefer to retain the English abbreviated expressions in Urdu. Some of these examples are listed below.

2	PCR	“Polymerase Chain Reaction”	بحرین اور اردن : پی سی آر، اور قرنطینہ کی شرط ختم	منصف
	WHO	“World Health Organization”	بقتے میں 55 گھنٹے سے زیادہ کام کرنا زندگی ایچ او کیلئے خطرہ: ڈبلیو	سیاست حیدرآباد
	DCP		ڈی سی پی ابھیشیک مودی نے فیتا کاٹا	اخبار مشرق

Urdu newspapers played a vital role in the adoption of English abbreviated words and expressions. Thanks to the journalistic style of these newspapers, we are familiar with words such as lockdown, epidemic (وبا), pandemic (عالم گیر وبا), super spreader (رضاکارانہ self-isolation, and self-quarantine (سریع حرکت) وسعت)

(قرنطینہ) and word chunks (collocations) such as social distancing, (اجتماعی فاصلہ) community spread, (جماعتی پھیلاؤ) cordon sanitaire (سردی کے درمیان ح

و بائ اور غیر و بائ علا قوں گئے سے چھوت پھیلنا کسی مریض کا جھوٹا استعمال کرنے سے چھوت پھیلنا droplet transmission, (خمدار خط کی ہمواریت) tsunamis of COVID-19 cases, emerging disease, solitary confinement, animal-human interface, incubation period, contain the outbreak and viral shedding.

Compounding

Compounding has flourished during many centuries and remained highly productive to the present time for the simple reason that compounds are the easiest of all new words to create. Accordingly, it gives rise to a number of neologisms and particularly nonce-formations. A compound consists of usually not more than two *lexical bases* functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single item.

English Expression	Component 1	Component 2	Urdu Compounds
Pandemic	عالم گیر	وبا	عالم گیر وبا
Superspreader	سریع حرکت	وسعت	سریع حرکت وسعت
Self-quarantine	رضاکارانہ	قرنطینہ	رضاکارانہ قرنطینہ
Social Distancing	اجتماعی	فاصلہ	اجتماعی فاصلہ
Community Spread	جماعتی	پھیلاؤ	جماعتی پھیلاؤ
Flattening the Curve	خمدار خط	ہمواریت	خمدار خط کی ہمواریت

Table IV: Urdu equivalents of Compounds

Conclusion

The paper has attempted to show that neologisms are a means of the updating of the lexicon. Moreover, they demonstrate language dynamics and its creativity. Neologisms occur within all areas of human activity, so that their description represents an inseparable part of linguistic research and thus is utilizable in practice. The theme deserves a much more concise compilation. This paper is only a small contribution to the comprehensive research of neologisms.

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**ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING CHALLENGES DURING
THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: A MEANS ANALYSIS**

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Tasnimul Jannat Juhi**

Abstract

There was a widespread e-learning phenomenon during COVID-19 in 2020. Unfortunately, in a country like Bangladesh at the beginning a huge number of students were out of the reach of internet and unfamiliar with online learning. The purpose of this study is to explore how English as a foreign language (EFL) learning at the tertiary level in Bangladesh was impacted by the sudden shift to online learning. This study evaluates the attitudes, opinion, beliefs of first year university students towards online language classes during COVID-19. Participants from eight universities of Dhaka responded to a Google questionnaire after an online instruction session via messenger room. It also reviews research published since the onset of the pandemic, with a specific focus on English language teaching in EFL contexts, to analyze the challenges faced by Bangladeshi learners since the shift to e-learning. One of the prominent challenges observed was student's lack of motivation, which upon further review was found to be linked to other contributing factors, such as lack of technical support, unfamiliar learning environments, and lack of self-confidence. However, this study found several unexpected positive outcomes from the digital transformation, including the flexibility of planning personal study period, rewatching the lecture video etc. The current research can contribute as a ground work for offering blended approach in teaching language after the pandemic. It also can contribute to knowledge of online English teaching in other EFL contexts.

Keywords: COVID-19 Pandemic, EFL, Challenges, Language, Learning, Means Analysis.

1. Introduction

It has been more than one year since the curse of Covid 19 swept over the world. Fear of the virus lurks in the minds of people of all ages and classes. Masks and hand sanitizers have become one of the most basic necessities in human life. Even though schools and universities have been closed for months due to lockdowns, students have continued to receive their education. Students all over the world attend classes online. Bangladesh is not different

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in this regard. Bangladeshi universities, colleges, and schools are also doing the same. But online language classes pose more problems than face-to-face classes. To learn a language, students need to learn four major skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking). In Bangladesh, in the first semester, universities offer their students English Fundamentals/Basic English and English Composition courses that ground the essentials of academic writing in them. Additionally, this student group faces challenges adjusting to university culture. Therefore, students need a positive teacher-student relationship and a lot of interaction with their peers and teachers, despite the challenges of virtual classes. Further, in a developing country like Bangladesh, network issues, lack of resources and some other problems make online language learning more difficult. The purpose of this research is to investigate the challenges faced by first-year university students during the pandemic. This study highlights suggestions that can guide the design of composition courses and pedagogical practices for teaching language using blended approach and emergency remote teaching in the future.

2. E - Learning in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, first-level readiness for e-learning seemed encouraging before the pandemic. The government took initiatives at the policy level and built practical and physical support for introducing online education in the country. This was at every level of education from primary through tertiary. Bangladesh's government has undertaken various initiatives for making the people technology-aware and developing country-wide internet connectivity to enable transition into a tech-savvy nation. To enhance research and higher training for IT teachers, all 4547 Union Council Offices are now under an Internet network, with one 'digital center' in each (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2015). The government of Bangladesh initiated a pilot study with the support of BRAC under TQI-SEP (Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project) to provide e-Learning for secondary school students in Bangladesh. Bangladesh Open University (BOU) has developed the necessary infrastructure for e-Learning and has been conducting its teaching-learning activities via the internet, intranet/extranet, audio and/or video tape, satellite TV, and CD-ROM since 1992. A few other non-government institutes like the Jago Foundation run online schools in the country. Currently, the Jago Foundation operates 10 online schools in 10 districts. Throughout covid's evolution, these initiatives together created the conditions necessary to transform the entire education system into a digital

one; users experienced problems due to a lack of knowledge about devices, slow internet connections, and high costs.

3. Means Analysis

An influential strand in the development of needs analysis is the attempt to adapt language courses to local situations; in other words, to accommodate what are often referred to as 'constraints', e.g., cultural attitudes, resources, materials, equipment, methods. This approach has been called means analyses (Holliday and Cooke 1982), and involves a study of local situations, e.g., teachers, teaching methods, students, facilities, etc., to see how a language course may be implemented. Means analysis can be conducted as part of a needs analysis or separately. Further, a needs analysis is conducted for the purpose of evaluating learners' and teachers' attitudes, opinions and beliefs towards a proposed or intended change or innovation, and a means analysis is conducted to determine the setting in which a course will be conducted (Evans and John 1998). In a situation like COVID, a means analysis is an appropriate tool for understanding the learning challenges posed by a shift from face-to-face to e-learning.

4. Emergency Remote or E-Learning during Covid -19

Emergency Remote Teaching (ERT) is a temporary arrangement during an emergency situation (Barbour et al., 2020). Like any other public institutions, educational institutions need to react to the crises and must develop alternative ways to provide students with immediate access to education that would otherwise be presented face-to-face. Hodges et al. (2020) refers to ERT as "a temporary shift of instructional delivery to an alternate delivery mode due to crisis circumstances". Around the world, educational institutions had to shift to emergency e-learning for almost two years during the Covid-19 period. Studies were undertaken to discover the realities that students and teachers faced in implementing emergency e-learning during this period. Sarakaya (2021) found that in Turkish primary schools, students' writing skills did not significantly improve through ERT because of lack of motivation, lack of technology tools, lack of timely and necessary feedback and corrections, and lack of parents' assistance. However, Bozkurt and Sharma (2020) in the editorial of Education Journal of Distance Education found it is "unfair to put online distance education and emergency remote teaching in the same equation". They stated that Covid 19 is an emergence period, and as a result there should be more emphasis on the learners than the learning, and "it is more important to build support communities, and share knowledge and experiences in

order to provide efficient and meaningful learning processes". These learning processes, of course, should not aim at purely learning, but rather, be directed towards therapy, empathy, and care" (iv).

5. EFL Learning and E-Learning Platform

A recent study undertaken by Satriani and Ermanto (2022) aimed to identify major gaps and the needs of Moodle e-learning in the learning process of intensive reading classes, with Indonesian students, and found that 90% of students encountered obstacles during the learning process. The principal obstacle that students had was difficulties in understanding the learning material. Soong (2012) found, in another study with university students from Taiwan, that e-learning does not benefit EFL students as expected. He also claimed that technology and machines could never successfully facilitate learning as a teacher does. According to Harmer (2000), the most crucial element of any teaching activity is the teacher. Technology can never replace a teacher. While Har (2022), in his study, examined how ESL (English as a Second Language) undergraduate students organized emergency remote learning at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University during the COVID-19 pandemic. In his exploratory research, one hundred university students from five English for Academic Purposes (EAP) classes participated. Result showed that learners found game-based classroom activities were useful for assisting them in overcoming ESL academic writing difficulties. According to the study, online learning should be designed in a way to increase instructor-student and student-student interaction as well as students' engagement.

Online classes may frequently get boring. Findings of the study of Derakhson et.al (2021) with 208 English major students in Iran revealed that teachers' long, monotonous monologues, lack of student participation, logistical problems, and carelessly chosen repetitive tasks were the main sources of boredom. However, in such cases making the class livelier through more teacher-student interaction, improving inter-personal relationships, and solving technological problems could be probable solutions. In another study with 30 students of Mulawarman University it was observed that students have started to get bored with online learning after the first two weeks of learning from home. Mood or mood changes occur due to too many assignments and are considered ineffective by students (Irawan, Dwisona, Lestari 2020).Whereas, in their study Guskaroska, Speltz, Zawadzki and Kurt (2021) examined

university students' perspectives in a composition course during the emergency period of COVID -19 and observed that in online classes, students required to be more autonomous than the traditional face to class: students need to take charge of their learning, follow the syllabus, and find ways to solve learning problems resulting from the lack of traditional, face-to-face education. They also noticed that during online composition class the students suffered from cognitive challenges like a lack of motivation concentration and fatigue. Their findings revealed that this boredom resulted from a lack of classroom interaction, which is typical of in-person learning.

Based on the literature above, a general idea about the EFL learning challenges can be formed. However, yet no study has been conducted to find out Bangladeshi teachers' and adult students' readiness for e-learning; teaching materials, availability of equipment, impact of social isolation on students etc. In this study, we investigated the challenges that first-semester university students faced in learning EFL. The present study was designed to answer the following research questions: a) what are the 1st semester university students' concerns and challenges with online language classes during Covid-19? b) What are the benefits of online language learning course during COVID-19? C) What are the ways to resolve the problem?

6. Methodology

Through a formal questionnaire, 100 students from eight different universities in Dhaka city participated in this study. All respondents were first year students from different majors, including Business Administration, Computer Science and Engineering, Child Development, Finance, Physics, English, Statistics, Economics, and the Film and Media Department. A Google form was used to collect data since all university campuses were closed due to the pandemic. The electronic survey was distributed online to the students via email. Participants have taken part in the survey voluntarily. The participants got three days (72 hrs.) for filling the questionnaire. Prior to completing the survey questionnaire, a brief instruction was shared to each participant via messenger room. The questionnaire contained 20 questions, including both closed and open-ended questions. Open-ended questions were formed to elicit knowledge, feelings, and opinion-based data. Descriptive and content analysis methods were used together in the data analysis. Data collected from closed questions were transformed into percentages (%) and later illustrations were used for presenting the data. Whereas data gathered from open-ended

questions were arranged under codes and later presented according to the themes. The stages specified by Dey (1993) were followed while analyzing the content. These stages in question are description, classification, and association. The open-ended questions were answered both in English and in Bangla, because all of the respondents are Bangla speakers.

7. Results

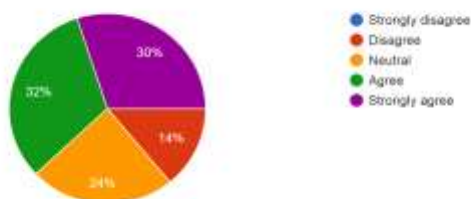
Within the framework of means analysis, the questionnaire questions were set to know students' feelings, adaptability and motivation towards online language classes. Questions no. 1,2,3,6 and 7 were used for this purpose. In response to the question no. 1 (Do you like learning language via online?), 50% respondents said "yes", 40% said "no" and 10% of them chose the option 'not sure'. Question no. 2 enquired, "Do you face challenges in online language classes during the pandemic? In response 82% students replied that they faced challenges in online language classes. Only 8 % of students replied that they did not encounter any challenges and 10% of the students replied that they were not sure. In their responses towards question no.3(How often do you face challenges during online language classes?), 24% students answered 'always', 70% answered 'sometimes' while 6% students answered as never. According to the responses to question no.6 (Had you faced challenges switching from traditional learning to computer-based learning?), 74% of students answered "yes", 18% answered "no", and 8% answered "not sure". Question no. 7 was designed to assess students' self-assessment of their computer literacy. In response to the statement (Question no.7) "My computer literacy is very poor" it was found that only 8% of students strongly agreed and 22% of students agreed with the statement. But 34% of students were neutral whereas 24% of students disagreed and 12% of students strongly disagreed with the same statement. Therefore, this part of the data revealed that though students were positively motivated for online language classes due to their poor knowledge of computer literacy they found the language classes challenging.

7. My computer literacy is poor.
50 responses



It is believed that positive emotions (emotional expression of social presence), arising from positive student–student, student–content, and student–teacher communications and interactions, result in a substantial benefit to L2 learning. Interaction enhances students’ role of social presence which might influence their purpose of meaning negotiation and actual learning behaviors, and even the level of their actual academic achievement in the target language (Lil 2022). Similarly, a means analysis examines how students interact in a classroom. The questions no.5, 8,9,10, 11, and 12 were designed to gather data regarding this issue. Question no. 5 was ‘Is distance learning affecting teacher student relationships?’ In response 70% students answered in affirmative, 8% students chose ‘no’ and 22% students chose ‘not sure’. In language learning, the relationship between content and student is crucial. Keeping this fact in mind, students were asked whether they think screen learning is enough to learn four major language skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening), only 12% of students answered in affirmative, 62% of students answered in negative and 26% of students were not sure about the matter. In the next question students were asked whether “Online language class is less interactive than the traditional language class”. In their response it was found that 30% of students strongly agreed with the statement; 32% of students agreed, 24% of students were neutral and 14% of students disagreed and no one strongly disagreed.

9. Online language class is less interactive than the traditional language class. 50 responses



By question no. 10 students’ response was invited against a statement ‘Enough online class activities arranged by the teacher could eliminate the learner’s hesitation and enhance learners’ speaking and listening skill’. Interestingly it was found that 4% of students strongly agreed with the statement. 34% of students agreed. 24% of students were neutral. 30% of students disagreed and 8% of students strongly disagreed with the statement. In the next question (question no 11), students were asked if their classmates actively participate in class activities and discussion.

Only 28% of students answered in the affirmative whereas 54% of students answered in the negative. 28% of students were not sure about the matter. So, it was found that students in online classes were less interactive and did not participate actively in classroom activities, nor did they believe that teachers' initiatives could affect classroom interaction.

Question 12 asks students "In the future, what kind of problems (about language) will students face most often as a result of having less interaction with teachers and students?" They were asked to rank and arrange the following problems in order of intensity, with 1 being the most challenging and 5 being the least intense. Table-1 shows that students thought that lack of speaking skill and lack of listening skill would be the most intense problem whereas lack of concentration and lack of motivation and confidence were considered third and fourth by them.

	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of speaking skill	50%	10%	34%	4%	2%
Lack of listening skill	34%	26%	34%	2%	2%
Lack of concentration	20%	22%	46%	4%	6%
Lack of motivation and confidence	18%	20%	42%	10%	8%
Lack of discipline and morality	14%	16%	38%	20%	10%

Table 1. Certain problems caused by lack of interaction in long use in future.

It is also true that students felt not all online language classes were interesting. Question no. 13 investigated why online language classes seemed boring. In response 48% of students said that the classes were tedious because there was no interaction between the students and the teachers. 36% of students thought that the classes were boring because there were lots of distractions and 12% of students marked 'Poor scheduling'

13. Some online language classes are boring because-
50 responses



One of the major concerns of a means analysis is teachers' readiness to teach classes. In response to a question 'Do you think the language teachers have computer literacy? Did your teachers face problems taking the course? (Question no.14), 22% of the students reported that some teachers didn't have enough computer literacy, 10% students answered in affirmative but the rest 68% of the respondents ignored the question. In response to the second part of the same question, a few students (N=7) mentioned that their teachers had difficulty sharing materials such as videos from YouTube, recorded lectures, Google worksheets, etc. Other students (N=5) reported that their teachers found problems in operating breakout rooms for practicing role play and pair activities. Some (N=3) pupils complained that they were unable to understand their teacher's words because of poor internet connection during class.

Responses towards the question no. 4 (Do you have previous experience in attending online classes? What are the problems you faced in online classes during the pandemic?) were arranged under the codes presented in the table below. However, in response to the first part of this question 72 teachers found problem in operating % students replied "no", 20% replied "yes", and 8% responded that they had insufficient experiences about online classes before the pandemic situation. Because of the pandemic situation, first-year university students were forced to switch to online courses without any preparation. With regard to their challenges of online classes participants stressed mostly on troubleshooting technological issues (N=90) and lack of interactions with teachers (N=32) and inability to communicate with peers (N=58). One student said, "My biggest concern is the communication aspect. It's difficult to write emails for everything, but I know our teacher answers our emails." A few participants also discussed the lack of in-person interaction with their peers. One student complained, "Not having the opportunity to meet with professors or any friends in person and not having a physical person to ask for help!" Lack of motivation was a common challenge (N=69) as reported by the respondent

students. Several of them expressed frustration with being confined into their houses because of lock down and fear of infection. However, some other students (N=25) told that it seemed very difficult to stay focused on the screen for a long time. Poor concentration made class seem boring to them.

Among other challenges reported by participants, fear for misunderstanding assignments (N=45) and inability to ask questions immediately (N=26) were most common. To tell about lack of uninterrupted internet connection one student said, "The internet connection of my residential area is very poor. Within an hour-long class, I have to reconnect my device three or four times. Electricity supply was also frequently unavailable. At that time, I need using package data that is too expensive." Another student said, "Teachers ask us to keep camera open during the class but if I keep camera open because of poor internet network I cannot listen anything". Some other students (N= 20) stated that while the class is going on, it was very common to loosen internet connection at any of the end (either the teachers' or the students') that created a chance to miss important information about the task going on in the class. It gave them a feeling of fear of misunderstanding the tasks and assignments. Poor learning conditions at home though mentioned by few students (N=8), was an unignorable challenge. About this issue one student said, "While trying to get feedback from a classmate, other students may be distracted, or everyone can say something at the same time . . . There are times when I cannot occupy an entire room during class. It happened that I was attending the class sitting on the dining table, my mother was cutting vegetable sitting on a chair beside me and on the floor my younger brother was playing with toys."

Challenges of the online learning	Responses	
	Number (N)	Percent
Troubleshooting technological issues	90	90%
Lack of interactions with teachers	32	32%
Lack of self-discipline		
Social isolation/inability to communicate with peers	58	58%
Poor learning conditions at home	8	8%
Fear of misunderstanding assignments	45	45%
Learning how to manage time and deadlines independently	25	25%
Inability to immediately ask questions/ clarify expectations.	26	26%
Receiving writing feedback from peers	74	74%
Lack of motivation	69	69%
Difficulties to stay focused on the screen	25	25%
	Total= 100	

Table-2: Challenges faced by students during online learning

Table -3 presents an overview of students’ perceived benefits from online class. Majority of students (N=68) mentioned the flexibility and possibility of rewatching videos as an obvious benefit of online learning. One student stated, “I like the flexible schedule. I could rewatch videos if I missed something whenever I wish and as many times as I wish.” This flexibility is relevant for students because rewatching videos shows their motivation for learning and resolving problems. Face-to-face classes provide students with only one opportunity to listen to the lecture, and if they have questions, they must wait for the teacher's schedule. But because of the online class they needed to be responsible for their own time management and self-paced learning. A few of them (N=6) pointed out that the sudden transition from face-to-face class to online class has increased their ability to organize their time.

According to some respondents (N=45), taking online classes allows them to remain at home, reducing their commute time and expenses. Other benefits included acquiring updated computer skills mentioned by many (N=40). According to one student, "I learned a lot, including a new computer program." A few students (N= 13) found online classes beneficial because it improved their proficiency for virtual communications. One student commented, "Now I am very visible on social media and our teachers are available for virtual communication. They also provide feedback on the smaller Assignments via email or WhatsApp”.

Benefits of the online learning	Responses	
	Number (N)	Percent
Access to online material	25	25%
Ability to stay at home	45	45%
Ability to record a meeting/ Ability to rewatch lecture video	68	68%
Comfortable surrounding	5	5%
Learning on you own pace	6	6%
Flexibility in managing time and completing assignments.	15	15%
Fewer social distractions	4	4%
Acquiring new computer skills	40	40%
Availability for virtual communication	13	13%
	Total= 100	

Table-3: Student perceptions and Benefits of Online learning.

Table 4 presents a summary of students’ preferences and recommendations for future online language classes. A number of students (N= 16) said online course allowed them greater

flexibility in the ways they completed coursework so they wanted to have the same in future. Students (N=14) also gave preference to enhance their knowledge about computers so that in similar conditions like Covid -19 they might shift to online class without wasting time. Side by side students (N=4) wanted to have troubleshooting technological issues resolved.

Students (N=8) gave importance to the increase in students-teacher and student-student interactions. Frequent online meeting, online peer -review session may be adopted for this purpose. However, students (N=10) expressed their wish to go back to face to face classes as they found it more beneficial and worth coping with.

Students' preferences and recommendations	Responses
Enhancing the knowledge about computers	14%
More interactions among the teacher and the students	8%
Continue to provide accessible course content	16%
Starting the traditional education system	10%
Solving the Technical issues	4%

Table-4: Perceptions of Students and Recommendations of online classes for Future

8. Discussion

The present study evaluates Bangladeshi first semester university students' opinion and belief towards online language classes during the COVID-19 outbreak. The survey revealed the most prevalent challenges students faced during their language courses in terms of available resources, teaching material and methods, communication with peers and teachers, availability of technical support, etc. Results show that students had only limited experience with online learning and the only reason for moving to online classes was due to an emergency situation. The first year of university life is more or less challenging to all freshers. The reason for this is that they have to adjust to a new environment and to a new, advanced curriculum. Nevertheless, data showed students were positively motivated for online language classes. Results from this study revealed many challenges such as 'troubleshooting technological issues', 'lack of interaction with teacher', inability to communicate with peers', and 'inability to respond quickly' (shown in Table -2). In addition, 'poor learning conditions at home' has been the most rated challenge for almost all the students. Moreover, the "lack of self-discipline" was a challenge for students because online

learning entails more autonomy on the part of the student since there is no physical space to attend to and no instructor to report to face-to-face. Because of this, they feared misunderstanding assignments. Participants of this study found it difficult to receive writing feedback from their peers. In fact, students might struggle during their learning due to these challenges, and they need to be equipped with proper training to avoid such issues.

In this study, students' perceptions of teachers' computer literacy and ability to operate virtual platforms are a noteworthy observation. Data revealed that a majority of students found their teachers were not sufficiently skilled to handle online classes.

The findings revealed that a number of students found in themselves lack of motivation for online classes. This is resulted from a lack of classroom interaction, which is typical of in-person learning. Students also reported that fear of the infection and staying at home for a longer period were the reasons for lack of motivation. Several other studies also found student boredom or lack of motivation during the COVID period (e.g., Irawan et al., 2020; Derakhshan et al., 2021). They mentioned students were familiar only with face-to-face class prior to the COVID period where there were opportunities for direct interactions with teachers and peers.

Additionally, students identified a few potential consequences that may occur in future due to lack of interaction inside the class. Students commented that they may suffer from lack of proficiency in listening and speaking skills because of it. It may also hamper their concentration, motivation and confidence in using English (Table-3).

Further students pointed out few benefits of online classes which include 'ability to stay at home, 'flexibility in managing time and completing assignment' and 'ability to rewatch lecture video'. Moreover, during the COVID period one particularly significant type of skill acquisition occurred that is related to technological literacy. In this study, 87% of students expressed that they acquired new computer skill, and 67% of students stated that attending virtual classes equipped them with handling virtual communication using various online platforms.

9. Recommendations

Listed below are some recommendations directly from the respondents to the study. These recommendations support a learner-centered approach to teaching language via online platforms:

The first recommendation is to increase communication with students, both inside and outside of the class room. Instruction should be given in simple and straight forward sentences so that students may not have any fear of making mistakes in understanding assignments.

Next, both teachers and students should receive proper training. In addition, other technical issues such as poor internet connections and a lack of devices should be dealt with before beginning online language courses.

Further, instructors are encouraged to provide opportunities for student collaboration. Students must get adequate feedback from their teachers and peers. During COVID-19, some students may live alone with very little social interaction. Class activities—such as collaborative peer review sessions, presentations can serve as an opportunity to facilitate students' social needs while also improving their learning experience.

10. Conclusion

This study was conducted to identify the benefits and challenges of online language learning during the COVID-19 from the perspective of Bangladeshi first-year university students. Results revealed that students agreed on both the advantages and challenges of online learning. The ability to record meetings was the most important factor, followed by the ability to stay at home with a comfortable setting. On the other hand, technical problems were the most rated challenge for students, in addition to lack of interaction with teachers and peers. One of the limitations of this study was its small sample size. The study sample was collected from around Dhaka. If the whole country could be covered it might have given clearer insight. In this study, only students' perceptions were collected; if teachers could have been included, there will be more insightful findings. Despite its limitations, this study presented a way to explore students' perceptions towards online language learning during a time of crisis, which may be interesting for further research. As a result of this study, we have developed recommendations that can be used to facilitate online teaching, particularly in university language courses, during emergency periods or to plan any new online course for similar students.

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AN OT ACCOUNT OF VOICING ASSIMILATION IN MISING

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Abstract

Mising is an Eastern Tani¹ language of the Tibeto-Burman language family spoken by approximately 680,424 people in 5 districts of Assam and by 7,412 people in Siang and Namsai districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Tani group had previously been categorized by Bradley (1997) as 'Miric' i.e., Adi-Galo-Mishing-Nishi-Tagin and by Matisoff (2003) as Abor-Miri-Dafla as a branch of Sino-Tibetan languages. This paper discusses aspects of voicing assimilation in Mising. One of the most common phonological process, assimilation and its subtypes are often controlled and positional. Like some other types of assimilation, voicing assimilation shows positional controlling. In most cases, the value of the feature [voice] spreads from onset to coda which makes voicing assimilation onset-controlled, rather than coda-controlled. This paper is divided into three parts – firstly, a comprehensive description of voicing assimilation is presented; secondly, a language-specific case of voicing assimilation in Mising and thirdly, an Optimality-theoretic analysis of this pattern.

Keywords: Onset-controlling, Laryngeal Neutralization, Word-final Devoicing, Spreading, Delinking.

1.1. Assimilation as a Phonological Process

Among all kinds of phonological processes, assimilation processes are perfectly natural consequences of normal speech production which either ease the articulation or perception. The advantage of presence of assimilated segments is that they result in smoother, more effortless transitions from one sound to another and also facilitate the task of speaking.

Some of the phonological processes may affect the whole sound segment, therefore, termed as *whole-segment process* while some others affect only one or more features² within a segment, therefore, termed as *modification-type processes*. Modification-type processes include types such as *co-occurrence: assimilation*

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– neighboring sounds become similar (for example, English in- + possible = impossible, *dissimilation*(for example, Latin ‘rare’ became Italian ‘rado’) and *vowel harmony* (for example, in Turkish, words can have all front vowels as in [iplerin] ‘rope.gen.pl’ or all back vowels as in [gündür] ‘it is day’), *coarticulation* processes involve change in the place of articulation such as *secondary articulation*(for example, in English ‘shoe’, [ʃ] is labialized to be pronounced as [ʃ^wu] and *nasal release* (for example, in Mundari, voiced bilabial dental plosives have nasal release [b^m, dⁿ] in word-final position) etc, *laryngeal*: debuccalisation where a consonant loses its place of articulation and becomes a glottal stop (for example, /teʔ/ ‘to cut’ becomes [teʔ] in Paite) and *aspiration* (for example, English word-initial stressed /p, t, k/ becomes [p^h, t^h, k^h] as in [p^hin] ‘pin’, [t^hin] ‘tin’, [k^hæŋ]), *syllable-based– vowel insertion* (for example, /skul/ ‘school’ is pronounced in many languages as [iskul])and *vowel deletion*(for example, in Hindi, /təbəla/ is pronounced as [təbla] ‘musical instrument’), *articulatory – gemination* – a consonant is doubled in the pronunciation (for example hatta ‘stubbornness’ and satta ‘power’ in Punjabi), and *degemination*- two similar neighboring consonants are reduced to one single consonant (for example the word ‘immature’ is pronounced with a single /m/ in English).

1.1.1. Parameters of Assimilation

Among many other descriptions of parameters of assimilation, one interesting classification is presented in Yu Cho (1999). She has presented a detailed analysis of the assimilation phenomena of Korean, Japanese and Sanskrit, among other languages and discussed six possible universal parameters of assimilation which are mentioned below. These parameters vary and uniquely combine in language-specific ways for each assimilatory process.

Site of Spreading: This parameter is determined by the representation given in Feature Geometry. It can take any feature or any class node as its value in the feature geometry. Any node whether terminal or non-terminal can be a site i.e. a single feature or a class node may spread.

Specification on Target or Trigger: It is not enough to characterize a rule of assimilation as Spread F. In some cases, only a subset of potential targets is actual target. For instance, in Sanskrit only nasals are targeted, /n/ -Retroflexion, even though

stops and fricatives are potential targets and only fricatives are triggers. In some languages, the most common types of target specification in place assimilation is Coda-Target. In languages such as Korean, Sanskrit and Catalan, there is a condition that only coda consonants are actual targets.

Locality Conditions: All phonological rules are subject only to positive, prosodically expressed locality conditions. Rules can refer only to the target and the trigger. As a consequence, locality conditions that determine the segment class which may or may not interrupt between the target and the trigger can be eliminated.

Relative Order Between Spreading And Redundancy Rules: UG provides a context-free default rule for every distinctive feature. Context free redundancy rules do not change feature specifications and they apply at all stages of a derivation. It is possible for phonological rules to interact with redundancy rules. If language specific phonological rules apply at the initial stage for a given feature then phonological rules can distinguish between marked specifications and the absence of specifications for that feature. If rules apply at the fully specified stage, then phonological rules can distinguish between + and – specifications for that feature. This parameter plays a role in distinguishing two types of assimilation rules. In one rule, only distinctively specified features constitute a set of triggering features and in another rule, redundant features also participate in spreading. For example, in Sanskrit, internal voicing *sandhi* is triggered only by voiced obstruents whereas, in external *sandhi*, any voiced segment can trigger voicing.

Directionality: In this parameter, a rule can take one of the following three values for the directionality – a) no specification of direction : /n/ - Lateralization in Korean, Icelandic and Irish b) left to right: Sanskrit /n/ - Retroflexion, Oscan and Umbrian Nasalization, Japanese VA and c) right to left: Ukrainian VA. Rules with zero value are referred to as mirror image i.e. a feature may spread in the either direction. This is when a marked feature specification spreads regardless of the linear order. In Sanskrit /n/- retroflexion, a fricative on the left triggers ‘retroflexion’ on the nasal to the right. This is an example of the left to right value. Ukrainian Voicing Assimilation is case of right to left value.

Domain of Assimilation Rules: All phonological rules including assimilation rules have to be assigned to some appropriate domains. Assigning proper rules concerns the entire framework

of phonology. It involves the interaction of assimilation rules with other rules and with other components of grammar. It is difficult to determine the organization of phonology even in a single language.

1.2. Voicing Assimilation

Voicing assimilation is a phonological process by which one sound changes the voicing of another sound due to the influence of its phonological environment. It occurs when the voicing of the assimilator is transferred to a voiceless segment. The shift in the opposite direction is referred to as devoicing. This happens when a voiced sound becomes voiceless in a particular phonological environment. In a certain environment, the voicing or devoicing of a segment can be observed. The change is a result of sound assimilation with an adjacent sound of opposite voicing, but it can also occur at word final position or in contact with a specific segment. For instance, the English suffix -s is pronounced [s] when it is followed by a voiceless phoneme as in the word /kæts/ 'cats' and [z] when it is followed by a voiced phoneme such as /dogz/ 'dogs'. This type of assimilation comes under progressive assimilation, where the second consonant assimilates to the first, whereas regressive assimilation goes in the opposite direction, as it can be seen in /hæftu/ 'have to'. If a consonant is voiced and another consonant is voiceless then the voiced consonant often has no voicing. For example, /big kap/ → [bikkap] 'big cup'.

1.3. Parameters of Voicing Assimilation

Cross-linguistically, assimilation is typically unidirectional (voicing assimilation is no exception, too). For example, nasals assimilate in terms of place of articulation to the following consonant and not to the preceding consonant, thus exhibiting a regressive pattern. This is probably due to the fact that distinctive preconsonantal position is more difficult to perceive than the prevocalic position. Steriade (1999) presents an account for the essentially regressive voicing assimilation in an intervocalic cluster where voicing spreads from the last consonant in the cluster leftwards. Bakovic (2005) gives an explanation for English word-final progressive assimilation that the typical assimilatory direction in a word-final cluster is reversed. Distinctive word-final postconsonantal place is more difficult to perceive than postvocalic place. He also states that English shows progressive assimilation as distinctive preconsonantal place is more difficult to perceive than the prevocalic place. Apart for the segmental positioning, the other

issue arising from directionality of assimilation is their morphological affiliation. Beckman (1998) states that affix segments often assimilate to root or stem segments and also explains that it may be due to the psychological prominence of root/stem over affix.

Patterns of VA and final devoicing are based on two interactive parameters. First is ‘devoicing’ (basically a substitution of a voiceless consonant for a voiced consonant) which has three values – 1) coda devoicing, 2) cluster devoicing and 3) no devoicing. Their effects are observable in some languages when they are coalesced with assimilation. Devoicing is formalized as delinking of feature [voice]. The second parameter for voicing assimilation is the ‘spreading’ which is viewed as the association of two unassociated nodes. Spreading basically determines whether there is assimilation or not. Spreading has just two minimal values, ‘+’ for spreading and ‘-’ for no spreading. When spreading takes the negative value, or when contextually no spreading is possible, the surface effect results is devoicing.

(1) Interaction of two parameters

Devoicing ‘+’	Spreading ‘-’	
Coda- devoicing	Dutch, Catalan	German
Cluster-devoicing	Serbo-Croatian	
Kirghiz		
No-devoicing	Ukrainian, Santee	
Kannada		

To summarize, devoicing is viewed a ‘delinking’ and assimilation is viewed as ‘spreading’. These two parameters are interactive and are capable of generating six different typologies concerning VA. In other words, voicing alterations of this parametric theory predicts that languages can be classified into six types, all of which are attested in languages as shown in (1) above.

1.4. Typology of Voicing Assimilation

Voicing assimilation has been known to be relatively free in choosing its propagating value. A detailed discussion is presented below based on four different types devised in recent times by phonologists. According to Anderson (1979), clusters of obstruents which are heterogeneous in voicing are made homogeneous either by spreading both [+voice] and [-voice]

directionally or by spreading one preferred value of the feature. He divided assimilation into three types:

- (2) Anderson's (1979) VA typology
 - a. Progressive assimilation as in English
 - b. Regressive assimilation as in Russian
 - c. Bi-directional assimilation as in Swedish

Mascaro's (1987) typology suggests reduction of language-specific operations in voicing neutralization and voicing assimilation and proposes that a set of apparently unrelated surface properties should be derived from the interplay of a few parameters. The two basic language particular operations are 'reduction' (it is the loss of phonological structure) and 'spreading' (the association of two unassociated nodes). Lombardi's (1999) typology offers a more coherent classification of voicing assimilation and a categorization of five types of languages exhibiting voicing assimilation.

- (3) Lombardi's (1999) VA typology
 - a. Syllable-final neutralization as in German
 - b. Voice unrestricted as in English, Kannada, Tulu
 - c. No voicing in obstruents as in Maori, Ainu
 - d. Voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters with word-final neutralization as in Dutch, Catalan, Sanskrit and Polish
 - e. Voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters with word-final voicing contrast as in Yiddish, Romanian and Serbo-Croatian

In this paper/chapter, the manifestations of these typological characteristics of voicing assimilation in Mising language, will be studied.

1.5. The Mising Language

Mising is an Eastern Tani language of the Tibeto-Burman language family spoken in Assam (Lakhimpur, Dhemaji, Sibsagar, Majuli, Dibrugarh districts) and Arunachal Pradesh (Siang district). The closest relative of Mising is the Adi community, both ethnically and linguistically while, Hrusso (Aka), Nyshi (Dafla), Gallong and Mishimis are regarded as distantly related to Mising (Taid 1987). Misings are a close cognate of the Adis (Mijon and Pa:dam dialects) while Apatani, Bokar, Nyshi, Bungi, Tagin, Yano, Hill Miri and Galo of the Western Tani group and Damu, Bori and Milang of the Eastern Tani group (Post 2007, Pegu 2010).

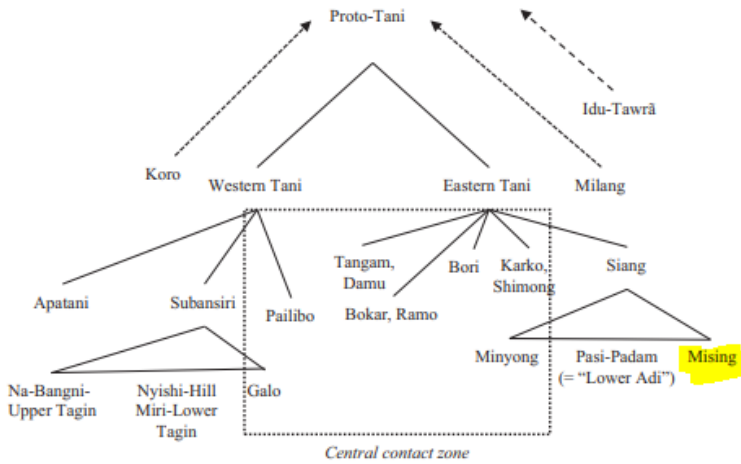


Figure 1: Placement of Mising within the Tani Group (Sun, 1993: 297)

Mising language has some major social dialects including Pagro, Delu, Oyan, Dambug (or, Dambuk), Mo:ying, Sa:yang, Somua and Samuguria. The first 6 dialects have been mentioned in Taid (1995) while Prasad (1991) mentions all 8 of them.

