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**A Prepositional-like Element (PLE) in Saudi Northern Dialect of
Arabic (SNDA): A Syntactic Account**

Khalaf M.J. AlShammiry

Abstract

Occurrence of indefinite nouns in Saudi Northern dialect of Arabic (SNDA) is often characterized by the use of a preposition-like element (PLE). The complementary distribution of the PLE and the definite article al- “the” might be assumed as an evidence for the indefinite nature of the element. However, the restricted distribution of the PLE compared to the indefinite article where the PLE only appears in a position c-commanded by the verb in sentences with two nouns one of each is definite with which the PEL clitic agrees makes me argue that this element is a head of some sort; this head selects indefinite nouns. This paper investigates this specific syntactic phenomenon which has never been investigated in this dialect before and has never been manifested or reported in any of the Arabic dialects.

KEYWORDS: Saudi Northern Dialect of Arabic, preposition-like element, indefiniteness, selection,

Introduction

Cross-linguistically, the prototypes of definiteness and indefiniteness vary. In English, for example, the former is expressed by the use of the definite article “the” and the latter by the indefinite article “a/an”. In French, the definite article is analogous to the English definite article “the”. It can vary according to the gender and number of the noun. So, the French definite article *le, la, l’* and *les*; the first three are used with singular and the last one with plural. In English, the noun without the definite article is used generically whereas in French, generic use of the noun requires the presence of the article. As for the indefinite article, French, unlike “a” and “an” in English, uses “un” and “une” for singular and *des* for plural. Turkish expresses indefiniteness explicitly whereas languages like Chinese and Russian do not use articles; and the word order affects interpretation and definiteness (Lyons (1999). In Standard Arabic (SA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), for Arab grammarians, definiteness is expressed by the use of the definite article *al-* “the” which is attached to the noun as prefix; whereas the indefiniteness is expressed by the use of the marker “-n” nunation (*tanwin*), which appears as a suffix on the noun; as for generic nouns, they are expressed by the use of the definite article; see Benmamoun (2000, 2006), Borer (1988, 1996, 1999, 2005), Brustad (2000), Dobrovie-Sorin (2003), Fassi (1989, 1993, 1999), Kremers (2003, 2005), Mohammad (1988, 1999), O'halla (1991,

1996, 2004), Ritter (1988, 1991), Shlonsky (1991, 2004) and Siloni (1990, 1994, 1996, 2001). In the dialect under investigation Saudi Northern Region Dialect of Arabic (henceforth SNRDA), the article al-“the” is used with definite nouns and nothing is used with indefinite. Generic noun generic are also expressed by the use of the definite article. Moreover, indefinite nouns are often characterized by the use of a preposition-like element (henceforth PLE). This PLE always surfaces right after the verb before the indefinite nouns.

1. ar-rjaal sharuu **li-hum** beet

the men bought.pl.mas for-them a house

"The men bought a house."

In (1), the PLE li-hum “for them” appears right after the verb sharuu “bought” and before the indefinite noun beet “a house”.

The complementary distribution of the PLE and the definite article al-“the” might be assumed as an evidence for the indefinite nature of the element. However, the restricted distribution of the PLE compared to the indefinite article where the PLE only appears in a position c-commanded by the verb in sentences with two nouns one of each is definite with which the PEL clitic agrees makes me argue that this element is a head of some sort; this head selects indefinite nouns.

The paper is structured as follows.

Section 2 briefly describes how definiteness and indefiniteness are marked and the distribution of the definite and indefinite nouns in Standard Arabic (SA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and in Saudi Northern Region Dialect of Arabic (SNRDA). Different word orders and the distribution of the definite and indefinite nouns in SNRDA are discussed under section 3. Section 4 provides a comparison between the PLE and the prepositional phrase (PP). Section 5 discusses the distribution of the PLE and provides a syntactic account of the PLE. Section 6 concludes the paper.

Definiteness and Indefiniteness in SA, MSA and SNRDA

Definiteness and indefiniteness in SA and MSA

According to Arab grammarians, Benmamoun (2000, 2006), Fassi (1989, 1993, 1999), Mohammad (1988, 1999), Ohalla (1991, 1996, 2004), and among others, definiteness in SA and MSA is expressed by the use of the definite article al- “the” which is attached to the noun as a prefix whereas the indefiniteness is expressed by the use of the marker -n nunation (tanwin), which appears as a suffix on the noun. Both are in complementary distribution. If one appears the other does not. Other non-Arab linguists also regard the nunation as the indefinite article, Borer

(1988, 1996, 1999, 2005), Brustad (200), Dobrovie-Sorin (2003), Kremers (2003, 2005), Ritter (1988, 1991), Shlonsky (1991, 2004), Siloni (1990, 1994, 1996, 2001), and among others. Generic nouns are expressed by the use of the article al- “the”. See the following:

2. a. wasala al-rajul-u.

arrived.sing.mas. the-man-nom.def.

“The man arrived.”

b. wasala rajul-u-n

arrived.sing.mas. a man-nom.-indef.

“A man arrived.”

3. *wasala Al-rajul-u-n.

arrived.sing.mas. the-man-nom.indef.

“The man arrived.”

4. al-hayaat-u hilwat-un

the-life-nom. good.nom.

“Life is good.”

In (2a), we could notice that when the definite article al- “the” is used with the noun al-rajulu “the man” the noun is interpreted as definite. and in (2b), when the indefinite article –n is used with the noun rajulun-n “a man” the noun is interpreted as indefinite. However, in (3), the co-occurrence of both articles in the same sentence renders the sentence ungrammatical. In (4), the article al- “the” is used with the generic noun al-hayaat “life”.

Definiteness and indefiniteness in SNRDA

Definite and indefinite nouns in SNRDA are only distinguished by the use of the definite article al- “the”; if the definite article is used, the noun is interpreted as definite; if it is not used, it is indefinite; that is to say, the indefinite article –n never used as an indefinite marker in SNRDA.

5. a. wisal ar-rajaal.

arrived.sing.mas. the-man

“The man arrived.”

b. wisal rajaal.

arrived.sing.mas. a man

“A man arrived.”

In (5a), we could notice that when the definite article al- “the” is used with the noun al-rajaal “the man”, the noun is interpreted as definite. and in (5b), when there is no article used, the noun rajaal “a man” is interpreted as indefinite. However, SNRDA also uses PLEs before indefinite nouns.

6. shift l-i (*al-)rajaal

saw.I for-me the- a man

“I saw a man.”

In (6), we could notice when the PLE l-i “for me” is used, the indefinite noun without the al- “the” rajaal “a man” is used. The focus of this paper is studying the distribution of this element and attempting to provide a syntactic account for it.

It is also worth mentioning that the nunation is manifested in this dialect in different syntactic positions. First, nunation is used for emphasis; this is clear from the way the words are uttered; they are uttered with higher pitch. See the following.

7. ali rajaali-in haqeeri-n, wiSkhi-n kathaab

Ali a man-n VILLAINOUS.sing.mas.-n indecent.sing.mas.-n LIAR. sing.mas.-n

“Ali is a VILLANIOUS, INDECENT and LIAR MAN.”

In (7), we could notice from the English gloss that the – n appears at the end of the words rajaali-n “a man”, haqeeri-n “villainous”, and wiSkhi-n “indecednt”; and it is only the last word kathaabi-in “liar” which does not take the –n ending. As a fact in SNRDA, the more the speaker adds words, the more s/sh uses –n endings; and it is only in the last word where the –n ending is not used. Moreover, we could notice that rajaali-in “a man”, haqeeri-n “villainous”, wiSkhi-n, “indecednt” and kathaab “liar” are all focused or emphasized.

The emphasis use of the –n is clearly manifested with the use of the two frequent thanking words shukra-n “thanks” and afwa-n “welcome”. The first of which is uttered when thanking someone for doing you a favor, the second is uttered by the listener as a reply.

8. Ali: khabart sideeqi-na fahad ygabil-k mithil-ma talb-t.

told.I friend-our Fahad meet-you as requested.you

Ali: I have told our friend Fahad to meet you as you have requested.

Khalid: shikra-n.

thanks

Ali: afwa-n.

welcome.

In (8), we could notice that the –n ending surfaces onto the two thanking words *shikra-n* “thanks” and *afwa-n* “welcome”.

The – n is also appears onto certain adverbs such as *ahyaana-n* “sometimes” and *aadita-n* “often”.

9. *ahyaana-*(n) neruuh la-lhadeeqah*

sometimes, go.we to-zoo

“we often go to the zoo.”

In (9), we could notice that the obligatory use of the –n ending onto the adverb *ahyaana-n* “sometimes”.

Moreover, the – n appears after the determiner *kill* “all” when the noun following it is not used.

10. a. *killi*(-n) wahid yabi haajah*

each one want need

“Each one wants something.”

b. *killi*(-n) yabi haajah*

each want need

“Each wants something.”

In (10b.) compared to (10a.), we could notice that obligatory use of the – n when the determiner *killi-n* “each” is used without the noun *wahid* “one”. From the positions where the –n ending is used, contrary to Brustad’s (2000) who argues that many Arabic Bedouin dialects use –n with indefinite Arabic written nouns but not with spoken ones, it is obvious that SNRDA uses the – n ending with nouns, adjectives and adverbs in spoken and written language.

Given that the – n is used in other positions for other purposes other than expressing indefiniteness, I will assume that there is no overt indefinite marker used in SNRDA. (see Fassi-Fehr (1993) who argues that noun to which the – n attached is not always interpreted as indefinite). Next section discusses the different word orders used and the distribution of definite and indefinite nouns in SNRDA.

Word Orders and distribution of the Definite and Indefinite Nouns in SNRDA

SNRDA has three word orders, VSO, SVO and VOS. In VSO, the two arguments, the subject and the object, are always interpreted neutrally. As for the SVO word order, the subject can be interpreted as neutral or as a topic or as a focus. As for VOS word order, the subject is always

interpreted as topic and the VO or the object is interpreted as a focus. See the following:

11. sharuu ar-rjaal al-beet
bought.pl.mas. the men the house
"The men bought the house."

12. sharuu ar-rjaal beet
bought.pl.mas. the men a house
"The men bought a house."

13. sharuu rjaal al-beet
bought.pl.mas. men the house
"Men bought the house."

13. sharuu rjaal beet
bought.pl.mas. men a house
"Men bought a house."

In (11, 12, 13 and 14), we could notice that in VSO word order, both the definite and indefinite nouns whether in the subject or object positions are interpreted as neutral.

In SVO word order, only definite nouns can occur preverbally.

15. ar-rjaal sharuu al-beet
the men bought.pl.mas. the house
"The men bought the house."
"As for the men, they bought the house."
"THE MEN bought the house."

16. *rjaal sharuu al-beet
men bought.pl.mas the house
"Men bought the house."

We could notice in (15) that the definite noun al-rjaal "the men" as the subject appears preverbally; it is interpreted as neutral or as a topic or as a focus. On the contrary, the indefinite noun rjaal "men" can not surface preverbally; which is the reason behind the ungrammaticality of (16). However, the indefinite noun rjaal "a man" can surface preverbally when it is indefinite specific; in other words, the referent is known to the speaker or to the speaker and the hearer or it is modified by attribute

adjectives or relative clauses. See the following sentence uttered by the speaker while both the speaker and the hearer are looking at a man coming towards them:

17. *shif, rajaal (tweel mi?ih sayyarah) wisal.*

look, a man tall.sing.mas. with-him a car arrived.sing.mas.

“Look, a man with a car arrived.”

We could notice the indefinite noun *rajaal* “a man” in (17) surfaces preverbally as it is interpreted as indefinite specific noun. We could notice the optionality of the use of the adjective *tweel* “tall” and preposition phrase *mi?i-h sayyari-h* “with his car”; as the noun *rajaal* “a man” is known for both of the interlocutors.

As for VOS word order, only definite nouns can occur postverbally when the VO is being focused.

18. *sharuu al-beet ar-rjaal*

bought.pl.mas. the house the men

“As for the men, THEY BOUGHT THE HOUSE.”

“As for the men, they bought THE HOUSE.”

*“The men bought the house.”

19. **sharuu al-beet rjaal*

bought.pl.mas the house men

*“Men BOUGHT THE HOUSE.”

We could notice that the definite noun *al-rjaal* “the man” in (19) surfaces after the verb and the object *sharuu al-beet* “bought the house” compared to the indefinite noun *rajaal* “a man” in (17) which can not surface in that position.

Before investigating the distribution of the PLE and providing a syntactic account for it, one needs to exclude that the PLE is not a mere preposition follow its object (PP). The following section makes clear that the PLE is not really a PP.

Preposition-like element (PLE) and Prepositional Phrase (PP)

Although the PLE looks like a PP, both differs in a number of respects. First of all, the verb and the PLE form one prosodic unit; they are uttered as one word compared to the verb and the PP following it which are uttered with a pause between them. Second, the meanings differ; one is a PP and one is not.

20. sharuu li-hum beet

sharuu, li-hum beet (a pause used)

bought.pl.mas. for-them a house

“They bought a house for them.” (PP meaning)

“They bought a house.” (PLE meaning)

From the English gloss in (20), we could notice that there are two different interpretations for the sentence; one when the li-hum “for them” is interpreted as a PP with a short pause after the verb sharuu “bought”, and one when it is interpreted as a PLE.

The third difference is that the PP can be stressed or focused whereas the PLE can not.

21. sharuu LI-HUM beet

bought.pl.mas. FOR-THEM a house

“They bought a house FOR THEM (not someone else).”

“*They bought a house.”

In (21), we could notice that when the preposition clitic is stressed or focused LI-HUM “FOR THEM” it is only interpreted as a PP; never as PLE.

Forth, PP can be preposed whereas the PLE can not.

22. li-hum sharuu beet

for-them bought.pl.mas. a house

“For them, they bought a house.” (PP meaning)

*“I bought the car.” (PLE meaning)

Again, in (22), we could notice from the gloss that the preposed item li-hum “for them” is a PP not a PLE.

Fifth, PLE can not be used before definite nouns; whereas the PP can.

23. sharuu li-hum al-beet

bought.pl.mas. for-them the house

“They bought the house for them.” (PP meaning)

“*They bought the house.” (PLE meaning)

In (23), we could notice that interpretation of the PLE is not available when the definite noun al-beet “the house” is used after li-hum “for them”.

Sixth, PP can stand on its own as a complete sentence as a reply for a question but not the PLE.

24. li-hum.

For-them

“It is for them.” (PP meaning)

*I-clitic.” (PLE meaning)

In (24), we could notice that interpretation of the PLE is not available when li-hum “for them” is used on its own.

Seventh, both the PLE and the PP can appear in the same sentence.

25. sharuu li-hum beet la-ha

bought.pl.mas. for-them the house for-her

“They bought a house for her.”

From (25), we could notice that both the PLE li-hum “for them” and the PP la-ha surface in the same sentence.

From the above differences, one could conclude that although the PLE looks like PP, it not really a PP. The next section discusses the distribution of the PLE and provides a syntactic account for the PLE.

Distribution and Syntactic Account of the PLE

In this section, I discuss the distribution of the PLE in SNRDA and attempt to provide a syntactic account of its occurrence. Before investigating the distribution of the PLE with reference to the three word orders, we first show that the PLE is in complementary distribution with the definite article or any other element functioning as a determiner. See the following sentence:

26. ar-rjaal sharuu li-hum (*al-)beet.

the-men bought.pl.mas. for-them a house

“The men bought a house.”

27. b. ar-rjaal sharuu beet sideeq-hum

the-men bought.pl.mas. friend-their

“The men bought their friend’s house.”

b. *ar-rjaal sharuu li-hum beet sideeq-hum

the-men bought.pl.mas. for-them friend-their

“The men bought their friend’s house.”

In (26), we could notice that the definite article *al-* “the” can not be used before the noun *beet* “house” when the PLE *li-hum* “for them” is used. (27b) compared to (27a) shows that even the possessive pronoun *-hum* “their” can not be used when the PLE is used. Another important fact is that the PLE clitic *-hum* “them” and the verb *sharuu* “bought” always agree with the definite noun *ar-rjaal* “the men”. From the same sentences (26) and (27), it is also clear that PLE surfaces before indefinite nouns in sentences with two nouns one of which is a definite noun with which the verb and the PLE clitic agree; this is to say, PLE can not be use in sentences with one or two indefinite nouns. See the following:

28. a. *sharuu rjaal beet*.

bought.pl.mas. men a house

“Men bought a house.”

b. **sharuu (li-hum) rjaal (li-hum) beet*.

bought.pl.mas. for-them men for-them a house

“Men bought a house.”

(28b) compared to (28a) shows that the PLE *li-hum* “for them” can not appear before any of the indefinite nouns *rjaal* “men” and *beet* “a house” as both of the sentences do not have a definite noun. Moreover, PLE never appears before indefinite nouns in sentences with intransitive and ergative verbs as the following show:

29. a. *wisal rajaal*.

arrived.sing.mas. a man

“A man arrived.”

b. **wisal li-h rajaal*.

arrived.sing.mas. for-him a man

“A man arrived.”

30. a. *Taah rajaal*.

fell.sing.mas. a man

“A man fell.”

b. **Taah li-h rajaal*.

fell.sing.mas. for-him the/a man

“A man fell.”

From the ungrammaticality of (29b and 30b), one could notice that PLE is not used with the transitive verb *wisal* “arrived” and the ergative verb *Taah* “fell”.

In addition, PLE can not surface with equational sentences in which the two nouns refer to the same identity.

31. a. *al-rajaal mdarris*

the-man teacher.sing.mas.

“The man is a teacher.”

b. **al-rajaal li-h mdarris*

the-man for-him teacher.sing.mas.

“The man is a teacher.”

We could notice in (31b) compared to (31a), the PLE *li-h* “for him” use renders the sentence ungrammatical. Not surprisingly, PLE is not also used in existential sentences.

32. a. *kan hnaak rajaal ysamma ali*

was there a man called Ali

“There was a man called Ali.”

b. **kan hnaak l-ih rajaal ysamma ali*

was there for-him a man called Ali

“There was a man called Ali.”