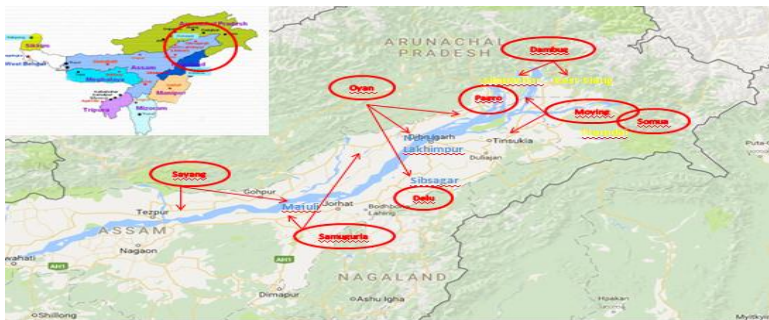


Figure 2. Distribution of regional dialects of Mising (Patgiri, 2020)

Despite being mutually intelligible, the dialects of Mising differ from each other in phonology, morphology, morpho-phonology, morpho-syntax and lexical levels (Pegu 2010). Pagro is regionally concentrated in Dhemaji district of Upper Assam which also has the highest number of speakers. Delu speakers are largely found in the Sibsagar district and Oyan speakers are found in Sibsagar as well as in North Lakhimpur and Dhemaji districts. Dambug, on the other hand, having less number of speakers are mainly the inhabitants of Silapathar sub-division of

Dhemaji and in East Siang district in Arunachal Pradesh. Majority of Mo:ying dialect speakers reside in Tinsukia district and Jonai sub-division of Dhemaji district and Sa:yang speakers reside in Majuli and Sonitpur districts. Somua speakers have traditionally been living in Namsai district of Arunachal Pradesh and Samuguria speakers are found in Golaghat and North Lakhimpur in Assam.

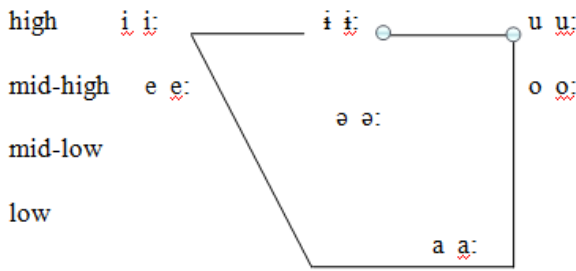
Mising has 15 consonants including 8 obstruents and 7 sonorants. Voicing is contrastive and aspiration is absent. It has not retained any Proto-Tani (PT) labio-dental fricative and alveolo-palatal consonant except the palatal nasal /ɲ/. Also, the PT glottal stop is absent in Mising. The language exploits three places of articulation for plosives and four for nasals.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	p, b		t, d	k, g
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Fricatives		s, z		
Trill/Tap		r		
Lat. Approximant		l		
Approximant			j	

(4) Consonants in Mising (Taid 1987, Pegu 2010)

There are some phonotactic restrictions of Mising segments. For example, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ occurs only in word-initial and word-medial positions but never word-finally; the lateral /l/ occur in the word-final position rarely; /s/ and /z/ both occur in word-initial and medial positions freely, but /s/ occurs in word-final position only in onomatopoeic word while /z/ never occurs word-finally; the palatal approximant /j/ can occur in all three positions. The quality of the only rhotic which is an alveolar tap /r/ has many idiolectal/dialectal variations. In Mising, consonant clusters cannot have more than two elements and all such clusters occur only word-medially. Hence, clusters are always syllabified as constituents of two adjacent syllables (as coda and onset, respectively) in Mising.

Mising has seven vowel phonemes and phonemic length distinction. Therefore, in seven vocalic places the language uses fourteen vowels in total. The vowels, however, lack nasality. The high central vowel /i/ and central vowel /ə/ are characteristic segments attested in PT also. However, distinctive vowel length is not present in PT. And like many other Tani languages, Mising has preserved the PT seven vowel inventory.



(5) Vowels in Mising (Taid 1987, Pegu 2010)

There are no significant segmental restrictions on Mising vowels. Apparently, all the vowels can occupy any position within a word. Each vowel can form minimal pair with its corresponding long vowel (Patgiri, 2017).

1.5.1. Voicing Assimilation in Mising

In Mising, adjacent obstruents agree in terms of voicing - voiced obstruents become voiceless. Within a heterosyllabic obstruent cluster, a voiceless obstruent triggers assimilation to the unmarked value for [voice] in the voiced coda of the preceding syllable as seen in both (6) and (7) below. This can apparently be viewed as coda devoicing too, but these are phonologically conditioned.

(6) Gerund forms

- | | | |
|----|-------------|--|
| a. | /ib+pan/ | [<i>ippan</i>] ‘sleeping away’ |
| b. | /tub+tir/ | [<i>tuptir</i>] ‘breaking forcefully’ |
| c. | /ib + sum/ | [<i>ipsum</i>] ‘after everyone sleeps’ |
| d. | /tad + pum/ | [<i>tatpum</i>] ‘hearing something’ |
| e. | /sud + tum/ | [<i>suttum</i>] ‘prohibiting some act’ |
| f. | /sig+kab/ | [<i>sikkab</i>] ‘closing door’ |
| g. | /dug+pan/ | [<i>dukpan</i>] ‘running away’ |

It can be seen that the underlying voiced obstruents /b/, /d/ and /g/ are devoiced and voiceless /p/, /t/, /k/ and /s/ in the following syllable have an influence for this agreement in terms of [voice] feature. Therefore, Mising exhibits the Type 1 assimilation pattern where the coda consonant as in /tub/, /tad/, /dug/ is devoiced followed by regressive assimilation. Devoicing can also be seen as delinking of the laryngeal specification.

Interestingly, only voiceless obstruents can be the triggers for [-voice]. Sonorants do not participate as trigger or target in voicing assimilation in the language.

(7) Infinitive forms

- a. /jub + tin/ [juptin] ‘to have slept enough’
- b. /jub + ko/ [jupko] ‘to place to sleep’
- c. /jub + so/ [jupso] ‘to sleep less’
- d. /ad + po/ [atpo] ‘to be good to write’
- e. /ad + sed / [atsed] ‘to add to what is already written’
- f. /ad + kin/ [atkin] ‘to know how to write’
- g. /dug + po/ [dukpo] ‘to run ahead’
- h. /dug + sod/ [duksod] ‘to snap a rope while running’
- i. /kopag + to/ [kopakto] ‘to sell it’
- j. /dompag + to/ [dompakto] ‘to ask someone to beat someone’

Mising exhibits assimilation which operates across syllable and morpheme boundaries. Hence, it is both heterosyllabic and tautomorphemic. No example of tautosyllabic voicing assimilation resulting in geminates or homogenously voiced obstruent cluster is found. The voicing of a word-final obstruent is neutralized as it always occupies the coda position making way for phrasal voicing assimilation. On the other hand, medial obstruents undergo devoicing only when they are in the coda position. In Mising language, coda-devoicing can also be viewed to be independent of voicing assimilation: a voiced coda gets devoiced regardless of whether or not there is assimilation. Some examples can be seen in the alternations such as /kopag/ ~ /kopak/ ‘banana’, /porog/ ~ /porok/ ‘chicken’, /talab/ ~ /talap/ ‘onion’, /tabad/ ~ /tabat/ ‘sugercane’ etc. ³

1.5.2. Findings

Based on the parameters of voicing assimilation, the patterns of voicing assimilation in Mising can be summarized in the following way.

(8) Basic assumptions

Site:	Laryngeal node
Target:	Voiced obstruent in coda position
Trigger:	Voiceless obstruent in onset position
Locality:	Skeletal adjacency

Directionality: Regressive
Domain of spreading: Across syllable boundary
Markedness: Unmarked [-voice] plays a role

On the other hand, (9), (10), (11) and (12) below present the typological features of Mising VA based on the four prominent typologies proposed by Anderson, Mascaro, Yu Cho and Lombardi.

- (9) Anderson's (1979) typology
Direction: Regressive assimilation
- (10) Mascaro's (1987) typology
Reduction: deletion of associating to [+voice]
Spreading: spreading of [-voice] instead of [+voice]
Voicing affects: final devoicing
- (11) Yu Cho's (1990) typology
Coda delinking and [voice] spreading: coda devoicing precedes voicing assimilation.
- (12) Lombardi's (1999) typology
Voicing assimilation in obstruent clusters with word-final neutralization.

These are some features of the heterosyllabic regressive voicing assimilation in Mising. Interestingly, no other *Tani* language has been reported so far in the literature to have any of these features exhibiting voicing assimilation. Therefore, it becomes necessary to identify if any genetically unrelated contact language shows such characteristics so as to find any evidence of a really diffused feature.

1.6. Voicing Assimilation: An OT Account

Lombardi (1996) proposed a set of interacting constraints within Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) that account for patterns of obstruent devoicing and assimilation phenomena. Rankings of these violable constraints result in patterns which are primarily regressive in the direction for voicing assimilation. However, there are cases of progressive voicing assimilation too, like in Yiddish.

This paper/chapter argues that the constraints of Lombardi (1996) make a correct prediction: that voicing assimilation will always be regressive at least in Mising unless additional constraints are active involving additional restrictions to special circumstances. It is a general observation concerning cross-linguistic patterns of VA that many languages have regressive voicing assimilation in all clusters.

Prior to Lombardi, Mester and Ito (1989) also proposed a way to deal with patterns of regressive voicing assimilation and referred to both values of the feature [\pm voice], with a privative [voice] feature. They suggested that voicing assimilation should be treated as a combination of neutralization and spreading. Due to the interactive combination, we get both uniformly voiced and uniformly voiceless clusters without need for a [-voice] feature to spread. And here comes the need to invoke the constraint AGREE. Basically, AGREE (voice) says nothing about the direction in which assimilation should occur and thus progressive assimilation is also possible so as to satisfy this constraint in a much similar manner regressive assimilation does. The suggestion by Mester and Ito (1989) was considered by subsequent authors such as Cho (1990) and Lombardi (1996, 1999). However, there arises a problem in this analysis as it predicts that, all other things being equal, assimilation will always co-occur with word-final devoicing, as word-final consonants are in coda position within the final syllable. This is a cross-linguistic generalization. But interestingly, both Cho and Lombardi have given empirical evidences from languages with voicing assimilation but without word-final devoicing of coda consonants. In languages such as Polish, Dutch, Catalan and Sanskrit, VA in obstruent clusters align with word-final neutralization. On the other hand, in languages such as Yiddish, Romanian and Serbo-Croatian, VA aligns with word-final faithfulness. Lombardi (1991, 1995) proposes ‘a special additional licensing possibility at word-edge’. The treatment, however, needs to be carefully selected because languages like Yiddish have a more complex grammar than languages like Polish. However, this additional complexity results from purely internal theoretical considerations and does not seem to reflect any true generalization about the naturalness of the two patterns.


Following these initial assumptions, Lombardi (1996) proposed a set of constraints within Optimality Theory which smartly account for these patterns of obstruent voicing assimilation and devoicing.

(13) Lombardi’s core OT constraints for VA

- a. IDENTONSET(LARYNGEAL) (IDONSLAR): Onsets should be faithful to underlying laryngeal specification
- b. IDENT(LARYNGEAL) (IDLAR): Consonants should be faithful to underlying laryngeal specification
- c. *LAR: Laryngeal features are prohibited
- d. AGREE: Obstruent clusters should agree in voicing

The markedness constraint AGREE which requires output obstruent clusters to agree in voicing on the surface is often in conflict with the faithfulness constraints IDONSLAR and IDLAR which prefer underlying specifications to remain the same. However, not all the faithfulness constraints have same position within the ranking - the hierarchical relationship between IDONSLAR and IDLAR has the result that it is usually more important to be faithful to onset laryngeal specification than to coda (or elsewhere) specification. This is partly because coda is a phonologically weak position. The only assimilation pattern that can satisfy AGREE will be the one where onsets stay the same and codas assimilate to them, since it will always be worse to change the onset than to change the coda.

Lombardi (1996) analyzes a hypothetical example for the mapping of /pikben/ → [pigben] and shows differential treatment of VA patterns across languages. This assimilation will take place in all obstruent clusters, as all obstruent clusters are subject to the proposed constraints. However, the AGREE constraint demands that voicing agreement is inherently non-directional.


Input: /pikben/	AGREE	IDONSLAR	IDLAR
a. pikben	*!		
b.  pigben			*
c. pikpen		*!	*

(14) Direction of VA (Lombardi, 1996: 3)

In tableau (14) above, candidate (a) [pikben] violates AGREE because it has an obstruent cluster that does not agree in voicing. On the other hand, obstruent clusters in candidate (b) and (c) agree in voicing and therefore, satisfy AGREE. While candidate (c) tries to satisfy AGREE, it has become unfaithful to the onset's laryngeal specification, violating both IDONSLAR and IDLAR. To get the desired output [pigben], a ranking AGREE » IDONSLAR » IDLAR is observed. The constraints listed in (13) are instrumental to analyze VA patterns cross-linguistically. However, we may have to invoke other constraints too, to analyze language-specific requirements arising from other morphological and phonological restrictions. The core phonological constraints in (13) will only produce regressive voicing assimilation. The same constraints are also useful to analyze the neutralization and feature spreading typologies.

For patterns exhibiting both word-final devoicing and VA, another constraint *LAR is invoked to account for the lack of

[voice] which is a laryngeal feature. Tableau (15) below explains the interaction of all these four constraints for the mapping of /pikben/ → [pigben].

Input: /pikben/	AGREE	IDONSLAR	*LAR	IDLAR
a. pikben	*!		*	
b.  pigben			**	*
c. pikpen		*!		*

(15) VA and word-final devoicing

As seen in (15) above, satisfying the markedness constraint *Lar by leaving the coda voiceless is not possible for a hetero-voiced obstruent cluster. For languages with VA, it is more important to satisfy AGREE and then IDONSLAR than to satisfy *LAR. Therefore, the result is an obstruent cluster that agrees for [voice] with the ranking AGREE » IDONSLAR » *LAR » IDLAR. Devoicing is basically the result of *LAR » IDLAR as the former requires that there should be no laryngeal specification for segments while IDLAR requires that underlying laryngeal specification must not be changed.


1.3.1. Voicing Assimilation in Mising: An OT Account

Regressive assimilation is mostly triggered by the onset and onset voicing can never be altered. Therefore, the faithfulness constraint IDENT ONSET(voice) takes the highest precedence in the constraint hierarchy along with AGREE(voice) and then together rank above IDENT(voice) to conspire in favor of assimilation to the onset voicing (Lombardi, 1996: 5). To account for the word-final devoicing and onset-controlled VA in Mising, the same set of OT constraints is considered as defined in (13) above. However, the constraints must be redefined as from the entire set of laryngeal features, only the [voice] feature is considered here to account for VA patterns in Mising.

- a. IDONS(voice): Onsets should be faithful to underlying specification for [voice]
- b. IDENT(voice): Consonants should be faithful to underlying specification for [voice]
- c. *LAR: Laryngeal features are prohibited
- d. AGREE(voice): Obstruent clusters should agree in voicing

(16) OT constraints operative for VA in Mising

In the tableau (17) below, four candidates have been generated to understand the nature of interaction among the conflicting constraints of (16).

Input: /sig + kab/‘closing door’	AGREE (voice)	IDONS (voice)	*LAR	ID (voice)
a. sig + kab	*!		*	
b. sig + gab		*	*	*
c. sik + gab	*!	*		**
d.  sik + kab		*!		*

(17) VA in Mising: AGREE (voice) » IDONS (voice) » *LAR » ID (voice)

As evident from the analysis in (17) above, the mapping of /sig + kab/ → [sik + kab] ‘closing door’ involves interaction among the conflicting set of constraints and the last candidate is selected as output because it incurs the less number and less serious violations.

1.4. Conclusion

Like many languages, Mising also requires obstruent clusters to agree in voicing which are then subject to regressive voicing assimilation. In fact, typical cluster voicing assimilation cross-linguistically is always regressive, as discussed in the previous sections. Thus the set of core constraints allow us to capture the generalization that voicing agreement in obstruent clusters is motivated by the same constraint, AGREE, regardless of the direction; but the correct prediction is made for that of regressive assimilation. The set of core OT constraints is also capable of presenting a preliminary analysis of the VA pattern in Mising.

Endnotes

- ¹ Tani refers to a compact cluster of Tibeto-Burman languages situated at the eastern end of the Himalayas, in a primarily mountainous area skirted on four sides by Bhutan, Tibet, Burma and the Brahmaputra River in Assam (Post, 2015: 322).
- ² Features are units smaller than the segments. Each sound segment is composed of numerous features in much the same

way like an atomic structure (an atom contains neutron, electron and proton). The features, termed also as distinctive features, should distinguish every phoneme in a phoneme inventory, and they should do so with a minimum number of features. Thus, consonants can be distinguished from vowels with the feature [\pm syllabic]. For example, English /p/ and /b/ differ in one respect only: /p/ is voiceless and /b/ is voiced. In all other respects, they are same: they both are bilabials, plosives and oral consonants. Again, /p/ and /g/ differ in two respects: there is a contrast of voicing as well as place of articulation - /p/ is voiceless and bilabial while /g/ is voiced and velar. All phonological representations of sounds and all processes affecting sounds can be stated in terms of distinctive features.

- ³ In English, the underlying morpheme for negative prefix is /in-/. It is essentially a bound morpheme.
- ⁴ During the development of Assamese from Indo-Aryan roots, /səm- + milən = səmmilən/ has become [xənmilən] and /səm- + man = səmman/ has become [xənman]
- ⁵ As opposed to the erstwhile SPE representations within the generative framework, Feature Geometry is a theoretical assumption which states that certain features behave similarly while undergoing phonological processes and therefore, can be grouped into various bundles.
- ⁶ The values for the Parameter of Locality Condition can be taken from any node in the prosodic structure i.e. a node in the feature geometry, a skeletal slot, a mora, a syllable, a word etc. The locations in which Locality Conditions hold are different from the site of assimilation. The site of spreading is related to what features are assimilated whereas Locality Conditions are stated in terms of the site in which the target and the trigger are scanned. For example, In English coronal assimilation is accomplished through a rule that spreads the coronal node of /θ, r, t/ onto an immediately preceding coronal segment. Here, the spreading node is the coronal node but the site of Locality Conditions is the Skeletal Slot. Another consequence of the Locality Conditions is the blocking or neutral segments as it cannot be referred to as formal objects in the representation. But the blocking behavior of some segments is a clue to a particular locality condition. For example In Sanskrit, coronal consonants block the /n/- retroflexion since the rule is conditioned by Coronal Adjacency; i.e., a feature cannot spread across an intervening coronal node.

- 7 Voiced + voiceless → voiceless + voiceless (Regressive assimilation) b, d, g + p, t, k → p, t, k + p, t, k
- 8 For instance, a language which has a rule of word final or syllable final devoicing, then it can be considered as a feature changing insertion or a delinking rule.
- 9 Universal Devoicing is not a parameter but a universal rule that is imposed on all languages such as English, Swedish etc.
- 10 The reduction parameter takes three values: no operation, deassociation, and deletion. Spreading has two values: ‘+’ and ‘-’.
- 11 Deletion involves erasing the voice specification, whereas deassociation results in a floating autosegment to be re-associated either by a rule or convention. The difference between deletion and deassociation is that a deassociated feature can be reassociated while a deleted feature is not recoverable.
- 12 The data had been initially collected during a short field trip from 18 - 20 April, 2017 in *Morituni* and *Randhonisuk* villages in the *Majuli* district of Assam. A week-long data verification program was conducted in Tezpur University during 5 - 11 May, 2017 with two native speakers. Subsequently, part of the data presented here appeared in Patgiri (2017) and Patgiri (2020). Comments from the conference participants influenced part of the analysis immensely.
- 13 Proper assessment of the current number of speaker for each dialect has not been done yet and we plan to undertake this project in the near future.
- 14 /ŋ/ is a distinct phoneme in the language, but forms no cluster where it is the first member and no geminate structure. It may occur as the second member of the cluster with sonorants and voiced /b/, /d/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /l/ and /r/.
- 15 For example, /kinam/ ‘to be sick’ vs. /ki:nam/ ‘to pull’ and /kenam/ ‘to take a bite’ vs. /ke:nam/ ‘to hook’ etc.
- 16 Most of the *Tani* languages are synthetic and agglutinating to varying degrees. These languages allow nouns and adjectives to have disyllabic or longer compounds. Mising is no exception. Mising also allows serial verb constructions which have complex morphological structure to behave as expansive predicate words.
- 17 Coda-devoicing precedes and feeds voicing assimilation.
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- ¹⁸ In Dutch, only voiced obstruents trigger [+voice] spreading while Catalan, both voiced obstruents and sonorants trigger [+voice] spreading. Turkish coda-devoicing rule affects only stops and affricates fed by voicing assimilation.
- ¹⁹ However, the language also exhibits some patterns of nasal place assimilation where sonorants do take part. We are yet to determine the interactive nature of voicing assimilation and nasal assimilation in *Mising*.
- ²⁰ In some of the *Mising* dialects, the high-mid rounded [o] is pronounced little lower and resembles the low-mid rounded [ɔ]. However, a detailed analysis of the vowel system of *Mising* is outside the scope of the present study.
- ²¹ Coda-devoicing can also be viewed as neutralization is a delinking of the laryngeal specification.
- ²² Dutch and Catalan also show similar patterns.
- ²³ Dutch, Catalan, Polish and Sanskrit also show similar patterns.
- ²⁴ In Yiddish [a Germanic language spoken in Central Europe by the Jews], progressive assimilation appears only in specific morphological situations. Although Yiddish normally has regressive voicing assimilation, progressive assimilation may occur in verbal additive formation with the reflexive /zikh/. In such cases, following a voiceless obstruent, the voiced fricative /z/ may devoice to [s] as in /hertzikh/ → [hertsikh] ‘what’s new?’ The resultant cluster agrees in voicing like all other Yiddish obstruent clusters. But rather than onset voicing taking priority, as in all other cases, preserving the voicing of this particular morpheme seems to take a back seat to faithfulness to the voicing of the verb it is attached to (Lombardi, 1999).
- ²⁵ In many cases, the apparent spread of voicelessness can be regarded as a result of neutralization.
- ²⁶ An additional mechanism to account for the entire range of languages with VA pattern is needed. A corpus of subsequent works has devised different ways to deal with these varied typological characteristics of VA.
- ²⁷ When those constraints are the only ones that are ranked as higher, only regressive assimilation is possible, as this avoids IDONSLAR violations. Both regressive and progressive directions of assimilation are prompted by the same AGREE constraint, and this is especially significant in languages like Dutch and Polish. These languages have general regressive assimilation, but also certain limited cases of progressive assimilation. Thus, while various factors may

influence the direction of assimilation, the single surface generalization that clusters must agree in voicing is captured by a single constraint.

Abbreviations

VA: Voicing Assimilation; WFD: Word-Final Devoicing; VH: Vowel Harmony; PT: Proto-*Tani*; UR: Underlying Representation; SR: Surface Representation; UG: Universal Grammar; OT: Optimality Theory.

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**USE OF ENGLISH EXPRESSIONS IN HINDI TV
COMMERCIALS: A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS**

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Abstract

Stylistics is the study of the style and language use in literature, media, and other forms of communication. In advertising, stylistics is used to create effective and persuasive messages by carefully choosing words, phrases, and images that appeal to the target audience and convey the desired message. This includes tone, imagery, and figurative language, as well as the overall structure of the advertisement. Advertisers use stylistic techniques to create feelings of nostalgia or excitement in their audience. These days presence of advertisements has become inevitable in our society. Television commercials today have become more profound and significant than the commercials from the past. The TV commercials use significant expressions that employ verbal and non-verbal communication across various mediums. The current study looks at the stylistic characteristics found in Indian television commercials and analyses them. The language used in TV commercials need to be more creative, easy to remember, specific, and defined in how it functions. The study investigates and provides an exploratory and descriptive analysis of the stylistic features most frequently used in Hindi TV Commercials.

Keywords: Stylistics, Television Commercials, Expressions, Communication.

The Hindi Television Commercials-Historical Background

The decade of the 1980's marked the beginning of Indian television's commercialisation. Accepting advertisements on Doordarshan began in 1976 when the channel was the first broadcast. Feature films, songs and dance sequences, commercial advertisements, and sports coverage have all seen significant increases in the proportion of entertainment programmes on television over the years. Advertising is intended to bridge the gap created by a budgetary shortfall. All of this changed with introduction of a "national service" in 1982,

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coinciding with the opening of colour television during the Asian Games held that same year (Mehta, 2008).

Doordarshan was commercialised in the 1980s, coinciding with the expansion of India's television network, aided by the country's indigenous satellite programme, INSAT (Mehta, 2008; Page and Crawley, 2001; Singhal and Rogers, 2001). With the broadcast of the first Indian soap opera, Hum Log, in 1984-85, the first sponsored programmes on Indian television were launched. During the airing of the advertisement, Hum Log promoted a new consumer product in India – Maggi Noodles – to viewers. The general public embraced the latest product, demonstrating the effectiveness of television commercials. Advertisers began to purchase television time to commercialise Doordarshan, and the commercialisation process began (Mehta, 2008; Singhal and Rogers, 2001). As a result, television began its transition from a public service medium to a commercial mass medium. In response to the success of this advertising campaign, other advertisers joined the Doordarshan bandwagon, enabling the network to increase its advertising rates by 150 per cent in three years (Johnson, 2000). HUM LOG was quickly followed by popular serials such as Buniyaad, religious epics such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, Khandaan, Nukkad, and Chanakya, which sparked interest among both audiences and advertisers became famous (Mehta, 2008). From then on, Doordarshan has never looked back regarding its reliance on advertising from 1 per cent of its annual budget in 1976-77 to 70 per cent of its annual expenditure in 1990. Advertising has grown at an exponential rate (Mehta, 2008).

In the 1990s, the television landscape in India changed dramatically and at a pace that was difficult to keep up with, particularly for policymakers who appeared powerless to do anything to rein in the situation. The introduction of satellite television in the United States in the 1990s marked a watershed moment in the history of television broadcasting in this country, as it forever altered the television landscape and resulted in issues that we are still dealing with today. The content of Indian television has suddenly become much more entertainment-oriented (Page et al., 2001; Sinha, 1998). Due to the winds of commercialisation and privatisation, the public broadcaster Doordarshan was compelled to change its ways. A parallel entertainment channel was launched, and the company broadcasted more Hindi films than ever before, selling time slots to private producers and rationalising its advertising rates (Ninan, 1995 & Mehta, 2008). When Doordarshan faced its

most serious crisis of credibility and survival, Sinha (1998) argues that it attempted to emulate commercial satellite television channels rather than reinvent itself as a public service broadcaster in the aftermath of the crisis. Although Doordarshan did not try to compete on quality, it did so to maintain its unchallenged market share and advertising revenues. Thus, it became as aggressively market-oriented as any other commercial network due to this development (Mehta, 2008). Music Television, or MTV (a transnational music channel widely known for its sexually explicit content), was the most visible manifestation of this when it left the STAR group and began airing on Doordarshan's Metro channel in the evenings in a regular two-and-a-half-hour slot (Ninan, 1995; Singhal & Rogers, 2001).

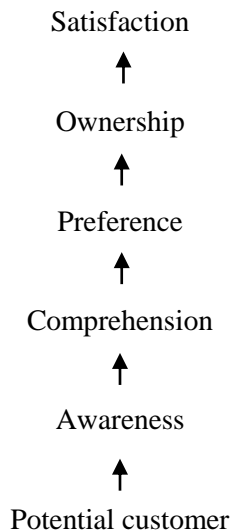
Advertisements: A Way of Communication

A person is considered an effective communicator if he/she can simplify complex concepts in his/her explanations or presentations. Therefore, we can consider advertisements to be effective forms of communication since they convey the message clearly, concisely, and elegantly, and they also receive the reciprocation they seek. Through the skilful application of commonplace examples, a marketing strategy has the potential to bring a fantastical subject matter into the realm of the conceivable.

The creative and media strategies should be included in an advertising strategy, as these are the two most important aspects of an advertising plan. An advertising strategy should flow directly from the advertising objectives. The creative approach clarifies the message and describes both the content of the message and the tone in which it is delivered. The media strategy decides how and when the news is conveyed to the target audience, including where and when it should be provided.

There are numerous steps to the communication process involved in advertising. The innumerable processes are represented hierarchically in this model of effects. Following this paradigm, people first pick up information from advertisements, then form opinions based on how they feel about the goods in question, and only then take action (e.g., buying product X, product Y or no product at all). The learning, feeling, and doing sequence is the name given to this order of steps. Next, when the customer has purchased and utilized the goods but has not yet developed any feelings, a "learn-do-feel" process should be carried out. The consumers may become aware of such products

due to advertising, but they are not yet emotionally invested enough in developing that advertising to affect their feelings; instead, the consumer forms either positive or negative emotions in response to the product after trying. Another potential order is "feel-learn-do," in which he first develops favourable thoughts about an automobile, then learns more about it, and then decides to buy it. A person may purchase a product because it satisfies his needs and he enjoys how it works. Subsequently, advertising reinforces those feelings and repeatedly prompts the consumer to buy the same product. A do-feel-do scenario is the fourth possibility. In this scenario, there is no authentic learning taking place.



Research Methodology

This study is both exploratory and descriptive in nature. Exploratory research is utilised to establish a foundational understanding of English expressions used in advertisements, whereas descriptive studies seek to employ stylistic features in Hindi television commercials at various language levels.

This study uses a quantitative and qualitative technique to analyse secondary data obtained from television advertising, downloaded via internet, specifically YouTube. The advertisements analysed are from the previous five years. Though the study examines stylistic features used in Indian Hindi television advertisements, it also investigates the extent to which English is utilised and whether this varies depending on variables such as channel, target audience, and product/service

being advertised. Data was collected from Hindi TV commercials advertisements through random and purposive sampling.

Usage of Styles in Advertising Language

Language is a medium of communication utilized by human beings to participate in social interaction. The Latin term "communis," which translates to "common," is where we get the English word "communication." When we speak with one another, we are attempting to build a relationship with that person while also exchanging information, an idea, or a point of view using a tried-and-true method of communication, which is language. Because it was developed by humans using a predetermined set of guidelines, language is entirely methodical in its approach. Beginning with individual sounds and progressing through sound sequences, natural languages each have their meanings that are associated with them. This idea can be expanded even further to include words and sentences. Every sound serves a specific purpose in the language, regardless of the context in which the language is being used. The sound sequences have meaning at many levels, including the phonological, morphological, and syntactical levels. An individual who uses language does so in several contexts. These linguistic structures are at his disposal, and he can use them to realize the communication goals that have been set. In most cases, no two speakers of the same language or a given language express information in the same way. This particular cause is because the differences in saying the same information depend on the individual's choice of the language structures that compose that individual's style. Nevertheless, a wide variety of definitions are linked to the concepts of style. Chatman (2010) defines style as:

1. Style is the ability to write well,
2. Style refers to an author's unique approach to writing,
3. Style is the overarching characteristic of written work, and
- 4 .Style can also be defined as a mode of conversation or a way of expressing oneself verbally.

Enkvist (1964) defines Style as:

1. A notion or phrase already existing serves as the inspiration for a style.
2. Style can be defined as the selection of one statement over another.

3. A person's unique combination of traits makes up their Style.
4. Style is an individual's departure from convention, and
5. A collection of individual traits constitutes a particular style.

The use of language structures for the achievement of purposeful and significant communication is emphasized by style. Context and fashion go together. The writing style must also shift when the context shifts, and vice versa. It can happen in two different ways:

- a. Specific stylistic standard is linked to a specific context
- b. Style shifts occur within the confines of the given context in some way

The language employed in the advertising context exhibits prominence of imperatives and evaluative adjectives, which constitute the style norm of that context. The language used in advertisements is not the same as in news reporting because news reporting is a normative style. Thus, language has several styles, namely, literary, scientific, colloquial, journalistic, etc.

Language is subject to change on the temporal, spatial, and social structure scales. It might differ not just from one individual to another but also from one sub-section of the speaking community. Variability in a social dimension is called as Socio - Lexical variability. For instance, when English language was brought into the newly "decolonized" setting, wide national and regional varieties of English language emerged. English is spoken throughout the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, and, most recently, India. Some of these varieties are known as English. Both in appearance and performance, they are uniquely their own. A writer may sometimes choose any one of them purposely for the goal of creating something new.

According to Geoffrey Leech, advertising discourse stylistics can be divided into four categories: colloquial and formal, informal and ceremonial, personal and impersonal, and simple and complex.

Stylistics

Stylistic analysis in advertising is a method of examining the language and other elements used in an advertisement to understand how they create meaning and influence consumers' behaviour. This can include analysing the use of language such

as syntax, vocabulary and grammar as well as the use of literary devices such as metaphor, simile, and imagery. It can also include analysing the use of nonverbal elements, such as visuals, layout, colour and how they contribute to the overall message and emotional impact of the advertisement.

In addition, stylistic analysis of advertisement can examine the discourse, tone and context of the advertisement. The discourse analysis could include looking at the way the advertisement is written, such as the use of persuasive language, and the tone, such as whether it is serious or humorous, etc. The context analysis could include looking at the societal, cultural, and historical context in which the advertisement was produced and received. The goal of stylistic analysis in advertising is to understand how language and other elements are used to create an emotional response in the viewers and influence their purchasing decisions. By understanding the stylistic choices made in an advertisement, researchers and advertisers can better understand how to create effective and persuasive advertisements.

Many Hindi TV commercials use English expressions to appeal a wider audience and convey a sense of modernity, sophistication, or global appeal. Some common English expressions used in Hindi TV commercials include:

1. *"Think Big"* - used to convey a message of ambition and success
2. *"Just Do It"* - a slogan popularized by the sportswear brand Nike, used to convey a message of motivation and determination
3. *"Because You're Worth It"* - a slogan popularized by the hair care brand L'Oréal, used to convey a message of self-worth and self-care
4. *"The Ultimate Driving Machine"* - a slogan used by the car brand BMW, used to convey a message of luxury and performance
5. *"The Happier Way to Shop"* - a slogan used by an e-commerce website, conveying a message of convenience and satisfaction.

These English expressions are used to create a sense of aspiration branding and to appeal to a wider audience. The use of English expressions in Hindi TV commercials is also part of the globalization of the media and advertising industry.

A study of stylistic analysis of English expressions in TV commercials in advertisement would involve analyzing the language used in these commercials in order to understand how they are designed to persuade viewers to purchase a product or service. This can include analyzing the use of persuasive techniques such as rhetorical questions, emotional appeals, and repetition, as well as the overall tone and style of the language used. The study may also examine the use of figurative language, cultural references, and the representation of gender and other social identities in the language of the commercials. The goal of such a study would be to understand how language is used in advertising to create a desired response in the viewer and to influence purchasing decisions.

Metaphor

Metaphors are figurative expressions that relate to one thing by mentioning another. In contrast to a simile, it lacks comparing words such as 'as' or 'like.' It is defined by Simpson (2004) as "the process of mapping between two distinct conceptual domains." The objective of metaphors, according to Fatihi (2015) is to comprehend tough and complex phenomena in terms of easier and simpler entities. Metaphor, according to Duboviiien and Skorupa (2014) "contributes to the aesthetics of the message and accentuates the central idea by describing one item in terms of another, typically through implicit comparison." The frequent use of metaphors in advertising language by the advertisers creates a poetic effect. For Examples-

1. In the advertisement for *Vivel beauty soap*.

"Merii satin soft twachaa."

When referring to the silky smoothness of a lady's skin, "*satin*" is frequently utilised. The phrase cannot be understood in its literal sense. The advertising features a woman whose skin is as soft as the satin cloth. This is the attribute that connects the two.

2. In the advertisement for *Cadbury Eclairs*.

"Chocolate kaameethaa bomb."

The word *bomb* is being used in a figurative sense here. This expression attempts to convey that eating chocolate will feel like a bomb has gone off in your mouth, just like when a bomb goes off in the world. This term should not be accepted in its literal form either.

3. In the advertisement for Johnson's *baby cream*.

"Johnson's baby cream skin rakhe baby soft."

At first glance, it appears to be an advertisement for baby cream, yet it is directed at infants and their moms. It gives the impression that it would result in skin as delicate as a baby's. The phrase *"baby soft"* is being interpreted metaphorically in this context.

No.	Advertisement	Company/Product
1	Dimag ki batti jalade. (Turnsonthelightofbrain)	Mentos
2	My kind of size zero. There's me in every Milano.	Parle Platina-Milano choco Delight
3	Super Star-Taste ka Blockbuster. SuperStar-Taste's blockbuster)	Priyagold- ChocoNouga
4	Bharose ka Pratik! (The symbol of trust!) / The name you can bank upon!	Punjab National Bank
5	Amul Macho-bade aram se. (Amul Macho-With great comfort)	Amul Macho Inner Wears

Table 1: Examples of Metaphor

Table 1 contains examples of metaphorical language usage. The first example, *dimag ki batti jala de*, demonstrates the use of *batti* in reference to intellectual work or innovative thoughts. In the advertising, a comparison is made between an ordinary life and the *mentos* life, in which a person accomplishes everyday things. Nonetheless, when he eats *mentos*, he achieves incredible things with innovative thoughts. Thus, *mentos* are a metaphor for wit, intelligence, inventive ideas, etc. In the second example, *my kind of size zero*, Twinkle Khanna, a famous Bollywood actress who is physically strong and attractive, represents the phrase *"There's me in every Milano"*. The term *size zero* refers to the smallest size in the US catalogue system for women's clothes. The utilisation of *size zero* and the actress stating *"me"* in every Milano cookie is a metaphor for a fit and trim physique. Katrina Kaif, one of Bollywood's most attractive actresses and a superstar, represents the third example, *superstar- taste ka blockbuster*. The superstar chocolate bar is a metaphor for the phrase *"blockbuster"* which refers to extremely popular goods. The fourth example *Bharose ka Pratik!* The name you can bank upon in Hindi and English is the slogan of a bank. The slogan's translation into Hindi is the sign of trust. The words *bharosa* and *bank upon* are figurative references to The Punjab National Bank. When the issue of depositing our income or conducting

business operations occurs, the usage of trust becomes increasingly significant. This use of trust draws depositors to Punjab National Bank, despite the fact that many other banks are equally trustworthy. In the fifth example, *Amul Macho- bade aram se,aram* is used metaphorically to refer to the Amul Macho undergarments. In the promo, the renowned Bollywood actor Saif Ali Khan demonstrates the ease and comfort of wearing the Amul Macho inner garments by performing actions that would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the average person.

Simile

A simile is a figure of speech in which two objects that have some resemblance to one another are compared to one another. Using similes, which compare two different entities, is one of the strategies advertisers employ to make their messages more memorable. Because of this comparison, the audience can comprehend the value of the product as well as how the product excels in contrast to others. A comparison is made using a simile by employing particular phrases. In Indian TV advertising, various terms such as '*jaise*', '*taraha*', '*aisaa*' are found. Examples of similes are shown in the following.

1. In the slogan of *Dabur Honey* advertisement.

"KyuN ki main terii taraha young nahiiN lagatii."

The word "*taraha*" in this particular illustration functions as a simile. It draws parallels between the hearer to whom the speaker is speaking and the speaker herself. She commented that you have a more youthful appearance and are more beautiful than I do.

2. The slogan of *Surf Excel detergent powder* advertisement.

"Pesh hai surf excel stain expert formula ke saath jo iNk, shoe polish jaise daag nikaale sirf ek minute meiN."

The word "*jaise*" is chosen as the simile in this illustration. It suggests that it is simple to clean up light stains by stating that it can remove tough stains such as those caused by '*ink*' and shoe polish,' respectively.

3. In the advertisement for *7up soft drink*.

"7up kaa refreshing lemon taste aisaa ki Dil bole I feel up."

The comparison word "*aisaa*" is being used here to convey the idea that 7-Up has a flavour that is so pleasant that it makes the heart feel as though it is being refreshed.

4. In *Ujala supreme* advertisement.

“*Jab tak ujala hai tab tak.*”

The question "*kab tak rahe gii safed*" was posed in the advertising, and this phrase provides a solution to that query. The correct response is that the colour will remain white so long as the word "*ujala*" is present. The expression "*jab tak...tab tak*" is used to compare things and has the simile characteristic.

Hyperbole

Cuddon (2013) defines hyperbole as "a figure of speech in which an exaggeration is used for emphasis." According to Wales (2014), this figure of speech is "often employed to emphasise strong emotion or fervour." The use of hyperbole is prevalent in both poetry language and advertising language. Table 2 contains examples of this metaphorical language usage.

No.	Advertisement	Company/Product	Hyperbole
1	Ham samjhe apki dunia. (We understand your world)	HDFCBank	We understand your world.
2	Upar wala apko apki biwi ke gusse se bacha leta hai. Aur ham apke ghar ko Uparwale ke gusse se. (God saves you from your wife's anger. And we save your home form God's anger)	Asian Paints ApexUltima aProtek	We save your home from God's anger.
3	Rishte me to ham sabke baap lagte hain. (In relation, we are the father of all)	Khaitan Fan-Celebrate Father's Day	We are the father of all in relation.
4	Mainhoontoofani.(I amstormy)	ThumsUp	Iamstormy.
5	Diamondsunlimited.	Malabar Gold &Diamonds	Diamondsunlimited.

Table 2: Examples of Hyperbole

The use of obvious and deliberate exaggeration is referred to as hyperbole. Hyperboles are typically exaggerated words that are made to evoke powerful emotion, yet they are not intended to be understood in a literal sense. It is utilised to create a powerful impact and provides emphasis in an advertisement to make it more powerful and innovative. Advertisers sometimes employ hyperbole in their copy, which has two purposes: first, it helps them sell more stuff, and second, it makes the product sound

better than it is. This contributes to the effort's overall success in increasing the product's appeal. Terms that operate as expressions of hyperbole in advertising come from a constrained pool of evaluative adjectives. These adjectives include *new*, *clean*, *white*, *real*, *fresh*, *natural*, *huge*, *fantastic*, *slim*, *soft*, and so on. The word *nayaa* used freely in Indian commercials to introduce a product in a new *avatar* with a change in appearance. Such as:

1. In the advertisement for *Garnier shampoo*.
"Nayaa Garnier fruits shampoo+oil two in one."
2. In the advertisement for *Surf Excel detergent powder*.
"Nayaa surf excel Matic."
3. In the advertisement for *Bru lite coffee*.
"Nayaa Bru lite aisaa taste jo aapke har pal ko kar de lite."

In all of these advertisements, the word '*nayaa*' is employed as an exaggeration since it conveys the impression that the advertised product has unique qualities that others lack.

White or Safed is a second exaggeration used to describe a high quantity. This is most prevalent in detergent powder advertisements, as whiteness is one of the most distinctive aspects of detergent powder advertisements.

4. The slogan of *Tide Plus* detergent powder advertisement.
"Tide plus ho to white plus ho."
5. In the advertisement for *Rin detergent powder*.
"Rin de peele pan se aazaadii aur chamak atii safedii."

The terms "*white*" and "*safed*" are exaggerated in these adverts. In the initial instance, "*tide plus ho to white plus ho*", as the first example stresses whiteness, the second example highlights "*chamakatii safedii*," or "*brightening whiteness*."

6. In advertisement for *Vivel beauty soap*, the exaggeration "*soft*" is employed.
"Aapko mile baby soft twachaa."

The phrase "*baby soft*" is employed here to describe the noun "*twachaa*" however it is nearly impossible for an adult to get this skin tone just by utilising beauty products.

7. In the advertisement for *Samsung Refrigerator*.

"Jabse aapne mummy ko Samsung refrigerator dilwaayaa hai, fruits fresh rahte hain."

The phrase "fresh" as it appears in the Samsung Refrigerator advertisement is the following example of hyperbole.

The commercial claims that a refrigerator will keep the fruits fresh; however, all it can do is to prevent them from going to waste, which is not the same thing as having fruits that have just been picked from the garden.

Antithesis

Antithesis is a figure of speech that consists of the use of words that convey opposing notions. These contradictory thoughts assist readers and listeners comprehend the contrasting concepts concealed between the lines. Table displays examples of figurative use of Expressions in advertisements.

No.	Advertisement	Company/Product	Opposite Words
1	Intel Inside Amazing Experiences Outside	Intel	Inside-Outside
2	Todo nahi Jodo. (Don't break. Affix)	Fevikwick	/toRo-joRo/ 'break-affix'
3	Big Videocon Offer. It makes everything else look small.	Videocon	Big- small
4	Choose anything. Waste nothing	Airtel My plan Postpaid	Anything - Nothing
5	Life ki kamai chahe jitni choti ho. Yaar uski party badi honi chahiye. (No matter how small is life's earning. Dear, it should have a big party)	Domino's Pizza	/tjhoTi – baRi/'small-big.'

Table 3: Examples of Antithesis

Oxymoron

The term "oxymoron" refers to a particular type of "antithesis" in which two attributes opposed to one another are used to describe the same item.

1. Use this *Hardware* to protect your *software* (Helmet ad).
2. *Hottest* offer, *coolest* price – Godrej Refrigerators.

Apostrophe

The definition of the apostrophe is an exclamatory figure of speech. Cuddon (2013) defines it as "a figure of speech in which

a thing, a place, an abstract characteristic, a concept, or a deceased or absent person is addressed as if present and able to comprehend." Examples of the use of the apostrophe are presented in Table 4.

No.	Advertisement	Company/Product	Apostrophe used
1	What an idea!	Idea Cellular	Idea!
2	I'm lovin' it	McDonald's	I'm lovin'
3	You're worth it	L'orealParis	You're
4	Aisi taazgi ki saans banjaayehhh! (Such a freshness that makes breathinghhh!)	Mint-oFresh	hhh!
5	We'll be there!	Exide Care	We'll be there!

Table 4: Examples of Apostrophe

Personification

Personification is a figure of speech that attributes human characteristics to inanimate objects. In poetic language, personification is a prevalent aspect that can be found frequently. Personification enhances the creativity, attractiveness, and appeal of the language. Skorupa and Duboviiien (2015) noted that advertisers employ personification in such a way that customers may more easily relate to the advertised personified things and remember the tagline or commercial. Thus, brands become tangible and are associated with real-life figures by customers. Table 5 demonstrates the usage of personification with examples.

No.	Advertisement	Company/Product	Personification
1	The Baap of all pay apps.(The father of all payapps)	Ask me pay	Father of apps
2	Is Eid apne gharko dein Narolac ki Eidi. (This Eid, give your home Narolac's Eidi)	Narolac Paints	Narolac's Eidi to home (Eidi money given to children on Eid festival').
3	Buddy ho to esa. (Buddy should be like this)	SBI buddy app	Buddy app
4	This Valentine's Day. TVS Scooty wishes you great love life!	TVS Scooty–Zest110	Scooty wishes
5	Deewana Tamatar. Dildaar Masala. (Crazy tomato. Beloved spice)	Kurkure–Desi Beats	Crazytomato Belovedspice

Table5: Examples of Personification

Onomatopoeia

According to Leech (1972) onomatopoeia refers to the purely mimetic power of language - its ability to imitate other mostly (non-linguistic) sounds. Advertisers make use of onomatopoeia in the language of advertisements to create a unique effect which becomes more expressive and interesting for the viewers and leaves an impact on their senses. Examples of this figurative device are presented in the table below.

No.	Advertisement	Company/ Product	Onomatopoeia
1	Itna Smooth... Likhe san sananansaayensaayen (So smooth....Writes like san sananansaayensaayen)	Cello – Butterflow pen	Sansananansaayen saayen‘the sound of blowing air.’
2	Orangy Chatka Fun ka Fatka (Orangytaste. Fun’s slap)	Fanta	Chatka ‘clicking sound made with tongue while having something sour’. Fatka‘ the sound of a slap.’
3	No, Chip Chip. No JhikJhik (No sticky.No arguments)	Fevicol–Fevistik	Chip chip ‘something sticky,’ Jhikjhik ‘arguments made in anger.’
4	Go Myntra-La-La	Myntra	La-la‘sound made in happiness, especially in Bollywood songs’
5	12 Hour Dhishum Dhishum Lagataar (Continuous 12-hour Fighting).	Pepsodent Germi Check Toothpaste	Dhishum dhishum ‘sound made in films when a hero Punches a villain.’

Table 6: Examples of Onomatopoeia

Metonymy

In metonymy, a term or expression is employed as a substitute for something with which it is closely related, and this requires a modification in the name of the object being substituted. The name of something typically connected to an item is used to give that item its name. It is a relationship between the entire and the

part, in which the term "part" can refer to the whole and vice versa.

1. *37 lakh Indians are all eyes (The Hindu –paper).*
2. *Chennai reads Deccan chronicle*
In this example, the news that appeared in the Deccan Chronicle is highlighted and only Deccan chronicle news is regarded as a popular publication that is read out by Chennai, often known as Chennai people.
3. *We build cars over 35,000 customers (Buildskoda).*
4. *Taste of Asia (Royal Meridian).*

Puns

A pun is a phrase with multiple layers of meaning. It has various meanings. These meanings may be intended to be amusing or rhetorical. Everyone should be able to comprehend the meaning. For Examples,

1. In the advertisement for *the Splendor bike*.
"Yaaraanaa miloN kaa"

The line contains puns. The slogans have a clear and hilarious meaning. In this advertisement, the word 'yaaraanaa' refers to friendship, and it is paired with 'miloN kaa' to indicate an enduring relationship about motorcycles. It ensures the quality and durability of the bike.

2. In the advertisement for *Hyundai I10 car*.
"Not everything that comes back is awesome."

In this advertisement, the word 'awesome' gives two meanings; the principal meaning is associated with happiness in life. The first meaning relates to the mother-in-law's return, which indicates sarcastic enjoyment, while the second may refer to the return of a lovely automobile model to the market. However, this latest edition of the I10 with new features is fantastic and brings great joy.

Although the slogan is effective, it is frequently remembered without the brand name. Advertising that includes their brand name in the tagline is more engaging and easy to recall. The puns' multiple interpretations are entertaining and impress the audience due to their clarity and wit. Some examples of brand names are shown below.

3. In the advertisement for *Dermi Cool powder*.
"Aayaa mausam thaNde-thaNde dermi cool kaa."

This is an example of a brand name puns in a slogan. The use of brand names in taglines increases their attractiveness. Most

commercials prefer to include brand names within their slogans or taglines.

Conclusion

The analysis of stylistic features in the Hindi TV commercials focuses on language styles, namely simile, metaphor, personification, metonymy, antithesis, oxymoron, apostrophe, onomatopoeia, puns and hyperbola style. Advertisements on television with unique style can quickly convey the main message to the readers or viewers in an effective way. There are some strategies to create an advertisement; one of them is making creative sentences by finding magic words because words are powerful tool in advertising and it is concluded that the personification style is a preferred choice on television, especially in English advertisements as personification is assumed to be the most effective way to advertise any product. Stylistic features are the most frequently used sound tactics when it comes to commercial advertising slogans by Hindi TV commercials since they assist in the transfer of essential information and help make a piece of content memorable. Similes and metaphors are powerful tools for generating strong emotional reactions from the target audience in advertising. Although metonymy and apostrophe are exceedingly uncommon, commercial advertising slogans more frequently include puns, similes, metaphors and personification.

Finally, after observing many advertisement slogans, it is concluded that the use of stylistic features in advertisements makes the expression more striking, accurate, vivid, and forceful and makes it an unforgettable experience for the consumer by creating an unbeatable effect. A stylistic study of English expressions in Hindi TV commercials suggests that English is prevalent and is often used to convey a sense of modernity and sophistication. However, it can also be viewed as a form of linguistic imperialism and may contribute to the erosion of traditional linguistic norms.

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**TEMPORAL ENTITIES RELATED TO 'YEAR' IN THE
HOLY QURAN: A FRAME SEMANTIC APPROACH**

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S A Shanavas**

Hussain C ***

Abstract

The study deals with semantic analysis of temporal terms in Arabic 'aam' /ʔ:m/, 'sana' /sana/, 'haul' /hawl/ and 'hija' /hidʒadʒ/; year in the Holy Qur'an. This study explores how translators have rendered these synonyms into English. It also explores the strategies used by different Qur'an translations in rendering these synonyms into English and to find which translations could be more semantically sensible than others based on exegesis. The findings reveal that some Qur'anic terms are untranslatable, and finding an appropriate and faithful equivalent in the target language is not possible. The differences and the scarcity of lexical equivalent rendered in the target language are analyzed. The aim of the study is to depict how these terms are different from each other and how much they give the semantic equivalence of the original. This paper follows Charles J. Fillmore's frame semantics.

Keywords: Cognitive Linguistics, Frame Semantics, Semantic Equivalence, Qur'an, Temporal Expressions.

Introduction

A word can express and disseminate a myriad of implications, connotations, and attitudes in addition to its basic "dictionary" meaning. And a word often has near-synonyms that differ from it solely in these nuances of meaning. So, finding the right lexical choice to use in any particular situation is very important in terms of semantic aspects. This study also tries to look at these synonyms through Fillmore's frame semantics. Frame is a mental structure which evokes naturally when we use language¹. It defines and determines the meaning through the knowledge based on conceptualization. The basic or fundamental idea of frame is that one cannot comprehend the meaning of a word

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without approach to all essential knowledge that is related to the sense of the word. For instance, one who has not seen an ocean would never get complete sense of it. It is the experience of ocean that makes the meaning, though ocean can be described with similar words and things. The ocean as a frame is formed through understanding of epistemic sign such as wave's infinite presence of water and constant winds with salty droplets. Thus, a word activates or evokes a frame of semantic knowledge relating to the specific concept to which it refers.

Aim of the Study

This study aims to find out the semantic distance among the four temporal terms related to the meaning 'year' used in the Holy Quran. It also tries to depict the translations of these synonyms by the Qur'an translators.

Holy Quran and Translation

The expert translators confirm that rendering the Holy Qur'an into a foreign language is only about transmitting the meanings of the text into the target language since literal translation is inconceivable and cannot deliver the intended message behind the verses (Zarkani, 1945). Moreover, many words in the Holy Qur'an have more than one meaning, and therefore, the translators must be careful when they choose the proper equivalent of these words. This entails referring to various Qur'anic exegeses to determine the exact meaning of the lexemes (Hassan, 2003, p. 40). Abobaker Ali, Brakhw, Nordin, Shaik Ismail, and Humanity (2012) investigated the linguistic difficulties that translators of the Holy Quran face, among which is rendering some Islamic items that lack equivalence in the target language. This compels translators to use the communicative manner by giving approximate meanings such as صمياً (alms giving). This confirms that any translation of the Holy Qur'an is "bound to be little more than an approximation of the source language text" (Al-Malik, 1995, p. 3).

The eloquence and beauty of the Qur'an is incomparable in that it is considered to be the ultimate reference for the Arabic rhetoric, grammar, and syntax (Ubaidat, 1990). It employs many stylistic, linguistic and rhetorical features that may impose even more challenges on the translators, especially when it comes to literary devices such as metaphor, irony, polysemy, metonymy, simile, synonymy and homonymy. Therefore, translators should not ignore such semantic features when attempting to translate the Qur'anic text.

In light of the difficulties mentioned above, it must be noted that translators of the Holy Qur'an need to have a linguistic competence in classical Arabic, including syntax and rhetoric, in order to understand the linguistic and rhetorical structures of the Qur'anic verses. Beyond all these notions regarding the translation, it's very essential to understand the views by Fillmore's semantics view.

Year Terms in the Holy Qur'an

The study is to examine the semantic distance of the terms *sana*, *aam*, *haul* and *hijaj* in four Qur'an translations from different times and religious backgrounds. They are:

قال تزرعون سبع سنين دأبا فما حصدتم فنروه في سنبله إلا قليلا مما تأكلون
(Yoosuf 12: 47)

*qa:la tazraʕu:na sabʕa sini:na daʔaban fama: hasʕathum
faðaru:hu fee sumbulihi: ʔilla: qali:lan mimma: thaʔkulu:n*

- [Yusuf (Joseph)] said: "For seven consecutive **years**, you shall sow as usual and that (the harvest) which you reap you shall leave it in the ears, (all) except a little of it which you may eat (Hilali and Khan).
- [Joseph] said: "For seven **years** shall ye diligently sow as is your wont: and the harvests that ye reap, ye shall leave them in the ear, - except a little, of which ye shall eat (Yusuf Ali).
- He said: Ye shall sow seven **years** as usual, but that which ye reap, leave it in the ear, all save a little of that which eat. (Pickthall).
- He said, You shall sow seven **years** after your wont; what you have harvested leave in the ear, excepting a little whereof you eat (Arberry).

ثم يأتي من بعد ذلك عام فيه يغاث الناس وفيه يعصرون

Yoosuf 12: 49

*ʔumma jaʔti: min baʕdi ðalika ʕa:mun feehi juyaθu nnaasi va
feehi jʕasiru:n*

- Then thereafter will come a **year** in which people will have abundant rain and in which they will press (wine and oil), (Hilali & Khan).
- Then will come after that [period] a **year** in which the people will have abundant water, and in which they will press [wine and oil] (Yusuf Ali).

- Then, after that, will come **a year** when the people will have plenteous crops and when they will press (wine and oil), (Pickthall).
- Then thereafter there shall come **a year** wherein the people will be succoured and press in season (Arberry).

ولقد أرسلنا نوحا إلى قومه فلبث فيهم ألف سنة إلا خمسين عاما فأخذهم الطوفان وهم ظالمون

(العنكبوت) 29: 14

wa laqad ʔarsalna: nu:han ʔila: qaumihi: fa labiṡa fi:him ʔalfa sanatin ʔilla: xamsi:na ʕ:mman fa ʔaxaḡahumu tʕu:fa:nu wa hum ḡ:limu:n

- And indeed, we sent Nuh (Noah) to his people, and he stayed among them **a thousand years less fifty years** (inviting them to believe in the oneness of Allah (Monotheism), and discard the false gods and other deities); and the deluge overtook them while they were wrong doers (polytheists or disbelievers), (Hilali and Khan).
- We [once] sent Noah to his people, and he tarried among them **a thousand years less fifty:** but the Deluge overwhelmed them while they [persisted in] sin (Yusuf Ali).
- And verily we sent Noah (as our messenger) unto his folk, and he continued with them **for a thousand years save fifty years;** and the flood engulfed the, for they were wrongdoers (Pickthall).
- Indeed, we sent Noah to his people, and he tarried among them **a thousand years, all but fifty;** so, the flood seized them, while they were evildoers (Arberry).

وَالْوَالِدَاتُ يُرْضِعْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ ۖ لِمَنْ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَبْتِمَ الرِّضَاعَةَ ۗ وَعَلَى الْمَوْلُودِ لَهُ رِزْقُهُنَّ وَكِسْوَتُهُنَّ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ ۗ لَا تُكَلَّفُ نَفْسٌ إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا ۗ لَا تُضَارَّ وَالِدَةٌ بِوَلَدِهَا وَلَا مَوْلُودٌ لَهُ بِوَالِدِهِ ۗ وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ ۗ فَإِنْ أَرَادَا فِصَالًا عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِّنْهُمَا وَتَشَاوُرٍ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا ۗ وَإِنْ أَرَدْتُمْ أَنْ تَسْتَرْضِعُوا أَوْلَادَكُمْ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذَا سَلَّمْتُمْ مَا اتَّيْتُم بِالْمَعْرُوفِ ۗ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ ۗ وَعَلَّمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ

(البقرة) 233

walwa:lida:tu jurdʕiʕna ʔaula:dahunna haulaini ka:mileini li man ʔara:da ʔan jutimma rradʕa:ʕa

- The mothers shall give suck to their children for **two whole years**, (that is) for those (parents) who desire to complete the term of suckling, but the father of the child shall bear the cost of the mother's food and clothing on a reasonable basis. No person shall have a burden laid on him greater

than he can bear. No mother shall be treated unfairly on account of her child, nor father on account of his child, and on the (father's) heir is incumbent the like of that (which was incumbent on the father). If they both decide on weaning, by mutual consent, and after due consultation, there is no sin on them. And if you decide on a foster suckling-mother for your children, there is no sin on you, provided you pay (the mother) what you agreed (to give her) on reasonable basis. And fear Allah and know that Allah is All-Seer of what you do (Hilali and Khan).

- The mothers shall give such to their offspring for *two whole years*, if the father desires to complete the term (Yusuf Ali).
- Mothers shall suckle their children for *two whole years*; that is for those who wish to complete the suckling (Pickthall).
- Mothers shall suckle their children *two years completely*, for such as desire to fulfill the suckling (Arberry).

ووصينا الانسان بوالديه احسانا حملته امه كرها ووضعته كرها وحمله وفصاله ثلاثون شهرا حتى اذا بلغ أشده وبلغ أربعين سنة قال رب أوزعني أن أشكر نعمتك التي أنعمت علي وعلى والدي وأن أعمل صالحا ترضاه وأصلح لي في ذريتي إني تبت إليك وإني من المسلمين

Ahqaf 46: 15

wa hamluhu wa fis^l:luhu: θal:aθu:na fahra

And we have enjoined on man to be dutiful and kind to his parents. His mother bears him with hardship. And she brings him forth with hardship, and the bearing of him, and the weaning of him is thirty months, till when he attains full strength and reaches forty years, he says: "My Lord! Grant me the power and ability that I may be grateful for Your favor which you have bestowed upon me and upon my parents, and that I may do righteous good deeds, such as please you, and make my offspring good. Truly, I have turned to You in repentance, and truly, I am one of the Muslims (Submitting to Your Will)." (Hilali and Khan)

قال إني أريد أن أنكحك إحدى ابنتي هتين على أن تأجرني ثمانى حجج فان أتممت عشر ا فمن عندك وما اريد أن أشق عليك ستجدني ان شاء الله من الصالحين

(27القصص)

qa:la inni: uri:du ?an unkihaka ihda ibnatajja ha:taini ?ala ?an ta?dzurani: θama:nija hidzadzjin

- On condition that you serve me for eight **years** (Hilali and Khan).
- On condition that thou serve me for eight **years** (Yoosuf Ali).
- On condition that thou hirest thyself to me (for the term of) eight **pilgrimages** (Pickthal).
- On condition that thou hirest thyself to me for eight **years** (Arberry).

Word/translator	sana	aam	haul	hijaj
Al Hilali and Khan	years	years	years	years
Yusuf Ali	years	years	years	years
Pickthal	years	years	years	pilgrimage
Arberry	years	years	years	years

Table 1

The translations of the words *sana, aam, haul* and *hijaj* in the four translations.

Investigated lexical items	The semantic components			
	Time duration	Lunar year	Drought	Ease and abundance
Sana	+	-	+	-
Aam	+	+	-	+
Haul	+	+/-	∅	∅
Hijaj	+	+	∅	∅

Table 2

Componential Analysis of *Sana, Aam, Haul* and *Hijaj*

Conclusion

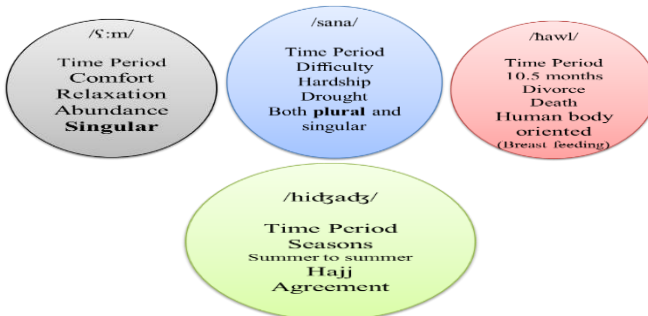
The translation of the Quran into modern languages has always been a difficult issue in Islamic theology. It is argued that the Quranic text should not be isolated from its true form to another language or written form, at least not without keeping the Arabic text with it. Furthermore, an Arabic word, like a Hebrew or Aramaic word, may have a range of meanings depending on the context – a feature present in all Semitic languages when compared to English, Latin, and Roman languages – making an accurate translation even more difficult. According to Islamic theology, the Quran is a revelation very specifically in Arabic, and so it should only be recited in Quranic Arabic. Translations into other languages are necessarily the work of humans and so, according to Muslims, no longer possess the uniquely sacred character of the Arabic original.

The task of translating the Quran is not an easy one, especially in terms related to time; some native Arab speakers will confirm that some Quranic passages are difficult to understand even in

the original Arabic script. A part of this is the innate difficulty of any translation; in Arabic, as in other languages, a single word can have a variety of meanings. There is always an element of human judgment involved in understanding and translating a text. This factor is made more complex by the fact that the usage of words has changed a great deal between classical and modern Arabic. As a result, even Quranic verses, which seem perfectly clear to native Arab speakers accustomed to modern vocabulary and usage, may not represent the original meaning of the verse.

The original meaning of a Quranic passage will also be dependent on the historical circumstances of the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) life and the early community in which it originated. Investigating that context usually requires detailed knowledge of hadith and prophetic era, which are vast and complex. This introduces an additional element of uncertainty that cannot be eliminated by any linguistic rules of translation.

Sana has the meaning of bad, difficulty, tiredness, hardship and density. This term occurred in situations like drought time, scarcity of water and rainless season. This term always comes with adverse conditions and incidents. *Aam* has the meaning of goodness. This term occurred in Quran in all contexts with a positive meaning. This term always comes with positive things like harvesting fruits, the rainy season, and good times. *Hawl*: The term doesn't mean a complete year; haul means 10 months and half. The term *hijaj*, it is seasonal, means birth to birth period of sheep, which is twice a year, a period of annually practiced hajj, once at a year, which is happening annually, and starts from the month of Dul Hijja, the 12th month of Hijra Calender. Term also means seasons, summer to summer, winter to winter and birth to birth.



This study has revealed that the term year has synonyms in the holy Quran. It is found that it is not equivalent to the term year and has different meanings for each one. The translators rendered the meaning of these terms almost same without

enough meaning. Those meanings are not complete and clear. The frame semantic approach helped to understand more from exegesis other than the authentic dictionary meanings and Quran translations. This analysis through Fillmore's frame semantic approach is the best method to analyze all the related concepts and find the exact meaning.

Endnotes

¹ George Lakoff. 2004: 15

² *The meanings of the Holy Quran* (1934) by Ali (1872-1953).
Interpretations of the meanings of the Noble Quran (1977) by Al-Hilali (1895-1990) and Khan (1925).
The Holy Quran with English Translation (1930) by Pickthal (1875-1936) and
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- <https://tafaser.com/tag/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%85-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%84-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%86%D8%A9/>
- <https://tafsir.app/>
- <https://shamela.ws/>

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**FINDING CVs: CHALLENGES OF A CORPUS-BASED
APPROACH**

Mona Parakh*

Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine compound verbs (CVs) in Gujarati using a corpus-based methodology by way of identifying combinations of verbal sequences in a POS tagged Corpus. Empirical observations about CVs, their structures, and their occurrence can be made using the corpus, thereby enabling the formulation of morpho-syntactic and syntacto-semantic rules that are verifiable. A CV is generally made via the combination of verbs with other verbs.

The present discussion is centered around Compound Verbs (CVs) in Gujarati, focusing on their structure and their patterns of occurrence, as well as the challenges faced in the course of identifying/extracting CVs from a monolingual POS tagged corpus of Gujarati. This paper is a discussion of part of a larger research problem aimed at studying and analysing complex predicates in Gujarati, using electronic corpora. The corpus used for this study is annotated using a broad annotation scheme which labels the morpho-syntactic features in a fair amount of detail.

Keywords: Complex Predicates, Corpus-Based, Compound Verbs, Gujarati

1. Complex Predicates

A multi-word compound that functions as a single verb is a complex predicate (Das P.K. 2006). Complex predicates (CP) exist in great numbers in South Asian languages and are formed by a combination of nouns, adjectives and verbs with other verbs. The verb in the CP is referred to as light verb and the element that the light verb combines to form a CP is referred to as a host.

In case of CPs, Noun/Adjective+Verb combinations are called conjunct verbs and Verb+Verb combinations are called compound verbs. Examples of conjunct verbs in Gujarati are provided in (1) and (2) while an example of a Compound verb is provided in (3) below.

- (1) Noun+Verb
maja: a:vavi

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fun come-inf-FS

‘to have fun/ to enjoy’

(2) Adjective+Verb

si:dhu karvuM

straight do-inf

‘to straighten’

(3) Verb + Verb

boli: padvuM

speak-nf fall-inf

‘to speak out’ (suddenly)

In compound verbs the main verb (v1), also called the ‘polar verb’ contains the central meaning of the complex verb-form. The second verb (V2) of the sequence is a ‘vector verb, which is semantically de-lexicalised/bleached or grammaticalised, so that it does not preserve its lexical meaning and functions as an auxiliary verb. It explicates the meaning of the polar or main verb and so the compound verb is also called an ‘Explicator Compound Verb’ (Das P.K. 2006).

2. Structure of Compound Verbs in Gujarati

For almost every CV there is a corresponding simple verb (SV) without the auxiliary, wherein the main verb carries the inflectional suffix. A simple verb such as *samajyo* understand-PST.M.SG ‘understood’ has a corresponding CV *samji: gayo* understand-PSTPFV.M.SG ‘fully understood’. The Gujarati compound verb (CV) is composed of the non-finite form of a main or primary verb followed by the inflected form of an auxiliary or vector verb as seen in example (3). These latter verbs are homophonous with members of Gujarati’s inventory of primary verbs. When used as primary verbs they express some change in location, posture or actions. As vectors they express subtle nuances of aspect and speaker attitude (Hook 1995). The semantic properties of V2s include finality, definiteness, negative value, manner of the action, attitude of the speaker etc. (Bhattacharya et al. 2008). Non-finite main verbs in Gujarati take the form such as V + /i:/. Take for example, the non-finite forms of the main verbs kha: ‘eat’, jo ‘look’, bol ‘speak’ which are khai:, joi:, boli:.

3. Patterns of Occurrence of CVs in Gujarati

Hook (1974) identifies a number of environments that guarantee the occurrence of CVs in Hindi and Urdu. Two of these environments, he finds have a favoring effect on the appearance of CVs in Gujarati too. These environments include clauses which explicitly mark one event as anterior to another and complement clauses of predicates expressing fear or anxiety. Examples (4) and (5) extracted from the Gujarati Corpus substantiate the above claim.

- (4) em kehvaatu hatu ke Dhakani: malmalno tako v̄:timathi:
pasa:r **thayi jato**.

so-QUOT say-CAUS.PSTPTCP that-COMP Dhaka-GEN.F
muslin-GEN.M bundle-MS ring-LOC.ABL pass happen-nf
go-MS-PST.

‘It was said that a bundle of muslin from Dhaka would tend to pass through a ring.’

- (5) ungh nahi aave eva bhaythi unghni goLini akhi shi:shi:
oshika niche mukto ane *darine* ungh **avi: jati:**

sleep-FS NEG come-FUT such-DET fear-CAUS sleep-
GEN-FS medicine-GEN-FS whole-Q bottle-FS pillow-OBL
below keep-HAB-MS and fear-NF sleep-FS **come-NF go-
FS-PST.**

‘Scared that sleep would evade me, I would keep the whole bottle of sleeping pills under the pillow and out of fear I would fall asleep.’

We find that in example (4), the complementiser *ke* ‘that’ explicitly marks the subordinate clause as having an event anterior to the main clause, giving rise to the CV *thayi jato* happen-PSTPFV.M.SG ‘tend to’. In example (5), the complement clause of the predicate *darine* ‘due to fear’ has the CV *av:i jati:* come-PSTPFV.F.SG ‘would come over’.

4. About CVs in Other Languages

Paul (2003) discussing Bangla CV sequences using a constraint-based mechanism within HPSG framework claims that it is the V1 (and not the V2 as is generally assumed in case of Complex Predicate composition) that selects a V2. Both V1 and V2 in a CV structure have semantic content, so the unification of V1 and V2 takes place at the semantic level. The combinatorial well-formedness of a CV structure depends on the semantic compatibility between V1 and V2. According to Paul (2004),

vector verbs in CVs share with their corresponding full verb a core meaning and the relation between them is identified as one of Polysemy. Unlike the auxiliaries which are completely stripped of the core sense and function as pure grammatical categories, the vector verbs add semantic nuances to the predicate.

Hook (1974) says that vector verbs are fully emptied of their lexical content. They are grammaticalised; as such the occurrence of any given vector, as opposed to its absence, does not so much alter the meaning as the presence of their homonymous counterparts among the main verb would in a sentence.

Dasgupta (1977) says that a compound verb contains only one main verb or polar verb. The vector is a minor verb in that it is semantically dependent and grammatically subservient. Of the two constituents of compound verbs in Bangla, the vector is inflected for tense, mood, aspect, and person, and it indicates the orientation or manner of the action or process expressed by the other. Contrary to what Hook (1974) claimed, he says that, in a compound verb, the vector verb plays an important role in the selection of complements, since on occasions it motivates or induces the selection of a particular complement in place of the one that would have been selected by the main verb. In such cases phrase can be viewed as a complement of the compound verb and not just of the main verb.

The claim by Butt and Lahiri (qtd. in Butt 2010) differs from one of the commonly held views that light verbs are the result of the semantic bleaching of the main verb. There is one “underspecified entry” proposed, which gets used as both a light verb and a full verb, making a compound verb formation an instance of “co-predication where both the verbs combine to provide a single predicational head.”

According to Abbi and Gopalakrishnan (1991) explicator compound verbs (EVCs) are sequences of two verbal forms, of which, the first is in stem or some nonfinite form, while the second is the morphologically finite verb marked for relevant grammatical features. Constructions consisting of a main verb and an explicator form a “complex lexeme”. This forms a single unit represented by V, while constructions consisting of a main verb and auxiliary verb form a VP.

This study mainly focuses on the pattern of co-occurrence of the polar and vector verbs, the frequency of their co-occurrence, and

the resulting permissible combinations that can be identified from a POS-annotated corpora. Recognising the various ways in which CVs are defined is only a step towards understanding its structure and features, across different languages and different theories.

5. Some Challenges in Finding CVs from a POS-tagged Corpus of Gujarati

This section discusses the challenges faced in identifying CVs from a POS tagged corpus. These challenges result from the unique structure of the language and the corpus-based method employed for the study. Possible solutions to these challenges are also provided.

5.1 Unpredictability of Combinations

Not every V1 can occur with the same verbaliser/vector verb/V2 making the combinatorial patterns of V+V unpredictable. In the following examples, while the non-finite forms of V - *boli*: ‘speak’ and *nikali*: ‘leave’ combine with the V2 *padvuM* ‘to fall’ to form valid CVs rendering the sense of a sudden act marked by non-intentionality, the V1 *ka:dhi*: ‘remove’ cannot combine with the V2 *padvuM* ‘to fall’ to form a compound verb. On the other hand, the non-finite forms of V - *boli*: ‘speak’ and *ka:dhi*: ‘remove’ combine with the V2 *na:khvum* ‘to throw’ to form valid CVs rendering the sense of completion of an act marked with intentionality and vague sense of aggression, the V1 *nikali*: ‘leave’ cannot combine with the V2 *na:khvum* ‘to throw’ to form a compound verb.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (6) | <i>boli</i> : <i>padvuM</i>
speak+i to-fall
‘to speak up’ | <i>boli</i> : <i>na:khvum</i>
speak+i to-throw
‘to speak out’ |
| (7) | <i>nikali</i> : <i>padvuM</i>
leave+i to-fall
‘to walk off’ | * <i>nikali</i> : <i>na:khvum</i>
speak+i to-throw |
| (8) | * <i>ka:dhi</i> : <i>padvuM</i>
remove+i to-fall
‘to dispose off’ | <i>ka:dhi</i> : <i>na:khvuM</i>
remove+i to-throw |

Given the various possibilities and restrictions of V+V patterning, the challenge then is to identify CV structures automatically, from the given POS tagged corpus, and in the process avoid other verbal sequences. Mukhopadhyay et al. (2012) have attempted to automatically identify CVs from a Bangla POS corpus, on the basis of three conditions:

1. The sequence of Verb (V1) + Verb (V2).
2. V1 ends with an inflection /-e/ (excluding -te).
3. V2 is a marked vector.

Marking the vectors in the language is a pre-requisite for these conditions to apply and the conditions only work well on a trained corpus. These conditions, however, fail to handle all the situations well, particularly ones with case syncretism.

In Gujarati, the CVs are composed of the non-finite form of a main verb - V1, followed by the inflected form of the vector verb- V2 as seen in the examples (9) - (11) below:

(9) sukai ja:y

dry-NF go-PRS

‘dries up’

(10) todi: nakhya:

break_NF throw-PST-PL

‘broke off’

(11) cha:li: ni:kalyo

walk_NF leave-PST-MS

‘walked off’

Following Mukhopadhyay et al. (2012), the tentative conditions for identifying Gujarati CVs have been laid down, which attempt to handle the unpredictability of Verb combinations. These conditions are:

1. Verb (V1) + Verb (V2).
2. V1 ends with non-finite form - /i:/

3. V2 is a marked vector.

In this case too, marking the vectors in the language would be a pre-requisite for these conditions to apply.