We could notice that in (32b) compared to (32a), the PLE *li-h* “for him” use renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Now, let us investigate the distribution of the PLE with reference to the three word orders VSO, SVO and VOS. First, let us start with VSO sentences where the subject is the definite noun and the object is the indefinite one.

33. a. *sharuu ar-rjaal beet.* (VSO order)

bought.pl.mas. the-men house

“The men bought a house.”

b. *sharuu li-hum ar-rjaal beet.* (VSO order)

bought.pl.mas. for-them the-men a house

“The men bought a house.”

In (33b) compared to (33a), we could notice that definite subject ar-rjaal “the men” with which the verb sharuu “bought” and PLE clitic –hum “them” agree come between both the PLE li-hum “for them” and the indefinite noun beet “a house” and still the sentence is grammatical. That is to say, PLE is used with nouns interpreted as neutral. Let us see if the same is true for sentences with SVO word order.

34. a. ar-rjaal sharuu beet. (SVO order)

the-men bought.pl.mas. a house

“They bought a house.”

“As for the men, they bought a house.”

“THE MEN bought a house.”

b. ar-rjaal sharuu li-hum beet. (SVO order)

the-men bought.pl.mas. for-them a house

“They bought a house.”

“As for the men, they bought a house.”

“THE MEN bought a house.”

As in VSO word order, in (34b), one could also notice that with the definite subject ar-rjaal “the men” being positioned preverbally, the use of the PLE li-hum “for them” before the indefinite beet “a house” is still grammatical. Now, let us take sentences with VOS word order.

35. a. sharuu beet ar-rjaal. (VOS order)

bought.pl.mas. a house the-men

“As for the men, THEY BOUGHT A HOUSE.”

“As for the men, they bought A HOUSE.”

“*They bought a house.”

b. sharuu li-hum beet ar-rjaal. (VOS order)

bought.pl.mas. for-them house the-men

“As for the men, THEY BOUGHT A HOUSE.”

“They BOUGHT A HOUSE.”

“*They bought a house.”

As in VSO and VOS word orders, in (35b), we could notice that the use of the PLE li-hum “for them” in VOS word order is also grammatical. This is expected as this word order, VOS, is derived from VSO word order. From the above discussed examples, we could conclude that the

PLE surfaces before indefinite nouns in sentences with definite nouns with which the verb and PLE clitic agree. Let us see if PLE surfaces in sentences with indefinite subjects and definite objects. Let us start with VSO word order:

36. a. sharuu rjaal al-beet.

bought.pl.mas. men the- house

“Men bought a house.”

b. *sharuu li-h rjaal **al-beet**.

bought.pl.mas. for-it men the- house

“Men bought a house.”

In (36b) compared to (36a), one could notice that the use of the PLE “li-h” “for it” with its clitic agreeing with the definite object al-beet “the house” renders the sentence ungrammatical. Recall that in the VSO word order above in which the subject is the definite noun and the object is the indefinite one, the PLE with its clitic and the verb agree with the definite subject. In other words, both the verb and the PLE clitic carry the same agreement features. In (36b), the PLE clitic li-h “for it” only agrees with the definite object al-beet “the house”; the verb sharuu “bought” does not; it agrees with the indefinite noun rjaal “men”. See what happens when a clitic co-indexing with the definite object appears onto the verb:

37. a. sharuu-h li-h rjaal al-beet.

bought.pl.mas-it for-it men the- house

“Men bought a house.”

b. *sharuu-h rjaal al-beet.

bought.pl.mas-it men the- house

“Men bought a house.”

In (37a) compared to (37b), it is clear that the use of the clitic –h “it” with which the definite object al-beet “the house” and the PLE clitic li-h “for it” agree render the sentence grammatical. This is surprising knowing that object clitics surface onto verbs when the object is topicalized; and the object al-beet “the house” in (36a) is not topicalized; it is neutral. A syntactic fact in SNRDA, the clitic co-indexing with neutral definite objects is possible in VSO order if and only if a PLE is used. As for SVO and VOS word orders, recall that it is not possible to have an indefinite noun preverbally or at the end of the sentence after the VO is being focused. Therefore; PLE use in SVO and VOS word orders with indefinite subject is not possible.

The above discussed sentence have active verbs; PLE can also be used with passive verbs.

38. madhruub li-h dharba

was.beaten.sing.mas. for-him a beat

“He was beaten with a sever beat.”

We could notice in (38) that the PLE li-h “for him” is used after the passive verb madhruub “was beaten” and before the indefinite noun dharba “beat”.

From the so far discussed data, the following generalizations can be made:

1. PLE is in complementary distribution with the definite article al- “the” and any element in the determiner slot.
2. It occurs before indefinite nouns in sentences with two nouns one of which is definite with which the verb and the PLE clitic agree.
3. In the VSO word order in which the neutral definite noun is the object and the indefinite noun is the subject a clitic appears onto the verb co-indexing with the definite object with which the PLE clitic agrees.

So far, we have discussed the use of PLE with indefinite nouns in the argument positions. The PLE also surfaces after the verbs before indefinite nouns inside PPs. See the following sentence:

39. ar-rajaal b- hifrah.

the-man in- a hole

“The man is in a hole.”

40. ar-rajaal rah ykuun li-h b-hifrah.

the-man will be for-him in- a hole

“The man will be in a hole.”

From (40), we could notice that the PLE lih “for him” surfaces after the verb ykuun “be” before the indefinite noun hifrah “hole” inside the PP b-hifrah “in a hole”. Recall that we have shown that PLE does not surface in sentences with intransitive and ergative verbs; now, when adding a PP with an indefinite object to a sentence with intransitive or ergative verb, PLE surfaces. See the following:

41. a. wisaluu ?ala hmaar.

arrived.pl.mas. on a donkey

“They arrived on a donkey.”

b. wisaluu li-hum ?ala hmaar.
arrived.pl.mas. for-them on donkey

“They arrived on a donkey.”

42. a. Taahuu b-hifrah.

fell.pl.mas. in-a hole

“They fell in a hole.”

b. Taahuu li-hum b- hifrah.

fell.pl.mas. for-them in- a hole

“They fell in a hole.”

In (41b) and (42b), we could notice that the PLE li-hum “for them” surfaces after the intransitive verb wisal “arrive” and Taah “fell” before the indefinite nouns hmar “a donkey” and hifrah “a hole” when the prepositional phrases ?ala hmar “on a donkdy” and b- hifrah “in a hole” are added to the sentences.

At this point, from the above discussed data, one could draw the following new generalization:

PLE surfaces after the verb before the indefinite noun in the argument position or in the object position of the preposition.

To exclude that the indefinite noun before which the PLE appears is a specific noun, the following shows that PLE can appear before the indefinite nonspecific nouns:

43. itha shift la-k asad hij

if see. you for-you a lion flee

“If you see a lion flee.”

From (43), we could notice the the PLE la-k “for you” surfaces before the indefinite nonspecific noun asad “a lion”.

The question now is where exactly the position of the PLE is. Is it part of the DP? or is it outside it? A number of syntactic pieces of evidence show that the PLE is not part of the DP although it appears before it. First, recall that I have stated that one of the differences between the PLE and the PP is that the PLE and the verb preceding it form one prosodic unit. Thus, we expect that no element can break this prosodic unit; in other word, no word can appear between them; this turns to be true. However, elements can surface between the PLE and the indefinite noun following it. See the following:

44. a. sharuu li-hum ar-jaal beet.

bought.pl.mas. for them the-men a house

“The men bought a house.”

b. *sharuu ar-rjaal li-hum beet.

bought.pl.mas. the-men for-them a house

“The men bought a house.”

c. *sharuu ams li-hum ar-jaal beet.

bought.pl.mas. yesterday for-them the-men a house

“The men bought a house yesterday.”

From (44b and c), we could notice that the appearance of the subject ar-rjaal “the men” or the adverb ams “yesterday” between the verb sharuu “bought” and the PLE li-hum “for them” renders the sentences ungrammatical. Thus, we could conclude that there is an adjacency requirement between the verb and PLE. Moreover, as we have seen before, we could also notice that the subject ar-rjaal “the men” surfaces between the PLE li-hum “for them” and the indefinite noun beet “a house” which shows that the PLE is not part of the DP.

The second piece of evidence comes from the use of the PLE in Construct States; the PLE appears before the CS and never surfaces inside it. See the following.

45. a. wiqafauu fuuq jdaar beet

stood.pl.mas. above a wall a house

“As for them, they stood above a house wall.”

b. wiqafauu li-hum fuuq li-hum jdaar (*li-hum) beet

stood.pl.mas. for-them above a wall for-them house

“As for them, they stood above a house wall.”

In (45), one could notice the PLE li-hum “for them” surfaces before the CS jdaar beet “a house wall” and never surfaces before the indefinite noun beet “a house”.

The third evidence comes from the acceptability of preposing the indefinite noun without the PLE.

46. a. beet, sharuu.

a house, bought.pl.mas.

A HOUSE, they bought.”

b. beet, sharuu li-hum.

house, bought.pl.mas. for-them

“A HOUSE, they bought.”

In (46b), compared to (46a), one could notice that the indefinite noun beet “a house” is preposed leaving the PLE li-hum “for them” behind. The forth evidence comes from the conjoined nouns.

47. a. sharuu beet w sayyarah

bought.pl.mas. a house and a car

“They bought a house and a car.”

b. shruu li-hum beet w (*li-hum) sayyarah

bought.pl.mas. for-them a house and for-them a car

“They bought a house and a car.”

We could notice from (47b) that the PLE li-hum “for them” surfaces before both conjoined nouns beet w sayyarah “a house and a car” and never before the second noun sayyarah “a car”. If the PLE is part of the DP, we expect it to surface before each of the nouns. The fifth piece of evidence comes from the wh- and echo- question formation.

48. wish shruu li-hum?

what bought.pl.mas. for-them

“What did they buy?”

49. shruu li-hum wish?

bought.pl.mas. for-them what

“They bought what?”

We could notice from (48) and (49) that the PLE li-hum “for them” is not affected when the wh-item wish “what” is used. In (48), the wh-item wish “what” is moved to the left periphery of the clause and the PLE is left behind; and in (49), the ech-wh-item wish “what” appears in its base position and the PLE is still there.

To recap, in this section, I have shown that the PLE is in complementary distribution with the definite article al- “the” and other determiners. It is used before indefinite nouns; it forms a prosodic unit with the verb. Its appearance in the sentence is conditioned by the use of two nouns; one of which is a definite with which the verb and the PLE clitic agrees. A clitic surfaces onto the verb when the definite noun is the object; a phenomenon that is unique to SNRDA and is linked to the use of PLEs. Moreover, I have also shown that the PLE is not part of the DP. From

these facts, I assume that the verb comes with the numeration inflected with agreement; in other words, the clitic that surfaces onto the verb in case of neutral objects is part of the verb before the verb comes from the numeration. And as the PLE always occupies a position right after the verb and form one prosodic unit with it, I argue that PLE is a marker or an XP of some sort whose head is the 1- “for-”; it is merged somewhere above the VP to which the VP is attracted for checking agreement features and the same head has a selection requirement; it selects an indefinite noun.

Conclusion

In this paper I have investigated the occurrence of the preposition-like element (PLE) in Saudi Northern Region Dialect of Arabic (SNRDA) which always surfaces before the indefinite nouns. I have shown that this element is in complementary distribution with the definite article al-“the” and other determiners. The element appears in very restricted syntactic environment; it appears in a position right after the verb in sentences with two nouns one of each is definite with which the verb and the PLE clitic agree; the verb and the PLE form one prosodic unit. In addition, I have also shown that the PLE is not part of the DP. Therefore, I have argued that there is a phrase an XP of some sort merged above the VP to which the verb is attracted for checking agreement features and that there is a selection requirement for the PLE. It selects indefinite nouns.

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A Bottom up Approach to Language Revitalisation: Focus on the Sindhi Community

Maya Khemlani David

Abstract

As I have been reviewing grants for revitalisation for a number of years for an international NGO I have noticed that applicants often ask for funds for collecting data and for documentation, for running classes and creating handbooks and for travelling to hold interviews with the remaining speakers and for also purchasing technological inputs. Such application for grants generally tend to focus on the documentation of the languages which are deemed endangered and where there is a fear that with the death of the last speaker of the community the language will die. One must however examine the socio political, economic reasons why a community has shifted away from habitual use of its ethnic language. Understanding these reasons will help in the running of appropriate revitalisation programmes.

In this study I will focus on the diasporic Sindhi Hindu community in a number of research sites who have shifted away from the dominant use of their ethnic language. We will describe and examine the extensive work of a Sindhi language activist and argue that the many strategies to revitalise a language must first focus on determining the reasons for such a shift. In short, depending on the reasons for language shift the focus of a revitalisation strategy must be aligned with such reasons. A revitalisation programme taking a bottom up approach that is, determining the cause of the shift will be more fruitful compared to one that merely focusses on documenting a language.

Keywords: Revitalisation, Sindhis, Bottom-up approach, Documentation

Introduction

Much work has gone to collecting data, documenting data and archiving data of endangered languages. There are many worldwide famous academic institutions which have made it their goal to provide finance to scholars to collect data and digitalise it before the last speaker of a language dies. The director of such a programme in SOAS called the Endangered Language Documentation Programme in the University of London, Mandana Seyfeddinipur in a recent webinar (12-13 August, 2020) categorically stated that the onus of the revitalisation of a dying language is the work of the speech community, and or a member or members of the community who is/are a language activist/s. She said and I quote “Our work is not on maintenance or revitalisation. For that we

need to see strong community involvement...we are restricted to documentation. "When asked "How do we encourage people to use their own language?" Her response was "I don't know". She reiterated that the job of SOAS was to collect, preserve and archive the languages, in short to document the language and not to revitalise the language.

Therefore, in this paper I would like to focus on the work of language activists who are attempting to promote active use of the heritage language. I will focus on the Sindhi Hindu community. The majority of the Sindhi Hindus, about 800,000 fled their one-time homeland, Sind when the Indian subcontinent was partitioned into India and Pakistan in 1947. Today they have no homeland of their own and live in imagined communities not only in India but in most parts of the world

Studies of the community in India some 30 years after partition found that the community had shifted away from habitual use of the Sindhi language (Daswani and Parchani 1978, see also Daswani, 1989). In fact, as early as 1963, Khubchandani in his doctorate thesis for the University of Pennsylvania discussed the acculturation of Indian Sindhi to Hindi. More recent studies in different parts of the world of the Sindhi community show a trend to language shift. The Sindhis in Metro Manila, Philippines in a study by Dewan in 1997. Had not only shifted away from Sindhi but had also converted to Christianity. David in her studies of the Sindhis in Malaysia, (1996) Singapore and London finds shift occurring. A comparative study of the Sindhi and Punjabi communities in Hong Kong by Detramani and Lock 2003 also show that there is a shift but that the shift among the Sindhis is more extensive and rapid as compared to the Hong Kong Punjabi community. In Jakarta, Indonesia too, there has been a shift (Thapan, 2002). Many of these studies showed that language shift was occurring but a recent study by Iyengar in 2013 on perceptions of young Sindhis on heritage language shift in the city of Pune, India focussed on reasons for such a shift. Such an emphasis on the perceptions and attitude of community members towards their heritage language provide vital knowledge which may help language activists to focus on appropriate ways to revitalise the language. In a more recent paper Iyengar 2014 suggests that perhaps it is the use of two scripts – Devanagari and Perso-Arabic script should be replaced by a Roman script to facilitate literary acquisition. This, he believes could consequently promote a positive attitude towards the Sindhi language. Garret et al as early as 2003 had stated that attitudes are a major instrument to either support or reject a language.

This shift among community members in different sites has not gone unnoticed by the Sindhi community. Leading members of the community like Dada Vaswani, a spiritual leader of the Sindhi Hindu community often made appeals to the community to use their mother tongue. However, in his sermons and or lectures he tended to use both Sindhi and English to accommodate younger community members. In his video

recordings of his discourse we note Vaswani linguistically accommodating to the audience at his talks. In Malaysia we note that the President of the Sindhi Association of Malaysia gives his speeches in English and notices of births and deaths and weddings and other rites of passage announced in social media are all in English.

Revitalization Activities by Sindhi language Activists

There are number of language activists who are working hard to revitalize the Sindhi language through various means. The famous language revitalization means are social, and electronic media. There are different web sites, telefilms, TV shows, magazines, folk music and literature to revitalize and preserve the language. Ms Asha Chand is a famous Sindhi language activist and some of her strategies and websites to revitalize the Sindhi language are now discussed.

www.learn Sindhi.com The learn Sindhi is a web site created to teach the Sindhi language from basic to an advanced level. Asha Chand introduces the sites for teaching and learning the Sindhi language starting from basic sounds and letters, to the advanced level - sentence structure. According to her, the Sindhi language in India and in other parts of the world is at risk as it does not have a huge number of speakers, and its speakers are scattered. She is worried about the loss of their mother tongue. Therefore, she requests Sindhis to learn and speak Sindhi in their homes. In other words, she is trying to revitalize the Sindhi language among the Sindhis both in and outside of India. In her introduction to the site, she urges Sindhi parents to learn and use Sindhi in their homes and in their daily lives. This web site has online lectures as well as a complete CD which contains the material from basic sounds and letters to an advanced level. The site uses the Arabic-Sindhi and Roman scripts to teach Sindhi.

Asha Chand tries to vitalize and revitalize the Sindhi language among Hindu Sindhis in India, Dubai, US, UK, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Philippines. She teaches basic to advance Sindhi through web resources. She conducts seminars, workshops and conferences to revitalize the Sindhi language among Sindhis so that they can preserve their language, literature and culture.

Another website is www.sindhigulab.com Sindhi gulab is another site aimed at revitalizing the Sindhi language. It is the first Sindhi internet magazine since 2001 in the service of Sindhyat. This web magazine is classified into five different sections of Sindhi language, literature and culture namely; Sindhi sahitya, Sindhi info, Sindhi media, and the religion of the Sindhi Hindus. These sections are further classified into sub-sections giving information about various aspects of the Sindhi language. It is a complete Arabic-Sindhi web magazine. It is India's first magazine publishing monthly in Sindhi; but some articles are also published in English.