5.2 Scrambling and Inversion

One of the challenges in finding CVs from a POS tagged corpus is that of scrambling. According to Butt (1993), in Urdu, any predicate can scramble only as a unit, but not in any other order. This can also be said for Gujarati, as seen in example (12), where the verb and the auxiliary *lakhyo chhe* write-Prf.M.sg be-Pres.3P.sg ‘has written’ can only scramble together as a unit. She also claims that the two verbs of the CV cannot scramble away from one another; that the complex predicate can only be scrambled as a unit and that when the verbs in a complex predicate are scrambled away from one another, the result is ill-formed. This is too can be said to be the case in Gujarati, as seen in example (13) where *lakhi: lidho* write-nf take-Prf. M. Sg ‘wrote up’ scrambles as a unit.

(12) Mohan has written a reply.

a. Mohane uttar lakhyo chhe

Mohan-M.erg reply-M.Acc write-Prf.M.sg be-Pres.3P.sg

b. Mohane lakhyo chhe uttar

Mohan-M.erg write-Prf.M.sg be-Pres.3P.sg reply-M.Acc

c. * Mohane lakhyo uttar chhe

Mohan-M.erg write-Prf.M.sg reply-M.Acc be-Pres.3P.sg

d. * Mohane chhe lakhyo uttar

Mohan-M.erg be-Pres.3P.sg write-Prf.M.sg reply-M.Acc

e. *Mohane uttar chhe lakhyo

Mohan-M.erg reply-M.Acc be-Pres.3P.sg write-Prf.M.sg

(13) Mohan wrote (out) a reply.

a. Mohane uttar [lakhi lidho]

Mohan-M.erg reply-M.Acc write-nf take-Prf. M. Sg

b. Mohane [lakhi lidho] uttar

Mohan-M.erg write-nf take-Prf. M. Sg reply-M.Acc

c. * Mohane lakhi uttar lidho

Mohan-M.erg write-nf reply-M.Acc take-Prf. M. Sg

d. * Mohane lidho uttar lakhi

Mohan-M.erg take-Prf. M. Sg reply-M.Acc write-nf

e. *uttar lakhi Mohane lidho

reply-M.Acc Mohan-M.erg write-nf take-Prf. M. Sg

However, in the Gujarati corpus there are occurrences of V1 and V2 inversion. Generally, in a CV, the V1 occurs in the non-finite form, but there are instances in the corpus of the V2 taking the non-finite form, and the V1 taking the finite form as seen in examples (14) and (15).

(14) TakhunI \N_NNP baane\N_NN saamethI\N_NST
aavta\V_VM joi\V_VM bhaasaheb\N_NNP bolya\V_VM
Takhu-M.Gen-F.Sg mother-F.Gen-F.Sg front-ABL **come-
IPFV see-nf** Bhasaheb-M.NOM say-PST

‘ Seeing Takhu’s mother coming from the front Bhasaheb s’

(15) eNe\PR_PRP vidyane\N_NN akaashmaM\N_NN udti\
V_VM joi\V_VM potana\PR_PRF maMtrabaLe\N_NN
ene\PR_PRP utarI\V_VM
S/he-ERG vidya-ACC sky-LOC **fly-IPFV-F.SG see-nf**
own-GEN.M.SG spell-binding-power-INST her-ACC land-
PST

‘Seeing Vidya flying in the sky, (S/he) brought her down with his/her own spell-binding power.’

Even though such a V+V sequence does not constitute a CV and rather functions as a present participle marking temporal information, it affects the identification of the CVs in the extraction process, giving False Positives, which would further affect the frequency based count of CVs.

5.3 Insertion

Paul (2004) illustrates that the bond between the components in CV constructions differs from language to language and that the member-verbs in Hindi-Urdu and Marathi are more tightly knitted in syntax, than those of the member verbs in Bangla. In Bangla certain words can intervene between the different components, rendering the sequence discontinuous which indicates that the two Vs in a compound do not form a close-knit constituent structure. On the one hand they behave as an independent constituent on the surface, and on the other hand, they act as a single unit and provide the base for various morpho-syntactic operations. Such dual structuring can also be seen in Gujarati CVs. The occurrence of POS elements such as particles, within the CV poses a challenge in identifying the CV as a single structure, as evident in example (16).

(16) madad\N_NN karine\V_VM thaki\V_VM jauM\V_VAUX
tyare\N_NST tyaM\N_NST unghi\V_VM paN\RP_RPD
jato\V_VAUX hato\V_VAUX

help do-PSTPTCP tire-nf go-PRS.1SG then there sleep-nf
TOP go-PST.M.SG be-PST-IPVF

‘When (I) was tired from helping out, I would even go to sleep there.’

However, in a set of 2845 sentences of sample corpus, only 59 sentences had insertion of POS elements in the CVs, accounting for only 2.07% of the sample. Of these 59 sentences there were 21 occurrences with an interposed negation particle and 38 occurrences with interposed inclusive, exclusive and topicalising particles. Given the low occurrence of the CV internal elements and the fact that these are generally identifiable particles; such CV structures have to be handled separately.

5.4 CVs as Inflected Word Forms

In keeping with the tentative conditions for identifying Gujarati CVs as given by Mukhopadhyay et al. (2012), marking the vectors in the language would be a pre-requisite for these conditions to apply. However, the number of vector verbs identified for listing is considerably low given that they are extracted from running texts, wherein they are inflected and occur as different instances in the frequency count. This results in their frequency getting distributed across various word forms, leading to low frequency counts of the individual CVs. The possible solution to this would involve considering a basic stemming algorithm.

5.5 Relevance of Extracted Data

Not all V+V combinations extracted from the data are relevant to the study, as seen in example (17) below.

- (17) padyo\V_VM padyo\V_VM j\RP_RPD karmai:\V_VM
gayo\V_VAUX .\RD_PUNC
fall-pst-MS fall-pst-MS prt-emph wither-nf go-pst-MS
‘Lying around, he withered away’

A tag-based pattern matching for V_VM + V_VM on 2845 sentences returned 2773 sentences containing 4192 CVs. Considering the V+V combinations within these sentences as potential CVs, the search was refined using the pattern matching heuristic of non-finite V1. This returned 559 CVs that are then manually checked for false positives. In a larger corpus this accounts to a much larger set of CVs that need to be manually checked and identified as true CVs.

The main purpose of the study of Gujarati CVs is to identify the morpho-syntactic or semantic properties of the V1 that allows them to combine with certain light verbs but not with others, and to formulate general rules or constraints to account for the

restrictions on these combinations. However, the current paper discusses some of the challenges faced in finding/identifying CVs in a corpus-based approach.

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**PERSON AGREEMENT IN KHORTHAS: A LANGUAGE
OF JHARKHAND**

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Abstract

Khortha is the most widely spoken language in Jharkhand and it is also referred as the eastern variety of Magahi. Khortha belongs to the Indo-Aryan group of languages. As per 2011 census Khortha has 8.04 million speakers. Since very few attempts have been made to study the language from linguistic point of view, the present research paper tries to identify and analyze the pattern of person agreement in Khortha. According to Crystal (1995), an agreement is "the formal relationship between elements whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another". The data for the current study includes both primary and secondary. For collecting the primary data, a field survey was done in the Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand where native speakers of the language were consulted and requested to respond to the questionnaires prepared by the researchers. The sample size for collecting data consisted of 50 people from the different age groups. The secondary sources of data included story books, newspapers, and books of folktales. The findings of the study reveal that agreement markers are very much prominent in the language and they are used in the language depending upon the variations in persons. Agreement markers in the Khortha language are observable as the verbal endings or also at the level of auxiliaries. The research paper contributes to the field of syntax as well as to the field of language documentation by analyzing the structure of the language.

Keywords: Khortha Language, Agreement, Person agreement, Indo-Aryan Language, Documentation.

Introduction

The present research paper attempts to identify and analyze the person agreement in Khortha, an endangered language of India. Khortha belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family under the Indo-European group of languages. As it belongs to the Indo-Aryan language family and is very similar to Hindi, the grammatical structure of Khortha is SOV and it is V-final

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language. According to the 2011 census, Khortha speakers are it is estimated to be around 8.04 million. So far its identity is concerned; there has been a debate. Various scholars have given different opinions regarding its identity. Prasad and Shastri (1958) consider Khortha to be a variety of Magahi whereas Das (2013) views it to be a variety of Angika mainly spoken in Western Jharkhand and Bihar. Similarly, researchers have pretty different perspectives regarding the linguistic family of Khortha. Some believe that it originated from the Indus Valley culture while others think it to have originated from the Prakrit language. Some others view it to be originated from the sounds of nature. However, Khortha is the second most spoken language in Jharkhand after Hindi. It is not just the mother tongue of several tribal groups of the region but also the language of the Sedans of Jharkhand. Moreover, Khortha has very rich folk literature and the folk tales of Khortha are known as Maharai.

The agreement results from grammatical relationships between two or more sentence constituents. In linguistics, various scholars have defined the term “agreement” in several ways over the years. Crystal (1995) sees it differently and asserts that “an agreement is a formal relationship between elements whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another. Moreover, in the opinion of Steel (1978), “Agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another; for example, adjectives may take some formal indication of the number and gender of the noun they modify” (as cited in Choudhary: 2014). However, it has been a matter of research and discussion that languages around the world have varieties of agreement marking patterns. Similarly, like many other languages, Khortha, too, may have agreement markers in the language. It may be possible that the person, number and gender of the language may overtly agree with verbs and show agreement remarkably. Thus, agreement is a relation that connects the noun and the verb in a sentence. Along with the agreement-related information, verbs also carry much other information. The information about agreement is represented by the suffixes that follow verbs.

The topic of agreement has been an interesting area of research to the scholars of linguistics. Some of the scholars who have prominently conducted research over the topic of agreement include Moravesik (1978), Lapointe (1985), Nagaraja (1993), Bhatt (1993), Donohue (2003), Corbett (1979; 2006), Comrie (2009), Wunderlich (2009), Nishiyama (2011), Baker (2008;

2011), Subbarao (2012), Henderson (2013), Rakesh & Kumar (2013), Das (2006; 2018), Alahmadi (2019), Alwahibee (2020) and Michael & Bateman (2020). So far as research on Khortha language is concerned, scholars have also attempted to analyze it from different perspectives. Priya & Singh (2018) has conducted research on the topic “*Khortha or Khotta: An Endangered Language of India and the Urgency to Retain its Pure Variety*” whereas the research work of Aman et al. (2020) prominently deals with the phonological aspects of Khortha language and they also try to provide the linguistic profile of the same. The latest work on Khortha language includes the research work of Kumari (2021) which deals with analyzing Ergativity and agreement in it.

The review of the research work on the topic exhibits that there has been minimal research work on the language Khortha and since very few attempts have been made to analyze language from the syntactic perspective, the current research work attempts to identify, analyze and highlight the current agreement patterns that are identifiable in Khortha. The research work would be helpful in documenting the data of the Khortha, an endangered language for future reference and study.

Data and Methodology

The data for the current study is based on both primary and secondary sources. For collecting the primary data, a field survey was done in the Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand where native speakers of the language were consulted and requested to respond to the questionnaires prepared by the researchers. The questionnaire included some basic questions seeking details of the informants like name, age, maximum education level, etc. It also included some questions based on agreement. The questions were given in Hindi and they were asked to translate them into Khortha. The purpose of giving questionnaire was to collect data on agreement from the Khortha language. The sample size for collecting data consisted of 50 people from the different age groups. The secondary sources of data included story books, newspapers, and books of folktales. The primary and secondary data collected were transcribed and analyzed linguistically so as to identify agreement patterns as observable in the language, Khortha.

Data Analysis

This section deals with the analysis of agreement patterns in the language Khortha. In order to identify an agreement in Khortha,

I, II, and III person pronouns have been analyzed and discussed under the heads of different types of tenses and aspects.

Agreement in Tense

Tense and aspect are major grammatical categories of the verbal system in the language. There are three grammatical aspects: habitual, progressive, and perfective. Each of them is expressed by marking the verbal stems.

Present Tense

The present tense describes a fact or activity happening right now. It can also represent an action that is habitual, repeated, or characteristic action. Let's consider some examples from the present tense of the Khortha language to see how agreement occurs at the level of the present tense.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------------------|-------------|------------|
| (1) | <i>ha:m̃e</i> | <i>g^har</i> | <i>dza:</i> | <i>hi:</i> |
| | i | home | go | be |
| | I.SG.NOM | LOC | V | PRS |
| | 'I go home'. | | | |
| (2) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>g^har</i> | <i>dza:</i> | <i>hẽ</i> |
| | you | home | go | be |
| | 2. SG.NOM | LOC | V | PRS |
| | 'You go home'. | | | |
| (3) | <i>o</i> | <i>g^har</i> | <i>dza:</i> | <i>he</i> |
| | he | home | go | be |
| | 3. SG.NOM | LOC | V | PRS |
| | 'He goes home'. | | | |

All of the above-mentioned examples are in the present tense. Here, in example (1), the first person singular pronoun '*ha: m̃e*' in Khortha agrees with the auxiliary verb '*hi:*' whereas, in example (2), the second person singular pronoun '*toŋ*' in Khortha agrees with the auxiliary verb '*hẽ*'. Further, in example (3), the third person singular pronoun '*o*' agrees with the auxiliary verb '*he*' in Khortha. Thus, we can see here that depending upon the persons of the pronoun; the auxiliary verb changes accordingly. Therefore, it can be said that the auxiliary verb in the present tense agrees/changes according to the persons of the pronouns.

Past Tense

An action that has already been finished is represented in the past tense. Here, some of the examples of past tense from the Khortha language have been taken to analyze person agreement.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------------|
| (4) | <i>ha:m̃e</i> | <i>k^həile</i> |
|-----|---------------|--------------------------|

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------------|
| | I | eat |
| | 1. SG.NOM | V.PST |
| | ‘I ate’ | |
| (5) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>likʰəl̃hi:</i> |
| | you | write |
| | 2. SG.NOM | V.PST |
| | ‘You wrote’ | |
| (6) | <i>ʊ</i> | <i>gel̃ai</i> |
| | he | go |
| | 3. SG.NOM | V.PST |
| | ‘He went’ | |

The examples mentioned above (4-6) are simple past tense. We can see here that in the Khortha language the first-person singular pronoun ‘*ha :m̃e*’ takes ‘*-le*’ as an inflectional suffix to denote past tense whereas in the second example, the second-person singular pronoun ‘*toŋ*’ takes ‘*-h̃i:*’ as an inflectional marker to denote past tense. Similarly, in example (6), we can observe that the third person singular ‘*ʊ*’ takes ‘*-ai*’ as an inflectional suffix to denote simple past tense. Therefore, it can be said that depending upon the types of pronouns, the verbs in the past tense also take different types of inflectional suffixes.

Future Tense

The future tense refers to an event or a state that has not yet occurred.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (7) | <i>ha:m̃e</i> | <i>badza:r</i> | <i>dza:ib</i> |
| | i | market | go |
| | 1. SG.NOM | OBL | V.FUR |
| | ‘I will go to market’ | | |
| (8) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>badza:r</i> | <i>dza:ibe</i> |
| | you | market | go |
| | 2. SG.NOM | OBL | V.FUR |
| | ‘You will go to market’ | | |
| (9) | <i>ʊ</i> | <i>badza:r</i> | <i>dzitej</i> |
| | he | market | go |
| | 3. SG.NOM | OBL | V.FUR |
| | ‘He will go to the market’ | | |

The examples mentioned above (7-9) are of future tense and the subjects are 1P, 2P and 3P, respectively. In example (7), we can see that the subject, i.e., the first

person singular pronoun ‘*ha: mē*’ takes ‘-*ib*’ to denote future tense with the main verb whereas in example (8), the subject second person singular pronoun i.e., ‘*toŋ*’ takes ‘-*ibe*’ as an inflectional suffix with the main verb to denote future tense. Similarly, in example (9), the third person singular pronoun ‘*o*’ takes ‘-*ej*’ as the inflection suffix to denote future tense. Thus, from the above discussion it is clear that all the three different types of pronouns take or agree with different inflectional markers attached with the main verbs to denote or reflect future tense.

Agreement in Aspects

The past, presumptive, and subjective tenses each have specific verb forms that indicate one of these qualities. The present, past, presumptive, and subjunctive tenses are combined with one of the three aspects to generate a variety of aspect-tenses, including present-habitual, past-habitual, future-habitual, presumptive-habitual, subjunctive-habitual, present progressive, past progressive, presumptive progressive and subjunctive progressive (Koul, 2008). All are discussed independently in Kortha.

Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect refers to the actions that occur frequently or on the daily basis. Here, sentences from Khortha language have been taken and analyzed at the level of aspects to see person agreement in Khortha.

Present – habitual

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|------------|--|
| (10) | <i>ha:mē</i> | | <i>roj</i> | <i>gʰəre</i> | <i>ja:</i> | |
| | <i>hi:</i> | | | | | |
| | I | daily | home | go | be | |
| | 1. SG.NOM | ADJ | LOC | V | PRS | |
| | ‘I go home daily.’ | | | | | |
| (11) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>roj</i> | <i>gʰəre</i> | <i>ja:</i> | <i>hē</i> | |
| | you | daily | home | go | be | |
| | 2. SG.NOM | ADJ | LOC | V | PRS | |
| | ‘You go home daily.’ | | | | | |
| (12) | <i>o</i> | <i>roj</i> | <i>gʰəre</i> | <i>ja:</i> | <i>he</i> | |
| | he | daily | home | go | be | |
-

3. SG.NOM ADJ LOC V PRS
 ‘He goes home daily.’

The examples mentioned above (10-12) are in present-habitual aspects. These three examples of habitual aspects from Khortha language reflect that 1P, 2P and 3P pronouns take three different types of present habitual aspect markers or auxiliary verbs such as ‘*hi:*’, ‘*hē*’ and ‘*he*’ respectively. These three auxiliary verbs confirm that the category of the pronouns governs even present habitual aspects.

Past–Habitual

- (13) *ha:mē* *roj* *bāja:r* *ja:* *hāle*
 i daily market go was
 1. SG.NOM ADJ LOC V PST
 ‘I used to go to market daily.’
- (14) *toŋ* *roj* *bāja:r* *ja:* *hālhi:*
 you daily market go was
 2. SG.NOM ADJ LOC V PST
 ‘You used to go to market daily.’
- (15) *ʊ* *roj* *bāja:r* *ja:* *həlāi*
 he daily market go was
 3. SG.NOM ADJ LOC V PST
 ‘He used to go market daily.’

The examples mentioned above (13-15) are of the past habitual. In example (13), we can see that the subject in the first person singular pronoun, i.e., ‘*ha:mē*’ agrees with the auxiliary verb ‘*hāle*’ as a past-habitual marker whereas in example (14), the subject in the second person singular pronoun ‘*toŋ*’ agrees with the auxiliary verb ‘*hālhi:*’ as a past habitual marker. Similarly, in example (15), the third person pronoun ‘*ʊ*’ agrees with the auxiliary verb ‘*həlāi*’ as a past-habitual marker in Khortha. Thus, we can see that the past habitual aspect markers or auxiliary verbs change according to the types of pronouns in the Khortha language.

Presumptive–Habitual

- (16) *ʊ* *a:itej* *hotej*
 he come be
 3. SG.NOM V FUR
 ‘He would be coming.’

In example (16), the third person singular pronoun ‘*ʊ*’ agrees with the auxiliary verb ‘*hotej*’ as a presumptive-habitual marker and the third person singular pronoun ‘*ʊ*’ also takes ‘*-ej*’ as an inflectional suffix attached with the main verb to denote future tense.

Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect refers to the ongoing acts or states of affairs. The two primary categories of progressive aspect include present-progressive and past-progressive.

Present Progressive

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------|
| (17) | <i>ha:m̃e</i> | <i>pəiḍ^{h̃}</i> | <i>rəhəl</i> | <i>hi:</i> |
| | i | read | prog | be |
| | 1. SG.NOM | V | PROG | PRS |
| | ‘I am reading.’ | | | |
| (18) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>pəiḍ^{h̃}</i> | <i>rəhəl</i> | <i>hē</i> |
| | you | read | prog | be |
| | 2. SG.NOM | V | PROG | PRS |
| | ‘You are reading.’ | | | |
| (19) | <i>ʊ</i> | <i>pəiḍ^{h̃}</i> | <i>rəhəl</i> | <i>he</i> |
| | he | read | prog | be |
| | 3. SG.NOM | V | PROG | PRS |
| | ‘He is reading.’ | | | |

The examples mentioned above (17-19) are in the present progressive. These three examples of the Khortha language show that 1P, 2P and 3P pronouns use the same progressive markers ‘*rəhəl*’ to denote the progressive aspect.

Past Progressive

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (20) | <i>ha:m̃e</i> | <i>pəiḍ^h</i> | <i>rəhəl</i> | <i>həli:</i> |
| | i | read | prog | be |
| | 1. SG.NOM | V | PROG | PST |
| | ‘I was reading’ | | | |
| (21) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>pəiḍ^h</i> | <i>rəhəl</i> | <i>həle</i> |
| | You | study | prog | be |
| | 2. SG.NOM | V | PROG | PST |

‘You were reading.’

(22)	<i>ʊ</i>	<i>pəiɖʰ</i>	<i>rəhəl</i>	<i>həl</i>
	he	read	prog	be
	3. SG.NOM	V	PROG	PST

‘He was reading.’

These above-mentioned examples (20-22) are of past progressive these three examples from the Khortha language show that 1P, 2P and 3P pronouns take the same types of progressive aspects marker i.e., ‘*rəhəl*’.

Presumptive-progressive

(23)	<i>ha:mẽ</i>	<i>kʰəite</i>	<i>rəhəb</i>
	i	eat	prog
	1.SG.NOM	V.FUR	PROG

‘I will keep on eating.’

(24)	<i>toɲ</i>	<i>likʰəte</i>	<i>rəhəbe</i>
	you	write	prog
	2. SG.NOM	V.FUR	PROG

‘You will keep on writing.’

(25)	<i>ʊ</i>	<i>likʰəte</i>	<i>rəhət</i>
	he	write	prog
	3. SG.NOM	V.FUR	PROG

‘He will keep on writing.’

In the examples mentioned above (23-25), we can observe that the subjects in different persons take ‘-te’ as an inflectional suffix attached to the main verb to denote future tense. Contrary to this, it can be observed that the first-person pronoun ‘*ha:mẽ*’ takes ‘*rəhəb*’ as a presumptive- progressive marker where as in example (24) the second-person pronoun ‘*toɲ*’ takes ‘*rəhəbe*’ as a presumptive-progressive marker. And, in the same way, in example (25), the third person singular pronoun ‘*ʊ*’ takes ‘*rəhət*’ as a presumptive- progressive marker in the Khortha language. Thus, it can be summarized that, in the Khortha language, the pronouns of different categories take different presumptive-progressive markers in the sentences.

Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect indicates an action or state of affairs completed.

Present Perfective

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| (26) | <i>ha:mẽ</i> | <i>kita:b</i> | <i>pəiɖʰəl</i> | <i>hi:</i> |
| | i | book | read | be |
| | 1. SG.ERG | N | V.PERF | PST |
| | ‘I have read the book.’ | | | |
| (27) | <i>toɲ</i> | <i>kita:b</i> | <i>pəiɖʰəl</i> | <i>hẽ</i> |
| | you | book | read | be |
| | 2. SG.ERG | N | V.PERF | PST |
| | ‘You have read the book.’ | | | |
| (28) | <i>o</i> | <i>kita:b</i> | <i>pəiɖʰəl</i> | <i>he</i> |
| | he | book | read | be |
| | 3. SG.ERG | N | V.PERF | PST |
| | ‘He has read the book.’ | | | |

The examples, as mentioned above from 26 to 27, indicate present perfective aspects. All the pronouns take ‘-əl’ as an inflectional suffix attached to the main verb to indicate the perfective aspect. Thus, it is very clear that, in Khortha, there is only one present perfective aspect marker for all the categories of pronouns.

Past Perfective

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------|-------------|-----|
| (29) | <i>ha:mẽ</i> | <i>likʰələ</i> | <i>həli</i> | |
| | I | write | be | |
| | 1. SG.NOM | V.PERF | | PST |
| | ‘I had written.’ | | | |
| (30) | <i>toɲ</i> | <i>likʰəlhi:</i> | <i>həlẽ</i> | |
| | you | write | be | |
| | 2. SG.NOM | V.PER | | PST |
| | ‘You had written.’ | | | |
| (31) | <i>o</i> | <i>likʰəlai</i> | <i>həl</i> | |
| | he | write | be | |
| | 3. SG.NOM | V.PERF | | PST |
| | ‘He had written.’ | | | |

Here in the examples (35-37) it is very clear that pronouns of different categories take ‘*həli*’, ‘*həlē*’, and ‘*həl*’ as the past perfective aspect markers. Thus, it is obvious from the examples mentioned above that there are different past perfective aspect markers for different types of personal pronouns in the Khortha language.

Presumptive Perfective

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----|
| (32) | <i>ha:m̃e</i> | <i>k^ha:il</i> | <i>hevəb</i> | |
| | I | eat | be | |
| | 1. SG.ERG | V.PERF | | FUR |
| | ‘I must have eaten’ | | | |
| (33) | <i>toŋ</i> | <i>k^ha:il</i> | <i>hebe</i> | |
| | you | eat | be | |
| | 2. SG.ERG | V.PERF | | FUR |
| | ‘You must have eaten.’ | | | |
| (34) | <i>ʋ</i> | <i>k^ha:il</i> | <i>hevət</i> | |
| | he | eat | be | |
| | 3.SG.ERG | V.PERF | | FUR |
| | ‘He must has eaten.’ | | | |

The above mentioned examples of presumptive perfective from the Khortha language reflect that all three different types of pronouns take three perfective aspect markers such as ‘*hevəb*’, ‘*hebe*’ and ‘*hevət*’.

Findings and Discussion

The findings of the study revealed some interesting facts about a person’s agreement in the Khortha language. The most striking and prominent features identified and analyzed at the levels of Tense and Aspects are discussed below:

Tense

In the present tense, auxiliary verbs - ‘*hi:*’, ‘*hē*’ and ‘*he*’ agree distinctively according to the persons of the pronouns.

Likewise present tense and the past tense marker inflectional suffixes such as ‘*-le*’, ‘*-h̃i:*’ and ‘*-əi*’, which are attached with the main verbs, agree with to the persons of the pronouns.

In future tense, the inflectional suffixes like ‘*ib*’, ‘*ibe*’, and ‘*ej*’ which are the future tense markers, also agree according to the persons of the pronouns.

Aspect

At the level of aspects, too, it can be observed that habitual aspect markers such as ‘*hi:*’, ‘*hē*’ and ‘*he*’ distinctively agrees with each pronoun.

Similarly, past habitual aspect markers such as ‘*həle*’, ‘*həl̄hi:*’, and ‘*həl̄ai*’ are also used in the language according to the persons of the pronouns.

Even in presumptive habitual, aspect marker like ‘*hotej*’ is in consonance with the persons of the pronouns.

It has been identified in the language that only one progressive aspect marker - ‘*rəhəl*’ is used in both the past and present tense equally and it doesn’t change its form according to the persons of the pronouns used in the sentence.

But in presumptive progressive, different progressive markers such as ‘*rəhəb*’, ‘*rəhəbe*’ and ‘*rəhət*’ are used for different persons of the pronouns.

In the present perfective aspect, only one perfective aspect marker ‘*əl*’ is used and doesn’t change as per the persons of the pronouns.

But in past perfective aspect, three different types of perfective aspect markers such as ‘*həli*’, ‘*həl̄ē*’ and ‘*həl*’ are used as per the persons of the pronouns.

Even in the presumptive perfective aspect, three different types of perfective aspect markers like ‘*hevəb*’, ‘*hebe*’ and ‘*hevət*’ are used in consonance with the persons of the pronouns.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be summarized that like many other languages, the Khortha language, too, has agreement markers that are quite identifiable at the level of tense and aspects in the language. The findings of the research prove that, in Khortha language, auxiliary verbs and inflectional suffixes attached to the main verbs distinctively agree with the persons of the pronouns used in the language. Similarly, some aspects markers that appear to be free as well as bound in nature also agree as per the persons of the pronouns in the Khortha language. Thus, it can be concluded that the Khortha language has person agreement.

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**ASPECT-BASED SPLIT BETWEEN V-AUX AND AUX-V
ORDERS IN GARHWALI**

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Abstract

The study establishes that the position of the verbal participle and the auxiliary in Garhwali is based on an aspectual split and proposes an analysis to account for this syntactic phenomenon. With the help of data the researcher will utilize the differentiation between two types of head movement à la Funakoshi (2012) to describe an aspectual split in the structure of Garhwali clause which results in two different orders of V and aux, which seems to stem from these two types of head movements in the language. On the one hand, in the progressive and stative perfective aspects, the movement of the verb from v/V to Asp uses a Set-Merge head movement resulting in the verb and the already existing auxiliary merging in a way that allows further operations to target the auxiliary separate from the verb. In contrast, in the habitual and perfective aspects, only the regular Pair-Merge head movement occurs, and the verb head-moves from v/V to Asp, resulting in its inseparable merger with the auxiliary. It is argued that in order to account for the aspect-based split between V-Aux and Aux-V orders, the possibility of Garhwali allowing for Set-Merge head movement alongside Pair-Merge head movement must be allowed.

Keywords: Syntax, Head Movement, Aux-V, Auxiliary Verb, Aspectual Split, Garhwali, Indo-Aryan, Central Pahari

Introduction

Garhwali is one of the two principal Central Pahari (Lit. *of the mountains*) languages and is primarily spoken in the Garhwal region in Uttarakhand, India. The people and their various related Indo-Aryan varieties are both referred to as Garhwali. Garhwali shares its linguistic boundaries with Western Pahari (Himachali) languages on the West, Tibetan on the North, Kumauni on the East, and Hindi (Kauravi) on the South. Two Tibeto-Burman languages are also spoken in Garhwal: Jadi and Rongpa. Although Garhwali is a vulnerable endangered language (Campbell et al. 2017) and is fast becoming moribund, it is still spoken by around three million people, primarily in the state of Uttarakhand.

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Though Garhwali is linguistically an understudied language, some previous accounts have described its word order as SOV (e.g., Grierson 1916; Chatak 1956; Juyal 1976; Masica 1991) in line with its neighbouring other Indo-Aryan (IA), as well as Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages. In the absence of detailed linguistic descriptions of the language and its word order, the presence of Aux-V order as in sentences (1) and (2) have received little attentionⁱ, and its word order features have not been adequately studied.

1. *ram bʰitə̀r cʰə sjeju*
Ram inside be.PRS.3SG sleep.S_PERF.MSG
'Ram has been sleeping inside.'
2. *terə pʰon cʰə bəɳɳə hja*
your phone be.PRS.3SG ring.PROG.MSG PCT
'Your phone is ringing.'

In (1) and (2), the auxiliary appears to the left of the main verb, which is surprising for an Indo-Aryan language given that members in this language family typically are SOV languages.

This study investigates some properties of the word order of Garhwali, with particular attention to the position of the participial verb and the auxiliary, both with respect to each other and with respect to other elements in the clause. While Garhwali syntax resembles that of Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages in many respects, the inverted ordering of the auxiliary and the verbal participle in some aspects is strikingly different from the typical Indo-Aryan patterns. The researcher argues that in order to account for the aspectual-based split between V-Aux and Aux-V order, the possibility of Garhwali allowing for Set-Merge head movement alongside Pair-Merge head movement must be allowed.

Aux-Fronting or Aux-V Order

In the progressive and stative perfective aspectsⁱⁱ, the verbal complex is composed of a main verb and an auxiliary. In these periphrastic constructions, the auxiliary, which is the finite verb, precedes the main verb (which occurs as a progressive or perfective participle). As a result of this, the auxiliary appears to the left of the main verb, as in the examples (3)-(6) below.

This aux-fronting phenomenon is restricted to the two aspects (i.e., progressive and stative perfective) as stated above. It does not occur in the habitual and simple perfective aspects, which are also periphrastic constructions composed of a main verb in

participial form and an auxiliary. Aux-fronting also doesn't occur in the simple future tense as this is an analytic tense marked by a suffix on the verb root and needs no auxiliary.

3. *ram ca cʰə piɛŋ laɟiũ əbari*
 Ram tea be.PRS.3SG drink PROG.3MSG this-time
 'Ram is drinking tea right now.'

4. *səroli ɟilli cʰə jaŋi aɟ*
 Saruli Delhi be.PRS.3SG go.PROG.FSG today
 'Saruli is going to Delhi today.'

5. *raju-n səro əpa gʰər cʰə bolajũ*
 Raju.ERG Saru own house be.PST.3SG call.S_PERF.SG
 'Raju had called Saru to his house.'

6. *mi-n bəndi gʰas cʰə kaɟiũ je boŋ-ma*
 1SG- a lot grass be.PRS.3SG cut.S_PERF.SG this forest-LOC
 ERG

'I have had cut a lot of grass in this forest.'

The sentences (3)-(6) are surprising from an Indo-Aryan perspective, where in the case of a periphrastic verb, the auxiliary typically follows the verbal participle in most languages. So, Garhwali in some tense/aspects exhibits the V-Aux order typical of Indo-Aryan, but in other aspects, we find the inverted Aux-V order.

In the habitual and simple perfective aspects, Aux-V order or 'aux-fronting' is impossible as in (7) and (8) below. This is surprising since it means that at least some features of the word order in Garhwali are based on grammatical aspect (or, tense-aspect combination) and are restricted by it. Thus, the occurrence of aux-fronting is not allowed in the habitual and simple perfective aspects.ⁱⁱⁱ

7. **səroli mənɟir cʰə jaɟi roɟ*
 Saruli temple be.PST.3FSG go.HAB.FSG every day
 'Saruli used to go to the temple every day.'

8. **səroli mənɟir cʰə cəli-gɪ*
 Saruli temple be.PST.3FSG go.ABS-
 go.PERF

'Saruli had gone to the temple.'

If we compare these data to Hindi, a typical SOV IA language, and closely related to Garhwali, the occurrence of aux-fronting in Garhwali is quite unexpected. In Hindi periphrastic verbal constructions, the order of the main verb and auxiliary/modals is usually fixed, and even though the entire verbal complex can occur clause-initially and at other positions in marked

constructions due to scrambling, the auxiliary never occurs before the main verb. Consider the sentences below:

9. *ram əbʰi caj pi rəha hɛ*
ram right tea drink PROG.3MSG be.PRS.3SG
now
'Ram is drinking tea right now.' [Hindi]
10. *səʀʊli əj dilli ja rəhi hɛ*
Saruli today Delhi go PROG.FSG be.PRS.3SG
'Saruli is going to Delhi today.'
[Hindi]
11. **ram əbʰi caj hɛ pi rəha*
ram right tea be.PRS.3SG drink PROG.3MSG
now
'Ram is drinking tea right now.'
[Hindi]
12. **səʀʊli əj dilli hɛ ja rəhi*
Saruli today Delhi be.PRS.3SG go PROG.FSG
'Saruli is going to Delhi today.'
[Hindi]

If we compare the Hindi sentences (9)-(12) with Garhwali sentences (3)-(6), we can see that while the auxiliary comes before the main verb in Garhwali, this order yields an ungrammatical sentence in Standard Hindi.

Analysis

In this section, the researcher will provide a structural account for the difference in word order behaviour between the habitual/perfective and progressive/stative-perfective aspect groups, specifically trying to account for the V-Aux vs. Aux-V orders, and the inseparability of the former vs. the separability of the latter.

Given the relevant data regarding the aspectual split in V-Aux and Aux-V orders as seen in previous sections, one would assume that this aspectual split should be dependent on the raising of the verbal head to Asp/Aux. One could assume, that in habitual and perfective aspects, the verbal head raises to Asp/Aux while in progressive and stative perfective aspects it does not raise. In both these cases, the arguments of the verb should also raise in order to produce Aux-V order in progressives and stative perfectives, and V-Aux order in habituales and perfectives. These raising operations would seem to produce the observed surface patterns. However, all accounts

for their raising seem to be problematic for various reasons, as would be described below.

Firstly, one could assume that the raising of the verbal head occurs due to agreement with case-related features, but that seems unrealistic since Garhwali has a split-ergative system similar to Hindi's, and the surface position of the arguments seems to be unrelated to case as the ergative has been analyzed as an inherent case (Anand & Nevins 2006:22). Further, it also seems that non-arguments like VP-adjuncts also would have to vacate the VP area, and case doesn't work well for explaining these.

A second option could be to assume that higher heads have 'bare' EPP features which force arguments and adjuncts to raise to these positions to satisfy this requirement. This scenario would only be possible when the higher heads have exactly the same number of EPP features as the arguments and adjuncts in the clause. This seems unrealistic since different numbers of elements would require to be raised in different types of constructions so that the V and the Aux can be surface-adjacent. This would complicate the matter since some elements could remain in-situ as these elements do not have any internal requirements to move.

There are other complications in this analysis: for instance, if the movement of the arguments is triggered by a general EPP feature on Aux head, then the indirect object would move because it is closer to the head that has the EPP feature. This would not predict the right surface order of constituents.

A third option could be that instead of moving arguments out of the VP, it could be that the entire VP raises to a higher position. In any case, if both the direct and the indirect objects as well as any adjuncts need to move out, it would be better to have the entire VP move up. However, this analysis would only work if the verb moves out of the VP first so as to get the right order for the V and the Aux, at least in progressives and stative perfectives. If the V moves out first, then the VP will become a headless-XP, generally subject to movement restrictions though Funakoshi (2012) shows that headless-XP raising is indeed available under some conditions in some languages. However, a headless-XP raised to a specifier position will be a movement-blocking island. Thus, this approach is simply not possible in Garhwali since scrambling of arguments is very frequent in the language.

All these approaches fail to give us a viable explanation of the data before us. In the subsequent sections, the researcher will present an analysis that can explain the aspectual split in the order of V and Aux in Garhwali. In the following section, the researcher will introduce the “two types of head movement hypothesis” of Funakoshi (2012) and will describe how the Garhwali facts can be explained using these two types of head movements.