There are ten patrons of this web magazine namely Jetho Lalwani, Asha Chand, Dada Muriq, Manghnani (Dubai), Bahu Chetan Ramchandani, Shri Chandru, Manghnani (Mumbai), Shri Dilip Bulchandani and Shri Ram Jawharani. These are not just patrons on this electronic magazine but are leading Sindhi language activists who are trying their best to maintain and revitalize the Sindhi language. These language activists can be seen at different workshops, seminars, TV shows, programs, web sites and gatherings of Sindhis in India, Pakistan, Dubai, US, Malaysia, etc.

Yet another website is www.Sindhisinghat.com Sindhisinghat is another web site to teach and learn the Sindhi language. This web page produces many things related to Sindhi language, literature and culture. The literal meaning of the phrase 'Sindhi sanghat' is 'Sindhi friendship', 'Sindhi brotherhood' and 'Sindhi people'.

Sindhisinghat has various modes and sub-means to revitalize the Sindhi language among Sindhis especially in India, Dubai, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, UK and US where Sindhi language use is either declining or has declined. One of the means of revitalizing Sindhi is 'Read & write' sections in the site. This section is further classified into Sindhi articles, English articles, learn Sindhi, stories, folk literature and music in Sindhi and English, Sindhi reflection, Sindhi books and short stories. These are attempts targeted at children and intermediate and advanced level learners to learn the Sindhi language.

Sindhisinghat also produces Sindhi telefilms, Sindhi music, folk music, Sindhi poetry, Sindhi movies and Sindhi TV to promote use of the Sindhi language. Sometimes this page produces some funny video clips in Sindhi to interest Sindhis to learn the language. It also produces video and audio clips to teach Sindhi proverbs and idioms.

The final website that will be described is www.Sindhisaathi Sindhi Saathi is another web site to revitalize the Sindhi language. The word 'saathi' means 'a friend', 'a comrade', 'a companion' and 'a brother'. The Sindhi Saathi web site brings a platform for Sindhis wherever they live to join, to gather and to unite on one platform so that they can preserve their language, literature and culture. Ms Asha Chand in the introductory page of the site urges all Sindhis to be united and to revitalize and preserve their language.

On her website Sindhi.sathi.org the entries are mostly in English or in English with an Arabic script. A few entries like wish you a Happy New Year and Sindhi video contest for youngsters are written in English and in Sindhi in an Arabic script. This is logical as the wider audience appear to be English dominant

Evaluation of these programmes

Speech communities shift to other languages for a number of reasons, both internal and external. War and genocide, natural disasters- famine

and disease, migration, urbanisation, global changes, educational policies etc can result in language shift. The new language may indicate socio economic status, they may want to adopt another identity (e.g. in Malaysia speaking the Malay language is integral to the cultural identity of a Malay and as Malays receive a range of preferential rights marriages of non-Malays with Malays would result in a shift to being or entering the Malay world). There are therefore political, educational and socioeconomic motivations for language shift. In short, both internal and external factors within a speech community can cause language shift

Language attitude plays a vital role for the maintenance and shift of any language. The attitude and use or non-use of a heritage language can be determined by many factors including if the community is a minority community living in a multilingual setting, if the community does not see any social capital in its heritage language, if the language policy in the country they are living in affects the medium of instruction in schools and universities and if all these and many other factors cause intra-generational or inter-generational language shift. The former is a shift within the same generation and the latter involves a shift between one generation and the other. When there is no intergenerational transmission of the ethnic or heritage language there will be language death. If parents do not use the ethnic language in the home domain with their children there will be language shift. If a language can be lost in some functions and some domains there is a possibility of salvaging it or reviving it. However, before rushing into activities to revitalise a language it is vital to determine reasons for the shift, extent of the shift and only then carefully think and activate appropriate strategies to revitalise the language.

In short, what is being recommended is a psycho-social dimension to the study of language shift and language revitalisation. Determine the reason and state of the shift. If the shift has already taken place in the first generation of migrants and if the second generation learn another language in school and hear yet another language in the home domain there has occurred not only intergenerational shift but intragenerational shift. The language activist must be aware of this situation then think of appropriate strategies to revitalise the language.

If the shift has started in the home domain activists must be able to change the negative attitude of the speech community to its own language. The focus could be on parents and parental agency. Parents can be encouraged to be language activists in the home domain and influence their children's language choices. Parents have a vital role in prestige planning on a minority language and can influence the language ideology within the family domain (see Nandi, 2018 who discusses how the linguistic practices of parents influence their children's language learning).

Let me provide specific examples. I am a Malaysian Sindhi of the second generation. My parents tended to speak to each other generally in English as my mother had attended an English medium school in Singapore and my father was an English proficient merchant having to deal with English customers in the then colonial Malaya. During my youth English was the medium of instruction in the schools I attended, as was the case with my Sindhi friends. My parents spoke Sindhi with their Sindhi peers so I did have a dormant knowledge of Sindhi. In many Sindhi homes the second-generation mothers having attended English medium schools in colonial Malaya tended to use English with their children. English then became the language of the home domain unless there were non-English speaking grandparents. Many grandparents tended to accommodate to their grandchildren by using a mixed code of the pidgin Malay and Sindhi. Today English has become the dominant language of my generation of fellow Sindhis in Kuala Lumpur. We understand it but do not use it with our peers. As is the case with many of our children. To revitalise the use of the Sindhi language my Sindhi friends and I must be motivated to do so.

There is no lack of books or dictionaries in the Sindhi language. There is no need to document the language. What needs to be done is to revitalise the language. But to do that we have to understand why the speech community has shifted from its ethnic language. They must be given solid and understandable reasons why they should use their language. Asha Chand is motivating young children by organising song, dance and poetry and story competitions and providing gift tokens. Using social media she is encouraging mothers to use the language in the home domain with their children. Telling people to move away from long used habits does not mean this will occur overnight. She is also encouraging principals in schools in certain parts of India to have Sindhi as a subject in the formative years of a child's education. However, if these minority language students hear Hindi and other regional languages both in the home and outside the home domains then the Sindhi language merely becomes a class learnt language.

Language activists are doing their best. But as a sociolinguist and having also taught social psychology what is being suggested is that the work of the activist must start with the community. The language activist/s must determine reasons for the shift and involve the community in the revitalisation programme by providing solid reasons why the heritage language should be used. The speech community can be informed that they can remain bi or multilingual and in fact there are a number of cognitive advantages in being multilingual. Language activists must make connections between reasons for shift and provide viable suggestions and solutions to revitalise the language. In the process they must get many community members involved.

There may be a lowering of the nature of the revitalisation programme. Some members of the community who are trying to encourage members of the speech community to use the language have argued that perhaps using/speaking the language is more important than focusing on written literacy as the Sindhi script can be written in both Devanagari or the Persio-Arabic script. Consequently, community leaders are being realistic and dropping their expectations of a return to both spoken and written language. Some activists may be content with a receptive knowledge of the mother tongue. In short, language activists may have to lower their expectations of how much and what type of revitalisation of the mother tongue they want to focus on.

In conclusion, while language documentation of endangered languages focusses on collecting, recording, transcribing and archiving a language revitalisation of Linguistic communities can create new perspectives on documentation argue sociolinguists Farfán and Ranallo. They state “Instead of creating more museum pieces for the future ... it is necessary to revitalise or reactivate the **actual use** (my emphasis) of endangered Lang in the present time...” (2010)

Language revitalisation activists must try and involve many members of the speech community, perhaps even lowering expectations of the extent to which they want to revitalise the language. Spoken or written literacy? The activists must determine not only the reasons for the shift but also the extent of the shift. Then the language activist can use appropriate strategies to assist in a revitalisation programme. For instance, in a community which sees social capital in another language a more viable approach to revitalisation is to use persuasive discourse strategies to encourage and persuade specific members of the speech community to see value in using their language, but still maintaining their multilingual repertoire. Multilingualism does not automatically result in a complete shift away from the mother tongue. A classic example of what I deem a fairly successful revitalisation programme is one that is conducted by activists Z Torwali (2018) and his co-activists in the Swat Valley, Pakistan. The focus is on the young, the parents and the elderly to use their languages and story tellers go round telling fables and folklore in Torwali.

Members of a speech community have different reasons when and why they return to the use of their mother tongue, provided they have a dormant knowledge of the language. Language activists must also be aware of this. It is hoped that linguists will not only want to spend their years just documenting Languages and collecting data from members of a speech community but also to determine reasons and extent of a shift and work together with community members to entuse them In a number of ways to use their language.

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A Morphological Sketch of Sanenyo

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Abstract

The paper presents a morphological sketch of Sanenyo (ISO 639-3 crv) /sənɛːjə/ (also called Chaura, or Tutet), spoken by the Chaura community of the Chaura island and is a part of the Nicobarese branch of the Austroasiatic language family and the language status is 6b (Threatened)¹. Various characteristics like tense, number and gender agreement, phrasal structures, case, number system etc. are discussed. All the data mentioned are collected first hand from the fieldwork done in Port Blair and Teressa islands with the help of the native speakers. The findings are part of the ongoing project conducted by Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore under the Scheme for the Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages (SPPEL). No prior morphological study of the language has been done yet and hence this paper is the first attempt to bring out the morphological sketch of the language.

Keywords: Language Family, Endangered language, case, agreement

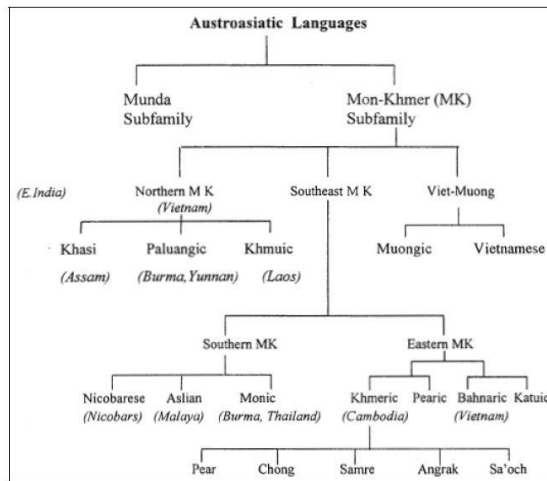
Language family and its further division

The term ‘Austroasiatic’ is derived from the Latin word *australis* meaning ‘of the south’ and the Austroasiatic (AA) family consists of almost 200 languages spoken in the East and North East India and Southeast Asia. Out of all, only two languages, Khmer and Vietnamese (which are also the largest spoken languages) are considered as national languages. The classification of the Austroasiatic (AA) language family has been through many controversies starting with William Schmidt in 1906 who proposed the idea of an ‘Austic’ language family consisting of both Austroasiatic and Austronesian languages. The knowledge that AA tribal possess the “the highest frequencies of the ancient east-Asian mtDNA HG-M” made the scholars argue that they are “the earliest inhabitants of India.” (Basu et al, 2003: 2280). The Austroasiatic languages are distinctly grouped into three major sub groups, each spread

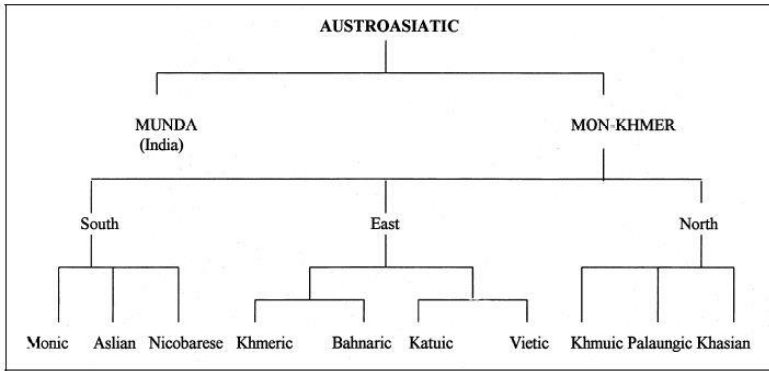
¹ Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2019. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-second edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

over three different geographical locations. There are the Munda languages that are spread over eastern and some parts of central India in the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. While the Northern Munda languages include the Khwerial languages- Ho, Bhumij, Santali (third largest Austroasiatic language after Vietnamese and Khmer), Mundari, Asuri, Birhor, Turi, Korwa and Korku. Some have developed scripts like Ol Chiki for Santali, Warang Chiti for Ho, etc. The Mon Khmer languages are spread all the way from Meghalaya in India to Bangladesh, Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, and China. Mon Khmer has 12 main branches and almost 130 languages with Meghalaya housing the Khasi branch of North Mon Khmer languages, comprising of Khasi, Langrin Khasi, Mnar, Pnar, War, etc. The third group of languages called the Nicobarese languages, namely, Car Nicobarese, Chaura, Teressa, Central Nicobarese, Southern Nicobarese and Shompen are spread across the Nicobar Islands and named after the islands they are spoken. However, some scholars place the Nicobaric languages under the Mon Khmer branch and do not consider them as distinct group of languages. The existing typological study and research on Nicobari languages are not conclusive enough to see it as a separate branch, thus placing it under the Mon Khmer branch as it shares the geographical and some typological features with other Mon Khmer languages. Diffloth (1974) modified Pinnow model by introducing three families- Munda, Mon-Khmer and Nicobarese where the Mon-Khmer family was later sub divided based on the 'lexicostatistical' findings of Thomas and Headly in 1970. However, Diffloth himself merged the Nicobarese into Mon-Khmer with Aslian as its sister and later promoted 'Khasi-Palaungic-Khmic' as the third family (Sidwell, 2010).

- *Austroasiatic classification of Mon-Khmer branch done by Diffloth(1980)*



- *Austroasiatic Classification by Diffloth (reproduced by Chazee 1999)*



The **Munda** languages are generally divided into North Munda languages (or the Khewerian Languages) and the South Munda languages and are essentially Verb final languages with agglutinating properties allowing derivations with affixes. They show the flexibility of grammatical class where the morphemes are assigned to a various class based on the categories they get assigned and do not yield any affixes showing their status (Koshy, 2015). The **Mon Khmer** languages are generally Verb medial with some derivational processes but mostly are isolating. The name essentially comes from Khmer, the language spoken in Cambodia and Mon, the language of the Mon people of Myanmar. Out of all the languages in this branch, only Vietnamese (spoken in Vietnam) and Khmer have official status. The **Nicobarese** languages are generally Verb-initial (with a flexible word order) with the derivation and compounding along with affixation (prefixes suffixes, infixes and circumfixes). Unlike Munda and Mon Khmer languages, Nicobaric languages do not show the substantial influence of South Asian languages thus proving to be difficult in typological profiling and often claimed not to be distinctive enough for internal classification of the Austroasiatic language family in to three different groups.

The Nicobaric branch

The Nicobar Islands are an archipelagic island chain in the eastern Indian Ocean. They are located in Southeast Asia, 150 km north of Sumatra, and are separated from Thailand to the east by the Andaman Sea. Located in the southeast of the Indian subcontinent, across the Bay of Bengal, they form part of the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, India. The Nicobaric branch is a small and poorly documented branch of the AA family. The earliest sources for the study are the dictionaries and grammars made by Man (1872), Roepstroff (1884), Temple (1903), Whitehead (1925) and some other grammarians like Braine (1970) and Radhakrishnan (1981). However, they mostly talk about only two

varieties- *Car* and *Nancowry* and hence the rest of the branch is almost untouched and not studied at all. The major language spoken in the Nicobaric islands is Car Nicobarese (caq) or simply Car or Pu, named after one of the most flourishing islands of Car Nicobar, which is situated in the northern-most of the twenty-two islands of Nicobar in the Andaman Sea. The rest of the languages/varieties spoken in the Nicobar are majorly constituted of six dialects which are also named after the island they are spoken-

1. Car
2. Chowra
3. Teresa and Bompoka
4. Central (Nancowry, Kamorta, Trinket, Katchall)
5. Southern (Great and Little Nicobar)
6. Shompen (interior of Great Nicobar Island)

It is important to note one of the earliest remarks made by Temple, as quoted in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. 4, p. 15) that 'the Nicobarese speak one language in six dialects so different as to be mutually unintelligible to the ear. These six dialects are, from North to South, *Car-Nicobar*, *Chowra*, *Teresa*, *Central*, *Southern* and *Shom Pen*.' Earlier the Nicobaric languages were seen to be part of the Shompen language (Blench & Sidwell, 2011) and seen as distinct branch of Austroasiatic but were later dismissed placing Shompen alone as a South Nicobaric language (Sidwell, 2017). The conclusion drawn was that Car was the northern most language, Shompen was the southernmost, and the rest rather form a central chain of dialects dominated by Nancowry or Muot. Among all the languages spoken in the Nicobar Islands, Car Nicobar/ Pu and Muot (spoken in Central Nicobar) are the only ones that has been properly documented. Nicobari has developed a writing system known as Nicobari script using Roman alphabets and have dictionaries made by Whitehead (1925) and Man (1889) respectively. In recent times, Das (1977) has done work on phonology and lexicon of Nicobari while Rajasingh (2017) has worked on Muot as part of Andaman commissioned project with CIIL, Mysore in which he has mentioned the phonology, morpho-syntactic aspects of the language along with a dictionary. Thus it is evident that the languages of the Nicobaric branch are in dire need of proper documentation and description for comparative and typological understanding of the same which will also allow a definite classification and categorization of the branch using solid data and findings.

Word Order

The basic word order of both the language is Verb-initial and subject final, although it is not strictly fixed.

- 1) *həjɔ suṽ ən məhɛ:o*
 play ball NOM boy
 ‘The boy is playing with a ball.’
- 2) *ləṽ həm hiṽu ən məhɛ:o*
 PFV eat banana NOM boy
 ‘The boy has eaten banana.’
- 3) *ləṽ ən məhɛ:o eŋ həm hiṽu*
 PFV NOM boy PST eat banana
 ‘The boy had eaten banana.’

In (1), the verb comes at the initial position of the sentence while in example (3) the

verb comes before the object and the subject occurs before the verb. This kind of movement is

allowed in the language, especially in running speech or during narrations. The aspect marker in *Sanenyo* comes at the initial position as a free morpheme.

- 4) *ləṽ ən məhɛ:o eŋ həm hiṽu*
 PFV NOM boy PST eat banana
 ‘The boy had eaten banana.’

Phrasal structures

A. Adjective Phrase

The adjectives are attributive in nature preceding the noun category and sometimes a relative marker /ca/ is placed between the adjective and noun along with the indicative marker /ən/ to modify the noun. The indicative marker is optional and can be dropped in running speech, that is, the omission of the morpheme /ən/ will not make ungrammatical. Thus both (5) and (6) are acceptable.

- 5) *ṽəməwu ca ən kəʔeṽ*
 intelligent REL FOC child
 ‘intelligent child’
- 6) *ṽəməwu ca kəʔeṽ neəʔ*
 intelligent REL child this
 ‘This is an intelligent child’

Gradable adjectives are constructed using morphemes like /kəru/ ‘big, more’, /fulhə/ ‘very’ where the adverbs are placed before the adjectives. *Sanenyo* adjectives also follow the classifiers; however, the indicative marker is placed between the classifier and the adjective for emphasis.

- 7) *roic -tək ən tə-mihoe li:pare*
three-CL IND OBJ –thin paper
‘three thin sheets of paper’

Adjectives like ‘big’, ‘small’ or ‘many’ can also follow the numerals to provide emphasis on the amount or shape/size of the head noun.

- 8) *tə-hiəŋ pəmiɛc situn*
OBJ -one small bottle
‘one small bottle’

B. Adverbial Phrase

Sanenyo adverbs usually come before the verb with a presence of nominal particle between the adverbial and verbal phrase and the adverbs are placed at sentence initial position. The same pattern is observed in adverbs of time or attitude where they are placed at sentence initial position which may or may not be followed by the main verb.

- 9) *hətrɛɪc re nə sut*
everyday play 3SG ball
‘He plays football everyday.’

- 10) *he?ə ən mǎ rik*
surely FOC 2SG come
‘You will surely come.’

Time adverbial precedes Place adverbials,

- 11) *ɬə ri:əiə ufe ən kə?ɛɬ ujəhəre ka?park*
FOC evening PL NOM child play IND park
‘In the evening, the children play in the park.’

C. Noun Phrase

Sanenyo is primarily head-initial language placing the modifiers after the categories they modify. Noun phrases with complements are observed to have the Complement phrase following the Noun phrase and thus are right branching.

- 12) *ka məhɛ:ɔ wəhɛ ɬə əloic lɛɬ lɛɬɛn ənɾə kaɬ*
FOC boy yesterday OBJ fever PFV well now EXP
‘The boy who had fever yesterday is well now.’

The clauses, however, do not use an overt relative marker or a complementizer but do have head –initial participial/adjectival clause constructions where the adjectives are usually attributive preceding the nouns in simple sentences.

13) *pəmaje ən kəʔeɛ*
shy FOC child
'shy child'

14) *mənkəʔlase ən kəʔeɛ*
naughty FOC child
'naughty child'

However, the adjectives can both precede as in (15) where 'shy' precedes and 'intelligent' follows the head noun 'child' or follow as in (16) where both the adjectives 'shy' and 'intelligent' comes after the head noun.

15) *pəmaje ufe ka kəʔeɛ en ɬeməwu jəhnə*
shy PL FOC child 3SG intelligent and
'Her children are shy and intelligent.'

16) *ufe ka kəʔeɛ en pəmaje jəhnə ɬeməwu*
PL FOC child 3SG shy and intelligent
'Her children are beautiful and intelligent.'

Genitival constructions are also observed to be head initial in *Sanenyo* where the head is followed by the dependent and the head-dependent constructions are not marked morphologically.

17) *ɬəʔ -ram* [*inalienable*]
mother -ram
'Ram's mother'

18) *li:pəre cə* [*alienable*]
book 1SG
'My book'

In *Sanenyo*, the morphemes /*ɬəkɑ/* (for –visible) and /*ɬən/* (for +visible) can be used before the pronominal to emphasize the alienable possession such as in (19),

19) *roic -ca ka ufe kunrəpə ɬən cə*
three -CL FOC PL shoe POSS 1SG
'I have three shoes.'

Else, it can also be dropped in case there is no focus as in (20),

- 20) *nijo?* *cə*
necklace 1SG
'My necklace'

D. Verb Phrase

Verb Phrases in *Sanenyo* are generally head-initial followed by the dependent phrase.

- 21) *həkəp lipərə: ən ram*
read book NOM ram
'Ram reads book.'

Sanenyo places the auxiliary verb before the main verb and it is quite possible that the helping verb has lost its verbal character and has turned into an aspect marker. The aspect markers are usually placed at the sentence initial position as in (23) and object and subject can interchange their position based on the speaker's discretion to show focus or for pragmatic needs.

- 22) *həjɔ su⁷ ən məhɛ:o*
play ball NOM boy
'The boy is playing with a ball.'

- 23) *lɛɿ həjɔ su⁷ ən məhɛ:o eŋ*
PFV play ball NOM boy PST
'The boy had played with a ball.'

Adpositional Phrase: *Sanenyo* adpositional phrases show prepositions.

- 24) *ɛɔŋ ɔl cɔŋ*
go on ship
'go on a ship'

1. Agreement System

- A. Tense: *Sanenyo* there are all three tenses- **present, past and future** and the present tense is not marked while the past and future tense are necessarily marked. We also do not observe any modification in verb forms with change in tense.

a. Simple Present tense

25) *əkɪɔk ən ram*
eat NOM ram
'Ram eats.'

b. Simple Past tense

26) *əkɪɔk ən ram ɛŋ*
eat NOM ram PST
'Ram ate.'

c. Simple Future tense

27) *əkɪɔk ən ram mɔɔ*
eat NOM ram FUT
'Ram will eat.'

B. Number: *Sanenyo* has three numbers; **singular, dual and plural** where it has separate morphemes only for dual and plural marking and because there is no change in verb forms with a change in number, there is also no number agreement marking in the language.

a. Singular

28) *əkɪɔk ən məhɛ:o*
eat NOM boy
'The boy eats.'

b. Dual

29) *əkɪɔk unə ən məhɛ:o*
eat DU NOM boy
'The boys(two) eat.'

c. Plural

30) *əkɪɔk ufe ən məhɛ:o*
eat PL NOM boy
'The boys eat.'

C. Gender: Gender agreement is also not found in both the language. However, in *Sanenyo* the morphemes [kɔɪŋ] for male and [kɑ:n] for female are used in order to differentiate natural genders of the nouns using compounding. [kɔɪŋ] means husband and [kɑ:n] means wife separately. However, the following usage is also observed.

31) [kɔɪŋ hɑi:əm] 'cock' [kɑ:n hɑi:əm] 'hen'

32) [kɔɪŋ kɛ:iŋ] 'male monkey' [kɑ:n kɛ:iŋ] 'female monkey'

Sanenyo does have morphemes for 'boy' [məhɛ:o] and 'girl' [hulið] in *Sanenyo* and these are also used to differentiate for gender in [+human].

33) [kəɔɛ:ɪ ən məhɛ:o] 'boy child'

34) [kəʔε:ɿ ən huliã] 'girl child'

2. Pronominal system

Sanenyo also has an exhaustive system of Pronominal with first, second and third person marking along with singular, dual and plural forms.

	1	2	3
SG	cəʔ	ciʔai ~ ciʔ	cuʔu ~ cuʔ
DU	Mē	inə	i:he
PL	En	unə	ufe

The language is partially pro-drop where the pronominal can be dropped in 3person.

35) *ɕicnə cə kaɿ*
 hungry 1SG EXP
 'I am hungry.'

36) *ɕicnə kaɿ*
 hungry EXP
 'He is hungry.'

37) *ɕicnə ufe kaɿ*
 hungry PL EXP

'They are hungry.'

The language has separate morpheme /hĩ:/ to show inclusiveness thus lacking distinct pronominal forms for the same, which is added before the pronouns or before the verb in case of dropping of pronominal.

For showing honorific/non honorific, visible/non visible, intimacy, politeness or any other social values, we see the addition of morphemes to signal any of the above value with no change in the pronominal morphemes. Possessiveness are obligatorily omitted in case of inalienable possession like shown in (38).

38) *ɿəʔ -siɿa*
 mother -sita
 'Sita's mother'

The morphemes /ɿəka/ (for -visible) and /ɿən/ (for +visible) can be used before the pronominal to emphasize the alienable possession.

39) *kənuic̄ ɿən cə*

pen POSS 1SG

‘My pen’

Else, it can also be dropped.

40) kəɲuič̄ cə

pen 1SG

‘My pen’

The demonstrative pronouns are /neəʔ/ ‘this’ and /anə/ ‘that’ and is placed after the head noun.

41) məhe:o neəʔ jəhnə hulið anə

boy this and girl that

‘This is a boy and that is a girl.’

The language does not have any dual or plural demonstratives and change in number is denoted by adding the number marker before the head noun.

The reflexive pronoun /tənre/ for 1person and 3person and /tənme/ for 2person follows the personal pronoun.

42) luʔtao en tənre

like 3SG REFL

‘He likes himself.’

As stated earlier the 3SG/3PL pronouns can be dropped and simply the DU/PL can be used instead followed by the reflexive pronoun.

43) luʔtao ufe tənre

like PL REFL

‘They like themselves.’

The reciprocal pronoun is /tən hiən/ which follow dual marker as shown in (44).

44) luʔtao unə tən hiən

like DU eachother

‘They like each other.’

Interrogative Pronouns are /kun---kəʔ/ in case of second person, dual (2DU) and second person, plural (2PL)

[inə-kəʔ-ən]:

45) kun leɿ əkɿðk inə-kəʔ-ən

Q PFV eat 2DU-Q -IND

‘Did you two eat?’

- [i:he-kəʔ-ən]:

46) *kun lɛ̃t əkɔ̃ʒk i:he-kəʔ-ən*

Q PFV eat 2PL-Q -IND

Did you three eat?’

Negation, Interrogative and Imperative constructions

I. Negative constructions

In Sanenyo, Negation is observed to be pre-verbal and has prohibitive marker used for prohibition.

47) *waʔ mə ɛ:re*
PROH 2SG go
‘You may not go.’

48) *waʔ mə jɔ̃ni*
PROH 2SG outside
‘Do not go outside.’

The language has separate negation marker for different persons always occupying the sentence-initial position.

49) *cĩt -mɛh cu:*
1P.SG NEG go
‘I will not go.’

50) *cĩt -mɛh he:o lipare sita*
1P.SG NEG give book sita
‘I will not give the book to sita.’

51) *mə̃t -mɛh cu:*
2P.SG NEG go
‘You will not go.’

52) *hãt -mɛh cu:*
3P.SG NEG go
‘He will not go.’

The negation of noun class is done in the same manner as the verb class, i.e., by adding the negative particle before the noun.

53) *siŋrol tən kəp̄ɔ*
horn POSS cow
'Cow has horn.'

54) *hət siŋrol tən kəp̄ɔ*
NEG horn POSS cow
'Cow does not have horn.'

II. Interrogative constructions

Sanenyo places question particle at sentence initial position along with using intonation to frame interrogative sentences. Following are the various types of interrogatives present in the language:

- **Time-** /kuɛ/ 'when'

55) *kuɛ mǎ rək*
Q 2SG come
'When will you come?'

- **Place-** /acɔcu/ 'where'

56) *acɔcu ka ɲi mə*
Q FOC house 2SG
'Where is your house?'

- **Thing-** /ku/, /cin/ 'what', /acɔcu/ 'which'

57) *cin liəŋ mē*
Q name 2SG
'What is your name?'

58) *ku ɛ:rəŋ həm mē*
Q want eat 2SG
'What do you want to eat?'

59) *acɔcu cuk ka ɲi mə*
Q room FOC house 2SG
'Which is your house?'

- **Reason-** /kunse/ 'why'

60) *kunse nə rɛi ka wəmɛcare*
Q 3SG leave IND job
'Why did she leave the job?'

- **Person-** /ci/ ~ /cika/ ‘who’, /ciṭə/ ‘whom’, /cun/ ‘which’

61) *ci anə*

Q that

‘Who is that?’

62) *ciṭə ɲop tənme*

Q like 2SG

‘Whom do you like?’

- **Process-** /kah sen/ ~ /kase/ ‘how’

63) *kahsen εɲ nə t̪ũhsi ram*

Q PST 3SG fall ram

‘How did Ram fell?’

- **Quantity-** /kah rise/ ‘how much’

64) *kahrise t̪ənəɲəse ən ram t̪ə rupijə*

Q get NOM ram OBJ money

‘How much money Ram get?’

The language also has both positive / həʔ/ and negative /həiʔ/ tag questions but does not have any polar question particle.

III. Imperative constructions

Imperatives in both the languages are formed as simple statements following the verb-subject order except that in Sanenyo, intimate or honorific forms are marked using separate morphemes.

65) *ε:re m̃*

go 2SG

‘Go(order)’

But while addressing an elder person, /roh̃mə ε:re/ is used while in case of intimate forms the morpheme /huləɲ/ ‘friend’ follows the verb /ε:re/ and for addressing younger, /ε:re məsu/ is used. Orders can be softened using the morpheme /hukuləse/ ‘please’. The first person imperatives are referred by using /haʔ/ for DUAL and /hĩ/ for PLURAL which is followed by the verb.

66) *haʔ ε:re*

INCL.DL go

‘Let’s go.’

- 67) *hĩ* *ε:re*
 INCL.PL go
 ‘Let’s go.’

3. Case System

Cases in the language are marked using both separate morphemes or through the position of nouns in the sentence. Based on their morpho-syntactic alignment, *Sanenyo* like Vietnamese does not have any overt morphological case system. It, however, has nominative-accusative case system where the subject of both transitive and intransitive verb gets nominative case and the direct object gets accusative case.

The **Nominative Case**, also referred as the subjective case, is used to mark agent/subject of the verb in the phrase. The nominative marker in *Sanenyo* is /ən/ and /ka/ which is placed before the agent/subject of the sentence. /ən/ acts as the deitic, visible marker in the sentence to denote the visibility of the agent by the speaker while /ka/ denotes the non-visible aspect of the agent.

- 68) *ĩĩĩək ən ram*
 sleep NOM ram
 ‘Ram is sleeping.’

- 69) *ĩĩĩək ka ram*
 sleep NOM ram
 ‘Ram is sleeping.’

The **Accusative Case** marks the direct object of the transitive verb in a sentence. In *Sanenyo*, it is marked by /tə/, which is also placed before the direct object in the sentence.

- 70) *ɲop ən ram tə en*
 love NOM ram ACC 3SG
 ‘Ram loves her.’

- 71) *ɲop ən ufe tə cə*
 love NOM PL ACC 1SG
 ‘They love me.’

The **Dative Case** marks the indirect object of a verb and often indicates the benefactor/ victim in a sentence. *Sanenyo* also does not have overt marking for dative case and observes positional case system.

- 72) *həwa man rahul ən ram*

buy toy rahul NOM ram

‘Ram bought a toy for rahul.’

Here the noun ‘rahul’ gets dative case based on its position in the sentence, rather than any overt marking to show the dative case.

The **Genitive Case** marks the relation between the two nouns in a sentence which can be both abstract or physical in nature. *Sanenyo* does not mark genitives morphologically and the head-dependent order is observed to show the attributive relationship between the head and dependent noun/pronouns.

- 1) **Genitive of Possession:** The genitive case shows the relationship between the possessor and possessed.

73) $\text{tə}^?$ -sita
mother -sita
‘Sita’s mother’

74) *mes cə*
table 1SG
‘My table’

- 2) **Genitive of Material:** It points out the specific material used to make something.

75) tə *uhɛɔŋ ən ji*
OBJ stone IND house
‘house of stone’

76) *hətwa ən nat*
bamboo NOM rope
‘rope of bamboo’

The **Instrumental case** is used to mark the noun acting as an instrument or mode using which the agent/subject of the action performs the action. *Sanenyo* uses morphemes like from, on, by etc. to indicate an instrument of an action.

77) $\text{ə}^{\text{h}t\text{i}}$ tə *inluŋ ən en nə -ɛtsi əphɔp*
from OBJ axe IND 3SG 3SG -cut tree
‘He cut the tree with an axe.’

The morpheme ‘*ḡhṡi*’ imparts the instrumental case to the object ‘axe’ using which the agent ‘he’ cuts the ‘tree’.

- 78) *eaŋ ɔl bəs cə eŋ*
go on bus 1SG PST
‘I went by bus.’

The morpheme ‘*ɔl*’ imparts the instrumental case to the object ‘bus’ on which the agent ‘I’ went.

Instrumental case is also used to specify something/someone accompanying an action and Sanenyo also uses morphemes like with, together to show the accompaniment of two nouns.

- 79) *hulɔŋsi ɛ:re unə ram unə siṡa*
with go DL ram DL sita
‘Sita is going with ram.’

- 80) *hiəŋri cuk ufe ne siṡun*
together keep PL REF bottle
‘Three bottles are kept together.’

However, sometimes there is no overt marking and the relation is indicated using the word order.

- 81) *leṡ kuh dilli unə ram unə shyam*
PFV go delhi DL ram DL shyam
‘Shyam had gone with ram to Delhi.’

The case also indicates reason, cause or situation of an action and morphemes like because of, for, only etc. are used to mark the case.

- 82) *he:ŋuṡao ṡə ən pəuŋni:re nə wiu*
because of OBJ FOC family 3SG work
‘He works because of his family.’

The **Locative Case** generally marks the location of the head noun and often uses adpositions to express the location, therefore performing the function of an adverb. Sanenyo has adpositional case system where the nouns are accompanied by words that mark case rather than they being inflected.