Two Types of Head-Movement

In an analysis examining the conditions under which headless XP movement is possible, Funakoshi (2012) posits that—in opposition to the widely held notion of only one type of head movement—there are two types of head movement. The ‘standard’ type of head-movement involves adjunction of a head to another head (Pair-Merge in the terminology of Chomsky 2000, 2004; cited in Funakoshi 2012). Funakoshi (2012:544) posits that head-movement, like XP-movement, can also involve merging via “substitution” (Set-Merge in the terminology of Chomsky 2000, 2004; cited in Funakoshi 2012) at the bar-level. He states his “two types of head movement hypothesis” (p. 544), albeit to explain headless XP-movement- “UG allows head movement via substitution (HMS) as well as head movement via adjunction (HMA)” (Funakoshi 2012:544).^{iv}

Funakoshi (2012:544) explains that while the head movement via adjunction (Pair-Merge) is the standard head movement, another type of head movement which happens via substitution (Set-Merge) is also possible. The latter can only occur when the former is also possible. The schematic structure of the two types of head movement is shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

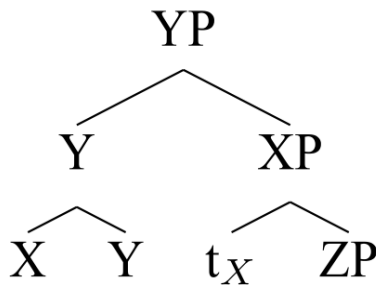


Figure 1: Head movement of X to Y via adjunction (Funakoshi, 2012: 445)

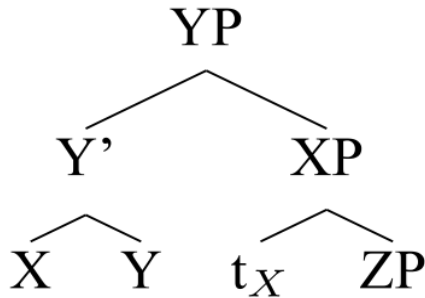


Figure 2: Head movement of X to Y via substitution (Funakoshi, 2012: 445)

The terms *adjunction* and *substitution* have been established as two types of structure building operations in UG by Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2004; cited in Funakoshi 2012) in Government-Binding terms. Chomsky (2000, 2004; cited in Funakoshi 2012) uses the terms *Pair-Merge* and *Set-Merge* for the same operations. Funakoshi (2012) argues that these two types of operations that are used for phrasal movement should also be used for head movement.

In this paper, the researcher will utilize this differentiation between two types of head movement à la Funakoshi (2012) for a different purpose, i.e., to describe an aspectual split in the structure of Garhwali clause which results in two different orders of V and aux, which seems to stem from these two types of head movements in the language.

The researcher assumes two types of head movement as per the following definitions:

- a. **Pair-Merge:** X head-moves to Y, its next higher head, via adjunction, and adjoins to its left, resulting in an inseparable merger. The new Y head is composed of both X and Y. We get the typical Mirror effect of the resulting head being $\langle X, Y \rangle$.
- b. **Set-Merge:** X head-moves to Y, its next higher head, via substitution, resulting in the creation of a new intermediate projection Y', which dominates both of them. The two heads X and Y effectively remain separate but are sisters to each other now.

In the following sections, the researcher will show that Garhwali employs these two types of head movement in its structure and that there is an aspect-based split on whether both types of head

movement are allowed, or not. On the one hand, in the progressive and stative perfective aspects, the movement of the verb from v/V^v to Asp uses a Set-Merge head movement resulting in the verb and the already existing auxiliary merging in a way that allows further operations to target the auxiliary separate from the verb. In contrast, in the habitual and perfective aspects, only the regular Pair-Merge head movement occurs, and the verb head-moves from v/V to Asp, resulting in its inseparable merger with the auxiliary.

In the following section, we will first analyze the structure of sentences in the habitual and perfective aspects, and then analyze the sentences in progressive and stative perfective aspects separately since the two aspect sets behave differently.

In the Habitual and Perfective Aspects

In habitual and perfective sentences, we find that the verbal participle precedes the auxiliary, as in (13).

13. *rajʊli ɚ bʰanʊ gʰɔr jãda cʰən*
Rajuli and Bhanu Home go.HAB.PL be.PRS.3PL
'Rajuli and Bhanu go (*lit.* are going) home.'^{vi}

Here, the auxiliary not only follows the main verb but is also inseparable from it, i.e., the entire verbal complex always remains together. It is not possible for the auxiliary alone to raise to some other position where it can precede the main verb.

In fact, the main verb and the auxiliary often fuse together into a single word as is shown in examples (14)-(17).^{vii} This morphological behaviour of the auxiliary is evidence to prove that it behaves differently in these aspects.

Habitual

14. *mẽ gʰɔr jãdõ [jãdo+cʰõ]*
1SG home go.HAB.PRS.1SG
'I go (*lit.* am going) home.'
15. *rajʊli ɚ bʰanʊ gʰɔr jãdən [jãda+cʰən]*
Rajuli and Bhanu home go.HAB.PRS.3PL
'Rajuli and Bhanu go (*lit.* are going) home.'

Perfective

16. *ram ɚ sita sjegɪn [sjegɪ+cʰən]*
Ram and Sita sleep.PERF.PRS.3PL
'Ram and Sita have slept.'
17. *mẽ beʰɪɾ-gjũ [beʰɪɾɪ+cʰõ]*

1SG sit.ABS-go.PERF.PRS.1SG
 ‘I have sat down.’

Sentences (18)-(19) are in habitual aspect. The schematic structure of (18) is shown in Figure 3.

18. *rajoli ḍal k^hāḍi c^hε roj*
 Rajuli lentils eat.HAB.FSG be.PST.3FSG every
 day

‘Rajuli used to eat lentils every day.’

19. *ram sərōli-tē sjo dēḍo c^ho*
 Ram Saruli- apple give.HAB.MSG be.PST.MSG
 ACC

‘Ram used to give Saruli an apple.’

In habitual constructions, as figure 3 shows, the verb is base generated at V and the object originates as a complement to V. The subject DP originates at Spec,vP position where it is ta role. The auxiliary is generated at Hab.

Anand & Nevins (2006:22) have argued that the ergative is an inherent case in Hindi, that “the Hindi ergative subject is not assigned case by and does not agree with T” and that “ergative subjects are in the specifier of TP only”. The ergative and the nominative thereby do not differ in terms of their case assignment in Hindi. It is also true for Garhwali.

In the habitual aspect, in constructions where v is projected, V head-moves to v via Pair-Merge head movement since the v head has V features. The v, which is now (V+v) then head-moves to Hab via Pair-Merge head movement since Hab has v features, and adjoins to its left. The new resultant Hab head is composed of V and the auxiliary /c^hε/, which are fused together in the order <V-aux>. Thus, the verb and the auxiliary cannot be separated, and even in cases of scrambling, or in other constructions, they behave as a single head: there is no way for any subsequent operations to target the aspectual auxiliary head without also affecting the adjoined v/V-head.

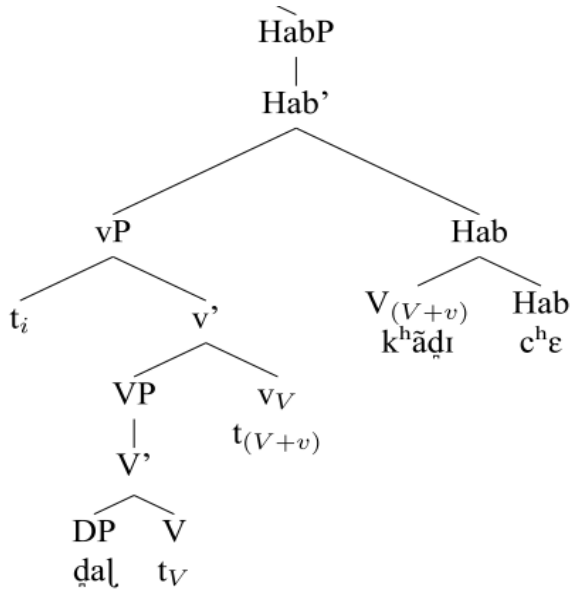


Figure 3

Crucial evidence to support this behaviour comes from interrogatives such as (20) where the aspect head (Hab in this case) that raises further consists of both the verb and the auxiliary. This raising of both of them is only possible if we postulate that the aspect head, composed of v/V+Hab, moves up in such constructions.

20. *kɪɛ bhejɔɔ c^hɔ ram sərɔɪ-tē cɪtʰɪ*
 why send.HAB.MSG be.PST.MSG Ram Saruli- letter
 ACC

‘Why did Ram use to send letters to Saruli?’

In the perfective aspect, the structure and head movement of V is similar to what happens with habitual aspect as shown in (21)-(22). Figure 4 presents the schematic structure of (21).

21. *rajɔɪ-n ɔ̃a| k^hɪ c^hɛ bʲa|ɪ*
 Rajuli- lentils eat.PERF be.PST.3FSG yesterday
 ERG

‘Rajuli had eaten lentils yesterday.’

22. *ram-ən sərɔɪ-tē sjo dɪnɪ c^hɔ*
 Ram- Saruli- apple give.PERF be.PST.MSG
 ERG ACC

‘Ram had given Saruli an apple.’

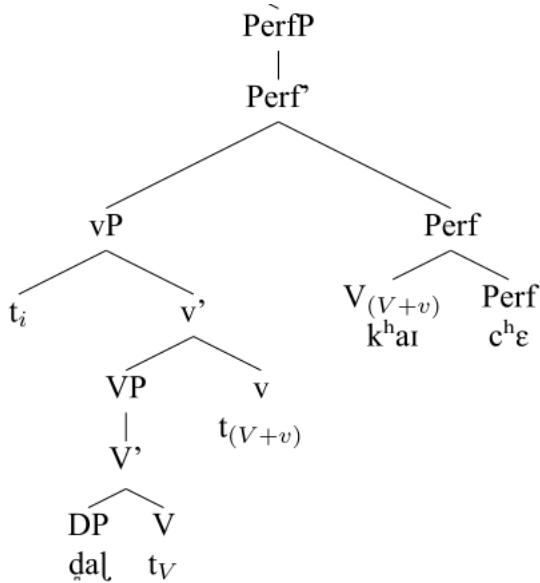


Figure 4

In Progressive and Stative Perfective Aspects

Sentences involving progressive or stative perfective aspect exhibit the opposite surface ordering of the verbal participle and the auxiliary. In these aspects, we find that the auxiliary precedes the verbal participle, as in (23) below.

23. *raʝoli ər b^hanʊ g^hər c^hən jaŋa*
 Rajuli and Bhanu house be.PRS.3PL go.PROG.PL
 ‘Rajuli and Bhanu are going home.’

Here, the auxiliary not only precedes the main verb but it also shows more divergent behaviour: it is separable from it unlike in case of the habitual and perfective aspects. It is possible for the auxiliary alone to raise to some other position where it can be away from the main verb. For instance, in (24), the auxiliary and the verb are discontinuous.

24. *raʝoli c^hε əpʃʊ kam kaŋɪ*
 Rajuli be.PST.3FSG Own work do.PROG.F
 ‘Rajuli was doing her work.’

Unlike the morphological behaviour of the verb and auxiliary in the habitual and perfective aspects that we saw in the previous section, the main verb and the auxiliary never fuse together into a single word in the progressive and stative perfective aspects. The auxiliary is optional in the present tense i.e. it could be

dropped in this tense but it can never fuse with the main verb. (25)-(26) show that the auxiliary precedes the main verb, and that it is optional in one tense but it cannot fuse together with its main verb.

25. *mi gʰɔr (cʰɔ̃) jaŋv /*jaŋɔ̃*
 1SG home be.PRS.1SG go.PROG.MSG
 ‘I am going home.’
26. *mi gʰɔr (cʰɔ̃) jəjũ /*jəjɔ̃*
 1SG home be.PRS.1SG go.S_PERF.MSG
 ‘I have gone home.’

Sentences (27)-(28) are in progressive aspect. The schematic structure of (27) is shown in Figure 5.

27. *raʝoli ɖal cʰɛ kʰaŋɪ bʰaɪɪ ɾəbəri...*
 Rajuli lentils be.PST.3FSG eat.PROG.FSG yesterday when...
 ‘Rajuli was eating lentils yesterday, when....’
28. *ram sita-tɛ sʝo cʰɔ deŋv*
 Ram Sita- apple be.PST.MSG give.PROG.MSG
 ACC
 ‘Ram was giving Sita an apple.’

In the progressive aspect, in constructions where *v* is projected, *V* head-moves to *v* via Pair-Merge head movement since the *v* head has *V* features. The *v*, which is now (*V+v*), then head-moves to *Prog* via Set-Merge head movement and attaches to the newly formed intermediate projection *Prog*’.

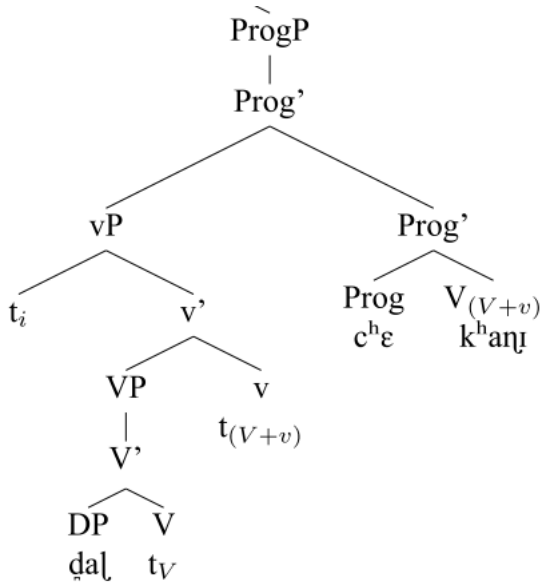


Figure 5

The crucial difference between the habitual and perfective constructions as we saw above, and progressive constructions is this head movement to Prog, that happens through Set-Merge instead of Pair-Merge in the former aspect set. As a result of this head-movement, the Prog head which contains the auxiliary remains separate from the newly moved V head that contains the main verb.

In these constructions, the moved V head lies linearly to the right of the original aspect head.^{viii} The verb and the auxiliary behave in some respects like separate heads, and in cases like verb-raising in interrogatives they behave as two independent heads. For instance, in (29) below, the aspect head [(V+v)+Prog] consists of both the verb and the auxiliary, but only the auxiliary raises while the moved V+v head remains in the same position.

29. *kɪɛ c^hɔ ram səʀʊli- cɪʈʈ^hr bheɲɔ*
tē

whz be.PST.MSG Ram Saruli- letter send.PROG.MSG
 ACC

‘Why was Ram sending a letter to Saruli?’

In the stative perfective aspect, the structure and head movement of V is essentially the same as in the case of the progressive. (30)

and (31) below are examples of sentences in stative perfective aspect. The schematic structure of (30) is shown in Figure 6 below.

30. *rajoli-n dal c^hε k^hajī biʌlɪ ɟəbəri...*
 Rajuli- lentils be.PST.3FSG eat.S_PERF.FSG yesterday when...
 ERG
- ‘Rajuli had eaten the lentils yesterday, when...’
31. *ram-ən səruli-tē sjo c^hɔ diŋjū*
 Ram- Saruli- apple be. give.
 ERG ACC PST.MSG S _PERF.MSG
- ‘Ram had given Saruli an apple.’

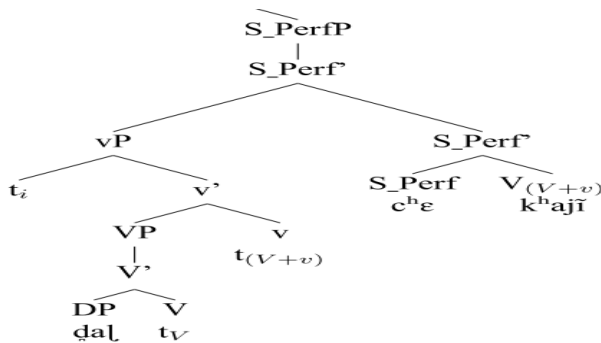


Figure 6

Conclusion

In this study, the researcher has investigated some properties of the word order of Garhwali, with a focus on the position and order of the participial verb and the auxiliary in periphrastic verbs. The researcher has analyzed some special properties of the verb and the auxiliary such as the occurrence of both V-Aux and Aux-V orders and an aspect-split in their occurrence which do not conform to the established general patterns in IA languages in particular, and SOV languages in general.

The presence of some properties that deviate from the IA norm raises interesting questions regarding the possibility of a prolonged contact situation and a resultant change in progress. Alternatively, it could be the case that Garhwali itself has undergone syntactic restructuring due to rampant bilingualism. Any solid conclusion on these issues will require an in-depth study of the language diachronically as well.

The Aux-V order in the progressive and the stative perfective aspects in declarative sentences point to the possibility of these arising due to contact with Kashmiri, which is a V2 language,

either directly or through some West Pahari languages over a prolonged time. It could be the case that either syntactic restructuring is in progress in Garhwali, or rampant bilingualism in Hindi is in the process of reversing the starker change in the word order of Garhwali that occurred historically, probably due to contact. More comparative research in the two languages as also the intervening Western Pahari languages is needed to arrive at a firm conclusion in this regard.

Since the focus of this study is to analyze the order of the verbal participle and the auxiliary in Garhwali synchronic speech and account for its syntactic structure, the author has argued that to account for the aspect-based variation between V-Aux and Aux-V orders, two types of head movement, viz. Set-Merge head movement and Pair-Merge head movement must be allowed.

Endnotes

- ⁱ Except Hook (2011, n.d.), no other available works have even mentioned the occurrence of Aux-V order in Garhwali
- ⁱⁱ The perfective aspect in Garhwali is divided into two aspectual forms: the *simple perfective* and the *stative perfective*, glossed PERF and S_PERF respectively in this paper. In terms of their semantics, the simple perfective and the stative perfective differ in terms of stativity and the consequence of (in-)completeness of the action. This differentiation is true in both directions of the present tense i.e. both in the past and in the future tenses. The simple perfective denotes completeness of an action or an event at a time away from the present and the action doesn't continue till the time of reference. On the contrary, the stative perfective denotes that the action was completed at a time which is recent, and the agent or the patient is still in the state of having that action completed, or the consequence of the completed action is still valid at the time of reference.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Garhwali also exhibits an aspect-based split in ergativity, like most IA languages, but the two splits are not parallel. The simple perfective and stative perfective clauses show ergative alignment while the non-perfective aspects viz. progressive and habitual show nominative alignment. Thus, ergativity is only attested when the verb in the relevant clause is in perfective aspect while in the progressive and habitual aspects, the subject is marked with a nominative case.
- ^{iv} Funakoshi (2012:547) clarifies that this hypothesis is “theoretically tenable under a certain model of syntax in which the bare phrase structure theory, the derivational approach to syntactic relations, and Featural Cyclicity are adopted”. Additionally, he provides crosslinguistic empirical evidence to support this, and shows that the difference between some languages allowing headless XP-movement (e.g., Hebrew) while others not allowing it (e.g., English) can be explained by adopting this approach to account for their structure. His analysis is that XP-movement/ellipsis can only occur when a head moves to the next higher head via only substitution (p. 548).

- v If the clause involves a vP, then the head of VP will end up Pair-Merging with it, and the resulting [V+v] will be what raises to the head of the aspect projection; if there is no vP, then the head of V will itself directly raise to the head of the aspect projection.
- vi The habitual aspect in Garhwali pragmatically denotes a continuous action and hence equivalent to the progressive aspect in English. The finer semantic distinction between habitual and progressive aspects needs further study.
- vii This V-Aux fusion occurs in both perfective and habitual aspects in the present tense only. In other tenses, the auxiliary is obligatory in its full form since it marks the tense.
- viii In this analysis, I assume that Set-Merged heads in Garhwali linearize in such a way that the raised v/V lie to the right in the linearization. The exact reason for this needs to be probed further.

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**RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND VALUES IN MUHAMMED
ABDUL WALI'S *THEY DIE STRANGERS*: INSIGHTS
FROM IDENTITY PROCESS THEORY**

Muhammed Salim*
Abdul Aziz Khan**

Abstract

*Identity in literature has received much theoretical attention recently. But to the best of our knowledge, no studies have applied Identity Process Theory (IPT) to literary text with a view to identifying the relationships between identity processes and the characters in the literary text. IPT is a socio-psychological model that embodies identity as a dynamic product of both social and psychological processes. In this paper, it is argued that the theory provides predictive value and resourceful insights into the structure of religious identity in **They Die Strangers**. Specifically, it explores the religious identity with a special focus on the values and how these values are processed. IPT proposes that identity is conceptualized in three processes: identity assimilation, identity accommodation, and identity evaluation. These processes will be examined to determine the principles that a given character adopts and uses in identity reconstruction. The motivation for this paper is that it is thought that IPT concepts could be usefully applied in the study of identity in literary texts especially diasporic literature where identity is a recurring theme.*

Keywords: Identity Process Theory, They Die Strangers, Muhammed Abdul-Wali, Social Psychology

The Plot of the Novella

The diasporic protagonist in the novella is Abdou Said, who has a wife and a son and land in Yemen. Due to financial problems, he migrates to Ethiopia and settles in Addis Ababa, Sodset Kilo. He works as a shopkeeper with the hope to return to his homeland as a wealthy man. He is successful and is very keen to save every penny. As he suffered from poverty in Yemen, he was not willing to go back until he would have saved enough money. He lives in solitude and isolates himself even from the other expatriated members of the Yemeni community there. He commits adultery with plenty of indigenous women resulting in

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fathering many illegitimate children. Abdou Said is told to acknowledge one of these children as his own but he refuses to do so. Ultimately, the secretary takes the child as a brother, and Abdou Said dies due to suffocation as his shop is engulfed in fire. He dies as a stranger in a foreign country. The following section presents the theoretical background.

Theoretical Background

This study hinges on the Identity Process Theory. Identity process Theory (Breakwell, 1986, 1988, 1992, 1999, 1998, 2001; Jaspal and Breakwell, 2014; Jaspal and Cinnirella, 2010) provides a framework for the theory. IPT assumes that the structure of identity, which consists of content and value, is regulated or filled by two types of universal processes: assimilation-accommodation, and evaluation. Assimilation and accommodation are the two components of one storage system. The information of the content dimension can be personal such as values, beliefs, and attitudes. It can be social such as group memberships, individual traits, physical aspects, or interpersonal networks. The value dimension is concerned with the evaluation of the identity content whether it is the already existing one or a new one. In this connection, assimilation absorbs new information in the identity structure. However, accommodation adjusts the existing components of identity to locate the new information. These two components interact to change the content of the existing identity over time. The second process is evaluation. It allocates value to the newly absorbed identity element, that is, how well or bad an identity or identity element is. Individual goals, values, and beliefs on the one hand, and social norms and roles on the other, play a significant role in evaluation. Identity is understood to be formed and revised through ongoing processes of *assimilation-accommodation*, and *evaluation*. In situations where these processes are unable to satisfy the demands of the identity principles, identity is considered to be *threatened*, leading to the deployment of *coping strategies* (Jaspal and Breakwell, 2014, p. 71). Processes and principles work in tandem to construct and maintain identity. The two processes are guided by the following identity principles: the first four of them are originally identified by Breakwell (1986, 1992, and 2001). The first one is the continuity principle. It refers to the human motivation to maintain a sense of temporal subjective continuity across time and situations (Breakwell, 1986, p. 24). This is termed “persistent sameness with oneself” (Erikson, 1980). Continuity here requires a change that marks the inconsistencies/ connections between the past, the

present and the future's conception of self. The second one is the distinctiveness principle. It refers to the drive to establish and maintain a sense of optimal differentiation/distinctiveness from others. It is about having individualistic unique characteristics. It works at the level of interpersonal or intergroup comparisons. The third one is the self-efficacy principle. It refers to the drive to maintain feelings of competence in, confidence in, and control of one's life (Breakwell, 1988, p. 194). The lack of efficacy is associated with feelings of futility, alienation, and depression. The fourth one is the self-esteem principle. It refers to the desire to seek and maintain a positive self-conception. It is the drive for self-esteem

“It has been shown to induce selective perception of information, channel value formation, and modify attribution processes” (Breakwell, 1993, p. 8). In case self-esteem is threatened, copying reactions are used. Besides, two more principles are proposed by Vignoles et al. (2002). They are belonging and meaning. The belonging principle refers to the need to obtain feelings of closeness to, and acceptance by, other people. The other one is the meaning principle which urges the individual to find purpose and significance in one's existence and life. The psychological coherence principle is recently proposed by Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010). It is about establishing coherence and compatibility between inter-connected identity elements. These principles can be applied to individuals or groups. A related notion is identity threat. Threats may occur due to distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, belonging, meaning, or psychological coherence.

IPT predicts that identity is threatened and an individual has to cope with that threat if the universal processes cannot comply with the motivational principles. A coping strategy is defined as “any activity, in thought or deed, which has as its goal the removal or modification of a threat to identity” (Breakwell, 1986, qtd. in Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014, p. 5). Identity Process Theory provides a holistic and integrative model of (1) the structure of identity, namely its content and value dimensions and the centrality and salience of identity components (2) the interaction of social and psychological factors in the production of identity content, and (3) the interrelations between identity and action. A key assumption of the theory is that, in order to understand the processes that drive identity construction, it is necessary to examine how individuals react when identity is threatened (Breakwell, 2010, qtd. in Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014, p.5). The characters that are vulnerable to identity

accommodation are theorized to be vulnerable to external influences and easily succumb to their whims and temptations. Another prediction is that when identity assimilation fails, identity accommodation takes place.

To the best of our knowledge, no study has applied the theory to a literary text with a view to identifying the relationships between the characters and identity processes on the one hand and the characters and identity processes on the other. This study will focus on identity principles and how they are manifested at interpersonal and intergroup levels.

Analysis

This section highlights the assimilation-accommodation process and how they contribute to the ongoing identity construction. That is, it explores the impact of the new social context on the reconstruction of religious identity. First of all, we will lay the background for religious identity and its values. The already existing values will be highlighted before examining identity processes. Abdou Said, who is the main character in the novella, spends 40 years in the host country which makes the novella suitable for the application of the theory at hand as “IPT researchers have been especially interested in naturally occurring changes in identity, which often span longer periods of time” (Jaspal & Breakwell, 2014, p. 72). He migrated from Yemen to Ethiopia in search of a better living. Ethiopia is famous for its cultural diversity. This means that Abdou Said is exposed to cultural identities that are completely different from his own. Jaspal and Breakwell (2014) notice that “changes in social context can call forth changes in identity, depending on personal relevance, personal involvement, amount of change demanded and how negative the change is considered to be” (pp. 317-318).

Here we will focus on the nature of religious identity and its construction. People often align themselves with one religion or another. Religion has different components such as beliefs, norms, and values. We will explore the identity processes that have been used by the characters in the next section.

Identity Processes

The existing identity in the novella is ethnic as it encompasses Islamic and nation-oriented components. Abdou Said is a Muslim and he practices some religious traditions. Religious traditions are there, but not limited to spirituals, beliefs, morals, norms, and practices. The Islamic religious identity elements that exist in Abdou Said are not limited to offering prayers, bathing,

temperance, continence, chastity, keeping secrets, hard work, and kindness. These elements are part of the pre-existing religious identity content of Abdou Said that are predicted to undergo change and re-structuring. In what follows, we will point out how such elements are affected and what elements of identity are assimilated or accommodated. To begin with prayers; prayers constitute the most important component of the Islamic religious identity of the immigrant Yemenis in Addis Ababa. Three Yemenis are shown to perform prayers. The first one is Sayyed. He secluded himself in his room and spent the first half of the month praying and the other half is devoted to solving the problems of others to the extent that “there was a black mark on his forehead for prostrating in prayer” (Abdul Wali, pp. 39-40). People portrayed him as the most pious person among Yemenis with extraordinary capabilities. He keeps telling people that he is “preoccupied with prayers” (Abdul Wali, p. 43). The second one is Hajji Abdul Latif. Hajji has preached and “given emotional speech mixed with prayers, religious rhetoric (Abdul Wali, p. 45). When he decided to meet Abdou Said, “he tried to recollect Quranic verses and sayings of the prophet, prayers for the man” (Abdul Wali, p.49). In such a religious mindset possessing society, the evaluation of individuals stems from pure religious aspects. Talking to Saleh Saif, Hajji Abdul Latif enquires about the character of Abdou Said, “Is he [Abdou Said] a pious man? Does he pray? fast?” (Abdul Wali, p.47). The third person is Abdou Said, he is the main protagonist of the novella. His religious identity seems to undergo a change. This is evident in the way he used to bathe and pray. Before he decided to migrate, “he prayed from sunset to evening in the mosque” (Abdul Wali, p. 26). In his village, he asked his father for blessings. His father says “if you insist, I will pray for you. May God take care of you, help you, and bring you success” (Abdul Wali, p.27). Upon arriving in Ethiopia, he take a shower, and “each morning at six he finished his dawn prayers (...) reciting verses from the Quran and some prayers he had memorized as a child” (Abdul Wali, p.18). He opens a store there. His customers hear him murmuring “a prayer on his lips as he worked” (Abdul Wali, p. 24) telling them that “things will happen as God wills” (Abdul Wali, p.19). With the passage of time “Abdou Said did not take a shower, but he performed ablutions and prayed over a rectangular stone in the yard” (Abdul Wali,p.23). His dream is “to pray every morning on the roof of his new house so that the village people could see him” (Abdul Wali, p.34).These excerpts show that Abdou Said has

replaced bathing with ablutions. He never quits prayers though they might have been performed hastily. Hence, it is evident that performing prayers is one of the most important aspects of religious identity that undergoes change. Besides, he does many things that are deemed to be against religion. He keeps staring at and flirting with women “he flirted with them all, sometimes lasciviously, and teased them with eyes filled with confidence” (Abdul Wali, p. 21). Besides, he verbally harasses his female customers. Being involved in harassment, people started fabricating and spreading stories about him. They said, “he was the father of many of them [children], especially those who were born white” (Abdul Wali, p.21). Moreover, he replaced bathing with ablutions. He takes shower only at the end of the month. However, he denies all the accusations made against him. In this regard, Sneed, and Whitbourne (2003) comment:

People who predominantly use identity assimilation find it painful to acknowledge their own personal weaknesses or deficiencies, whatever the source. They may appear to have high self-regard and perceive themselves as healthy, but underneath this facade, they are theorized to have feelings of insecurity (p. 313).

The third important content of identity that is reflected in the novella is drinking alcohol. Abdou Said refuses to drink whisky attributing that to being forbidden in his religion. The dialogue between him and the woman is very interesting:

“God forbid. God forbid. God protects us from its evil”

“What’s wrong? Why won’t you pick up your glass?”

“You know it’s forbidden.”

“Forbidden?” she asked, surprised.

“Of course it’s forbidden. That’s what our religion says. You know we don’t drink.”

He got up from her bed and began putting on his clothes, saying “I won’t drink, even I were to be chopped to pieces. Do you want me to go against my religion?”

She saw that he was serious, “But ... but you sleep with women. Is not that forbidden?”

(...)

“What were you doing just now, is not it forbidden, too?” She repeated.

“Is alcohol more forbidden than that?” (Abdul Wali, p. 32)

The dialogue above reveals that when the lady offers Abdou Said a drink, he refuses to have it. Abdou Said considers drinking alcohol a threat to his identity. So, rejection of her request is a strategy used to cope with the threat. His religious identity is further illuminated as he keeps remembering God “God forgive us, and protect us. Oh, God, You know what is hidden inside the hearts of men” (Abdul Wali, p.33). In this regard, Jaspal & Breakwell (2014) assume that religious identity is reflected in the usual “use of a language(s) specifically associated with religious liturgy” (p. 325). On the other side, the secretary accuses Hajji Abdou Latif of drinking alcohol. Hajji Abdou Latif “forgets to cover his breath with mint when he reviews the account each night” (Abdul Wali, p. 47). Therefore, it is noticed that the value of temperance is affected by Hajji Abdou Latif. Abdou Said remains sober in spite of all the temptations. A related notion is blasphemy. Abdou Said blasphemed. He says “Then let God rear him” (Abdul Wali, p.50), and Hajji Abdou Latif also blasphemed as he says “hadn't God created this child? Shouldn't He take care of him?” (Abdul Wali, p. 55). On the other hand, there are values that are persistent and never undergo change. These are working hard and earning honorably. People believe that “he must have earned his money honorably, with hard work” (Abdul Wali, p.24). Moreover, Yemenis keep secrets “he [Abdou Said] never disclosed anything about himself or his dreams” (Abdul Wali, p. 28), and if “you want to pry a secret out of Yemeni? It would be easier to pry the truth out of the devil!” (Abdul Wali, p. 19).

Having discussed the content of identity that has or has not undergone change, the remaining part of this section will focus on the evaluative dimension. The process of evaluation is closely related to an individual's self-esteem. The evaluation here takes place to achieve identity balance. Identity balance is employed in two settings: The first one happens when Abdou Said refuses to acknowledge the child as his own son. In our opinion, Abdou Said feels that psychological coherence is threatened. It is very difficult and incompatible to accept being a Muslim and being adulterous. Therefore, he denies being the father of any child. This may explain why Abdou Said refuses to admit to committing fornication. The value of having legitimate boys is one of the identity aspects that are prioritized in Abdou Said's cultural group. That is why he is worried about what people

would say about him if he acknowledged the boy as his own. He was thinking about his reputation and how will he face his family in Yemen and the community members around him:

What would people say when they knew that the child was his son, no, that he was his bastard son? What would his wife say? She who prayed and waited patiently for his return? What would he say to his son, who had grown into an important man?(Abdul Wali, p.36)

In this connection, Jaspal and Breakwell (2014) comment:

In small religious - cultural enclaves, reputation is important, and known psychological difficulties are stigmatizing, damaging self-esteem and harming the sense of belonging, being accepted as a full “valid” member by the group. (p. 328)

The second instance of identity balance is reflected when Abdou Said regrets doing the wrong things and informs others that he wants to make a pilgrimage. Abdou Said might have thought about his ill-doings. This is a turning point in his life. He refuses to adopt the child and tells others that he works hard to earn an honorable living. He is questioning himself and acknowledges that he is a sinner who is in need of redemption. He says:

I would like to die after I've done good things for my son and wife. (...). First, I'll go to Mekkah and perform the Hajj. All my sins will be forgiven. Then I'll return to my village. There, I'll stay in the mosque, worshipping God day and night. (AbdulWali, p. 37).

This balance is the main motive that made Abdou Said evaluate himself realistically. He committed sins and the only way to get everything right is to perform a pilgrimage. In this regard, Sneed and Whitbourne (2003) point out that “when individuals are in a state of balance, they are able to make changes when their identity is challenged but at the same time maintain a consistent sense of self”(p. 314). Having highlighted the identity processes, the next section will determine which principles are relevant and become salient in identity (re) construction.

Identity Principles

This section will explore the most salient principles that are associated with religious identity. Not all the principles need to be present at any given time. Some of them become salient in a specific context due to the dominant social representations that

invoke and trigger them. Others are conceived as being less active in the same context. The first principle that has been rendered salient at the intergroup level is self-esteem. In the beginning, Abdou Said loses self-esteem as “everyone [children] called him “camel jockey”, a term they used for all Yemeni immigrants. This didn't disturb him as it did others. He responded to the slur with a friendly smile” (Abdul Wali, p.18). However, his refusal to rear the child can be interpreted as regaining of self-esteem. He says “but I can't. I've decided to go back to Yemen. How can I bring a bastard with me?” (Abdul Wali, p.51). Unfortunately, Hajji refuses to rear the child, too. He murmurs “as if I [Hajji] migrated to Ethiopia to rear the bastard. No way” (Abdul Wali, p.55). Hence, it can be said that the principle of self-esteem fluctuates at the intergroup level. It is lost at some point of time but it comes to light in different contexts.

The second principle that works at the intergroup level is distinctiveness. All Yemenis are trying to convince Abdou Said to foster the child reminding Abdou that other people may speak badly about Yemenis. This is evident in the dialogue between Abdou Said, Hajji, and Saleh Saif “isn't forbidden to leave him for the unbelievers, to a dishonorable woman, to leave him orphaned, living a life of loss? (Abul Wali, p.49). Distinctiveness here works at the religious level. So, the other group is characterized as being unbelievers. Also, Saleh Saif adds that “as Muslims, we can't let these Muslim children go to hell, can we?” (Abdul Wali, p.51). The two principles, self-esteem and distinctiveness, are interrelated and exposed in Saleh Saif's speech. He says “Fear God, man. What are you saying? We came to advise you. We came to you so that Ethiopians won't think that we leave our sons in the streets to the unbelievers” (Abdul Wali, p.50). This shows that they are worried about the prejudice of the out-group, who is characterized as Ethiopians and unbelievers. Saleh Saif does not want anyone to speak ill about Yemenis. Theoretically, it is predicted that individuals must project a sense of distinctiveness to others, rather than simply develop and value it within themselves (Vignoleset al., 2000).

Besides, the belonging principle shows paradoxical characterization at the interpersonal and intergroup poles. Notice that Saleh Saif tells Abdou that “we are from the same country, which makes us cousins. We are all Yemenis. If something hurts one of us, it hurts us all, so we came to you. We are not here to

call each other names but to shake hands as brothers” (Abdul Wali, p. 50). This dialogue shows that the sense of brotherhood in Yemenis is attributed to being from the same country and to having the same ancestry. However, Abdou never had this sense of belonging to the in-group as “ he never gave denotations or attended community meetings. He lived in complete isolation” (Abdul Wali, p.47).

In addition, self-efficacy at the individualistic level is threatened. Self-efficacy means “personal beliefs about (. . .) abilities and skills for achieving planned levels and progressive performance and handling effective events in life” (Teimouri et al., 2013, p. 691). Abdou Said is no longer in control of his life. This is revealed on occasions in the novella “Abdou is going crazy” (Abdul Wali, p.39), “he wouldn’t be able to live like this if he weren’t crazy” (Abdul Wali, p.39), “he is really crazy, the poor man” (Abdul Wali, p. 9), and “you see, he is crazy” (Abdul Wali, p.52). Meanwhile, self-efficacy is achieved when it comes to earning money. He has built a beautiful house in Yemen and he becomes rich. Hajji Abdul Latif, too “ work hard to feed (...) people back home” (Abdul Wali, p. 57).

Conclusion

In the above discussion, it can be noticed that religious identity has undergone a change which suggests that new content of identity has been accommodated at the expense of the already existing one. Religious identity relinquishes in favor of wrong doer stereotyping. The extent to which identity accommodation is utilized varies from character to character; for example, Abdou Said seems to have been affected the most. He used to perform his prayers in the mosque every day and he never committed fornication before coming to Ethiopia. With the passage of time, he started performing prayers in the yard of his shop with ablution, although he was reported to have been sleeping with women. However, he remains sober in contrast to Hajji Abdul Latif who reeks of alcohol. It is evident that Abdou Said uses identity accommodation as he is influenced and easily shaped by new experiences he is exposed to in Ethiopia because his identity is unstable and incoherent. The study concludes by asserting that the theory can be extended to literary texts to highlight how elements of identity are accommodated, assimilated, and (re) constructed. The religious identity of Yemenis in the diaspora has been greatly affected by the socio-cultural context of the host country. Religion has been abandoned and/ or is practiced loosely.