Sanenyo is a prepositional language and uses a variety of prepositions like in, inside, out, outside, near, right, left, behind, front, above, below etc. to mark the locative case.

83) *kaʔəʔəl iskul ka ʔao -cə*
in school NOM brother 1SG
'My brother is in the school.'

84) *hɛʔlu ful ən hiŋ nəsiəplə*
in east NOM sun rise
'The sun rises in the east.'

The **Ablative Case** is marked to show separation or something that is moving away from something and is marked on nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Sanenyo uses morphemes like from to show separation, which is different in different instances.

85) *hɛʔtu dilli ən sita mʔə*

from dehli NOM sita FUT
'Sita will come from Delhi.'

86) *hɛ:ʔtu-kui əphəp ən nə tũhsi ən*
rai əphəp
from-height tree NOM 3SG fall NOM
leaf-tree
'Leaves are falling from the tree.'

87) *hɛ:ʔsuəl ən situn ən rak̄*

from NOM bottle IND water
'Water spill out from the bottle.'

Complex Predicates

Sanenyo being part of the Nicobari group of language family has selective complex predicate constructions and most often has the tendency to form simple predicates rather than the complex ones.

a. Compound Verb Constructions: In *Sanenyo*, we do not observe any compound verb constructions and like Car, individual morphemes are used to impart the action in the sentence.

88) *lɛʔ kəpɛʔ ən en*
PFV dead NOM 3SG
'He is dead.'

- 89) *tūhsɪ ən en*
 fall NOM 3SG
 ‘He fell.’

Sanenyo also lacks any **Explicator compound verbs** and the Tense, Aspect and Mood is marked using a separate morpheme either at sentence initial or final position and has no relation with the verbs.

- 90) *lɛ̃ rɜk ən en*
 PFV fall NOM 3SG
 ‘He came.’

b. Converb constructions: *Sanenyo* does not have any converbs and morphemes like then, after, before etc. are used to signify the adverbial subordination. In some cases, the order of the verbs helps to establish verb-adverb relationship.

- 91) *rɛh əkɛɔk məl iɪ̃ək*
 before eat then sleep
 ‘Sleep after eating.’

- 92) *rɛh əkɛɔk ən en məlɣə hɛ -iɪ̃ək*
 before eat NOM 3SG then CONT-sleep
 ‘Having eaten his food, he went to sleep.’

c. Serial verb constructions: *Sanenyo* has serial verb constructions by concatenating two or more verbs or verb phrases often without any usage of subordinating conjugations or affixes.

- 93) *rɛ: hərə*
 go see
 ‘Go and see.’
- 94) *hɪ̃ ɛ:re ɲu cah*
 INCL.PL go drink tea
 ‘Let us go and drink tea.’

However, for showing emphasis, the main verb is marked by placing it at sentence-initial position and using the conjugations like ‘and’ for further serialization.

- 95) *lɛ̃ rɜk ən en jəhnə pəɪcɣərə jəhnə ɛ:re*
 PFV come NOM 3SG and sit and go
 ‘He came, sat and left.’

Passive constructions

Sanenyo does not mark any change in the verb, or any change in the subject-object dynamics in active and passive voice. Since inflection is absent in the language, we do not observe any change in the verb forms or any specific passive morpheme. The change is simply done by preposing the subject position for focus purpose only.

- Active voice

96) *futsica hɛ:om ufɛ ən wəmiɦɛ:om*
burn garden PL NOM farmer
'The farmers burned the garden.'

- Passive voice

97) *futsica ufɛ ən wəmiɦɛ:om ən hɛ:om*
burn PL NOM farmer FOC garden
'The garden was burnt by the farmers.'

- Active voice

98) *kəpɛ:ʔ ən ram tiʔ haʔi*
kill IND ram by elephant
'Elephant killed ram.'

- Passive Voice

99) *kəpɛ:ʔ tiʔ haʔi ən ram*
kill by elephant IND ram
'Ram was killed by elephant.'

Reduplication

The reduplication process in the language is present in adverbs and some verb stem but not on adjectives as seen in other South Asian languages. In addition, the process is not strictly observed in all scenarios and thus sometimes can be skipped.

The reduplication of adverbs conveys the role of intensifier and manner adverbs.

- i. Intensifier

100) *həʔ hɛcaʔ- həʔ hɛcaʔ ka tʔ- cə nə əkiɲək*
NEG- fast NEG- fast IND mother-1SG 3SG eat
'My mother eats her food slowly slowly.'

- 101) *cətrɜic- cətrɜic hərə ən cə*
again again see NOM 1SG
'I saw her again and again.'

ii. Manner adverb

- 102) *həkij- həkij ən en jəhnə kurot*
laugh- laugh NOM 3SG and mad
'She kept laughing and went mad.'

- 103) *həŋ sirok- sirok nə ɛ:re*
only jump jump 3SG go
'He only hoped and hoped and went.'

The adverbial reduplication is however not observed imparting distributive meaning.

- 104) *rire cuk ən tɔʔ ji cə hələ ũh*
all room IND OBJ house 1SG collect firewood
'I collected firewood from house by house.'

The language does not have reduplication for onomatopoeic words and separate morphemes are used to refer to the sounds produced during the action.

- 105) *cəhɛo* 'sound made by dripping of water'
106) *wəsi* 'act of water running down through walls'
107) *liəŋu kətɔp* 'sound made by the throat while drinking water'
108) *liəŋu caka ən iəlsi* 'sound made during crackling of fire'

Gerundial Constructions

Gerunds are the verbs that functions as a noun, retaining the property of verbs but also functioning as the subject of the clause. In Sanenyo, the verbal noun too takes the subject place forming gerunds.

- 109) *leɿ wəniəca cə ən hənjanə*
PFV work 1SG NOM work
'Hunting is my work.'

- 110) *ənholə* *ɛ:həhi ənsehi jal*
 health body for swimming
 ‘Swimming is good for healthy body.’
- 111) *leŋ wəniəca cə ne cəmiŋ*
 PFV work 1SG REF weaving
 ‘Weaving is my work.’

Numeral system of *Sanenyo*

Sanenyo have maintained the indigenous numeral system and have a comprehensive number system for cardinal whole numbers having a decimal numeral system. The following table shows the counting system of the language:

Figure	Sanenyo
1	hiəŋ
2	ɛ:
3	roic
4	fɛ:n
5	ŋæ
6	ŋəfuəl
7	isəŋ
8	ənfɛ:n
9	kəlʔfɛ:n
10	səm

11	səm hiəŋ
12	səm ẽ:
13	səm roic
14	səm fɛ:n
15	səm t̪æ
16	səm t̪əfuəl
17	səm isət̪
18	səm ənfɛ:n
19	səm kəlʔfɛ:n
20	ẽ:t̪um
21	ẽ:t̪um hiəŋ
22	ẽ:t̪um ẽ:
23	ẽ:t̪um roic
24	ẽ:t̪um fɛ:n
25	ẽ:t̪um t̪æ
30	roic t̪um
40	fɛ:n t̪um

50	ṭæ ṭum
100	hiəŋ nəŋ
200	ɛ̃: nəŋ
1000	məmi:ləʔ/ hiəŋ məmi:ləʔ
2000	ɛ̃: məmi:ləʔ

From the above table, we find that simple cardinal numerals 1-10 in *Sanenyo* are in the simple forms, monomorphemic with no derivations/compounding taking place. *Sanenyo* morphemes for ‘eight’ and ‘nine’ are formed using the base ‘four’, thus are polymorphemic.

112) [ənfɛ:n] ‘eight’ - [ən-] + [fɛ:n] ‘four’

113) [kəlʔfɛ:n] ‘nine’ - [kəlʔ-] + [fɛ:n] ‘four’

The language expresses syntactic combinations for values after ten. This pattern of lower numeral being monomorphemic while the construction of higher numerals using some mathematical operations are ‘crosslinguistically’ frequent (Moravcsik 2013). Another crosslinguistic tendency is for higher numerals to go for ‘larger-before-smaller’ order of construction (cf. Greenberg 1978a: 273). *Sanenyo* uniformly follows the larger-before-smaller rule, that is, all higher numerals are derived by adding a lower numeral to the base, like ‘two’ [ɛ:] is added to base ‘ten’ [səm] to make ‘twelve’ [səm ɛ:]. For numbers like 20, 30, 40 etc. *Sanenyo* multiply the lower numeral to the base, such as [roic ṭum] ‘thirty’ (numeral 3 x base). This order is also present in case of higher numerals like hundred, thousand and so on.

Conclusion

To begin with, *Sanenyo* is observed to have quite low morpheme-per-word ratio with bare minimum inflections and thus can be considered as an isolating (or analytic) language. However, the language contains many polymorphemic words due to the presence of derivational morphemes. *Sanenyo* has a VOS word order that is flexible in case of running speech/narrations. Often the aspect marker in *Sanenyo* (if present) occurs strictly at sentence initial position. The language is primarily head-initial as observed in different phrasal constructions with head occurring before the dependents and modifying the same, except for cases like adjectival

constructions in which the adjectives can occur both before and after the noun for pragmatic purposes. In addition, the language is consistently right branching where all the branching categories are placed after the non-branching categories like the complement phrase following the noun phrase etc. Genitives are not marked and often in *Sanenyo*, the difference between the alienable and inalienable possessive constructions is optionally marked by using separate morphemes. In the case of adverbial constructions in *Sanenyo*, time adverb precedes place adverb and there is a possibility that the aspect markers are essentially the grammaticalized helping verbs occurring at sentence initial position. The language does not mark the present tense and there is no inflection observed in the language with respect to tense and aspect agreement. The language has all three person and number and no overt gender system and again no inflection is seen with respect to person, number and gender agreement. The pronominal category has a separate morpheme to show inclusiveness and for showing honorific, visibility, intimacy, politeness etc. we see addition of morphemes with no change in the pronominal morphemes, along with demonstrative, reflexive and interrogative pronouns (only in the second person). Negation is pre-verbal and pre-nominal. In addition, *Sanenyo* also exhibits separate negative pronominal for different numbers. In the case of interrogative constructions, question particles are placed at sentence initial position and forms tag questions. Imperatives also follow the basic word order of verb subject with separate morphemes to show honorific/intimate constructions. Case refers to “morphological marking on nouns” that encodes semantic and/or pragmatic information about the nominal arguments and is used to distinguish a noun from the other predicate arguments. *Sanenyo* show cases with nominative-accusative case system. Government, shown explicitly, uses a nominative marker to show the same. *Sanenyo* also marks accusative case placing the object marker before the direct object in the sentence. In case of Dative case marking where they do not have any overt marking and is encoded on the complements (indirect object). *Sanenyo* also lacks any genitive marking morphologically showing head-dependent order for the same. The peripheral case is marked using the analytic case markers (prepositions). However, the Instrumental case is marked using separate morphemes to show the mode or means of action. The language is prepositional in nature and imparts locative case using different morphemes to illustrate the direction/location of the subject. Ablative case is again marked with separate morphemes to show separation.

Coming to complex predicates, *Sanenyo* lacks any compound verb constructions and separate morphemes are used to convey the actions. There is also a lack of explicator compound verbs in language. Converbs are also absent and it has distinct morphemes to convey the verb-adverbial relation. In case of serial verb constructions, *Sanenyo* places

the verbs in order of their occurrence without any affixation, signifying the sequence of actions.

Sanenyo does not have any passive constructions and the interchange of subject and object position is done, in case the speaker intends to change the voice for focus/ narrative purposes.

Reduplication is often seen in *Sanenyo* in case of some verbs and adverbs to impart intensity and manner, though usage is optional in many cases. Gerunds are formed by pacing the verbal noun in the subject position. Finally, the paper also discusses the numeral system of *Sanenyo* where it is observed that it exhibits decimal number system and while simple cardinal numbers have basic forms, compounding is used in the formation of higher numerals using addition and multiplication processes.

The work has attempted to bring in newer insights into our understanding of the structure of Nicobaric languages and it may prove to be valuable for future research in the field. However, a lot of work still needs to be done. The morphological study of the language when compared to other languages of the Mon-Khmer branch will show the lack of proper findings which has constrained the linguistic researchers to study both the discrepancy and the preservation of proto-Mon-Khmer structures (if any). Thus, it becomes difficult to bring out proper typological profiling of the branch. The author hopes to fill out any gaps or lack of findings to bring out more exhaustive and comprehensive description of the language in near future.

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Educational Challenges of Indian Children from Marginalized Linguistic Groups

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Abstract

This paper provides background information on linguistic profile of India. India is a multilingual country and multilingualism is not a rare phenomenon but a reality world across. India is rich in linguistic diversity and it is an asset rather liability. Unfortunately many Indian languages are on the verge of extinction due to dominance of main stream languages. The paper presents an overview of different language policies and their impact on Indian school education system. Even though it is constitutional obligation of India that every state must impart primary education in mother tongue (MT) and also provide for the appointment of a 'Special Officer' for linguistic minorities (Article 350 B), still this dream is yet to be realised. The recent National Education Policy (NEP 2020) similar to the earlier ones has also emphasised upon mother tongue, local language or regional language as the medium of instruction at least till Grade 5, but preferably till Grade 8 and beyond. As per the policy document a regional language or mother-tongue, English and/or Hindi and another Indian language are to be used for educational purpose. In the present scenario MT education is being imparted only through a limited number of major standardized languages. Children of marginalised languages are being deprived because of the dominance of main stream languages. This paper deliberates upon challenges and opportunities in Indian school education system from multilingual perspective. Exploration is based on the case studies from schools and analysis of factual data on children education in India.

Key Words: *multilinguality, Endangered Languages, Language Planning*

Verbal Repertoire and Multilinguality

It would be important to analyse the spoken languages world across and see whether they are spoken as X1, X2, X3.....languages in discrete units. Do they really exist in compartments or in isolation or in the form of Geographical boundaries. According to Agnihotri (2020), “.... multilingualism which now subsumes bilingualism looks at language as an addition of L1, L2, L 3, etc.; in Multilinguality there is no discrete concept of L1, L2, etc.; there is only a verbal repertoire of Multilinguality with relative fluidity of what are construed as different

languages.....within the constraints imposed by the Universal Grammar, languages are essentially fluid in nature; sounds, words, and sentence patterns do not need passports to travel across languages....". Hence languages are fluid and cut across boundaries. They are in the head of people. It is the verbal repertoire of the people, which consists of linguistic components of different languages or language varieties and are used with natural ease in regular conversation. This fluidity has acquired several new names including hyperglossia, translanguaging, hyperlingualism, code-mixing, and multilinguality, Agnihotri (2020). The debate of multilingual societies of east versus monolingual societies west may be put to rest if we look languages in broader perspective of multilinguality. We have countries in west like, UK, Germany, France, etc. where many languages are spoken. Even if we have countries where one language is spoken, the said language varies within those countries. The same language spoken at one end is very different as compared to the other end. There is a phenomenon of fluidity and continuum and that particular language varieties do not exist as discrete units. Throughout the world we observe a phenomenon of marginalization of the languages of powerless by the dominant main stream languages spoken by elites and powerful. This may be categorized in terms of binary i.e. dominant versus dominating multilinguality.

Linguistic Profile of India

The first official survey of language diversity in the India was carried out by Sir George Abraham Grierson from 1898 to 1928. Said survey was titled the *Linguistic Survey of India* in which it was reported that Indian subcontinent had total of 179 languages and 544 dialects. According to 1961 census it had 1652 mother tongues. Since the 1971 Census the languages spoken by less than 10,000 people had been labeled as "others". The 1991 census of India listed 1,576 "mother tongues" with separate grammatical structures and 1,796 languages as "other mother tongues". The language data of 2011 Census is still not on public domain.

According to Ganesh Davi, "Thanks to lack of public information over the last 40 years (1971-2011), it is impossible for any agency other than the census office to figure out the range of languages expected in India".

According to recent *People's Linguistic Survey of India (PLSI)* India comprises of 780 languages out of which 480 are spoken by tribal and nomadic tribes, while about 80 are coastal languages.

According to Ethnologue, India is having 780 languages, out of which 2 are principal languages, 12 immigrant languages, 56 languages in trouble and 13 are dying languages.

As per 8th Schedule to the Indian Constitution the listed languages are 22 in numbers.

According to the 'UNESCO's *Atlas of World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing*' around 2,500 of the world's 6000 languages are to some extent endangered; 538 critically endangered, 502 severely endangered, 632 definitely endangered and 607 unsafe. Regarding India it lists, 172 languages in danger, out of which 101 are classified as severely, critically or definitely endangered and 71 'vulnerable'.

Multilingual India and Marginalisation Process

From Linguistic Profile of India it is amply clear that many languages are spoken in Indian subcontinent. This is because of the fact that many civilisations came, settled and subsumed to constitute a pan Indian civilisation. It may be Aryans, Portuguese, Dutch, Mughals, Britishers, etc. Dravadians, various tribes aboriginals etc. were already there as original residents. The multicultural and multilingual ethos of India never got shaken due to the advent of the different civilisations from outside in the Indian subcontinent. In fact their languages, cultures, customs etc. got subsumed in the broader domain of Indian civilisation. Their languages mingled and became part of verbal repertoire of Indian people. Thus India is rich in multilinguality and it must be considered as an asset rather liability. Thus Indians are by default multilingual having ability to speak more than one language and their verbal repertoire constitutes components from different languages.

In contrary if we carefully analyse the patterns of linguistic profiling since 1928 we will observe that the number of languages spoken in India are shrinking day by day. It is said that marginalisation process of languages started in 1926. In the same year the idea of organising and structuring India was explored on the basis of linguistic states, which further got reinforced after independence. Unfortunately the languages of marginalised people or dominated are labelled as dialect. Linguistically speaking there is no difference between "a language" and "a dialect". It is the power game that play an important role in marginalising the languages of dominated or marginalised linguistic groups by the dominating or elite linguistic groups and labelling them in the category of dialect of their language. A famous saying credited to the Yiddish scholar Max Weinreich (1894–1969) says "language is a dialect with an army and a navy" is credited to the Yiddish scholar Max Weinreich (1894–1969). That means a dialect becomes language if it is spoken by dominating or elite linguistic groups. The inception of the idea of marginalisation of languages can be traced back since 1926 colonial period. The concept of organising India on the basis of linguistic states was floated. This was further reinforced after independence. Since the 1971 Census the languages spoken by less than 10,000 people had been labeled as "others". Gradually there is marked decline in number of languages listing since 1961 census. According this census it had 1652

mother tongues whereas the latest PLSI survey states that India comprises of 780 languages; of these 480 are spoken by tribal and nomadic tribes, while about 80 are coastal languages. The 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India lists only 22 languages. There powerful forces of dominating or elite linguistics groups to subsume the languages of dominated or marginalised groups within their languages. This manipulation enhances the numerical value of people speaking the languages of dominating groups. For example, Hindi encompasses Bhojpuri, Magdhi, Angika, Khota, etc. within itself as its dialects. Census groups distinct languages as “dialects”, such as Bhojpuri under Hindi, Badaga under Kannada, and Saurashtra under Gujarati. Dominant languages get state patronage and financial assistance to strengthen their literary richness. In recent years we have seen movements and pressure groups mushrooming to include their dominant languages in 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. This also leads to gaining political mileage at the cost marginalising the languages of dominated or powerless linguistic groups.

Politics of Script

Languages with scripts play an important role in getting space in Indian Education

System. Linguistically speaking script of any language may be used in other language with some modifications. New script of any language may be used in other language with some modifications. New script may also be developed for any language with some modifications. But the languages, which are having no script is devoid of getting space in Education System and get marginalised to the verge of endangered languages.

“Languages without scripts had no place in the education system. The result: Gondi, Bhili and Santhali became minority languages because their population was divided among several states”. “Bhili is a minority language in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh while together it has its own majority. Bhili did not have a script and so nobody proposed a state for them,” Devy, (Hindustan Times Sep.18, 2017).

State financial patronage is enjoyed by the languages listed in 8th Schedule which are dominant languages of different states. The education is mostly imparted in these languages resulting into marginalisation of representation of dominated languages in education system. Recent focus of state is on reinforcing classical languages. The Union Ministry of Culture released data on Central Government funding, from 2017 to 2020, for the six languages deemed “classical languages” by the Government – Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Odia. As per the Ministry’s own data, the bulk of this funding, to the tune of Rs. 643.84 crores since 2017, went to Sanskrit. In comparison, during

the same period, Tamil was allotted Rs. 22.94 crores only, which is 22 times less in comparison. Telugu and Kannada received a minimal Rs. 3.06 crores each. Malayalam and Odia was left starving with no funds at all.

There seems to be need of justified and equitable distribution of budget for these languages. Secondly already dominant languages of states for example Tamil language of Tamil Nadu got Rs. 22.94 crores and Kannada language of Karnataka got Rs. 3.06 crores. These languages are already funded by their respective states and in addition to this they got financial support from centre in the name of classical language. This has resulted into marginalisation of minority or dominated languages of such states, like Tulu or Gondi.

Languages of Dominated Marginalised Linguistic Groups in Indian Education System

Indian Constitution, many educational researches and educational policies have advocated the use of mother tongue of child in their early stages of schooling. We are familiar with the fact that mother tongue shapes a child's personal, social and cultural identity. Using mother tongue helps a child to develop her cognition and linguistic repertoire. This further augments her critical thinking and literacy skills. Researches show that children learning in their mother tongue adopt a better understanding of the curriculum in general and concept in particular. It shall be the endeavour of every state and of every local authority within the state to provide advocate facilities for instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to the children belonging to linguistic minority groups. Learning through a foreign or alien medium compels the children to concentrate on cramming or rote memory instead of comprehending the basic concepts. If the education system persistently ignores the languages of marginalised people, it would simply add to higher levels of silence in the classroom and a higher dropout rate at the early stage of schooling. Any classroom is characterised by a multiplicity of linguistic and cultural practices and may be considered as multilingual in nature. Any educational endeavour that ignores this richness of multilingual resources is on one hand ignorant of minimal educational understanding and on the other hand violating basic principles of justice and equity. One therefore should not be surprised that government policies and school practises almost across the world is in conflict with the natural characteristic of human language. At home and in the street and playground, children constantly borrow, mix, and experiment with language forms and meanings, exactly the things that are forbidden in education in general and the language education classroom in particular.

Three Language Formula and National Policies on Education

The National Policy on Education, 1986 has reiterated in respect of languages the policy elaborated in the National Policy on Education,

1968. Briefly, the policy emphasises the adoption of regional languages as the medium of instruction at the university stage; vigorous effort at implementation of the three language- formula; improvement in the linguistic competencies of students at different stages of education; provision of facilities for the study of English and other foreign languages; development of Hindi as the link language, as provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution; teaching of Sanskrit at the university stage as part of certain courses like Indology, Indian History, Archaeology etc.; serious effort at translation of books from one language to the other; and the preparation of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries.

The emphasis in the Policy is on the adoption of modern Indian languages as the medium of instruction at the university stage. However, the need to provide education through the mother tongue, which may be different from a modern Indian language included in the VIII Schedule, is recognised on academic grounds. The Constitution of India recognises, in respect of linguistic minorities, the desirability of providing instruction through the mother tongue for the first five years of education (Article 350-A). Every effort is, therefore, required to implement this constitutional obligation, although a number of difficulties are likely to be encountered: administrative and financial feasibility of providing instructional facilities through a variety of mother tongues, difficulty to use some tribal languages as medium of education etc. In the context of these difficulties switching over to a modern Indian/regional language has to be ensured as early as possible. The Safeguards for Linguistic Minorities, recognising the difficulties, recommended that for the purpose of providing instruction in the mother tongue of the linguistic minorities at the secondary stage of education, the modern Indian languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution as well as English, should be used as a medium.

The National Education Policy (NEP) similar to the earlier ones, approved by the Union Cabinet on July 29, 2020, says that wherever possible the medium of instruction in schools until Grade V -- preferably until Grade VIII -- should be the mother tongue or the local or regional language. "All efforts will be made early on to ensure that any gaps that exist between the language spoken by the child and the medium of teaching are bridged," the NEP says. Same things are mentioned in the earlier NPEs also which are not yet implemented and have failed, like three language formula, then bigger question lies here how these provisions will be implemented now? It seems not to be child centric approach when NPE, 2020 states that curricular and pedagogical framework for early childhood education for children up to the age of 8 will be developed by NCERT, in two parts, namely, a sub-framework for 0-3 year olds, and a sub-framework for 3-8 year olds. This may compel the Children of age group 0 to 3 to be alienated from their primary

socialization i.e. home and family warmth. This may impede their natural way of learning language (MT), cognitive development, physical development, socio-emotional development. Unfortunately all of them will get affected. It is high time for policy writers to review this idea of framing a centralised structured curricular and pedagogical framework for the early childhood education. Let it be kept within the paradigm of Balwadi and Aanganwadi. Almost in all part of the world such structured pedagogical and curricular framework has not been adopted. Children are left with family members to acquire linguistic, cognitive and motor skills in natural surrounding and family tutelage. Schooling starts at later stage, which is after 5 years or so.

A report from my friend (Case Study)

One of my friends, Maryse Heylen lives in Belgium. She has reported me that education of children at an earlier stage in their country is in their mother tongue. In Wallonia, the French-speaking region of southern Belgium, children start learning a second language only in their high schooling. European schools are also there in which teachers mostly teach children in English or in their own mother tongue if they are migrated, which shows that even the mother tongues of migrants are respected and used in early school teaching. Children get formal schooling at a later stage which is contrary to provisions made in recent NPE 2020 of India.

NCF, 2005 states that Primary school education must be covered through the home language(s). It is imperative that we honour the child's home language(s). According to **Article 350A of our Constitution, 'It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.'** In the non-Hindi speaking states, children learn Hindi. In the case of Hindi speaking states, children learn a language not spoken in their area. Sanskrit may also be studied as a modern Indian language in addition to these languages.

Care must be taken to honour and respect the child's home languages / mother tongues. At the primary stage, child's language(s) must be accepted as they are, with no attempt to correct them. It is known that errors are a necessary part of the process of learning and those children will correct themselves only when they are ready to. We have to spend time by providing children comprehensible, interesting and challenging inputs. While children come to school equipped with basic interpersonal communicative skills, they need to acquire cognitively advanced levels of language proficiency. In addition, higher-level proficiency skills easily transfer from one language to another. It is thus imperative that we do everything we can to strengthen the sustained learning of Indian languages at school. It is important to view language education as

everybody's concern at school and not as a responsibility of the language teacher alone.

The National Commission on Education known as the Kothari commission examined and recommended a graduated formula which was recommended by the 1968 policy. The three language formula as stated in the 1968 policy is-

First language: It will be the mother tongue or regional language.

Second language: In Hindi speaking states, it will be other modern Indian languages or English. In non-Hindi speaking states, it will be Hindi or English.

Third Language: In Hindi speaking states, it will be English or a modern Indian language. In the non-Hindi speaking state, it will be English or a modern Indian language.

The three language formula is not implemented effectively all over the country. Different States interpreted this formula in different ways. And, as a result its implementation has been uneven. In many cases, the formula has become 3 +/-1 formula. For the speaker of (linguistic) minority languages the three language formula became four language formula as they have to learn their mother tongue, the dominant regional language, English and Hindi. In north India Hindi speaking belt Sanskrit has been adopted as third language in education, which has become tool for marks gaining purpose in examinations. Emphasis is on rote learning rather building a linguistic understanding of Sanskrit. Similarly in South India there was movement against Hindi and it was rejected.

The educational dropout rate is 40–50% after primary school. It is argued that the use of three languages in primary schooling places too great a cognitive burden on children. Language policy in education needs to be revised on pedagogical and scientific rationale rather than on political mileage grounds.

Case Study

Jampa Paldon (changed name), who basically belongs to Tibet, is mother of a 5 years old girl named Dechen (changed name). Her daughter studies in a school of Delhi, India. Jampa tells that their Mother Tongue is Tibetan and before her daughter Dechen started going to school, they used to talk to her in their mother tongue and sometimes in English too. When she started going to school, she tries to talk with her friends in English and sometimes she uses actions also because her peer group talks in Hindi mostly. She is passive recipient of Hindi. She understands Hindi and find it difficult to read and write in Hindi. They rarely talk in Hindi at their home. Since Hindi is a compulsory subject in her school, so she struggles to learn it and face difficulties reading comprehension. Her mother says if her education had been done in her mother tongue, it

would have been easier for her to comprehend the concepts in a better way and she could avoid cramming rote learning. Jampa tells that though her daughter knows 3 different languages, but she feels difficulty in communicating with her grandparents and friends. However it is great to see her ability of mixing verbal repertoire of these 3 languages with ease while talking. Dechen knows three different languages at such a small age of 5 years. Now, even her peers know some words of Tibetan Language as Dechen use to play and talk with them.

Language of Marginalised Differently Abled Linguistic Group

Language teaching needs to be multilingual not only in terms of the number of languages offered to children but also in terms of evolving strategies that would use the multilingual classroom as a resource. Languages would ideally build on this resource, and would strive it through the development of literacy scripts including Braille for the acquisition of academic knowledge. Children with language-related impairments might be introduced to standard sign languages, which can support their continued growth and development to the fullest. Studying sign language and Braille could be included as options for learners without disabilities. (NCF, 2005). Similarly there is a need to train the teachers in the use of sign language and appoint special teachers who may address the learning and emotional needs of this category of children. At the same time use of assistive technology should done at extensive level to make their life easy and in tune with inclusive education.

Conclusion

Hence we find that multilinguality is reality and languages are by nature fluid in their characteristic. The binary between languages of dominating elite linguistic groups and dominated marginalised linguistic groups needs to be diluted. The mother tongue of a child should be used in her early stage of education. Her verbal repertoire of multilinguality should be respected and used as a resource in teaching-learning process. The NEP 2020 needs to demystify the ambiguity in language policies and review the idea of structured pedagogical and curricular framework for the children of age group 0-3 years, which is proposed to be designed centrally by the NCERT. This may be done away with and leave this age group of children to develop their linguistic cognitive and motor skills in natural setting family and societal warmth.

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**A Study of English Language Teaching and Learning Program at
Markazul Ma'arif Education and Research Centre (MMERC),
Mumbai (India): A Case Study**

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Abstract

English is widely taught in every institute where education is imparted. It has become a global language because of a very large number of people making use of it. Even many Madrasas have been teaching English to their students because it is the need of the hour. But in spite of many efforts made by religious scholars, there are hundreds of Madrasas where English is still not included as a subject in their curriculum. Students of such Madrasas do not learn English language. In such cases, students after spending 8 to 10 years have difficulties in getting jobs anywhere because English language skills have become mandatory for most of the jobs nowadays. So, to remove this problem of Madrasa students, Maulana Badruddin Ajmal Qasmi started a two-year diploma course in English language and literature (DELL) at an Islamic seminary, Markazul Ma'arif, New Delhi in 1994. The basic objective of this DELL is to introduce Madrasa students to modern subjects such as English.

Key words: Madrasa, English language teaching (ELT), Diploma in English language and literature (DELL), Curriculum and Education.

Introduction

The researcher went to Mumbai and collected data from Markazul Ma'arif Education and Research Centre (MMERC), India. The researcher prepared two questionnaires for students and teachers separately. The purpose of this study was to find out the condition of English teaching at MMERC. The researcher had a face to face interaction with teachers and students to analyze learning and teaching situation of English. The questionnaires were designed to evaluate the objectives behind learning English and to analyze learning strategies, testing and evaluation, English learning and teaching situation, syllabus and materials and problems related to both students' and teachers' needs.

Research methodologies and framework

The researcher made a survey at MMERC to evaluate the learning and teaching situation of English. The aim of the study is to find out the objectives behind learning English, to analyze learning strategies, teaching methodologies, testing and evaluation, syllabus and materials and to find out the strength and weakness of ELTs program at MMERC.

Research questions

- To assess students' objectives behind learning English.
- To find out the aims and objectives of MMERC.
- To identify teaching methodologies.
- To evaluate testing and evaluation.
- To find out teachers' training needs.
- Perception of teachers and students about the ELT program.

Methods of Study

The study was carried out among 2 teachers and 26 students of MMERC, Mumbai. Two sets of questionnaires were given to teachers and students separately. A detailed interaction was also conducted by the researcher about the learning and teaching situation of English. What more can be done to improve the education level of society was also discussed at MMERC.

Samples and population

The data was collected from 26 students and 2 teachers of MMERC, Mumbai in December 2017.

Significance of the study

The significance of the study is to find out the condition of English teaching at MMERC and to help scholars in improving the level of English for Madrasa graduates.

Statement of the problem

There are many research works done in the field of education and for the development of English teaching in schools and colleges. But in the field

of Madrasa education, for the development of English, very few works have been done. Therefore, to study the objectives behind learning English, learning strategies, testing and evaluation, teaching methodologies, syllabus and materials is the need of the hour in order to improve learning and teaching of English at MMERC.

Aims and objectives of Markazul Ma'arif Education and Research Centre (MMERC)

- To train Madrasa graduates in modern subject such as English.
- To train Madrasa graduates in promoting Islam across the world with the knowledge of English.
- To train Madrasa graduates to be proficient and confident in getting jobs anywhere.
- To improve socially, economically and educationally the underprivileged sections of society.

Background of the students at MMERC

Madrasa students at MMERC come from socially, economically and educationally underprivileged sections of the Indian Muslims community. They got admission in DELL course after spending 10 -12 years in their previous Madrasas. They hardly have any knowledge of English because they did not study English in their previous Madrasas. They were only taught Urdu, Arabic and Persian.

Background of the teachers at MMERC and their qualifications

The researcher conducted this study with two teachers of MMERC. Like students, they also come from Madrasa background where they have studied for 10-12 years to become Aalim (Islamic scholar). After that they did the DELL course at MMERC.

Accommodation at MMERC

The MMERC has separate rooms for both teachers and students. Food and lodging are free for students. The students bear only their personal expenses otherwise the MMERC provides everything free of cost to the students. As on the basis of interaction with teachers and students, the

researcher came to know that the MMERC takes full responsibility of those students who cannot afford their books and personal expenses.

DELL course

Maulana Badruddin Ajmal Qasmi started this two-year diploma in 1994 in New Delhi. "Under this program, graduates from different Madrasas are selected after a written and oral test. Priority is given to those graduates who have aptitude and also willingness to master English language and work for Dawah (preaching Islam) in the future."

English language at MMERC

Madrassa students got admission to the MMERC for doing DELL course. After being enrolled, no further admission is done because the same batch is taught for two years. Just after two years a new batch is started to teach English. Teachers and students both actively take part in activities which help them in learning of English at MMERC.

Testing and evaluation

Students are often assessed by their teachers at MMERC. Tests and sessional are conducted quarterly to measure the students' performance. Teachers give their best to teach English to the students who had not studied in their previous Madrasas. Simultaneously, by taking tests, teachers come to know about students' weaknesses and help them in improving.

Obstruction from government

MMERC has never faced any obstruction from government since it was started. The Centre has been running smoothly, without any problem. MMERC is a non-government social welfare organization which seeks to help the underprivileged segments of society.

Job and placement at MMERC

After completing the course, students mostly got the job in any branch of MMERC. They become so confident and gain such good knowledge of English that many of them got jobs in Arab Embassy and the Middle East as translators, interpreters and teachers. Many of the students who have passed out from Markazul Maarif, are working as Ulama in many Gulf countries.