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**ACOUSTIC SPACE AND FORMANT PATTERNS OF
VOWELS IN MAITHILI AND ANGIKA: A
COMPARATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE STUDY**

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Abstract

The present paper aims to provide a descriptive and comparative investigation of the acoustic space and formant patterns of vowels in Maithili and Angika. Angika is considered as a variety of Maithili (Jha 1958). Acoustic space is an adequate tool to determine objectively the vowel space in a language. Acoustic space also helps us to revisit Dispersion Theory, and Quantal Theory. The speech data were recorded from twenty native speakers in the Speech and Language lab at Jawaharlal Nehru University. The results of the study present that the formant frequencies (F1 and F2) and acoustic spaces of vowels are distinct in Maithili and Angika. Further, it reflects that the formant frequencies (F1 and F2) and acoustic space of Maithili vowels are greater than that of Angika vowels. The work finally discusses Jha's (2001) observation with respect to formant frequencies and the positioning of the vowels in acoustic space and claims that the present finding differs from the Jha's observation.

Key Words: *Maithili, Angika, Acoustic space, Formant Patterns (F1 & F2), Oral Vowels*

Introduction

Acoustic space is a tool that is used to portray how the formant frequencies help to determine the vowel space objectively in languages. It helps us to empirically test the hypotheses of the Quantal Theory (Steven 1972, 1989) and the Dispersion Theory (Liljencrants and Lindblom 1972, Lindblom 1986, 1990). Dispersion Theory (DT) claims that speech sounds are selected through the constraints that are based on a principle of sufficient perceptual contrast. According to this theory, a language's vowels are arranged and ordered in the acoustic vowel space to reduce the possibilities of perceptual confusion between the distinct vowel categories. This hypothesis about the examination of vowel inventories has been apparently established (Lindblom 1975 and 1986, Disner 1984). In fact, a different approach to vowel systems is advocated by Bradlow (1995) using the

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Quantal Theory (Steven 1972, 1989). This assumption is based on the finding that there is a non-monotonic relationship between variation in the articulatory configuration and its acoustic effects for some articulatory domain parameters. In short, according to this theory, there are specific areas of stability in the phonetic space. It is asserted that the vowel points /i/, /a/, and /u/ belong to the stable regions and these peripheral vowels occur most frequently in the languages of the world (Maddieson 1984). According to Ladefoged (2001), “The acoustic vowel space can be considered to be an area bounded by the possible ranges for the frequencies of the first two formants”. Catford (1988) notes that the production of vowels adheres to a limit or space in the oropharyngeal cavity, which establishes the acoustic space of vowels in a language. A slight deviance in the space results in the production of an approximant type of sound. The most important point is that the Cardinal Vowel chart, created by Daniel Jones, was influenced by the concept of the vowel limit or acoustic vowel space. Ohala (1999) points out that vowels are classified in terms of an ‘abstract vowel space which is fairly characterized by a four-sided dimension known as ‘Vowel Quadrilateral’. The Vowel Quadrilaterals can be used to objectively represent the extent of the vowel space.

Formant is genetically a German word. The German physicist Hermann first used the word “formant” in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is an acoustic term for a sound quality that significantly separates one vowel from another by the variations in overtone pitches. It is a resonating frequency of the air in the vocal tract which reflects the way at which the lung air vibrates in the vocal tract and changes the shape and size of the vocal cord. The vocal cord may vibrate more quickly or slowly, changing the pitch of the sound, but the formant frequency will stay constant if the vocal tract's shape does not change. For any vowel, the lung air vibrates in the vocal tract at several different frequencies and the most dominant frequencies combine to produce the distinctive vowel qualities. Three major formants for each vowel: F1, F2 ,and F3 are found to provide the primary descriptions of vowel sounds: the first formant (F1) is the lowest, and the second and third formants (F2, F3) are respectively higher (Shriberg and Kent 2003, Ladefoged 2006).

Main Objectives

The main goals of the present study are as follows.

- (1) To investigate the formant patterns (F1 and F2) of vowels in Maithili and Angika.

- (2) To explore the acoustic space of vowels in both languages.
- (3) To contrast the formant patterns and acoustic spaces of vowels in Maithili with Angika.

Research Questions

The present work aims to focus on several objective questions. These questions are as follows.

- a) What are the similarities or differences in the patterns of formants and the acoustic spaces of vowels between Maithili and Angika?
- b) Despite being varieties of the same language, is there any difference between Maithili and Angika in the vowel formant patterns and acoustic spaces?

Hypothesis

These two languages are the major varieties of the same language. It is hypothesized that there is no difference in formant patterns and acoustic spaces of vowels between Maithili and Angika.

Methodology

Participant Selection

There were twenty adult participants; 10 native speakers of Maithili and 10 native speakers of Angika: who voluntarily participated in the speech data elicitation process. They were undergraduate students at Jawaharlal Nehru University. They were born and brought up in their native places for more than 20 years. No subject had any kind of speech, articulatory, hearing, and neuro-cognitive symptom. The participant selection was based on an informal face-to-face interview. It assisted in achieving two key objectives: firstly, determining whether a speaker met the screening requirements, such as geographic region, education and age, and secondly, determining whether the speaker has any physical or neurological abnormalities.

Language Sample

There are five major geographical and regional varieties of the Maithili language, widely spoken in Bihar. For the present study, the data was collected from only two main varieties of Maithili, i.e., Standard Maithili (*Central Maithili*), spoken in the district of

Madhubani, and Angika (*Southern Maithili*), spoken in the district of Bhagalpur.

Data Elicitation

There were a total of eight pure oral vowels and eight nasal vowels in Maithili. However, for the present study, only pure oral vowels were chosen for the voice sample recordings. Each of the targeted vowels occurs at the middle position of the real word in a monosyllabic pattern (CVC). Stop consonants functioned as the phonetic environment of vowels. To ensure the highest possible level of speech data quality, each subject articulated the targeted word three times so that it can be employed for further acoustic examination. Consequently, there were roughly 960 recorded tokens (8 vowels x 20 speakers x 2 varieties x 3 repetitions= 960). However, only the middle repetitions of the recorded tokens were taken for the additional offline acoustic analysis. Finally, 320 recorded tokens in total were selected for the acoustic investigation.

Data Recording

The chosen word samples were printed separately before the speech data collection operation. Each participant was then given a printed copy of the page and instructed to read each word in his or her own natural manner. To have the perfect repetition of the recorded voice samples, each of the utterances were repeated three times (three repetitions) after taking a normal breath with a brief pause during the data elicitation method. In Speech and Language Lab at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, all speech samples were captured using a Sony IC voice-recorder with a microphone placed between 05 and 10 cm from the subjects' mouths and a sample rate of 44.1 kHz. All the recorded speech samples were converted into WAVE files to do the acoustic study.

Data Analysis

All the recorded voice samples, saved in WAVE files were loaded in PRAAT software (Boersma and Weenik, 2009) which was installed on a Mac Book Air laptop, to extract temporal acoustic properties of the targeted vowel. After loading the data in the software, it was opened to segment the vowel duration. Consequently, a wideband spectrogram and visual waveforms were produced and shown. For the present work, the segmentation procedure was followed as described by (Bradlow, 1995) as well as (Burris et al. 2014) in their research works. By visually inspecting the spectrogram and waveform, as well as by

hearing the sound segment, the onset and offset of the vowel were identified. The primary criteria was the presence of vowel formants (F1 and F2) and the steady state of the vowel. To identify the steady state selection, first two vertical cursors were placed in the spectrogram; the first cursor indicated the end of the formant transitions leaving the first consonant and the second cursor denoted the start of formant transitions entering the final consonants. The primary concern of the vowel segmentation was to determine the steady state portion, and formant frequencies (F1 and F2) of the vowel segment. The calculation of the formants (F1 and F2) in Hz was conducted for each monophthong or oral vowel from the visual spectrogram. All the formants (F1 and F2) were clearly visible in the spectrogram. Formant chart was computed for each vowel according to average values of F1 and F2. The F1 and (F2-F1) values were plotted negatively on the Microsoft Excel sheet to arrive at acoustic spaces of vowel in both languages.

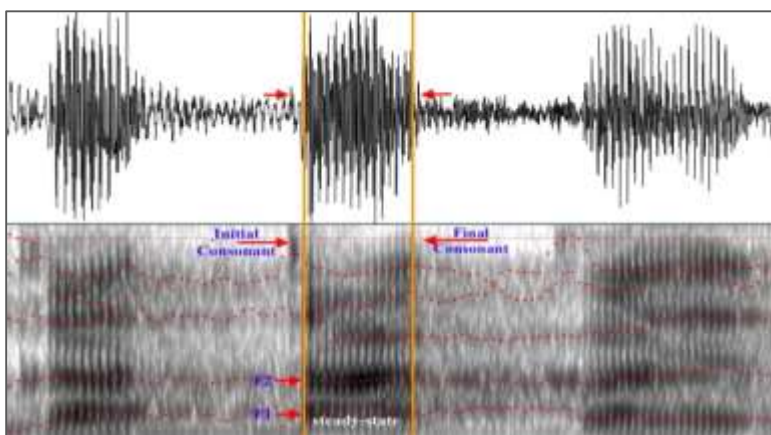


Figure 01. Segmentation of Speech Sound /pat/

Result

Grand mean values of formant patterns F1 and F2 of the eight oral vowels were measured from 320 recorded voice tokens, produced by ten Maithili and ten Angika male speakers. The detailed observations have been discussed in the following subsections separately.

Formant Pattern

Formant frequency is an integral portion of the vowel speech sounds. Each vowel is clearly distinguished from another by the formant frequencies (F1, F2, and F3). For the current work, only

F1 and F2 were considered. Table 01 provides the grand average values of formant patterns F1 and F2 comparatively in both languages.

Comparison of Formant Patterns				
Languages	Maithili		Angika	
Vowels	F1	F2	F1	F2
/i/	299	2334	355	2214
/e/	452	1987	423	1862
/æ/	605	1832	552	1740
/a/	711	1347	690	1222
/ə/	589	1422	556	1313
/ɔ/	534	949	561	942
/o/	439	846	455	858
/u/	355	982	388	1023

Table 01. Grand average values of F1 and F2 of all eight oral vowels measured from 320 voice samples, produced by 10 Maithili and 10 Angika native speakers

From Table 01, it is clear that in both the languages high vowels /i/ and /u/ have the lowest F1, whereas low vowels /æ/, /a/ and /ɔ/ have higher F1. Further, it is noticed that F2 is higher for the front vowels /i/, /e/, and /æ/, while low for the back vowels /ɔ/, /o/ and /u/. Furthermore, it is found that lip rounding can reduce all formant frequencies (F1 and F2). Therefore, F1 and F2 of the unrounded vowels are higher than of rounded vowels.

In addition, Table 01 provides a fundamental description for each oral vowel in terms of F1 and F2 in Maithili and Angika. It is certainly viewed that F1 and F2 values for each vowel are similar in Maithili and Angika, respectively. ANOVA test was conducted to find out whether there is any difference in F1 and F2 values for each vowel, respectively between Maithili and Angika. The statistical results clearly reveal that there is no significant difference ($p > 0.01$) in F1 and F2 values for each vowel, respectively, between Maithili and Angika. Moreover, reconsidering the fact may serve as evidence that Maithili and Angika are indeed regional varieties of the same language.

Acoustic Vowel Space

Acoustic space demonstrates how formant frequencies facilitate to define objectively the vowel space in a language. Grand average values of negative (F2-F1) and F1 of eight oral vowels were computed from 320 voice samples, articulated by 10 Maithili and 10 Angika native speakers. The same data are tabulated in Table 02 below. Figure 01 presents a comparison of

the acoustic space of vowels in Maithili and Angika, respectively. Acoustic vowel space is exactly defined and determined by plotting (F2-F1) for front-back criteria against (-F1) for high-low criteria.

Varieties	Maithili		Angika		Average
Vowels	-(F2-F1)	-F1	-(F2-F1)	-F1	
/i/	-2035	-299	-1860	-355	
/e/	-1535	-452	-1439	-423	
/æ/	-1227	-605	-1188	-552	
/a/	-637	-710	-532	-690	
/ə/	-833	-589	-757	-556	
/ɔ/	-415	-534	-381	-561	
/o/	-407	-439	-403	-455	
/u/	-627	-355	-706	-388	

Table 02. Grand average values of -(F2-F1) and -F1 of all 8 vowels computed from 320 voice samples, produced by 10 native speakers of Maithili and Angika respectively

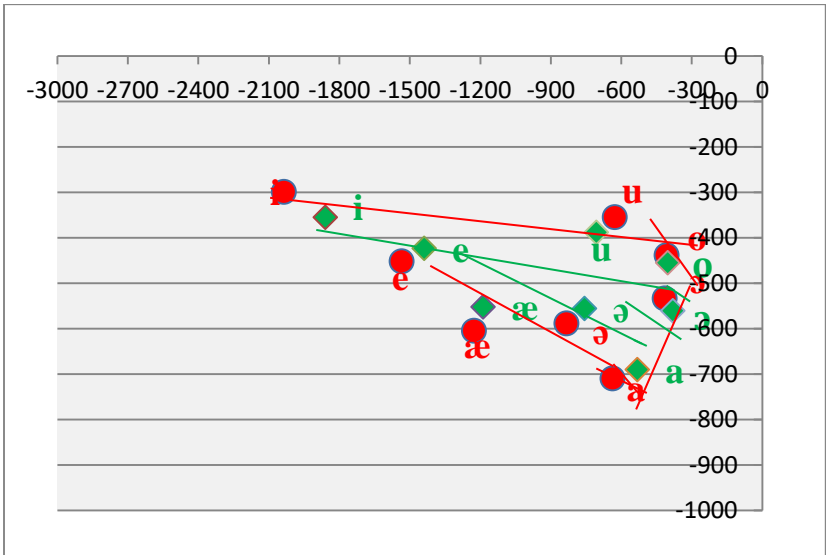


Figure 01. Comparison of Acoustic Space of 8 oral vowels in Maithili and Angika

Figure 01 clearly exhibits that there are one central and seven peripheral vowels in Maithili and Angika. In the Figure 01, it is discovered that the front vowels /e /, /æ/ are less fronted than /i/ in these languages. The central vowel /ə / is neither fronted nor backed. In fact, it exists in a central area as predicted. The low vowel /a/ is slightly back in languages. Besides, it is noted that

the back vowels /ɔ /, /o/ are more back than /u/ in the plot. The location of all seven peripheral vowels on the plot demonstrates that there is very little difference in acoustic vowel spaces between Maithili and Angika. The acoustic vowel space of Maithili is highlighted in red color and Angika in green color. Furthermore, Figure 01 indicates that vowel height-low is negatively correlated with F1 formant frequency. Thus, the high vowels have low F1, and low vowels have high F1. Similarly, the vowel frontness-backness is correlated with F2. Therefore, front vowels have high F2, and back vowels have low F2. The results of the present study denote that F1 varies from 290 Hz to 500 Hz, F2 from 780 Hz to 2500 Hz. F1 is correlated with the tongue height and F2 with the frontness-backness dimensions of the tongue during articulation. F3 co-relates to lip rounding.

Acoustic vowel space is calculated by using an online available program, i.e., Irregular polygon area calculator. The area of acoustic space of Maithili peripheral vowels is 307268.00 and of Angika peripheral vowels is 191929.50. After the calculation, the ratio of Angika and Maithili is 1:1.60. It is found that the acoustic space of Angika peripheral vowels in terms of area is 60% smaller as compared to Maithili vowels. The difference of 60% between acoustic vowel space between Angika and Maithili is due to the front vowel /i/. In fact, the front vowel /i/ is more fronted than other counterparts. Thus, the acoustic space of Maithili vowel is larger in area than that of Angika vowel. For the rest of the vowels, there is no difference in their locations in acoustic space.

Discussion

The main goal of the present paper is to investigate the formant patterns and acoustic space of vowels in Maithili and Angika. The findings of the current work reveal that the acoustic vowel space in Maithili slightly differs from Angika in the location of their vowel categories. Although both languages have common vowels, namely, /i/, /e/, /æ/, /a/, /ə/, /ɔ/, /o/ and /u/, Maithili vowels are slightly higher in F1 and F2 dimension than Angika counterparts. It was found that the Maithili vowels are articulated with a fronted tongue position relative to the Angika vowels. Although both languages have similar acoustic vowel spaces, the native speakers of each language speak their language distinctively in terms of phonetic variations. The similar claim is made by Bradlow (1995) who points that vowel categories have the same phonological feature specification and that occupy similar positions in the acoustic space across two different languages may have different precise phonetic realizations due to

different bases of articulation of each language. Likewise, Disner (1983) suggests that the vowels of one language may differ in a proper way from similar vowels of another language, based on cross-language comparison of acoustic vowel spaces.

The major notion and concept behind Dispersion Theory (DT) is that vowels will tend to be maximally or sufficiently dispersed in the acoustic space to reduce the possible perceptual confusion between distinct vowel categories. Within this theory, it is typically assumed that the boundaries of the acoustic space are defined universally and the distance between the different vowel category locations is a measure of overall dispersion (Liljencrants and Lindblom 1972, Lindblom 1986, 1990). The boundaries of the acoustic vowel space are more precisely defined on a language-specific basis, as it is claimed by the cross-linguistic acoustic studies (Lindau & Wood 1977, Disner 1983, Bradlow 1995). The results of the present study efficiently support and agree with DT hypothesis and provide some indication of a positive correlation between inventory size and area covered in the vowel space.

The major idea behind Quantal Theory is that there are acoustically stable regions that works universally. Thus, according to QT, there are certain vowels, specifically, the point vowels, whose locations in the acoustic space should be constant across all languages. However, the finding of the present study exhibits that the second formant frequency (F2) of the Maithili high front vowel is relatively different from the Angika high front vowel and that clearly disconfirms prediction and assumption of the Quantal Theory. The QT claims that the high front corner of the acoustic space (the low F1 & high F2) is a strictly quantal region that demonstrated a stable phonemic category across languages. The present results indicate that there is some degree of flexibility regarding the accurate location of the /i/ vowel category in Maithili and Angika, respectively, within the region of the acoustic space. A study on acoustic vowel space that has been conducted by Bradlow (1995) also shows that within the boundary of the acoustic space, there is some degree of flexibility with respect to the location of the /i/ vowel across different languages. Thus, it is recommended to use the term 'relatively stable regions' as opposed to 'absolute stable regions' to maintain the basic principle of Quantal Theory, at least as it relates to the position of vowels in the acoustic space (Bradlow 1995). The results of the present study disagree with the claims that there are certain stable regions of vowels in the acoustic space. Rather, the data shows relative variability across

the two languages with respect to the locations of all vowels in the acoustic space.

Most of the present findings are in agreement with Jha's (2001) observations. The front vowels /i/, /e/, /æ/, central vowels /a/, /ə/ and back vowels /ɔ/, /o/, /u/ judged by their positioning in the acoustic space. The front vowel /i/ is fronted more than another front vowels /e/, /æ/. The fact is that /i/ and /e/ are slightly positioned higher than /u/ and /o/ that agrees with Jha's observation. Further, it is noticed that the increase in F1 values as we move from /i/ to /a/ and decreasing F2 values along the same direction are also in agreement with Jha's observation. However, some findings of the present study tend to differ from Jha's observations. Jha states that central vowels /a/, /ə/ are more central (more fronted and less back), but the findings of the present study demonstrate that central vowels /a/ and /ə/ are slightly backward and less fronted in Maithili. Further, it shows that the back vowels /ɔ/, /o/ are more back than another back vowel /u/.

Conclusion

The present study provides a descriptive and comparative study of acoustic spaces and formant patterns of vowels in Maithili and Angika. The results of the present study can be concluded in the following bullet points.

- It is found that the high vowels /i, u/ have a low F1, whereas low vowels /æ, a, ɔ/ have higher F1. F2 is higher for the front vowel, viz., /i, e, æ/ and low for the back vowels /ɔ, o, u/ in Maithili and Angika.
- Each oral vowel differs from others by F1 and F2. The F1 goes up for the first four vowels i.e. /æ, a/ and down for the last three vowels /ɔ, o, u/. The F2 goes downwards throughout the series /i, e, æ, ə, a, ɔ, o/ except /u/ vowel in both languages.
- Observed that except /i/ vowel, the front vowels /e, æ/ are less fronted. These vowels /ə/, /a/ exist in a central region. The back vowels /ɔ, o/ are more back than /u/ vowel.
- Noted that acoustic space is determined by plotting (F2-F1) for front-back criteria against (-F1) for high-low criteria. The area of acoustic space of Angika peripheral vowels is 60% smaller than that of Maithili vowels.

- Noticed that in acoustic vowel space, the Maithili vowels are slightly shifted upward in F2 and F1 dimensions relative to the Angika vowels because the Maithili vowels are higher in F2 and cover a greater area than the Angika vowels.
- Finally, the present results show that the location of vowels in the acoustic vowel space is determined by a language-specific basis, and articulation dimensions of speakers.

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**THE DIGITIZATION OF AN ENDANGERED
LANGUAGE USING OPEN-ACCESS RESOURCES: THE
CHOLANAICKAN CASE STUDY**

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Abstract

The paper introduces the working stages of the first-ever initiative in multimedia format for Cholanaikkan /IPA: c^ho:ɭəɳaɪk^hən/. The aim is to promote preliminary multilingual education based on the mother tongue for the language speakers of this under-resourced minority language. The paper will bring into perspective the language policies and socio-linguistic issues accelerated by the global pandemic in case of this endangered language spoken in a linguistically diverse country. The paper will further discuss in subsequent sections- the motivations, the processes, and the challenges involved in developing a digital dictionary for endangered languages using the methodological underpinnings of lexicography and theoretical understanding of sociolinguistics. Furthermore, the project hopes to explore the scope of language maintenance by expanding the domains of language use and contribute to the possibility of language revitalization efforts among the community members. In conclusion, drawing on the experiences from this dictionary compilation project, the paper will account for knowledge dissemination with regard to the key role played by open-access resources while documenting an endangered language during COVID pandemic.

Keywords: Cholanaikkan, Endangered Language, Indian Tribal Language, Digital Dictionary, Socio-linguistics, Lexicography

1. Introduction and Discussion

Around the world, the rate at which languages are dying or are forced into hibernation-“sleeping beauties¹” (Zuckermann, G., 2020) is alarming. Though throughout our human history language loss and language shift has been viewed as an inevitable process, over the recent years there has been an increased recognition and growing awareness that more attention needs to be paid to this area. The latest report by Ethnologue² posits that as of the year 2022, 3,045 languages are endangered, which accounts for 42.5% of all known languages spoken across the globe. According to the UNESCO report by Moseley (2010), the number of languages identified to be endangered is 2,471. This includes 197 languages

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spoken in India which makes it the country with the greatest number of endangered languages of the world. While the numbers keep shifting over the years and though linguists have questioned the relevance of GIDS scale (Fishman, 1991), EGIDS scale (Lewis & Simon, 2010), UNESCO's parameters and Ethnologue's parameters of endangered languages in Asian context wherein the notion of oral languages co-existing with written languages is not taken into serious account, the fact remains that world's language diversity is at threat. As per the study by Bromham, L. et al. (2022), around 1500 known languages will not be spoken by the end of this century and the ongoing trend of language loss could triple within the next 40 years. These overwhelming statistics surrounding endangered languages and the lag in implementing appropriate measures, point towards the eventual loss of cultural identity, traditions and wisdom that a language speaker has the moral right to keep to survive in a community. "Certain concepts, beliefs, sensations can only be expressed in the language which they are coined, shaped, experienced; there are very significant meanings that are forever untranslatable" (Pattanayak, 2014, pp. 293). For academia and linguists especially, it would mean loss of data that could push and challenge theoretical advancements. Considering the above scenario, it can be asserted that language families are likely to vanish in the coming decades. Hence, endangered languages must receive the highest priority for directing preservation efforts and research through digital resources in the 21st century for the purpose of extending linguistic investigations as well as language maintenance. The present paper reports on the issues, reasons and stages of developing a multilingual digital dictionary of an endangered language with the example of Cholanaikkan. The project involved the creation of a mobile application of Cholanaikkan dictionary with audio by using open access resources. "Dictionaries of endangered languages are no longer merely static records that preserve language but are now being developed as dynamic, multi-functional tools for language maintenance and revitalization" (Ogilvie, S.2011. pp389).

1.1 Scheduled, Non-scheduled and Endangered Languages in India

India is a country with immense linguistic diversity while also being a distinct polity that has prevalent linguistic hierarchy with respect to: a). The varying socio-economic status of the speakers spread across different geographical regions, b). Equivocal degree of prestige factor attached to these languages by administration and native speakers and, c). The availability of linguistic resources (newspapers, textbooks, literature, etc.) and domains of language use (formal vs. informal). Based on the census report (2011)

released by the government, presently 1,369 mother tongues are spoken across the country. The census report does not account for all the languages spoken in the country owing to the decision post 1971 census by the government of India that languages with less than 10,000 speakers need not be included in the official language list of 8th schedule of the Indian constitution. As a consequence, the linguistic hierarchy is now more apparent than ever with the introduction of the broad classification of 22 languages (Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Odia, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu) as the scheduled languages and rest of the languages and mother tongues spoken across the country as non-scheduled languages. Later, the census of India (2011) apart from mentioning 99 non-scheduled languages, reported an “Others” category combining the mother tongues of 1,875,542 speakers without disclosing the names of these languages or speaker-language ratio and thereby, further complicating the linguistic hierarchy.

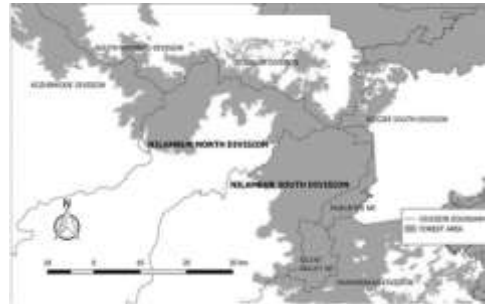
The scheduled languages are notably promoted through language policies in the education system and receive financial support from the administration. They are associated with high prestige in the country and learning them is perceived to bring better job opportunities and financial securities to its speakers. On the other hand, the non-scheduled languages are low-resourced languages due to lack of funding and the comparatively lesser prestige factor associated with them. Besides this, the speakers of non-scheduled mother tongue languages are mostly marginalized linguistic minorities (including indigenous/tribal communities), further pushing this disparity between scheduled and non-scheduled languages.

According to the survey by Kumar & Lahiri (2022), the case of endangered languages in India is not better than non-scheduled languages despite substantial discourse regarding language endangerment, having access to some governmental funding and setting up of national projects like Scheme for Preservation and Protection of Endangered Languages (SPPEL) and Schemes of University Grants Commission. The reason highlighted for this is the lack of availability of language resources and the study additionally encourages researchers to develop dictionaries and digital tools for language-learning to seize the pace of language endangerment situation in India.

1.2 Sociolinguistic Profile of Cholanaikkar

Cholanaikkar/Cholanaika forms an indigenous community residing deep inside the Karulai and Chungathara forest ranges of Western

Ghats. This is in the Nilambur region of the Malappuram district in the southern state of Kerala in the Indian subcontinent. The community prefers to stay isolated and away from both agrarian and urban lifestyle as is commonly adopted by the Indian citizens. They are among those unique tribes that still depend largely on forest produce for their survival. They were added into the list of Scheduled tribes of Kerala after amending the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders Act (2002). This particular community is listed under PVTG³ (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group) by the Indian administration. Also known as “*Caveman of Kerala*” (Bhanu, 1989), even to the present date, they use natural caves as a safe dwelling space in the forest. Cholanaiikkar has been identified as a numerically smaller community with a population of less than 400 members⁴. The community speaks a distinct Dravidian language⁵ called Cholanaiikkan and as per the UNESCO’s endangerment criteria, this lesser-studied language is identified by Sreelakshmi (2021) as “Definitively endangered”. Further, she observes that lack of script, declining speakers and restricted domains of language use-Household conversations and in marketplace (as code language) has accelerated the threat of language loss for the Cholanaiikkan.



Cholanaiikkan settlement area

	Literacy (Overall) in %	Literacy ST in %
India MALAPPURAM	74	59
Kerala	94	67

Cholanaiikkan is learnt as mother tongue by the younger generation of the community but the inter-generational transmission of this mother tongue is interrupted at the age of five when they are shifted to the Indira Gandhi Model Memorial residential school (IGMMRS), Nilambur. There they are not allowed to speak their mother tongue and have to comply with the monolingual education with the dominant regional language. The only language of

instruction used in this school is the vernacular as well as also a scheduled language- Malayalam. This education scenario has led to high school drop-out rate and low school enrolment among the Cholanaikkan students. The community has the lowest literacy rate when compared to other scheduled tribe communities of Kerala and also when compared to the overall literacy rate of the state. The proportion of children not attending schools is comparatively the highest in Cholanaikkan community with 36.84 percent⁶. A major reason for the dropout is that not even primary education is provided in the mother tongue and the students find it difficult to cope with language of instruction as the entire schooling period from primary to higher secondary is in Malayalam. Another reason is that the teachers are neither trained to teach in Cholanaikkan nor are there any textbooks or literature available in this language.

School drop-out rate	
2010-11	54 students
2011-12	110 students
2012-13	172 students
2013-14	113 students
2014-15	55 students
2015-16	39 students
2016-17	15 students
2017-18	86 students
2018-19	91 students
2019-20	71 students

Source: RTI Act (2021)

Indira Gandhi Model Memorial Residential School, Nilambur



2. Motivation for the Cholanaikkan Dictionary Application

The current language documentation project of Cholanaikkan began with an aim to address certain critical issues around this endangered language. Firstly, the language lacks an in-depth linguistic analysis; secondly, it is not yet featured in international linguistic information resources like Ethnologue/ Glottolog or even in the national linguistic resource like SPPEL and thirdly, there is no classification available for this language for historical comparative research in future. Finally, the community has always preferred living close to nature; thereby possessing a trove of traditional wisdom that they will express only in their language and loss of this language without proper documentation could mean that knowledge is lost forever. But as the project was progressing, the COVID pandemic set in and, the author gathered the data through RTI (Right to Information) to reach the realization from this reliable resource that the children of this community are suffering from pandemic-induced accelerated education gap. While the entire world shifted to online education; due to the particular geographical location of Cholanaikkan community and poor reception of telephone network and internet; these children were not able to attend classes through mobile phones. Neither could they watch educational videos through TV because their homes do not have electricity. A possibility for language documentation through fieldwork was not even imaginable for the author within the purview of the health-based vulnerability of this numerically smaller tribe during pandemic and the government's strict restrictions for outsiders visiting them. During this period, an earlier published open-access repository on this language was discovered and the author used this legacy work to draw on oral and written vocabulary to create a multilingual mobile application of Cholanaikkan dictionary. The dictionary contains audio files of Cholanaikkan vocabulary to facilitate easy understanding for speakers, educators and administration to easily understand and communicate. Furthermore, it also aids in developing learning tools and health instructions. And, most importantly unlike most of the mobile applications, this particular application developed by the author does not require internet connection to function (i.e) it can be used offline. The application was developed using open-access tools to keep it cost-effective, risk-free and at the

same time, to also make it possible for easy-corrections upon feedback from the community members.

3. Methodology

Developing a digital dictionary application for endangered languages requires one to address certain unique set of challenges before launching the first version. The first step involved in this project was to determine the target users. The insights to make this choice were drawn from interviews with the teacher of IGMMRS School, Nilambur. In the case of Cholanaikkan mobile dictionary, it was decided that it should benefit the language community by fostering language use among the youth. Likewise, the academic community too must find it helpful to get a basic understanding of the language in order to promote literacy and bridge the educational gap in the community. Moreover, digital dictionaries can inculcate a sense of pride in the cultural identity within the members of Cholanaikkan community and can aid policy-makers to create educational resources and health bulletins in their mother tongue. Hence, it was an obvious choice to develop a digital dictionary that would benefit all three (speakers, educators and administrators) to ultimately address the issue of Cholanaikkan language endangerment.



The second step after determining the target users was to collect the basic vocabulary for creating the dictionary application. For this purpose, the author relied mainly on text-corpus method. In this case, the Cholanaikkan language repository available on DOBES⁷ archive was utilized. The repository mostly consisted of continuous speech files of broad variety of genres elicited by an elder male member of Cholanaikkan community and ELAN⁸ files created by the depositor for the speech files. The individual lexicons required for the Cholanaikkan Dictionary Application were extracted from ELAN files using the software Audacity⁹ - a free and open source audioeditor.

The third step entailed the compilation of the dictionary using FLEx¹⁰ software- an open-access tool developed by SIL. Each lexicon in this dictionary consists of two parts: the Headword and the Commentary to Headword. The Headword further included: a). The vernacular language- Malayalam. b). The oral language with a phonetic gloss. c). The audio file extracted from the repository. And, the Commentary to Headword consists: a) Trilingual gloss (Malayalam, English and Hindi). b). Grammatical information, and c). Semantic domains. A total of 250 words have been compiled in the current stage of Cholanaikkan dictionary.

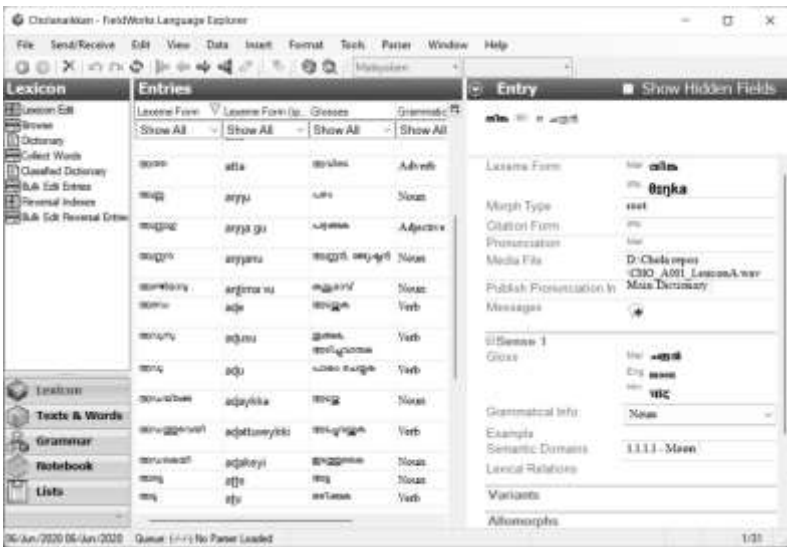
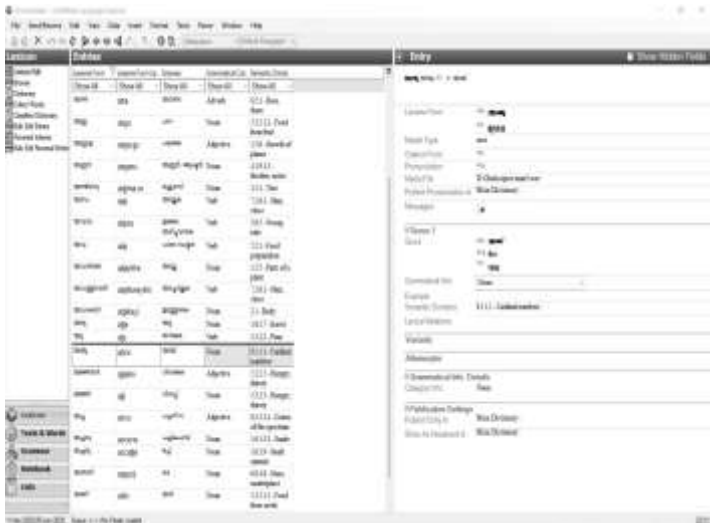


Image of Cholanaikkan FLEx data



Headword and Commentary to headword

The final step to the project was to publish the dictionary in the format of a mobile application. Dictionary App Builder¹¹ (DAB) software, another open access tool developed by SIL was used for this purpose. It supports direct export of XHTML files from FLEx. It enables one to create a dictionary application that does not need internet to work and the dictionary application can be distributed offline through Bluetooth or SD card.



Screenshots of Cholanaikkan Dictionary App

4. Scope and Limitation

The UNESCO GEM Report (2016) states that about 40% of the global population does not receive education in their mother tongue. This impacts the learning capacities and academic performance of children especially those from linguistic minorities leading to high school drop-out rate as was observed in the case of Cholanaikkan students. Moreover, inclusive frameworks of language policy, multilingual education involving mother tongue instruction combined with digital tools for language learning is advocated as a critical way for revitalizing endangered languages. The present project of Cholanaikkan Dictionary Application posits a similar agenda to encourage mother tongue based multilingual education for the community amid high school drop-out rate and low enrolment rate. From being a major document of endangered languages, these days digital dictionaries also play a key role in language learning.

The limitation of this project is that this dictionary application does not account for lexical change in the language that could have happened through language contact with dominant languages over the years after the language was documented for the repository that forms a critical resource for the current version of Cholanaikkan Dictionary Application and also feedback from community members could not be included due to COVID related restrictions in the settlement area.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to Mr. Harish (school teacher, IGMMRS) for giving the telephonic interview and patiently answering my questions. I am also thankful to research assistant Anjaly, who helped me with vocabulary compilation. I am also grateful for the continuous support of my supervisor for motivating me to find ways to implement the language documentation strategies around the unusual situation of the COVID pandemic.

Endnotes

1. Term coined by Prof. Zuckermann for languages with no native speakers
2. See <https://www.ethnologue.com/>
3. PVTG is a government scheme for the most vulnerable of scheduled tribes with declining population.
4. Inconsistent number of population: 124 (2011 census) and 363 (KIRTADS census, 2011).
5. According to Muralidharan, R., (1988). *A Descriptive study of Cholanaikka*. Ph.D. dissertation. Annamalai: Annamalai University
6. See Report on Socio economic status <https://www.stdd.kerala.gov.in>
7. See <https://dobes.mpi.nl/>
8. See <https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>
9. See <https://www.audacityteam.org/>
10. See <https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/>
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MEANING AND METAPHORS

Ajay Sarvaiya*

Abstract

The analytic approach to the study of language conceptualizes meaning in terms of three levels: abstract meaning, utterance meaning, and communicative meaning or force. These levels are defined in terms of three different domains: context-free intra-lingual relations, relation between language and its context, and relation between language and its speaker.