Achievement of MMERC

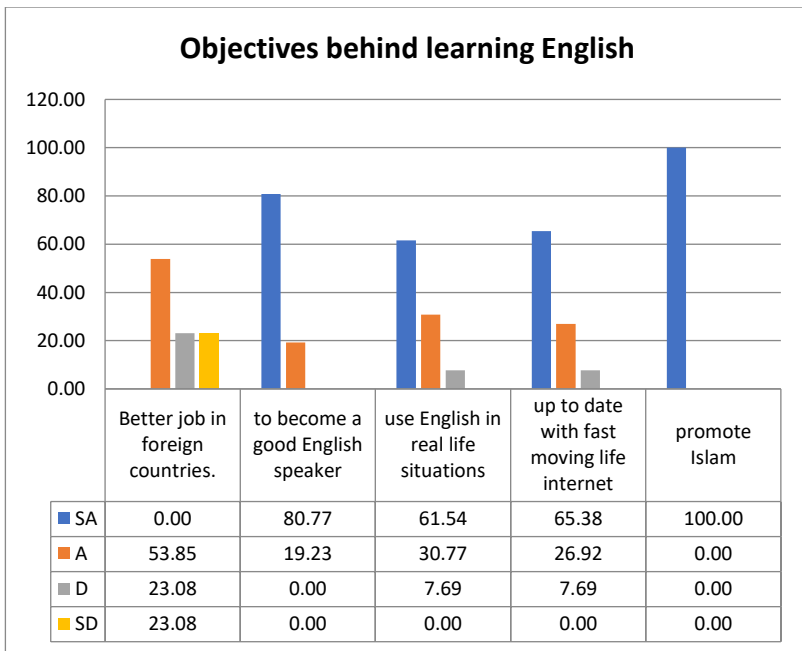
After completing the DELL course, students who had never studied English in their previous Madrasas become confident and proficient in English. Now, students of MMERC can be seen in many parts of the world pursuing their professional career.

Final goal of MMERC

The ultimate goal of MMERC is to make their students socially, educationally and economically strong and well developed. MMERC was established basically to improve that section of society which lagged behind in education, proper nutrition, health and hygiene and was totally unaware of proper guidance and motivation.

1. What is your objective behind learning English?

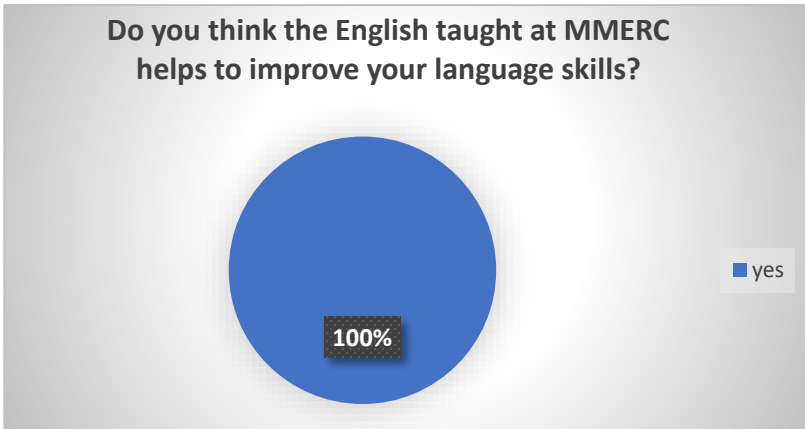
Pie chart-1: shows



2. Do you think the English taught at MMERC helps to improve your language skills?

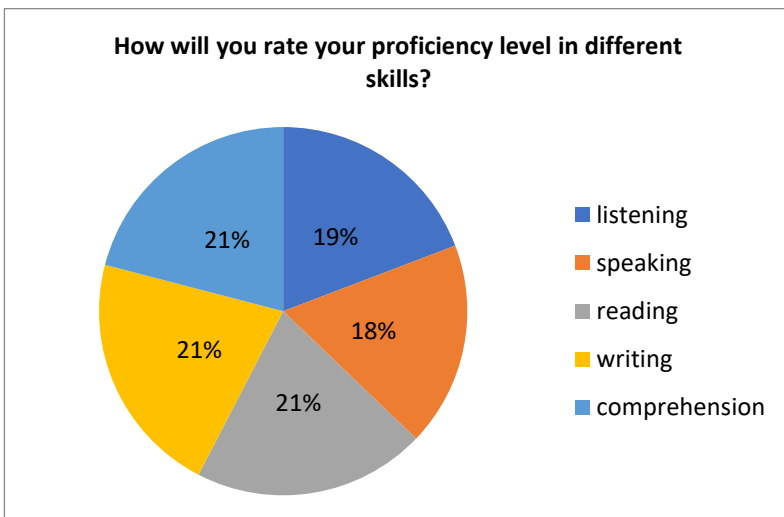
Yes () somewhat () No ()

Pie chart-2 shows



3. How will you rate your proficiency level in different skills?

Pie chart-3 shows



4. Do you think there is a need of professionally trained teachers at your Centre (MMERC)?

Yes ()

No ()

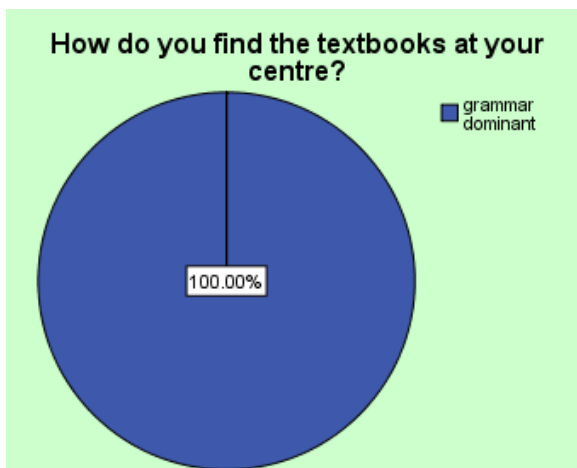
Pie chart-4 shows



5. How do you find the textbooks at your center (MMERC)?

- i. Grammar dominant () ii. Communication based ()

Pie chart-5 shows

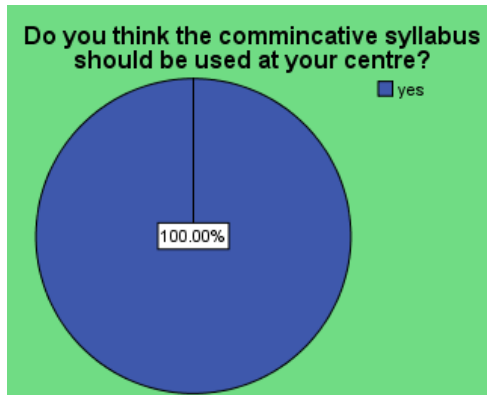


6. Do you think the communicative syllabus should be used at your Centre (MMERC)?

i. Yes ()

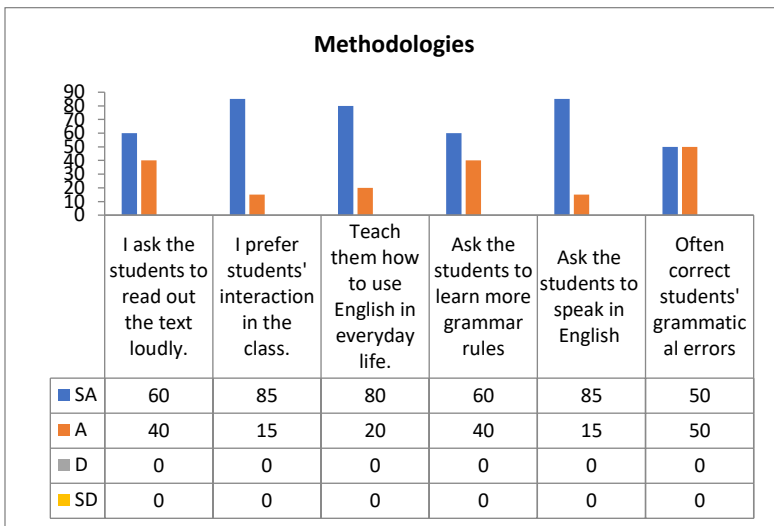
ii. No ()

Pie chart-6 shows



7. What are the methodologies which you adopt while teaching English in the class?

Pie chart-7 shows

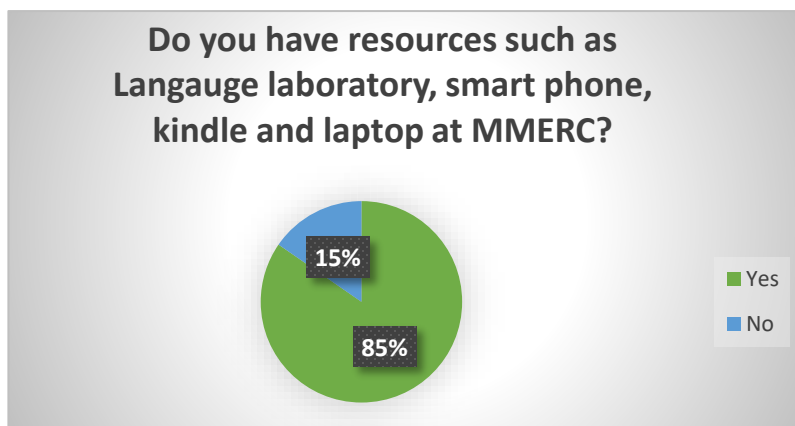


8. Do you have resources such as language laboratory, smart phone, kindle and laptop at MMERC?

i. Yes ()

ii. No ()

Pie chart-8 shows



Conclusion

A thorough study of MMERC was carried out and it was observed that the step taken by Maulana Badruddin Ajmal Qasmi, who laid the foundation of this center, was wonderful. It is one of the best achievements of Madrasa students who after completing their graduation are able to find a good job anywhere. The course at MMERC helps them to develop their English language skills. The students tackle everyday situations, where English is needed, with ease, whether they are at train reservation counter, shopping malls, doing online shopping, and mailing, chatting and reading English books or newspapers. But in spite of overcoming many problems the researcher noted some weakness that can be removed to uplift the standard of MMERC. There are some steps that can be taken to improve learning and teaching of English at MMERC. These are as follows-

1. Proper motivation and guidance.
 2. Availability of trained teachers.
 3. Proper utilization of resources.
 4. Syllabus and materials need to be revised.
- The researcher had a fruitful interaction with both teachers and students, on measures to improve the standard of English at

MMERC. One of these is proper motivation and guidance. Proper guidance at a proper time is very important for everyone. The MMERC needs proper motivation and guidance not only for students but also for their parents about the need of learning English.

- The teachers at MMERC need professional training at regular intervals. There is a need to make them aware about the teaching methodologies, classroom management, and proper utilization of all the resources.
- Resources are the basic materials of learning and teaching. The MMERC has a good amount of resources but their utilization is not efficiently done. They should have a language laboratory with a trained teacher who can teach students pronunciation of English. The MMERC has its own library but materials should be according to the present standard of learning and teaching. In short, such books are needed that create interest in learning and teaching of English to students.
- There is a mismatch between the syllabus and the students' needs. The needs of the students must be taken into consideration before the syllabus is designed for the course.

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A Preliminary Investigation of Completion and Interrupting Behaviours during Interaction Involving Adults Who Stutter

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Abstract

The current research paper has reported how Completion and Interrupting behaviours, also known as turn-taking behaviours, exhibited by two male adults-with-stuttering disorder (AWS) as Conversational Partners (CPs) were invoked in response to the stuttered speech of another male AWS as their Speaker during face-to-face conversations in Hindi. The paper has discussed the preliminary findings based on two separate conversational speech samples that were drawn from the cohort of forty-four Hindi conversational speech samples collected during the doctoral studies for a larger investigation. The relevance of investigating impaired conversations in Hindi stemmed from the realization that understanding the actual reasons for communication breakdown in AWS would eventually help the speech clinicians in highlighting specific circumstances to AWS clients that invoke their fluent-speaking listeners to exhibit such behaviours during daily conversations, and thus, incorporating therapeutic methods to reduce the negative emotional content of AWS while encountering such behaviours during speaking situations.

Keywords: Stuttering Disorder, Turn-Taking Behaviours, Completion behaviour, and Interruption behaviour.

Introduction

Verbal interaction in our society is considered as one of the most fundamental, distinct, and universal features for human existence on this earth (Bavelas, Hutchinson, Kenwood, & Matheson, 1997; Clarke, 1996). It is a way of exchanging information between a speaker, and a listener in a systematic manner to achieve the objectives of the said interaction. This *exchange of information* is often expressed in terms of “*content, syntax, intonation, suprasegmental features, language, and body motion*” (Duncan, 1972). Unlike those researchers who have had attempted to examine the above-mentioned aspects in isolation under experimental conditions, and not from a holistic point of view; psychological anthropologists, and linguistic anthropologists, on the other hand, affirmed this necessity of understanding these human actions in real-time in the realm of face-to-face interaction (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990).

Thus, the examination of various aspects of face-to-face interaction came to be known as *Conversation Analysis* (CA).

CA emerged and developed through the tedious and collaborative research works of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson and their students in the 1960s-70s (Sidnell, 2016). Before the 1960s, much of the ideas about CA were centred around how people should speak. However, after the 1960s, this perception about CA gradually changed and emerged as to how people actually speak in the social settings when scholars such as Garfinkel, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson began to look at the interactions between individuals in an “*orderly, coherent, and meaningful manner*” (Have, 2007). This was then a critical, and important departure from the underlying assumption about CA. For many years, analyzing naturally occurring “*ordinary*” conversations continued to be the major thrust among sociologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and CA researchers to understand ‘what’ and ‘how’ individuals converse with each other. However, in recent times, the examination of naturally occurring “*impaired*” conversations has begun to receive much attention in the field of stuttering disorder outside the clinical settings.

Stuttering is an intermittent, involuntary, and developmental fluency disorder which begins at around 2 to 4 years of age in children (Yairi & Ambrose, 2005 as cited in Langevin, Packman, & Onslow, 2010, p. 407), with many of them (~ 80%) recover from it without any clinician’s intervention (Craig, Hancock, Tran, Craig, & Peters, 2002; Dworzynski, Remington, Rijdsdijk, Howell, & Plomin, 2007). On the other hand, the remaining population (~ 20%) continues to stutter for the rest of their lives (Bloodstein, 1995 as cited in Craig & Tran, 2005, p. 41). It is primarily characterized by overt speech disruptions such as part-word repetition (e.g. ba-ba-ba-bat); single-syllable whole word repetition (e.g. and-and-and-and); audible prolongation (e.g. pppppppet); and silent block (e.g. ba-g) (Yairi & Seery, 2015, p. 11). Many times, these speech disruptions are also visibly marked with tense and struggle-filled ancillary behaviours such as the production of distracting sounds; gaze aversion; head movements; arm jerking; finger-tapping; lip pressing; nostril-flaring; tongue protruding; eye-blinking; the extraneous movement of the limbs; and facial grimacing, etc. (Bloodstein & Ratner, 2008; Van Riper, 1973). With an increase in severity, the extent of receiving negative feedbacks for children who stutter (CWS) about their stuttered speech from their listeners has also been well-documented throughout the stuttering literature (Hugh-Jones & Smith, 1999; Davis, Howell, & Cooke, 2002). This continuous exposure of negative environment for CWS throughout their lives not only led to the development of avoidance strategies in them that extends to specific sounds, persons, or speaking situations (Bloodstein, 1995; Kalinowski, 2006), but they also tend to develop a repertoire of negative attitudes

towards their own speaking style such as shame, embarrassment, self-consciousness, guilt, anger, humiliation, and entrapment (Ginsberg, 2000; Van Riper, 1982; Sheehan, 1970; Yairi & Seery, 2015). Collecting together the overt manifestation of speech disruptions, ancillary behaviours, and negative emotions associated with speaking styles of AWS, the impact of the stuttering disorder can be realized from the fact that it not only affects the functional communicative capability of AWS in daily activities but it also seems to have an impact on their CPs¹ during speaking situations by evoking them to exhibit specific turn-taking behaviours in response to their stuttered speech during conversations.

Most research studies, up until now, has focused on examining the role of verbal behaviour of parents in the development of the stuttering disorder in young children in the stuttering literature. Very few research studies have actually focused on examining the role of verbal behaviour of CPs while interacting with AWS in a dyad as a parallel line of investigation. To the first line of investigation, the effect of verbal behaviour of parents such as speaking rates, interruptions, and response time latencies, etc. on the fluency levels of their children during the conversation was strongly influenced by Wendell Johnson's (1942) "*Diagnosogenic theory*" of stuttering. The theory argued that negative reactions of parents towards the speech of their children filled with normal hesitations and repetitions cause the child to stutter (Nippold & Rudzinski, 1995). However, both clinical and non-clinical research studies have failed to provide any substantial evidence in support of the theory proposed. For example, Egolf, Shames, Johnson, & Kasprisin-Burrelli (1972) marked the production of verbal recriminations by parents such as "*interrupting the child, asking multiple questions, using sarcasm, and making comments*", might have resulted in the development of speech disfluencies in CWS. Therefore, parents of CWS were advised to modulate their verbal behaviours to facilitate fluency in their children with the stuttering disorder (As cited in Nippold & Rudzinski, 1995, p. 979). Similar to this line of investigation, parents were also asked by speech clinicians to use more positive reinforcements such as praise, humour, or encouraging questions (Kasprisin-Burrelli, Egolf, & Shames, 1972), and employ methods such as syllable elongation, and pausing between words to achieve slower speech rate while talking with their stuttering child (Stephenson-Opsal & Ratner, 1998).

Some new research studies have, however, shifted the focus of investigation towards CPs verbal behaviour in response to the stuttered speech of AWS. For example, Lee, Van Dulm, Robb, & Ormond (2015) measured and compared the linguistic output such as language

¹ Here, the researcher is assuming CPs to be adults-without-stuttering disorder.

productivity, complexity, politeness, and appraisal produced by AWS during a conversation with adults-who-did-not-stutter (AWNS). The findings of the study suggested that due to negative attitudes of AWS towards their own speech, along with the fear of the occurrence of stuttering events during the conversation with AWNS, they used several avoidance strategies such as refraining themselves to speak and thus, allowing their partners to speak more, etc. This resulted in reduced verbal output with shorter, and less complex utterances for AWS. Similar to the previous research idea, a follow-up clinical study was conducted by Lee, Robb, Van Dulm, & Ormond (2016). The group revealed that after therapy AWS started to produce complex utterances of significant proportion while conversing with AWNS. While previous two research studies had focused on investigating linguistic output produced by AWS while conversing with AWNS, Freud et al. (2016) investigated the production of three common turn-taking behaviours i.e. Word/Sentence Completion, Interruption, and Reinforcers by CPs while conversing with AWS Speakers. The research group revealed that CPs produced a significant proportion of Completions and Interrupting behaviours in response to the stuttered speech of AWS Speakers. On the other hand, CPs produced a significant proportion of Reinforcers as a backchannel signal when they encountered stuttered speech of a moderate AWS Speaker to encourage him to continue with his speaking turn, as opposed to mild AWS Speaker.