The paper presents a critique of the notion of levels of meaning. The notion of levels generates hierarchical distinctions like context-free and context-bound, literal and figurative, semantics and pragmatics, etc. It is a conceptual metaphor, rather than a cognitive fact. It is used by linguists to organize and explain disparate facts of language use. The paper discusses an alternative view of meaning in terms of a metaphor of spectrum. The levels are conceptualized as a horizontal structure, where the notions of boundary and hierarchy are important. However, if we turn the structure vertically, then we can view the nature of meaning as a spectrum, where the notion of degree or gradation is important. In that case the distinction between semantics and pragmatics collapses.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the notion of levels of meaning. The second section provides a critical assessment of this notion. The third section postulates an absence of context as a kind of context. The fourth and final section attempts to provide an alternative view to this notion within the framework of Cognitive Semantics.

Keywords: Meaning, Conceptual Metaphor, Levels, Spectrum, Cognitive Semantics, Prototypicality.

1. Analytic Tradition and the Three Levels

The Analytic tradition of philosophy of language and linguistics, in the early phase, accepted three approaches to the study of meaning on the basis of the use of language in thought, the use of language in communication, and the use of language in institutions. Their objects were considered different. Later meaning was conceptualized in terms of three levels, and thus, these three approaches studied three aspects of meaning (Harman 1971). The first level consists of abstract meaning, the second level of utterance meaning, and the third level of communicative

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meaning (Harman 1971, Thomas 1998, Lobner 2003, Riemer 2010,).

Abstract Meaning

A sentence is conceptualised as an abstract structure at this level, and the meaning of the sentence as composed of the meaning of its words. That is, meaning is an intralingual, compositional and context-free structure. For example,

- (1) hun rekhaa-ne caah-un chun.
 I-NOM Rekhaa-ACC love-PRES AUX
 ‘I love Rekhaa.’

In the absence of any context, one can say that the meaning of sentence (1) is: one person, probably the speaker, loves another person named Rekhaa. As the sentence has present tense, it can also be said that when this sentence was spoken the speaker was in love with the person. Besides, the subject and the object nouns are singular, and that Rekhaa and the listener are two separate entities.

Utterance Meaning

An utterance is a context-bound event. Utterances may be grammatically well-formed or ill-formed. A context-free sentence is an ideal structure, but its utterance in the context could be complete or incomplete. Without the context, an incomplete sentence becomes ungrammatical. For example,

- (2) tu ko-ne caah-e che?
 you-NOM who-ACC love-PRES AUX
 ‘Who do you love?’
- (3) rekhaa-ne.
 Rekhaa-ACC/DAT
 ‘Rekhaa.’

In the absence of utterance (2), the utterance (3) cannot be understood, it becomes ungrammatical and meaningless. It can also not be understood whether the NP ‘Rekhaa-ne’ is a subject or an object in the utterance (3). But in the context of utterance (2), the utterance (3) becomes meaningful.

Communicative Meaning

Intentions of a speaker are considered as the third level of meaning. The speaker performs different acts by means of words. At this level, words get transformed from structures into acts; acts like promising, praying, requesting, inviting, questioning, etc. The most important characteristic of these acts

is that they can only be performed by using language. For example,

- (4) ma-ne ek glaas paani aap-sho?
 I-DAT one glass water give-FUT
 ‘Can you give me a glass of water?’

The utterance (4) has the structure of a question, but it is not used as a question. That is, the speaker does not require the answer in yes or no. The utterance (4) acts as a request. That is, the speaker performs an act with this utterance, and expects the listener to perform an act in turn. In the absence of language, it is not possible to perform the speech act of request (Austin 1962).

It is assumed that meaning has three levels: context-free and intralingual, context-bound with reference to language and the world, and context-bound with reference to language and the speaker. In this approach, the abstract meaning is considered basic; whereas both, the utterance meaning as well as the communicative meaning, are considered derived from the basic. That is, ‘word is an act’ is based upon ‘word is a structure’. Therefore, in the analytic tradition, the existence of two separate disciplines has been accepted for the study of meaning: semantics, for the study of abstract meaning, and pragmatics, for the study of utterance meaning and communicative meaning. The existence of the third discipline has also been accepted, that is, stylistics, for the study of meaning in literary texts.

In other words, if one conceptualizes language as a structure, one ends up constructing a set of abstract universal rules or principles of a system, that is, a grammar. The focus here is to identify structures and formalize their relations. If one conceptualizes language as a means or a tool, then one’s concern is to find a set of norms which vary across systems as well as within a system. The focus here is on strategies used by speakers for producing utterances and by hearer for interpreting utterances. When one conceptualizes language as a goal, the focus is on strategies used for literary organization of a text, spoken or written.

2. Nature of Levels

The levels are conceptualized as a vertical structure, where the notion of boundary is extremely important. That is, one level is separate from another one involving necessary and sufficient conditions of Aristotelian principles of categorization. One of the features of level is: even though they depend on each other, they are independent from each other. Therefore, thought, speech and act are separate and independent in the Analytic tradition.

Similarly, semantics, pragmatics and stylistics are considered separate from each other. Furthermore, each of the levels requires a different theory.

Another feature of level that different levels are hierarchically arranged. That is, one level is primary or basic, and the other is secondary or derived from the basic. The metaphor of level generates hierarchical distinctions like basic and derived, literal and figurative, context-free and context-bound, structure and function, etc. Langacker (1987) states that linguists are particularly fond of positing such dichotomies. Besides, the notion of level also creates distinctions like self and other, man and woman, fact and fiction, writer and reader, conscious and unconscious, etc.

In the early phase of Structuralism, a grammar, too, was conceptualized through the conceptual metaphor of level (Sarvaiya 2008). The grammar had four levels: phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. The first level consists of sounds or phonemes, the second level consists of words or morphemes, the third level consists of sentences, and the fourth level consists of word meanings or sentence meanings. These levels were hierarchical, that is, without identifying phonemes of a language one could not reach morphemes. Similarly, without identifying morphemes of the language, one could not reach sentences. The motivating idea behind this approach was: combination of phonemes creates a morpheme, combination of morphemes creates a word, and combination of words creates a sentence. As per the logic of level, the movement across the levels remains unidirectional.

The notion of level as applied to the object of meaning raises a few interesting questions: Why only these three levels? Why only three levels? Why levels? Are the three levels of meaning a cognitive fact? That is, are they natural? Is it a genetically hardwired structure in the mind of the language users to create and understand meanings? In fact the notion of level is a conceptual metaphor MEANING IS LEVELS, which researchers use to investigate the object called meaning. In cognitive semantics, a conceptual metaphor is conceptualized as a cognitive structure that facilitates understanding one domain of experience in terms of another domain (Dancygier and Sweetser 2014; Kovecses 2010; Lakoff 2006; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999). Levels are physical facts as far as disciplines like Geology and Archaeology are concerned. Events occurred at one level of time are independent from the other level, but as they occur earlier in time, they become source or base for the

occurrence as well as understanding of the events that occur later in time at other levels. Levels are, therefore, interdependent. But when applied to the nature of meaning the notion of level is just a metaphor, a conceptual structure which human mind uses to understand abstract phenomena.

3. Absence of Context as a Context

Let us consider the meaning of the following Gujarati sentence:

- (5) hun e-ne caah-un chun.
 I-NOM him/her-ACC love-PRES AUX
 ‘I love him/her.’

In the absence of any context, sentence (5) will not provide any information as to who speaks, to whom, about whom, and why, as pronouns are gender neutral in Gujarati. At the level of semantics, the meaning of sentence (5) will be same as sentence (1), that is, one person, probably the speaker, loves another person, who is different from the listener. Such a meaning is enough, if we consider absence of context, that is, a sentence’s being context-free, as one type of context. Disciplines like traditional grammar, linguistics, philosophy of language, etc., use absence of context as a speech act. We shall call such a speech act exemplifying. Any language user is always surrounded by infinite contexts. Each word and each sentence become a new context, and that way context is endless. Language use is nothing but creating and manipulating contexts. The meaning seems invisible in sentence (5). We can see the words, but can not see the meaning. Let us check the pragmatics of this sentence by putting it in different contexts:

Context – 1

Let us suppose this sentence is uttered by a rich girl proclaiming her love for a poor boy. She utters this sentence in front of her parents, who never had time enough to take her care. The speaker tries to shock the listeners by means of the utterance, and calls for the attention towards her existence.

Context – 2

Let us suppose this sentence is uttered by a village girl mentioning her love for a city boy. She utters this sentence in front of her father. The speaker seeks approval for her relations by means of the utterance.

Context – 3

Let us suppose this sentence is uttered by a girl proclaiming her love for an imaginary man. She utters this sentence in front of

her boy-friend to make him feel jealous. The speaker teases the listener.

Context – 4

Let us suppose this sentence is uttered by an ‘upper’ caste girl proclaiming her love for a ‘lower’ caste boy. She utters this sentence in front of her family to defend her love. The speaker here tries to get acceptance from the listeners.

Context – 5

Let us suppose this sentence is uttered by a lesbian confessing her love for another woman. She utters this sentence in front of her male friend who wants to marry her. The speaker here tries to politely reject the proposal of the listener.

Context – 6

Let us suppose this sentence is uttered by a married woman confessing her love for another man. She utters this sentence in front of her husband to reveal the secret about her affair.

In all the above contexts, not only the meanings of the first person pronoun *hu* and third person pronoun *e* change, but the meanings of the verb *caahvu* also change. The moment *caahvu* is uttered in a context, it attracts values like self-other, good-bad, possible-impossible, normal-deviant etc. Besides, the intention of the utterance also changes in each context. If we imagine one more context, of a piece of fiction, in which this sentence can be used to produce exactly the opposite meaning, as a case of irony.

It has been asked whether word is a static structure, with reference to Greek *logos* or a dynamic human action, with reference to Hebrew *davhar* (Harold Bloom as quoted in Robinson 1997). Neither does it seem like a question, nor a problem. It seems like a puzzle. Puzzles can be solved by changing perspective. If we look at the language from the perspective of the former, then a word is a structure under certain contexts, and the word is an action under certain other contexts. Therefore, we require the three levels, and the related three disciplines of semantics, pragmatics and stylistics. But if we look at the language from the perspective of the latter, then there is nothing outside context. Therefore, the above question becomes meaningless, and so does the distinction between the disciplines.

If we conceptualize meanings of Gujarati word *caahvu* in terms of different levels, it would be difficult to account for the different senses of the word, and equally difficult to integrate all levels. Perhaps integration is not even sought. This paradox is

the heart of the metaphor of level. It is clear that dictionary meaning is found at a context-free level, all the contextual senses are found at a context-bound level, and figurative senses are found at a figurative level. It is difficult to explain how these levels relate to each other, and also how different senses relate to each other on the same level.

On the other hand, if we conceptualize meaning in terms of the conceptual metaphor MEANING IS SPECTRUM, then different shades are inevitable. The different senses of Gujarati word *caahvu* can be accounted for in terms of prototypicality, one sense being a core member, and other senses being peripheral members (Lakoff 1987; Rosch 1973, 1975; Taylor 2003). Similarly, different intentions can also be accounted for in terms of prototypicality, one sense that of expressing one's feeling, being a core member, and other senses being peripheral members. This way verticality of levels gives way to horizontality of spectrum. The distinction between context-free and context-bound collapses, as absence of context becomes a kind of context used to exemplify certain concepts as well as to justify certain philosophical positions. Different contexts can also be conceptualized as different members of a prototype. As there is a spectrum of senses, there is a spectrum of contexts.

Meaning is assumed to be encyclopedic in nature in cognitive semantics. Concepts are assumed to be formed on the basis of a speaker's experiences of living in a particular society, culture and history; due to which speakers develop folk theories about the world (Fillmore 1982, Lakoff 1987). These folk theories consist of background knowledge, beliefs and views developed in a given culture. These theories are termed as frames by Fillmore and as idealized cognitive models (ICMs) by Lakoff. The word *caahvu* has different frames or ICMs in different communities and cultures, so in actuality there is no value neutral and abstract sense of the word. The distinctions like signified and value (Saussure 1974), denotation and connotation (Barthes 1967), dictionary meaning and encyclopedic meaning (Haiman 1980) that are based on the metaphor of level, collapse. Frames and ICMs are based on the notions of degree or gradation, and therefore, are based on the metaphor of spectrum.

4. Denaturalizing Levels through Spectrum

The conceptual metaphors of level and spectrum are explained with the help of following image schemas:

(6)
$$\frac{x}{y}$$

The diagram (6) depicts all the features of the levels. The levels are independent yet interdependent. The upper level, indicated in the image schema by x , is the basic level, and the lower one, indicated in the diagram by y , is the derived level. The boundary not only separates the levels but also makes derivation unidirectional. And so is the direction of the power. It is evident from various contexts of sentence (5), that meaning is as much cognitive as it is political. This image schema captures both these aspects.

(7) $x : y : z$

If the vertical image schema is turned sideways, so as to make it horizontal, the image schema in (7) is obtained. What one gets now is the spectrum. There isn't any boundary in this representation, and neither is there any distinction between context-free and context-bound, literal and figurative, fact and fiction, writer and reader. One merges into the other.

In Cognitive Semantics it is claimed that meaning emerges from embodied experience; meaning is grounded in the nature of our bodies and brains, and in our interactions with our physical, social and cultural environment (Johnson 1992). The related claim is that knowledge of language emerges from language use, that is, categories and structures in semantics, syntax, morphology and phonology are built up from our cognition of specific utterances on specific occasions of use (Croft and Cruse 2004). Instead of conceptualizing grammar in terms of level, a vertical structure, Cognitive Semantics conceptualizes grammar in terms of spectrum, a horizontal structure.

The Analytic approach to philosophy and linguistics produces context-free concepts that are hierarchically arranged; as the goal is to produce abstract system of principles, these concepts are postulated as a priori and immutable, and therefore, they are disembodied. Cognitive Semantics is based on Experientialist or Enactivist philosophy which considers experience, context and the structure of the human body and brain as conditions for any investigation into the nature of language or mind (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Varela, Thompson and Rosch 1991, Taylor 2003). It, therefore, constructs embodied concepts. The former approach is preoccupied with the metaphor of level, which stresses upon the notion of boundary and separation, and, therefore, is exclusivist. The later approach is based on the metaphor of spectrum, and it does not stress upon boundary, but focuses on degrees or gradation. It, therefore, opens up the possibility of plurality, coexistence and interaction.

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**CULTURAL CLASH AND DISINTEGRATION OF VALUES IN
R K NARAYAN'S *THE VENDOR OF SWEETS***

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Abstract

The Vendor of Sweets is Narayan's tenth novel based upon the relationship between a stingy or economical father and his completely spoilt son. The father is confronted by the new world shockingly personified- a world where his cherished notions of marriage and morals seem to count for nothing. Central to the story is the generation gap and the crumbling of values of the older generation under the influence of western culture represented by Mali. The new culture brings with it materialistic development but it has brought decay and degeneration of social and cultural values as well. India under British rule underwent conflicts and tension to retain her own spiritual culture but Britishers left the legacy of Individualism over selflessness, English over native language, pragmatism over idealism which left an indelible impression upon the young generation. The present paper focuses on the degrading effect of west on native culture and problems arising out of it and triumph of Indianness and selfless way of life. It is analyzed as post-colonial work of art which believes in the assimilation of best of two worlds.

Keywords: Crumbling of Values, Generation Gap, Degeneration, Spiritual Culture

Introduction

R K Narayan's *The Vendor of Sweets* is a classic example of Indo- Anglian fiction. All of his novels concern themselves with questions of identity and a quest for equilibrium, but behind these questions and themes lies an implicit faith in the transcendental nature of God and human fate. He drolls at the exclusive orthodoxy of Indian conservatism and is benevolent supporter of modernity. His novels were written in a bi- cultural perspective, i.e., clash between modern western values on the one side and the ancient Indian tradition and values on the other side.

R K Narayan deliberately creates Malgudi as the microcosm of India to highlight the impact of colonization on the life of young generations. It is the platform where the middle class families get exposure to modern world and the East-West conflict reflects.

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The vigorous influence of British ideologies. The British rule had a tremendous influence on the minds of Indian people by establishing schools and colleges on the pattern of inferiorization of native thoughts and philosophy which propagated only western ideologies and ideas among the natives to make their rules firm. Narayan maintained a superior stance vis-a-vis western cultural dominance. He is interested in looking at the extent to which cultural life of the past can be viably integrated with the post-independence reality of India. After the impact of imperialism, a new kind of subjectivity and society emerged in India. He believes in Indian modernity which includes enlightenment, rationality, science and western knowledge. Without exhibiting the anger, resentment, or self-consciousness of cultural rationalism, he was considered a genial, smiling and representative postcolonial novelist of India. The *Vendor of Sweets* is considered as a postcolonial work of art as it looks at the issues of power, economics, politics, religion, and culture and how these elements work in relation to colonial hegemony. Postcolonial literature is the literature of the countries that were colonized, mainly by European nations. In simple words, it is basically the anguish of the colonized who have to deal with the aftermath of colonization.

The term Post-colonialism was first coined in the 1960s to designate the period of extensive decolonization after second world war. It gained momentum in the closing decades of the twentieth century and eclipsed terms like Postmodernism, Post structuralism and so on. Despite the progress that is brought to countries under European colonialism, there is usually a resentment towards the Europeans who have conquered and subjugated the native people, leaving them to feel that they have lost their voices in their own land as a result. This conflict of identity is often an issue that postcolonialism is deals with as in Albert Camus's story "Guest" in which the main character's loyalties are between the native culture and the French Colonial government. Post-colonial theorists are also interested in the intersections of race, gender, and colonialism as processes of oppression. Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978) is considered the foundational work on which post-colonial theory developed. His book depicts the imbalance between the West and the East by showing the superiority of West over the East. Said applied terms and concepts as 'orient', the 'other' and 'accident' to show the relation between two distinct cultures - West and East. The focus point of *Orientalism* is to create awareness in continental literature and banning the marginalization through the effective use of Eastern literature.

The factors like irrationality, sensuality, primitiveness, despotism and idleness are attributed to the East to establish dominance of the West. This process of attribution marginalizes Eastern literature. Binary opposition of East and West suggests that the valley of discrimination among them is wider. Bertens advocated that: "West and East form a binary opposition in which the two poles define each other, the inferiority that orientalism attributes to the East simultaneously serves to construct the West's superiority. The sensuality, irrationality, primitiveness and despotism of the East construct the West as rational, democratic, and progressive and so on"(205). As Barry pointed out; "...postcolonial writers evoke or create precolonial version of their own nation, rejecting the modern and, the contemporary which is tainted with the colonial status of their countries...the first characteristic of post-colonial criticism - an awareness of representations of the non-European as exotic or immoral "other"(194).

Homi K Bhabha, a postcolonial theorist in his book "*The Location of Culture*" (1994), puts major emphasis upon the concept of hybridity that all cultures are confluenced in each other and they cannot be separated. He also uses the term mimicry to indicate the Westernization of native cultures. Native cultures are imitating blindly the Western culture without knowing cultural demolition of natives. Resistance, subversion and reconstruction are the significant features of postcolonial literature. In postcolonial studies the writing center changed from the middle aged Europe to world over and diminished not only the complexities of the colonized world, but its legitimacy as well.

Discussion

The novel takes us through the tensions integral to the family in which two generations belong to two different cultures. Jagan, a follower of Gandhi and a veteran of the wars against British Imperialism, is representative of the older generation and his son Mali stands for the new generation with the materialistic aspirations which the English medium schools have produced. Jagan had been arrested for hoisting tri-colored Indian flag during India's freedom struggle. He lived an extremely simple life by following the Gandhian way of life to the minute details-eating natural salts, wearing khadi clothes, spinning charka, wearing footwear of leather of animal hide which dies a natural death, reading the Gita and writing a book on natural therapy. He

was perfectly fit even at the age of fifty years. He wholeheartedly believes that money is an evil and says "I do not accumulate, it grows naturally"(*The Vendor of Sweets*, 39).

Jagan is a man with a duality of self. He belongs to a space that bears a syncretic concoction of a balance between the claims of tradition on the one hand, and the contrary pulls of a rapidly urbanising and commercialising postcolonial reality in the society of Malgudi on the other. Krishana Sen finds in this existence of Jagan, Narayan's ironic hint at the 'presence of amultifarious strata within a single personality'(182). But this trait of ambivalence, according to Krishana Sen, is not to be regarded as 'deliberately hypocritical and sinful', but 'as a lower stage in the character's spiritual development'(182). Jagan's quest for truth begins with his misadventure with his son Mali who betrays a propensity for the lures of a wayward Westernism that repudiates the call of one's inherited culture. His way of thinking is completely baffling and unintelligible and (his) Jagans reaction shows a helplessness and indeterminacy coupled with filial weakness. Later, when Mali runs away to America after stealing away his hidden money, Jagan, instead of getting angry over this act of his son, pleads before his cousin, "Please tell him to go by steamer. It's safer. Let him be safe. I don't like aeroplanes"(37).

Mali does not care for the concerns of his father and does not listen to his advice. He feels fascinated by the showiness and gaudiness of American materialistic culture and doesn't think of anything else. The Malgudi town and culture also look abhorrent to him, and he feels obsessed with the idea of going to America. His sojourn in America consolidates his disliking or disenchantment with the traditional life of his country. He eats beef and demands over two lakh rupees from his father to set up a factory for the manufacture of a novel writing machine. He suggests his father in a letter written to him," after three years' experience of America, I've taken to eating beef and I don't think I'm the worse for it. Steak is something quite tasty and juicy. Now I want to suggest why not you people start eating beef?"(56). Mali talks of killing stray cows to solve the problem of hunger and starvation in the country without caring that "the

Shastras defined the five deadly sins and the killing of a cow headed the list"(57). He didn't even inform his father about Grace or the choice of his father as he was influenced by modern world where these things have no relevance. But Grace being a foreigner and imbibed with western culture tried to fit herself in the traditional household of Jagan. She persistently unstirred by Jagan's dissent and cleans the house and replied to him "Father, you think I mind it? I don't. I must not forget that I'm an Indian daughter-in-law"(62).

Mali defies all spiritual and moral norms to which his conventional society is so deeply attached. In his attempt to fulfill his reckless individual desires, he recoils back from the social milieu of Malgudi and consciously rejects all the mores so dear to the people of older generation. He finds fault with everything that is Indian. He seems to be much at war with Indian traditionalism and spirituality. Jagan's frustration about his son's motive in abjuring the safe and time-tested traditional way of life, further deepens as he learns from the cousin, of Mali's future plan- to adopt the career of a writer. Jagan's confused reaction reflects his inefficiency to adjust with the freedom to choose one's career. Mali's unconventional approach to profession, points to a veritable phenomenon in the social reality of postcolonial period, brought in by globalisation of culture. He is firmly rooted in the stratification of profession as prescribed by India's traditional Barnashrama system. He expresses his conservative outlook while talking about them. For him "Writer meant in his (Jagan) dictionary only one thing, 'a clerk'-- an Anglo-Indian, colonial term from the days when Macaulay had devised a system of education to provide a constant supply of clerical staff for the East India Company"(28). He tries to convince his son that "I know Kalidasa was a village idiot and a shepherd until the Goddess Saraswati made a scratch on his tongue and then he burst into that song 'Sya-mala-dandakam', and wrote his Shakuntala (32). Jagan's reaction to the very idea of learning the art of story -telling from America questions his faith in the time-old oral tradition of literature in India; where the idea of of story is rooted in the indigenous in the epics and puranas: "Going there to learn storytelling! He

should rather go to a village granny," he said, all his patriotic sentiments surging"(45).

Jagan shows a range of acculturation, with his own world of a confused perception and a vague, unclear pull of social distinction in the modernising society jointly project a cultural fluidity' in his life. He wants to improve his relationship with his son. For that reason, he reconciles himself to the possibility of Mali's writerly life and makes self-adjustment when he sees his son "seemed to be mopping in dejection and boredom. It was time to pull him out of it. (He) had realised that the time had come for him to forget college education and get completely identified with Mali's fantasies, at least until he came out of his gloom"(33). He makes an earnest effort to strike a better understanding with his son, but fails to draw a feeling reaction from him and the following exchange between them ironically serves to illustrate the point: "What are you writing now?" asked Jagan with the humility of a junior reporter interviewing a celebrity.

"A novel", the boy said condescendingly

."Oh, wonderful. Where did you learn to write novels?"....

What story are you writing?"

"I can't tell you now...

said the boy haughtily. It's not like frying sweets in your shop".

This was completely mystifying to the junior reporter. (35).

Mali feels ashamed of his father for being a sweet-seller. He advises his father to stop selling sweets and join his business of establishing a factory of story-writing machines. According to him, a story writing machine, if used on a large scale, would surely dispel the cultural backwardness of this country where there has been no modern work of literature except those old stories like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Jagan's firm faith in the oral tradition of Indian culture and its surviving receives a snobbish reaction from Mali who appears to be lured by the cultural iconisation of the West; "Oh, these are not the days of our ancestors. Today we have to compete with advanced countries not only in economics and industry, but also in culture" (78). While on the one hand Jagan felt delighted at the way his

son seemed to be blossoming after years of sullen silence, he was "at the same time saddened by the kind of development he noticed in him now"(78). The impact of colonialism upon his personality is quite clear when he discards Indian tradition and severs the umbilical cords of his native culture. Without making an adjustment with the gradual changes that India was making soon after independence he wants to transform country rapidly. He says to his father "They (Colonizers here means West) do everything with machines now a day...grinding, powdering, or calculating "(82). All the time he is seen boasting and appreciating the advancement of the Western world and undermining his own country, people, myths, beliefs, eating habits and its philosophy. For him India is a wasteful country. His father tries to take him out of his self-conceited world by bringing him face to face with Indian heritage so that he can take pride in the philosophy of his culture "Why do you blame the country for everything? It has been good enough for four hundred million, "Jagan said, "You were not born in those days"(88-89). But his exposure to the outside world has corrupted him morally. He went to America to learn novel-writing but returned home with his American-Korean partner, Grace. He introduced her to his father as his wife. But later Grace tells him the truth of their relationship: "we are not married..." (135). His soul is terribly shaken at this immorality and cries out in deep pain "What breed of creatures were these? he wondered. They had tainted his ancient home"(135). He doesn't perceive "how two young persons can live together like this without being married"(137) but Mali has neither any pricks of conscience nor regrets of the wrong done. He cries out, "This is a miserable place with no life in it. She was used to a good life. She came here to work, and she is going back because she has no work to do"(127). Jagan can see the devastation taking place in the young generation who, in the name of advancement, was going nowhere. As C. P. Sharma observes, in his ways and manners Mali represents "those Indian youths who, being oblivious of their own cultural heritage, ape the alien culture blindly and think that they are progressive" and become socially and culturally deviant.

A traditionalist at heart, Jagan shows a philosophic tolerance in justifying Mali's unorthodox ways of thinking: "No wonder Mali wants to try a new line. There are bound to be changes of outlook from generation to generation. Otherwise there will be no progress"(40). But deep in the heart he knows "there was always an invisible barrier between them"(36). His recollections of how he got married to Ambika under the inflexible protocols of his family, how they enjoyed hours in a world of their own, how he spent time in love making leading to consequent failure in the intermediate, how the absence of a child created a tension in the family which finally relaxed with the birth of Mali after Jagan and Ambika both were taken by Jagan's parents to Badri Hills to offer Puja to the Gods, help Jagan rediscover his continuity with the past. His rumination of the past, in particular of his experiences as a married man in joint family, confirms his conviction of his own cultural roots in community-affiliation and allegiance to tradition. Standing on the pedestal of the Lawley statue, where Jagan has just rediscovered his past in a state of trance, he now beholds the unhappy look of his house that has lost "the light and laughter of other days" and feels that "it would be impossible for him to go back to that house"(174). He cries out in pain "Who is there to brighten it? Not my son, nor his so-called--what do we call her, really?... They are both alike. They are not the sort to make a home bright, unlike my mother or even Ambika when she was well. On the contrary they blacken their surroundings"(174). Now he has made up his mind to renounce the world. His sense of judgement has been eroded by his blind love for his son, but now the light of reason dawns upon him. He says, "It is not my house that's tainted. It is his. Who am I to grumble and fret" (174-175). As he steps out with his chakra and also his cheque book, he gets news of Mali's arrest on the charge of carrying liquor in a car. Initially, he felt a writhing pain over his physical discomforts in the prison, but in no time, he reasserts his faith in the omnipotence of truth. Jagan said briefly "If what you say is true, well, truth will win" (183). He says "A dose of prison life is not a bad thing. It may be just what he needs now"(184).

Jagan's decision of retreat confuses the cousin and he tries to dissuade him. Jagan's reply seems to be a clear indication of an

independence of spirit that comes in the wake of the authenticity of his realisation: "I don't care what he does. I am going to watch a Goddess come out of stone...I am a free man.... Everything can go on with or without me"(184). His transformation makes him realize of his own fault in spoiling and pampering Mali. He realizes, "We are blinded by our attachments. Every attachment creates a delusion and we are carried away by it..."(138). He feels himself to be entering into a new phase of life, "I have probably outlived my purpose in this house...At sixty, one is reborn and enters a new janma"(175). As compared, Jagan finds peace in self-realization and getting back towards religion but the modern men like Mali finds pleasure in drugs and drinking resulting in damnation. The two different approaches to find solace reveal the lack of understanding in two different cultures. Though the West appears very captivating but it threatens to shatter the traditional life and its values. The West, Narayan, says, is not a model that Indians must imitate indiscriminately. This culminates in unsettlement rather than fulfilment. The charkha, the swadeshi, and Jagan's retreat are symbolic of India and the East. The telephone, the novel writing machine, type writer, beef eating Mali, symbolise the West. Between these two cultures stands Grace as Grace has tried to imbibe the good values of Indian culture despite being outsider. Similarly, assimilation of both the cultures paves the way for better understanding and adjustment. Thus, Jagan devises a solution by imbibing the time-honoured Hindu way of life with a self-effacing integration of western values and expansion.

Conclusion

East West conflict is not new to the realm of post-colonial fiction. R.K Narayan depicts the conflict through two of his main characters in the novel Jagan the vendor and his son Mali. This paper attempted to describe the conflict in the characters and the distance it creates between the father and the son. The bond between Jagan and Mali constantly fails due to the cultural clash between them. Jagan, a believer of Gita and spiritualism, is deeply rooted in his Indian culture and tradition and has aversion for all foreign things. On the other hand, his son, Mali is completely influenced by the Western culture.

When it comes to the issue of tradition and modernity, R.K. Narayan's *The Vendor of Sweets* is a significant literary contribution. Through its characters and occurrences, it portrays the conflict between tradition and modernity from beginning to end. In general, it shows that traditional forces ultimately prevail despite the destructive influence of contemporary forces on all sides.

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**ADAPTATION AND TRANSLATION: A CASE STUDY
OF HASHIM NADEEM'S PARIZAAD AND SHAHZAD
KASMIRI'S PARIZAAD**

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Abstract

Adaptation is another way or method of conveying the original or source message to a target audience in a different mode without bothering about cultural differences. In a simple way, we can say that adaptation is about deviation from literality or deviation from originality in terms of adding, deleting, changing, illustrating and so on, but after having these variations, adaptation retains the main idea/theme of the original. The present paper tries to explore and understand deviation from a viewpoint of adaptation in terms of four aspects, namely, setting, character, plot and resolution with reference to the novel "Parizaad" by Hashim Nadeem and its dramatic adaption "Parizaad" by Shehzad Kashmiri.

Keywords: Adaptation, Deviation, Parizaad, Setting, Plot, Character, Resolution.

Introduction

Adaptation is the process of transferring a literary text from one medium to another, such as a written text into visual text or novel, short story, poetry, etc., being transferred into a film, stage play or song, respectively, and vice versa. When this process of transfer from one form to another occurs, a lot of experimentations and changes occur to suit the target audience and hence 'deviation' from the original. As Bastin (2019) stated, adaptation is considered only one type of intervention on the part of translators, with a distinction being drawn between deliberate intervention and deviations from literality. There are some requisite changes that have to be made in the recreated form, such as addition, deletion, explanation, exemplification, illustration and so on. The only purpose of making deliberate intervention is to increase the readability of target reader's perspective. If a director adapts a novel in the same way into a film or drama without recreating or making changes, then it will

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be considered under the copy rights issue. As a result, the adaptation must differ sufficiently from the original text while retaining the source's original ideas (Hutcheon, 2006).

There are several examples of adapted films, web series, dramas or television serials across the language cinemas. Adaptations are everywhere today, as Linda Hutcheon very correctly stated: on the television and movie screens, on the musical and dramatic stages, on the internet, in novels and comic books, in your nearest theme park and video arcade. By limiting ourselves if we talk about television shows or dramas, there are a number of well-known serials in Hindi cinema that were adapted from novels such as '*Kaahiin To Hoga*' adapted from '*Pride and Prejudice*', '*Kumkum Bhagya*' from '*Sense and Sensibility*', '*Mungeri Lal Ke Haseen Sapne*' from '*The Secret Life of Walter Mitty*', '*Malgudi Days*', '*Chandrakanta*', '*Byomkesh Bakshi*' and so on. On the other hand, there are a plethora of dramas in Pakistani cinema as well, like '*Hum Kahan Ke Sacche the*' adapted from Umera Ahmed's novel *Hum Kahan Ke Sacche The*, *Aagan* adapted with the same title of Khatija Mastoor's award winning novel, recently the most popular is "*Parizaad*" which has been adapted from the novel of Hashim Nadeem with the same title "*Parizaad*".

The award winning novel "*Parizaad*" was written by famous writer Hashim Nadeem which was published in 2014. The novel contains 28 chapters and narrates the story of the protagonist named *Parizaad*, which means 'son of a fairy', which was in contrast with his personality and a total mismatch between character's name and his outer appearance. It is used as juxtaposition. He is a dark-skinned man; being dark skinned entails social stigmas, humiliations and judgements while the name represents hope. The story builds up around his appearance and it's contradiction to his name and how, despite achieving wealth and reputation, he still has a dread of being rejected by people, society and his loved ones.

The drama "*Parizaad*" was directed by Shahzad Kashmiri and produced by Momina Duraid productions and aired on Hum TV from July 20, 2021 to February 1, 2022. The drama has 29 episodes to give the visual narration to the story. It received critical appreciation and love from the audience from different countries; the character was so built that people fell in love with the character and felt and established a deep connection in their own way. The character of *Parizaad* was played by Ali Ahmad Akbar and received critical acclaim. *Naheed*'s character is

played by Ushna Shah, *Lubna* by Mashal Khan, *Bubbly* by Saboor Aly and *RJ Annie* by Yumna Zaidi. Even after experimentations and changes, it succeeded in maintaining the soul of the novel and is considered one of the best Dramas.

The main objective of the present paper is to study adaptation with reference to drama "*Parizaad*" and find out the answers to the following questions: what are deviations from original text, what are the reasons for such deviations, and its outcome in terms of failures and successes. Here we will discuss deviation in terms of setting, characters, plot and resolution.

Analysis

Deviation/ reasons of deviation will be discussed in terms of following aspects:

Setting

Characters

Plot events

Resolution

Result of deviation as failure or success.

After examining the text and comparing it with original, we find out changes or deviations in setting, characters' name, plot events that are deleted or added and modified; Resolution is changed completely. Here we will see what changes or deviations were made by the director of the drama and why those changes had to be made. After having lot of changes, was drama considered a success or failure/flop? As Blueston states, the filmmaker is an independent artist, "not a translator for an established author, but a new author in his own right" (62).

Deviation of Setting

Setting refers to the context, location and time or period in which the story's events take place. Encyclopaedia of Britannica defines it as, "setting, in literature, the location and time frame in which the action of a narrative takes place."

In drama, we find out that there are changes in the setting from the original novel. The protagonist, *Parizaad*, in drama, goes to Karachi first from his native place in search of work to earn money and become billionaire in the drama, but in the novel he moved to Dubai for the same purpose where *Janu* (in the drama) meets him at Karachi railway station whereas Rafiq (in the novel) receives him at Dubai airport.

dzəhaz ne dʊbəi eəirport pər lənd kɪa mɛ̃ ɡ^həntə b^hər baɖ bahər nɪkɪa, bohəɖ ɪntəzər kərne ke bawədʒuɖ mʊdʒ^he rəfiq kəhɪ nəzər nəhɪɔja. eəirport se bahər dʒane kɪ sʊtʃ hi rəhəɖ^ha ke ətʃənək kɪsi ne məre kənd^he pər hət^h rək^ha t^ha. mɛ̃tʃ ðk kər pəlɔa.....(C:5, P 48, Parizaad Novel)

Pərizad? dʒanu? hā hāz koi nəzər arəha hɛɪs tɛʃən pər dʒanu məri tər^hā ka. kəllu sahəb ne təs^hvir nəhɪɖ^hɪk^hai məri. ɖɪk^hai t^hi pər mədʒuɖa hulɪə se zərə sa mʊk^htəlɪf^hi. dʊtɪ pər hūna mɛ̃tʃ^hut^hɪ lekər əjahō sɪrf aɖ^he ɡ^həntə ki sɪrf tʊdʒ^he rɪsɪv kərne kə lije. bohəɖ bohəɖ^hʊkrija.(E: 9, 15:44, Parizaad Drama)

Similarly, another notable deviation in location occurs when *Seth Ibrahim* in the novel meets *Parizaad* in Spain in a bull fight, but in the drama *Seth Sehbaaz* meets him in Karachi in his office. Another notable change in the context, in quest of tranquillity, *Parizaad* travels to the other side of Kashmir and becomes an Urdu teacher whereas in text he moved to another place where people misunderstood him as a Sufi. The reason for deviation in terms of setting from novel to adaption might be to show the beauty of the location where peace echoes to the target audience and to establish deep connect and make the drama more real and living.

Deviation of Characters

A character is the person or anything which develops through the time and takes story forward through actions, dialogues and bringing the story to its conclusion. The story consists of different characters performing actions and delivering dialogues to put forward and help story to get its resolution or to its end. There is a protagonist who is the main character, while the antagonist is the opposite force or anything that surrounds around the plot that is against the protagonist.

Character's Name Deviation

As mentioned above, there are deviations in terms of character names from original form to the adapted form; a couple of examples of these changes and an explanation of why the changes were made are presented below.

	Text Parizaad	Drama Parizaad
1	Seth Abid	Seth Noman
2	Ustad Mastana	Ustad Kallu
3	Rafeeq/Feeqa	Shahjahan/Janu
4	Kabir Khan	Akbar Khan
5	Seth Ibrahim	Seth Shahbaz
6	Shahpara	Mahapara
7	Adnan	Sharjeel

- The name of the character to whom *Parizaad* sold his shayari was *Seth Abid*, whereas in the drama his name was *Seth Noman*. (C: 4, P 39, Text)
- The character to whom *Parizaad* approached for a job and who was a mechanic, had name *Ustad Mastana* in the text but *Ustad Kallu* in the drama.
- *Rafiq* and *Feeqa* in the text, *Shahjahan* or *Jaanu* in the drama. (C: 5, P 48, Text)
- The man who later becomes *Parizaad's* bodyguard, is referred to as *Kabir Khan* in the text and *Akbar Khan* in the drama. (C: 100, P 5)
- Don's name was *Seth Ibrahim* in the Text, whereas in the Drama it was *Seth Shehbaz*.
- After becoming an actress, *Lubna's* name was *Shahpara* in the text, whereas in the drama it was *Mahapara Begum*.
- *Annie's* cousin's name was *Adnan* in the text but *Sharjeel* in the drama, and so on so forth.

Many things have been altered, including the names of characters, to make them fit into and to show the originality to the target audience, not only when the adaptation is done from a foreign language or culture, but also when they are adapted from the same language and culture. Here, we find personal choice, in some cases, to suit the aspects of the character which an actor plays in the drama to make the character more interesting, likeable and relevant, like *Fiqa* as *Janu* and *Shehpara* as *Mahapara*, and there are some deliberate changes, like *Seth Ibrahim* changed to *Seth Shahbaz* to avoid any controversy related to underworld don.

Deviation in the Form of Addition, Deletion and Change of Character

We also found some deviation in the form of addition, deletion, and change of character in the drama from the novel *Parizaad*. A couple of examples of these changes and an explanation of why the changes were made are presented below.

		Text Parizaad	Drama Parizaad
1	Addition	Not in Text	Shoqi
		Not in Text	Bubli Badmash
		Not in Text	Guru
		Not in Text	DSP Badar
2	Deletion	Parizaad 9 siblings	Parizaad 3 siblings
		Khanu	Not in drama
3	Change	Faqeera	Gulam Ali
		Parizaad as Akbar	Parizaad as Ahmed

In terms of Addition in the characters, Shoqi (neighbour buddy), Bubli Badmash (Saima or Dilawar (tom boy girl), Badar (Inspector), Guru (transgender don), and Javed Mansoor (student) are some of the characters that have been added to the cast of drama. In terms of deletion, Parizaad's siblings have been reduced from nine to three, and the characters Khanu (the tea vendor) and Sakina have been removed from the drama. In terms of change or modification, Faqera (care taker of the graveyard in the text) changed into Gulam Ali (teacher of Urdu medium school in the drama), Parizaad changed name Akbar to hide his identity but he introduced himself as Ahmed in drama.

The reason is that drama has expanded to include other characters in order to better engage the audience with the theme or drama's topic. The characters of Bubli Badmash as a tom boy and Guru as transgender portray the marginalised and neglected section of society that treats them as mishaps. The drama depicts how these characters along with Parizaad struggle for social acceptance. It tries to question the social norms and challenges the normalcy.

Deviation of Plot Events

Plot is the main and important part of the story. It is the sequence of events or incidents that occurs in the story; it means that the plot tells what happens first and then what happens after that and so on and so forth. Many sequences of events have been modified, cut, and added to; it is not possible to discuss them all. Therefore, we have taken two important and notable scenes from the story to compare the drama with the text in order to find out the deviation of plot events.

Scene 1

ek sərəæki kəhavəʈ hɛ ke mere məhbub ɛsɛ jəkbarɟi dʒuɖar bohəʈ təkliɖdəh hogɪ, tʊdʒʰe mʊdʒʰisɛ bɪtʰarɳa hɛ.....mere pʊrane flɛʈ dʒuʈd kəʈəlvə nɪʈʃɛ sɛ kəɪdʒə ɟəh kʰəl tʃʊkəʈʰa lɪhazə ʊbəlʈa huə koltar mere pɛro mɛ əɳgare bʰər rəhəʈʰa...əmma ko bəʈa ʃʊk atʰa mere pɛro ke tʃʰale əb bɛʃʊmar ki həɖ sɛ nɪkəlʈɛ dʒa rəhe tʰe məɟər nɔ bəhən bʰaɪjɔ mɛ fəɟadkamerɪʈ nɪkalə dʒaʈa tʊ meratʃʊʈʰa nəmbər nɪkəlʈa tʰa.....(C-1, pg; 7)

It was raining. Three of the siblings of Parizaad were playing by making boats of paper in their home courtyard; their father enters the house with black umbrella, looking at the close door standing with four men, waiting for the good news. After a short while, an old lady comes out from the close door and wishes and informs

them that God was very merciful and that this time your wife was not but survived. Go distribute some sweets. Your wife gave birth to a third son ... (Episode 1,0:35, YouTube)

Here scene 1: It was the starting scene of the story of the novel and drama. In the novel, it was Parizaad who narrated the weather of the hot summer by pointing to the boiling hot street, his blisters on his feet because of putting on torn shoes, and his asking of new shoes from Amma after nine siblings. But in the drama, scene starts with rain where Parizaad was born as the third son of his parents. Here we notice two deviations: one in climate, from summer to rainy season and the other one is that Parizaad has nine siblings in text and three in drama.

Scene 2

əgle roz əd̪aləʈ me qazi ke samne woqla ki bəhəs f̪uru hone se pəhle hi bəhroz kərim ne əpnə ɡunah qəbul kər liəʈ sət̪h hi əd̪aləʈ se d̪ərkʰəwəst̪ ki ke girəft̪ar f̪ud̪əəmle me bohəʈ se əese bʰi h̪ē d̪z̪ɪnkə ʊnke ʊski m̪od̪z̪ərmana s̪ərg̪ərmið se koi t̪aləq nəh̪ h̪e. lihaza ʊnhe zamanəʈ p̪ər r̪iħa k̪ərđ̪iad̪z̪əe. h̪umsəb ɡums̪om h̪oe bəhroz kərim ka b̪əjan s̪un̪t̪e rhe.....ek məhine ke ənd̪er qazi ne bəhroz ko m̪ouʈ ki s̪əza s̪ona d̪i. firoz ko bʰi ʊski m̪əwnəʈ ke d̪z̪orm me z̪ɪnd̪əgi ki q̪əza ki s̪əza m̪ili...(C-12, pg no;98-99)

Behroz Kareem was playing piano in the grief of his dead wife. A servant came to him and informs, saying, "Malik we are all arrested". He wipes his tears and starts walking towards the courtyard of his bungalow. DSP Badar Munir arrives with her team to arrest him with the proof of Laila saba's letter, which she wrote to her family before her death, in which she mentioned clearly that if anything happened to her, Behroze Kareem would be the only person responsible for it. She showed Laila Saba's letter to him and said, "Now you will say that this isn't her handwriting." Behroze Kareem, on the other hand, accepted this as her handwriting. Before surrendering, he asked her permission to change clothes and goes inside his room, retrieves a revolver from the closet and shoots himself. On hearing the sound of gunfire, the police officer rushed to his room and found him dead. (Episode 16, 25:55, YouTube)

Here scene 2 has been taken from middle of the story from novel and drama. In novel Behroze Kareem is arrested and accepts his all crimes in the court and gets death sentence and along with him Feroze also gets death sentence but in drama Behroze Kareem accepts all his crimes in writing and shoots himself at his bungalow when police came to arrest him.

Scene 1 has been taken from the beginning of the story, where we find that the novel and drama's starting points are different from each other. In Scene 1, the audience gets to know about the number of siblings Parizaad has in the novel through Parizaad himself, whereas in the drama, Parizaad was born as the third son and was narrated from the local nurse. The reason for this change is to make the story more focused and it would be more complex to handle and distracting with nine siblings in the drama.

In scene 2, the character of Behroze has been shown as powerful and a man rule. That's why it would be weird to see a character like Behroze to get punished and hanged. It is because drama delivers a compact, well-structured, logical and less multilinear in comparison to the novels.

Deviation of Resolution

Resolution is the concluding part of a story where the end of the story comprises some scene or scenes to show how the conflict or problem of the story get resolves. Encyclopaedia Britannica defines resolution or denouement as "the conclusion after the climax of a narrative in which the complexities of the plot are unravelled and the conflict is finally resolved."

as pas ka sara for modz^{he} d^hire d^hire sargofⁱ jod^halt^a m^hesus hor^ha t^ha..... dzane sab ro kju rhe t^he , m^hari p^harⁱ ank^he to ab^hi t^hak usi naz^har p^har dzami hui t^hi, dzisne m^hari t^hakmil kar^hdi t^hi.... ad^hnan ki ank^he b^hi b^har^hs r^hhi t^hi osne a^hnni ko t^ham rak^h at^hha, ha ab vah^hto oska sa^hara t^ha. kisi ne age b^har^h kar m^hare dzism p^har safed t^had^har dal di..... or m^hare p^hapote band^h kar^hdie or m^hara d^himag h^hamefa ke lije and^hhero me dub g^hja. (C-28, pg no, 240)

When Annie recognised Parizaad, he left and went to a beautiful location surrounded by hills. Annie came following him, and they had a long conversation about why he left everything behind and the rest. She persuades him to move to Kashmir with him, where she plans to turn the Urdu school into an Urdu Academy and open a small radio station. In the end, she asked him to recite a poem which he wrote in response to Munir Niyazi's poem "hamesha der kar deta hu main - I am always late".

We find the endings of both novels and dramas are different or divergent from each other. In the novel, Parizaad died due to high fever and took his last breath in the lap of Qurratul Ain aka Annie. On the other hand, in the drama, Parizaad finally gets his love, Annie after having lots of rejection in his life. But only one

thing is common to both: they end with Munir Niazi's verse "hamesha der kar deta hu main". Here, the director, Shahzad Kashmiri, substitutes a happy ending from the tragic ending of the novel. The reason for the happy ending is to make the protagonist Parizaad alive and live happily thereafter with his heroine Annie, to fill optimism in the audience, to give hope to the life and to console the bereaved souls who tried to identify themselves with the Parizaad.

Deviation as a Success or Failure

After creatively adding in terms of deviating in setting, character, plot events and resolution, there is one more creative editing of music that plays a major role in making the drama or visual art successful. There is no doubt that the Parizaad drama was a huge success after having lots of creative changes from the original novel. It is believed that very few are interested in reading novels than watching dramas; all kinds of audiences, whether literate or illiterate, like to watch dramas. This is another reason where creators thrive to create engaging and compact visuals as successful as possible. As Leitch (2003) states, it is absolutely true that "though it takes less time for most audiences to sit through most feature films than it does for them to read most novels, films can contain quite as many telling details as novels.". A film or any other kind of virtual art may be required to portray several details in a single scene, but a novel may take many pages to show a single detail.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that the story of both the novel and the drama is the same, but there are changes made in terms of location, characters' additions and deletions, and changes somewhat in characteristics. Some of the plot events are deviated, and some are almost identical, and most importantly, the end is completely deviated from the original novel. It indicates that Shahzad Kashmiri has converted the novel Parizaad into a drama with many variations in terms of plot additions. He does not, however, take away the central notion or topic of "Parizaad". These deviations have been made in order to make the drama more dramatic and full of aesthetics. In this way, we can say that adaptation can be considered as the repetition of the same story without replication and can be considered as new and original. Finally, we can say that the drama presents a clear, well-structured, logical and tries to be less multilinear narrative, whereas the novel presents an open-ended narrative.

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**CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY
THROUGH UNDOCUMENTED BHOJPURI PROVERBS**

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Abstract

The present paper tries to capture the socio-cultural and linguistic identity of Bhojpuri speakers through some selected and undocumented proverbs. The cultural iceberg model by Hall (1976) shows that the surface structure of an iceberg represents the physical entities of a community and the deep structure of that iceberg represents the inner world or features of the given community.

Keywords: Cultural Iceberg, Identity, Proverb, Bhojpuri.

Introduction

India has a rich heritage of traditions and cultures. Every community here has its unique culture, language and ethnicity. The main focus of this paper is on some undocumented proverbs used by the Bhojpuri language community members. On one hand, linguistic behaviour may help to reveal the social structure of a community and, on the other hand, it may untangle many unobservable concepts and perceptions of the given community.

Bhojpuri

Bhojpuri is an Indo-Aryan language. It is a non-scheduled language in India. It is also known as Bajpuri, Bhojapuri, Bhozpuri, Khotla, Piscimas, 'Bihari' (pejorative). Grierson (1884, 1980) states that it is a colloquial speech used predominantly in the Eastern region of Uttar Pradesh and in the state of Bihar. This dialect further falls into a group that has been referred as 'Bihari' or Magadhan, a single language that comprises three dialects, namely, Bhojpuri, Magadhi and Maithili. Ethnologue (25th ed., 2022) mentions that Bhojpuri is spoken mainly in Uttar Pradesh (Azamgarh, Ballia, Basti, Deoria, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Mirzapur, and Varanasi districts);

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Bihar (Champan, Saran, and Shahabad districts); Jharkhand (Palamau and Ranchi districts); Madhya Pradesh; West Bengal; Assam and Delhi. It is also used in Mauritius, Nepal and South Africa. According to the 2011 census, there are 5,06,00,000 Bhojpuri speakers in India. The total number of users in all countries is 5,24,63,000. As a first language (L1) Bhojpuri is spoken by 5,23,03,000 speakers and as a second language (L2) there are 1,60,000 Bhojpuri speakers.

The following figure shows that there are some regional varieties of Bhojpuri language. Some of them can be mentioned here: Uttar Adarsh Bhojpuri, Paschim Adarsh Bhojpuri and Dakshin Adarsh Bhojpuri. It must be mentioned here that the data for the present paper was collected from the native Bhojpuri speakers of Varanasi districts where Paschim Adarsh Bhojpuri is used. The age group from whom the data was collected extends from 40 to 70 years old. Studies show that being located in a Hindi belt region, this language is ignored by its speakers themselves, as Hindi is a dominant language in terms of socio-economic status.



Figure 1: Bhojpuri language and its regional varieties collected from Bhojpuri Adhyayan Kendra, Benaras Hindu University on 29.06.2022

Proverb

The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature And General Information (2020) defines proverb as “a short pithy saying in common and recognized use; a concise sentence often metaphorical or alliterative in form, which is held to express some truth ascertained by experience or observation and familiar to all.” Proverbs are parts of linguistic expressions used by the speakers of a language in their day-to-day communication. These are transmitted from one generation to another verbally. The enigmatic mysteries of life are hidden in them: human experience, revaluation of past, warning and awareness for the future, encouragement and many more. They enlighten the younger generation through the wisdom contained

in them. The usage of proverbs is a simple way of saying traditional messages.

Cultural Iceberg

Hall (1976) presents the Cultural Iceberg model in his book called *Beyond Culture*. He shows that a culture can be compared to a natural iceberg whose only 10% is visible as it lies above the water and the rest i.e., 90% is submerged. This model shows that one can see, hear, taste, smell and touch the surface part of the culture. This consists of some observable phenomena like food, dress, music, drama, art, craft, literature, language and celebrations. But there is also a deep part of this culture which one cannot observe physically. This includes some unobservable phenomena like notions of modesty, concept of beauty, ideals governing child raising, relationship with animals, definition of sin, courtship practices, notions of leadership, concept of past and future, arrangement of physical space, concept of cleanliness, humour, attitudes toward elders, tempo of work, definition of obscenity, nature of friendship and many more.



Figure 2: Cultural Iceberg

In the current study, we are going to show what observable and unobservable phenomena are encoded in Bhojpuri proverbs. This analysis basically has two parts; one is linguistic representation and another is sociocultural representation of the Bhojpuri language community. Then, it is interpreted how linguistic identity and socio-cultural identity are constructed through the Bhojpuri proverbs.

Data Analysis

- | | | |
|-------------|----------------|--------|
| 1. jekər | jeṭne | ʋjeṭən |
| whose-REL | how much | care |
| wokər | wotne | pəṭən |
| whose-COREL | how much-COREL | fall |

‘The greater the pampering, the greater the fall.’

The proverb in (1) teaches the given language community its value system. Linguistic analysis shows that alliteration is predominantly found here.

' [ɟ-] : initial : ɟəkər, ɟɛɲne, ɟəɲən
 ' [-ɲne] : final : ɟɛɲne, wɔɲne
 ' [-ɲən] : final : ɟəɲən, pəɲən

There are two pairs of relative and co-relative elements used: [ɟəkər : wɔkər] and [ɟɛɲne : wɔɲne]. Therefore, it can be said that this proverb is syntactically a relative correlative construction.

2. mən mən b^have muɾi: hilave
 mind mind like-PRS head nod-PRS

'One's wish is not shown to others by his/her behaviour.'

This is a way of expressing one's mind which is accompanied with body language. Interestingly, it can be noted here that the one's agreement with others is not shown rather the bodily movement by one's head indicates disapproval sportingly. Alliteration is found with *m* in *mən*, *muɾi:*, *ave* in *b^have* : *hilave*. Complete reduplication is found in the case of *mən mən*.

3. ɟəɪsən mai: ɟəɪsən d^hi:ja
 as-REL mother as-COREL daughter
 ɟəɪsən kəkər vəɪsən bi:ja:
 as-REL cucumber as-COREL seed

'Like fruits yield like seeds.'

This proverb teaches the value system to the younger generation of the given community. There is a mention of the kinship relationship between mother and daughter. Besides, natural objects like cucumber and seed are presented. There is a pair of relative – correlative elements: *ɟəɪsən ɟəɪsən*, *ɟəɪsən vəɪsən*. Alliteration is used with *-i:ja* in *d^hi:ja*, *bi:ja*.

4. pəhila: ɟi:ɟ məɟa:ve b^hi:k^h
 first victory bring-PRS beggary

'First success asks for modesty.'

This is again an instance of teaching value system to the community members. It implies that one should keep working hard rather than boasting on his first success because persistence and perseverance are valuable human characteristics. In *ɟi:ɟ*, *ɟ* and *ɟ* are unaspirated sounds and in *b^hi:k^h*, *b^h* and *k^h* aspirated. Again, *ɟ* and *b^h* are voiced consonants on one hand but on the other hand, *ɟ* and *k^h* are unvoiced consonants.

	ˈ ʃi:t̪		: bʰi:kʰ
	+V, -ASP i: -V, -ASP	: +V, +ASP i: -V, +ASP	
5. mohan	gəilən	məla:i:	kʰaj
Mohan	go-PST	cream	eat-NONFIN
kʰai:	lehlən		gəttɑ:
eat-CONJ	take-PST		a food

‘Actions are different from words.’

Mohan is a popular name of Bhojpuri community. Also, it is an alternative name of Lord Shri Krishna in the epic *Mahabharat*. He is an important character in Indian mythology. It is well-known that he loved *məla:i:* and he used to take it secretly at his own house and also from the houses of neighbours. Then he was caught by his mother Yashoda and other female members of the neighbourhood respectively. From the point of linguistic view, it is seen that alliteration is used within *kʰaj*, *kʰai:*; *m* in *mohan*, *məla:i:*; *g* in *gəilən*, *gəttɑ:*.

6. ʃlyəte	gərhən	kə	gəra:sa:
live-CONVERB	eclipse	GEN	eating
mUəle	pə	pɪnda:	kə
dying	on	pind	GEN
			a:sa:
			expectation

‘Those who deny to follow rituals when alive expect honorary post-death ritualistic offerings.’

Here, in this example, we can easily see a double standard of a person as how one can turn his/her mind according to the situation. Such proverbs encourage us to live our life with full honesty and moral values whether the condition is in your favor or not. From linguistic point of view one can find alliteration in the following pattern:

Initial [g] in [gerhen] and [gerasa].

Final [s] in [gera:sa:] and [a:saa:].

7. ʃəkər	pāv	nə	pʰəʃi:
whose-REL	leg	negation	crack-PST
u:	ka:	ʃa:ne	pi:r
he-COREL	what	know-SUBJ	pain

‘‘One cannot feel others’ pain without feeling his/her own’’

One should not be treated inappropriately without knowing and understanding the actual situation of the sufferer. Our ancestors also believed that if you have never faced the difficulties of life, you cannot feel others’ problems as well. Linguistically, we can also see the alliteration at the final position [ai] in [bivɑ:i:] and [ai] in [pəra:i:]. There are relative and co-relative elements also

found like: [ɟəkər : u:]. So, it can be said that this proverb is syntactically a relative correlative construction as well.

Findings

This paper tries to capture the world view of the Bhojpuri community speakers which is portrayed through the proverbs prevalent in the community. It presents how they interact with each other (proverb 1), mental status expressing one's agreement with others where body language is important (proverb 2), how they perceive the natural world surrounding them (proverb 3), social behaviour (proverb 4) and work culture of this community (proverb 5). All these things, be it observable or unobservable mark the Bhojpuri identity through the above-given linguistic expressions. Moreover, the linguistic features like alliteration, relative correlative construction, reduplication, etc., are also seen in these proverbs. On the other hand, sub merged part indicates the value system in the shape of warning, advice, suggestions, etc. Moreover, this study also can be interpreted from the perspective of extensions of meaning in the field of cognitive semantics where various mechanisms of metaphor, metonymy and others can be analysed.

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**PHONOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF SELECT WORDS
OF THE AALU KURUMBA AND IRULA LANGUAGES
OF THE NILGIRIS**

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Abstract

This paper aims at under taking a comparative study of the phonological changes of vowels and consonants of Aalu Kurumba and Irula languages spoken in Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu. The paper adopts descriptive and comparative approaches and study the vowel and consonant changes in the two languages.

Keywords: Phonological Change, Vowels, Consonants.

Introduction

Language is a system of conventional spoken symbols or written symbols employed by human beings as members of a social group and participants in its culture to express themselves. The functions of language include communication, the expression of identity, play, imaginative expression. Phonology is the core component of a language which studies speech sounds with reference to their distribution and patterning. A very brief explanation is that phonology is the study of sound structures in language, which is different from the study of sentence structures (syntax), word structures (morphology), or how languages change over time (historical linguistics). Phonology aims at discovering the principles that govern the way sounds are organized in languages and to explain the variations that occur. One can analyze an individual language to determine which sound units are used and which patterns they form, compare the properties of different sound systems, and work out hypotheses about the rules underlying the use of sounds in particular groups of languages. The present study aims at exploring the phonological change which is clearly explained by comparing the two phonological systems and the change in the words of a language by simply replacing a single phonemic sound/s. The change and distribution in the vowels and consonants in the Irula and the Aalu kurumba language spoken in Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu is explained in a systematic manner.

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The Alu or Palu Kurumbas ('Alu' means milk in Kurumba language while as 'pal' means milk in Tamil) live in the south and southeastern slopes of Coonoor, Kotagiri, and Kundah Taluk. Traditionally the Kurumbas played the role of sorcerers and priests not only for their tribe but also for other Nilgiri tribes like the Badagas and Irulas. As such they were thought to be proficient in their work for which they were respected and even punished for being responsible for illness and death in other tribes, who believed that it was the spell of the Kurumba that was at work. It is even said that the Kurumbas derive their name from the Tamil word for mischief Kurumba. Even though their notorious reputation survives but their knowledge of medicinal plants is well acknowledged.

Irula, on other hand, is an aboriginal ethnic group of India. They inhabit the area of the Nilgiri mountains in the states of Tamilnadu and Kerala, India. A scheduled tribe, their population in this region is estimated at 25,000 people. People of Irula ethnicity are called Irular and speak Irula language, which belongs to the Dravidian family. Irular word in Tamil generally means, "dark people" but is it thought to be derived from a Malayalam root word 'Irul', which means "darkness". People belonging to the area mostly possess dark complexion. The Irular people live in two South Indian states -Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In Tamil Nadu, they live in the Nilgiris, Coimbatore, and Erode districts. In Kerala, they live in the Palakkad district and Attapady and Walayar panchayats. Traditionally, the main occupation of the Irula people has been rat-catching and fishing. They also work as laborers (coolies) in the fields of landlords during the sowing and harvesting seasons or in the rice mills.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To explore the common patterns between Kurumba and Irula language at the Phonological level.
2. To understand differences between the two languages at the phonological level.
3. To explore changes in the phonological pattern of the languages and to establish overall patterns between them.

Methodology

The present study employed descriptive and comparative methods in the study.

A comparative study has been made at the phonological levels of the Kurumba and Irula languages.

A well-designed questionnaire was employed as a research tool to achieve the objectives of the study. The questions were prepared by giving daily usage words, and the informants were asked to provide the words in their respective languages. The data was recorded using a recorder and a video recorder.

The data was collected from the Kurumba and Irula tribes of the Nilgiris district, particularly in the Baviyoor hamlet of Kurumba and the Kambiyoor hamlet of Irula.

Data Analysis

The data was transcribed and later analyzed at the phonological level. It was then tabulated and each table was interpreted using phonological rules. The sound changes between the Irula and Kurumba languages and the place of occurrence of those changes are given table from below.

TABLE-1
Vowel Change

Vowel changes	Initial	Medial	Final
i>a	itu>atu 'It'	kiradi>karadi 'Bear'	
u>i		cunna>cinna 'Small'	mottecocu>mottecoci 'Cabbage'
		kodume>kodime 'Terror'	ñeñdu> ñeñdi 'Crab'
		kunnappa:>cinnappa 'Father's younger brother's wife'	
e>i			cade>cadi 'Flesh'
i>u		anjike>anjuke 'Timidity'	
		cikkura> cukkura 'Friday'	
i>i	ilu>ilu 'Pull'		
i>i	iṭṭi>iṭṭi 'Spear'		
	irumbu>irum bu 'Cough'		

a>e		cade>cedi 'Flesh'	ku:da>gu:de 'Bamboo basket'
		kayi>keyi 'Hand'	kutira>kutire 'Horse'
		gattu>kettu 'Net'	
		kaɭude>keɭude 'Donkey'	
e>a			kolle>kola 'Ful'
			eṭṭe>ecca 'How'
			vene>enna: 'Deceit'
o>e		bolle > velle 'White'	beṭṭo>vetṭe 'Hunter'
u>e			kokku>kokke 'Crane'
Long Vowel To Short Vowel			
a:>a	a:rubatu>aru batu 'Sixty'		akka:>akka 'Wife's elder brother's wife'
			enna:>enna 'what'
a:>u		uṅṅa:tu>inṅṅa:tu 'Squeeze'	a:ra:>a:ru 'Who'
a:>i		matiya:na>madina 'Afternoon'	
Short Vowel To Long Vowel			
e>e:	ena>e:na 'Dead Body'	beru>be:ru 'Root'	muṭṭe>muṭṭe: 'Egg'
		bera>be:ra 'Grandson'	
		betti>be:tṭi 'Granddaughter'	
Long Vowel To Long Vowel			
i>e:	i:ni>e:ni 'Ladder'		
e:>a:		me:ka:la>ma:ka:la 'Rainy Season'	
		be:le>va:le 'Banana Leaf'	

Table 1: Vowel change

Vowel Changes

Vowel changes which were found while analyzing the data from both the language are as follows:

- **I > a** The vowel sound “i” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “a” in the Irula language.
- **u > i** The vowel sound “u” in the Kurumba language changes to the vowel sound “i” in the Irula language.
- **e > i** The vowel sound “e” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “i” in the Irula language.
- **I > u** The vowel sound “i” in the Kurumba language changes to the vowel sound “u” in the Irula language.
- **i > i** The vowel sound “i” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “i” in the Irula language.
- **I > i** The vowel sound “i” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “i” in the Irula language.
- **a > e** The vowel sound “a” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “e” in the Irula language.
- **e > a** The vowel sound “e” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “a” in the Irula language.
- **o > e** The vowel sound “o” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “e” in the Irula language.
- **u > e** The vowel sound “u” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “e” in the Irula language.

Long Vowel to Short Vowel

Change in the long vowels to short vowels can be shown as follows:

- **a: > a** The vowel sound “a:” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “a” in Irula language.
- **a: > u** The vowel sound “a:” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “u” in Irula language.
- **a: > i** The vowel sound “a:” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “i” in Irula language.

Short Vowel to Long Vowel

The instances of change in the long short vowels to vowels is enlisted as following:

- **e > e:** The vowel sound “e” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “e:” in the Irula language.

Long Vowel to Long Vowel

There were instances where change in long vowels to contrastive long vowels was observed, such instances are as following:

- **i: > e:** The vowel sound “i:” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “e:” in Irula language.
- **e: > a:** The vowel sound “e:” in Kurumba language changes to vowel sound “a:” in Irula language.

Consonant Change

Consonant changes	Initial	Medial	Final
b>v	ba:> va: ‘Come’	-	-
	ba:ttu>va:ttu ‘Duck’		
	bale>vale ‘Bracelet’		
	be:ru>ve:ru ‘Root’		
	ba:lu>va:lu ‘Tail’		
	ba:yi>va:yi ‘Mouth’		
	bale>vale ‘Net’		
d>j	-	modale>mojale ‘Crocodile’	-
tt>cc	-	etta>ecca ‘How’	-
n>m	-	ninna>nimma ‘Your’	-
m>n	mega>nega ‘Antler’	-	-
tt>d	-	a:rubattu>arupadu ‘Sixty’	-
		elubattu>eluvadu ‘Seventy’	

		embattu>embadu 'Eighty'	
		ombattu>ombadu 'Nine'	
t>d	-	intu>indu 'Today'	
		bu:ti>bu:di 'Ash'	-
r>ṛ	-	a:ra:>a:ṛu 'Who'	
		a:ratu>a:ṛtu 'Whose'	
		mu:ru>mu:ṛu 'Three'	-
v>g	-	avve>agve 'Mother'	-
kk>cc	-	lakka>lacca 'One Lakh'	-

Consonants Changes

In the present study number of Consonantal changes found while analyzing the Data from both the language, following are the instances where the change in the consonants was found.

- **b>v** The consonant 'b' in the Kurumba language changes to 'v' in the Irula language.
- **d>j** The consonant 'd' in the Kurumba language changes to 'j' in the Irula language.
- **tt>cc** The consonant 'tt' in the Kurumba language changes to 'cc' in the Irula language.
- **n>m** The consonant 'n' in the Kurumba language changes to 'm' in the Irula language.
- **m > n** The consonant 'm' in the Kurumba language changes to 'n' in the Irula language.
- **tt >d** The consonant 'tt' in the Kurumba language changes to 'd' in the Irula language.
- **t>d** The consonant 't' in the Kurumba language changes to 'd' in the Irula language.
- **r>ṛ** The consonant 'r' in the Kurumba language changes to 'ṛ' in the Irula language.

- **v>g** The consonant ‘v’ in the Kurumba language changes to ‘g’ in the Irula language.
- **kk>cc** The consonant ‘kk’ in the Kurumba language changes to ‘cc’ in the Irula language.

Findings and Conclusion

This study discusses phonological changes in the Kurumba and Irula languages. The study identifies various types of vowel and consonant variations which occur in both the languages. While looking into the phonological changes the place of occurrence of the changes in vowels and consonants have been identified at initial, medial, and final levels.

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**HINDI TEXT PRE-PROCESSING: PROCEDURAL STEPS
OR TECHNIQUES FOR NLP TOOL DEVELOPMENT**

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Abstract

Text pre-processing plays an important role in the development of NLP applications. Text pre-processing is the process of transforming unstructured and noisy text data into a clean and consistent format. Linguists create tools and software that aim to facilitate the lexical goals and technical understanding of a language. The available text data of any language cannot be completely improved, which is why many applications of natural language processing do not work optimally, becoming a bottleneck and not achieving the goal. Many techniques are used in text pre-processing, and this technique brings improvements to the cleanliness, accuracy, and correctness of the text.

Keywords: Segmentation, Regular Expression, Stemming, Lemmatization, NLP

Introduction

Text pre-processing plays a vital role in the development of natural language processing applications. Text pre-processing is done in many different ways, including stemming, regular expression (regex) detection and removal, lemmatization, and stop word remover techniques. These techniques are used to clean and organize the text so that further application of natural language processing does not involve any problems in programming, processing data, applying rules, or logic.

Review

1. Need of Text Pre-processing
2. Text Pre-Processing Steps
3. Experiment
4. Applications
5. Finding and Discussion

Need of Text Pre- processing

Pre-processing text data is one of the most difficult tasks in natural language processing because there are no specific

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statistical guidelines available (AyishaTabassum, 2020). The available text data of any language cannot be completely improved; that is why many applications of natural language processing do not work better; it becomes a hindrance and cannot achieve the goal. For this reason, text pre-processing is generally used in NLP applications. Text pre-processing is the basic need for developing NLP applications. By using pre-processing, the accuracy of the text increases and one can get good results. Many techniques are used in this for the software depending on its goals. Each technique plays its own important role, such as Stop words are the most common words found in any natural language that carry very little or no significant semantic context in a sentence (Jaideep sinha K. Raulji, 2016). Stemming is the process of removing affixes (prefixes and suffixes) from features, i.e., the process derived from reducing inflected (or sometimes derived) words to their stems (Kadhim, 2018). Stop-word elimination and stemming are commonly used methods in indexing. Stop words are high frequency words that have little semantic weight and are thus unlikely to help the retrieval process (Siddiqui). Lemmatization has traditionally been a standard pre-processing technique for linear text (Jose Camacho- Collados, 2018). But text pre-processing reads "Impact on the text" (Muhittin IŞIK, 2020).

Text Pre-processing Steps

Linguists create tools and software for the purpose of text goals and to understand the language in an easy way by technicalizing the language. That's why NLP text pre-processing is done according to the target text. Basically used text pre-processing techniques are:

1. Sentence Segmentation
2. Tokenization
3. Regular Expression (regex) Detection and Removal
4. Stop Word Removal
5. Stemming
6. Lemmatization

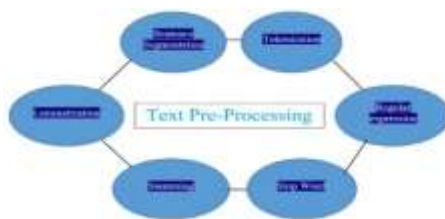


Fig. 1. Text pre-processing

Sentence Segmentation

Sentence segmentation is also called sentence boundary detection or sentence tokenization. (AyishaTabassum, 2020) It is the action of breaking the given text string. It is used to separate punctuation marks in Hindi or other languages like a full stop or comma, semicolon.

Tokenization

Tokenization refers to the splitting of sentences into words, characters, and punctuation, all of which are called "tokens." Splitting criteria are primarily based on the occurrence of a space or punctuation mark. This step helps in filtering out unwanted words in further processing steps.

Example.

“प्रकृतिकभाषासंसाधनमेंकईक्षेत्रशामिलहैं।”

Converting this sentence into a token:

“प्रकृतिक”, “भाषा”, “संसाधन”, “में”, “कई”, “क्षेत्र”, “शामिल”,
“हैं”, “।”

Regular Expression (regex) Detection and Removal

Regular expressions are most commonly used in text pre-processing. Regular expressions are most commonly used in text pre-processing. Since any word is a symbol for the machine, regular expressions are not understood by the machine. This regular expression becomes a hindrance to processing the text, so it is necessary to remove it. Regular expressions can include punctuation marks, symbols, and special symbols.

Example:

Numbers, Extra space, symbols like ([?./\,@,;,:#,!,%,\$,*,&,+,{,},(,))

Stop Word Removal

Stop words are unnecessary words that are used in sentences (Jashanjot Kaur, 2018). These words are used only to enhance the glory of the sentence. Many stop words are used in the Hindi language. The deletion of which has no effect on the sentence. It is used in many NLP applications. In Hindi, common words include 'मे', 'का', 'के', 'को', 'और' and so on.

Stemming

Stemming is the process of reducing a word by removing suffixes and prefixes to obtain the root word. Although the

semantic meaning does not change after removing the suffix or prefix of the root word, the suffix is brought to the base root word by truncating it, while meaning of all the different forms remains the same. However, this does not always provide good results as the word loses its meaning (Ayisha Tabassum, 2020).

Example 1: गाड़ीवाला = गाड़ी +वाला here,वाला =**suffix** and गाड़ी=**root word**

Example 2: घोड़ेवाला=घोड़े +वाला here,वाला =**suffix** and घोड़े =**root word**

In Example 1, if the suffix "वाला" is removed, the root word is "गाड़ी", but similarly in Example 2, if the suffix "वाला" is removed, the root word is "घोड़े" but the root word is "घोडा".

Lemmatization

Lemmatization is the act of removing or replacing a prefix or a suffix. In this action, an attempt is made to find the root word of a word. The root word, also known as lemma, is a meaningful word in and of itself (Muhittin IIK, 2020). Many words are formed by taking root words and adding prefixes and suffixes to them. The root words to which suffixes (prefixes and suffixes) are added are called root words because they form the basis of the new word.

Example: 'अंतरराष्ट्रीयता' it uses **root word** 'राष्ट्र', **prefix** 'अंतर' and **Suffix** 'ईयता'

Lemmatization is commonly used in POS taggers. Due to this, the accuracy of the POS tagger gives good results.

More techniques or steps can be added to text pre-processing, such as POS tagging, chunking, parsing, adding or replacing synonyms and antonyms, etc.

Experiment

Clustering methods have been commonly used for text pre-processing. Data collection for stop word removal is included, as are data on root words or affixes for the stemming and lemmatization processes. If there is data on the root word in it, then by matching the root word with the word, the root word is obtained by removing the affixes. Similarly, if there is a database of affixes, the affixes are removed by matching the suffix of the word.

Front End

The front end for this online text pre-processing project uses JavaScript. The front end for this online text pre-processing project uses JavaScript. This project includes the processes of sentence segmentation, tokenization, regular expression detection and removal, and stop word removal.



Fig. 2: Application Screenshot

Back End

In the back end, a database of stop words used in Hindi was used. Some stop words are also included in this section to help identify the word and place it in front of or behind it using a recursive technique.

Applications

Almost all language related NLP applications are used for text pre-processing techniques. such as information retrieval (Ruby Rania, 2018), text summarization, domain recognition (Roman Sergienko, 2016), text classification, document similarity (Urvashi Garg, 2014), keyword matching, keyword recognition, POS tagger, name entity identifier, language translation, and many more (Jaideepsinh K. Raulji, 2016).

Findings & Discussion

It was discovered that several text preparation stages or techniques alter the text, which results in a lexical and semantic loss in Hindi language text. The meaning of the text may appear incorrect or altered as a result of the addition or deletion of any Hindi word.

Antonyms and Synonyms, as an illustration, think about adding and deleting words.

- ✓ As with "karana (करना)" which in English means "do" the word "kar(कर)" is a Hindi grammatical category verb.
- ✓ In English, the Hindi grammatical category noun "kar(कर)" it means as "tax."
- ✓ In Hindi, the word "kar(कर)" is a stThe Hindi stop words category includes a large number of words that have grammatical category verbs.

Example. ["kiya(किया)", "karane(करने)", "rahati(रहती)" etc.]

Conclusion

The use of text pre-processing plays an important role in the application of NLP. It compresses the text by giving it a well-defined structure. This is the first step in improving language text in NLP applications.

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