The Turn-Taking mechanism is considered as one of the salient features of CA investigation (Wiemann & Knapp, 1975). It is the fundamental feature of a conversation that allows the interacting partners to take “turns” at regular intervals in a coordinated fashion by sending out turn-taking signals to each other (Duncan, 1972; Wiemann & Knapp, 1975). Duncan (1972) acknowledged four major types of turn-taking signals which are expressed in the form of behaviours during a conversation. These were (i) turn-yielding i.e. the speaker yields a turn for his CP to take up the floor of conversation, (ii) turn-demanding i.e. the CP sends out a signal to the speaker about his intention to take up the floor of conversation, (iii) attempt-suppressing i.e. the speaker reluctant to give up the floor of conversation despite producing turn-yielding signals to the CP, and (iv) back-channel communication i.e. the speaker sends out a signal to the CP to take up the floor of conversation but CP avoids taking up the conversational turn. Out of these four types, this research paper has focused on examining the instances where two of the selected turn-taking behaviours, namely, (i) *Sentence Completion behaviour*, and (ii) *Interruption behaviour* are generated in response to turn-demanding signals produced by AWS CPs when the AWS Speaker was reluctant to give up the floor during the two conversations. The relevance of investigating “impaired” Hindi conversations among AWS participants outside the clinical settings stemmed from the realization that not much is known about the conversational circumstances that invoke specific

turn-taking behaviours from AWS CPs in response to the stuttered speech of another AWS Speaker. The preliminary findings from this investigation are expected to help the speech clinicians to highlight those specific circumstances to AWS clients that invoke their fluent-speaking listeners to exhibit such behaviours during daily conversations. And therefore, incorporating therapeutic methods to reduce their negative emotional content while encountering such behaviours during speaking situations.

Method

Recruitment Process: The recruitment of participants was the first session of the research study. The researcher recruited potential participants from two speech communities. At the beginning of the study, the researcher arranged a small event in the JNU campus after a few initial interactions with male AWS participants of TISA. The information about the event was spread through a WhatsApp Chat group of TISA organization. Around 27 male AWS candidates of TISA from Delhi-NCR region had attended the event. No female AWS candidates of TISA from Delhi-NCR region expressed interest for the event and thereof for the study. The researcher briefly explained the objective of the study and was then invited to take part in the study by asking them to fill out the *Profile Forms* for the researcher. Out of 27 male AWS candidates, 21 of them expressed their interest in the study, while the rest of them declined the invitation. The interested candidates filled out the *Profile Forms*. The researcher further informed them that their selection in the study would be solely based on the eligibility criteria of the study. And hence, they would be informed about their selection, via email or phone, along with the other details about the follow-up sessions. The entire administration of the recruitment of the AWS candidates took a day to finish. Once all the *Profile Forms* from all the interested AWS candidates were collected, the researcher then screened each of the *Profile Forms* to look for any missing responses in it. The forms were also examined to determine if the interested AWS candidates met the eligibility criteria of the study. The researcher, finally, selected 12 AWS candidates for the doctoral study. However, only 8 of them had actually completed the entire doctoral study.

Profile Form: This form was primarily designed to identify potential participants, based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria required for the study. It was a pencil-paper form. The form was distributed among interested AWS candidates at the time of the recruitment process. A total of forty-three questions related to their personal, educational, employment and socio-economic details were asked from AWS candidates at the recruitment event. They were asked to provide their responses either in English or Hindi in the space provided in the form. The filling up the *Profile Forms* took around 15-20 minutes for the participants to complete.

Participants: Out of 8 AWS participants, two randomly selected conversational speech data were drawn and investigated from three Hindi-speaking male AWS participants. The background information of AWS participants is shown in Table 1. The mean age of AWS participants included in the current investigation was 31.33 years (SD = 13.05), ranging from 21 years to 46 years. All AWS participants met the eligibility criteria of the study, i.e. (i) were above 18 years of age, (ii) were not involved in any speech therapy programs, (iii) accepted themselves as AWS, and (iv) reported themselves as native Hindi speakers. Participants were not paid for their participation in the doctoral study. Informed consents from each AWS participant were obtained during the data collection process for the doctoral study.

Table 1: Background Information on AWS Participants

Participant ID	Age (in years)	Sex	Mother Tongue	Educational Qualification
NS	27	Male	Hindi	B. Tech
SC	46	Male	Hindi	Graduation
RR	21	Male	Hindi	Pursuing B. A.

Reading and Speaking Materials: The reading and speaking materials were used to collect speech samples from AWS participants to evaluate their stuttering severities. The reading materials consisted of three Hindi oral passages. These passages were randomly selected from the question papers of Union Public Service Commission Main Subject Exam (Hindi) of the years 2015 (UPSC Hindi Mains Examination Paper, 2015, p. 2-3), 2011 (UPSC Hindi Mains Examination, 2011, p. 2-3), and 2012 (UPSC Hindi Mains Examination, 2012, p. 4-6). The passages were provided then with appropriate titles in Hindi. The researcher and another native Hindi speaker had counted and compared the number syllables in each of the three passages until full-agreement was reached between them. The three passages had a total of 898, 593, and 822 syllables in it. The selected oral Hindi passages were printed in Mangal font with a size of 14 on a plain paper.

Table 2: Number of Syllables Produced by AWS Participants During Speaking Tasks

Participant ID	Syllable Production During Speaking Tasks	
	Speaking Task 1 (Divided Attention Picture)	Speaking Task 2 (The Cookie Theft)
NS	129	164
SC	686	339
RR	118	101

Similarly, the speaking task consisted of two line-drawing black-and-white pictures, i.e. *Divided Attention Picture* (Marshall & Wright, 2007) and *The Cookie Theft* (Goodglass et al., 2000) that were used to describe the pictures in Hindi. Along the same lines of calculating the number of syllables in the oral passages, the researcher and another native Hindi speaker counted and compared the number of syllables produced by AWS participants while describing the pictures in Hindi until full-agreement was reached between them. The number of syllables produced by each AWS participant during the two speaking tasks is given in Table 2.

2.5 Stuttering Severity Instrument-4 (SSI-4): It is a standardized, reliable, valid, and sensitive diagnostic instrument which was used to diagnose and evaluate the severity level of stuttering disorder and speech naturalness among AWS participants (Riley, 2009).

Table 3: Stuttering Severity Levels of AWS Participants

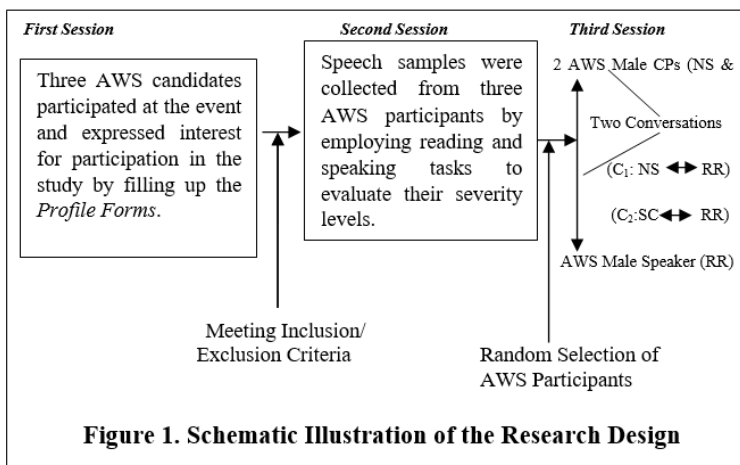
Participant ID	SSI-4 Measurement of Stuttering Severity of AWS Participants							
	A (S-1 + S-2)		B	C	Total Score (A +B +C)	Percentile Rank	Stuttering Severity Level	Speech Naturalness
	S-1	S-2						
NS	5	6	8	6	25	41-60	Moderate	4
SC	6	8	10	9	33	78-88	Severe	6
RR	9	9	12	9	39	96-99	Profound	8

Note: S-1 = Speech Sample 1; S-2 = Speech Sample 2; A = Frequency Score; B= Duration Score; & C = Physical Concomitant Score

The researcher, along with a certified Speech-Language Clinician, diagnosed the AWS participants using the Stuttering Severity Instrument-4 (SSI-4). This was done by randomly selecting two speech samples from the cohort of five speech samples consisting of three reading and two speaking samples. This was then followed by watching over the recorded videos repeatedly to identify and count the number of stuttering-like disfluencies (SLDs) present in the two speech samples of each AWS participant. The researcher and the clinician followed the above-mentioned steps separately and compared their ratings with each other until full-agreement was reached between them. The stuttering severity levels of each AWS participant is shown in Table 3.

Selection of Conversational Topics: The researcher browsed various online websites of ESL education (Source: <https://www.eslconversationquestions.com/englishconversation-questions/topics/>; Retrieved on - 4th August 2018) to get an idea about types of conversational topics to be used for the data collection. Besides, the researcher also visited several TISA self-help group meetings over the weekends to get an idea regarding topics of their interest for conversations. Eight argumentative conversational topics were, therefore, framed for doctoral study in the Hindi language. In the current research paper, only two of them are being analyzed for turn-taking behaviours (refer to **Appendix B**).

Research Design: A recruitment drive was conducted for AWS candidates in the form of an event at the JNU campus. Those who expressed interest in the study at the event were asked to fill out the *Profile Forms*. AWS Candidates who met the eligibility criteria of the study were required to attend both the remaining two sessions of the study. During the second session of the study, speech samples were collected by using reading and speaking materials from three AWS participants to evaluate their stuttering severity levels. Following this, the researcher had randomly assigned one of the AWS participants as Speaker (RR), and the other two of them as CPs (NS, & SC). During the third session, the Speaker had two separate conversations with each of the CPs in Hindi.



Process: The data collection procedure followed in the doctoral study was divided into three stages, *namely*, (i) recruitment of potential participants based on their inclusion-exclusion criteria of the study; (ii) collecting speech samples and gathering other relevant information about them through questionnaires; and (iii) conducting face-to-face conversations between participants². The first stage of the study has already been explained under sub-section 2.1. However, the researcher discusses the following two sessions in detail.

The second and third sessions of the research study were also conducted at JNU campus, New Delhi, India. The sessions were conducted on

² Since, this research paper investigates only a part of the data collected during doctoral study. Therefore, the research process explained here is according to the objective proposed under the current investigation.

different timings over the weekends and eventually lasted for about two months. During the second session of the study, the researcher collected speech samples from AWS participants to evaluate their severities using the SSI-4. The samples were collected by employing reading and speaking tasks. At the beginning of the second session, an AWS participant was first asked to sit in a quiet room free from any disturbance. The participant was then instructed to read the consent form carefully and sign it. The participant was encouraged to ask or clarify any doubts from the researcher regarding the study. Once the researcher received the informed consent form from the AWS, the participant was instructed to sit on a comfortable chair facing towards the camera lens. A Canon PowerShot SX40 HS camera was used for the audio-video recording of the speech sample collection process. The camera was placed on a tripod at about 3 feet from the ground. Throughout the recording, a distance of about 2 feet was maintained between the camera lens and the participant's eye. The researcher then asked the participant to read out loudly three separate Hindi oral passages one-by-one according to their normal reading speed. Following the reading task exercise, the researcher then moved to the speaking task exercise. In this exercise, the researcher asked the participant to describe two line-drawing black-n-white pictures in Hindi shown it to them one-by-one. Participants were allowed to take their time while describing the pictures. They were constantly been encouraged by the researcher to provide any other relevant information which they wanted to add-in in the description of the pictures. The administration of both reading and speaking tasks with each participant took around 15-20 minutes to complete.

Before the beginning of the third session, the researcher then randomly picked up NS (Moderate AWS), and SC (Severe AWS) as “CPs”, and RR (Very Severe AWS) as “*Speaker*” in the study. During the third session, the Speaker and the CP were asked to sit on comfortable chairs at a distance of about 2 feet in between them and facing towards each other in one of the rooms located on the campus. Two Nokia 6 TA-1021 DS camera phones were placed on tripods in such a way that each of these cameras was facing towards one of the AWS in the conversational dyad. The researcher then read out instructions in Hindi to AWS participants in the conversational dyad that (i) all the conversational topics were written in Hindi on a piece of paper which were kept in a box placed in front of them, (ii) any one of the participants of the conversational dyad was responsible for reading out the topic aloud in Hindi so that both the participants were able to understand their topic of conversation, (iii) both the participants of the dyad were responsible for putting across their thoughts in Hindi only, and *lastly* (iv) a timer was placed for their convenience so that the participants could check their time and finish their conversation within a stipulated time period of fifteen minutes.

After listening to the instructions from the researcher, one of the participants in the dyad, either the Speaker or the CP, took out the paper of conversational topic from the box placed in front of them and read out the topic loudly for the other participant. After this, both the participants, Speaker and CP, began their conversation in Hindi. Once they were done with their conversation, a ten-minute break was given to the Speaker. Once again, a similar set of procedures were followed for the second conversation too.

Camera and Tripod: Audio-video recording of second and third sessions of the research study was undertaken during the data collection procedure. While only one Canon PowerShot SX40 HS camera and a tripod were used during the second session of the study. On the other hand, two pairs of Nokia 6 TA-1021 DS camera phones and tripods were used by the researcher during the third session of the study.

Data Analysis

The conversational speech data collected from AWS participants were transcribed in two steps. During the first step, the researcher went over the two conversational videos repeatedly and transcribed “*what has been said*” in the videos in standard Hindi orthography. The researcher at this stage did not apply any coding scheme. And therefore, ignored the transcription of other interactional aspects such as coding of suprasegmental features, eye gaze, laughter, whispering, SLDs, & “*other*” normal disfluencies (ODs), etc. in the conversational transcripts. Once the orthographical transcripts were ready, the researcher then moved to the second step of transcript examination. During the second step, an integrated coding scheme was developed to mark both “*ordinary*” (Jefferson, 2004) and “*impaired*” conversations in the collected samples (MacWhinney, 2000; Ratner, Rooney, & MacWhinney, 1996) consisting of SLDs, ODs, eye gaze, and other non-verbal features (refer to **Appendix A**). The application of two steps resulted in the generation of convention-based conversational transcripts.

Discussion

The current research paper examined two important turn-taking behaviours i.e. *Completion*, and *Interruption* produced by two Hindi-speaking AWS CPs while speaking with another Hindi-speaking AWS Speaker in our conversational speech data. One of the reasons for selecting these two turn-taking behaviours in our study is that frequent complaints are being registered by AWS in their clinical reports where they mention how fluent speakers complete their words or sentences; and interrupt them regularly (The Indian Stammering Association, 2016). Receiving such kind of behaviours from fluent speakers during conversations discourage AWS to socialize and converse with others in the future. However, very little is known if the same set of behaviours are being produced by AWS CPs themselves while talking with another

AWS Speaker. Also, under what circumstances such instances of turn-taking behaviours are being produced by two Hindi-speaking AWS CPs is a subject for investigation in this study. Thus, the researcher critically examined two conversational speech data for locating instances of two turn-taking behaviours. It was found that even AWS CPs produced the selected turn-taking behaviours in response to the stuttered speech of AWS Speaker. These are explained below:

C₁: NS↔RR (Moderate AWS CP ↔ Profound AWS Speaker)

The researcher found only one instance of the production of Completion behaviour by AWS CP (Moderate) in response to the stuttered speech of AWS Speaker (Profound). An excerpt from the conversation (C₁) is given below:

08 S {£→}: हाँ। ↑और ^^मेरा ^^मानना है कि ^^आप ^^अगर कि(/↔)सी को भी ^^बच्चा गों(/↔)द

hā:n↓ ↑ər ^^mera: ^^ma:n˚na: hai ki ^^a:p
^^agər ki(/↔)si: ko bhi: ^^bəʃtʃa: gō(/↔)d

के लिए ^^दें↓ ^^तो ^^जाँच पर कर दे↓ (.) कि वो ^^परिवार उ(/↔)सके स(/:.....)

ke lie ^^dē↓ ^^to ^^jā:ʃ pər kər dē↓ (.) ki
vo ^^pəri:vər u(/↔)s˚ke s(/:.....)

(Long prolongation of 15 secs)

“Yes. And I believe that if you allow anyone to adopt the child, then do thorough investigation. To examine whether that familys
.....”

09 CP {£→}: साथ देँ↓।

sa:th dē↓

“Support him”.

10 S {£→}: साथ। हाँ। साथ दें उसका↑।

sa:th hā:n↑ sa:th dē uska:↑

“Support. Yes. Support him.”

In the above conversational dyad (C₁), AWS CP (Moderate) had shared his views on adoption policy in India with AWS Speaker (Profound). It is evident from the excerpt that due to profound stuttering severity level of AWS Speaker; it was extremely difficult for him to conduct talk-in-interaction without any communication breakdown with his partner.

Under normal circumstances, *Completion* behaviour is produced when a speaker could not able to finish his or her utterance within a stipulated time-frame. This inability can be extended to brief difficulty in searching a word for a moment or organizing thoughts into words. The CP, on the other hand, does not wish to take up the floor of conversation during such scenarios. While production of such behaviour is considered normal by fluent-speaking communities during conversations. AWS, however, feels offended if their listeners try to complete their words or sentences. This has been frequently reported in the clinical reports of AWS (TISA, 2016).

In our case, both the interactants were diagnosed with stuttering disorder. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the approach of AWS partners towards each other in the dyad would be different from those who were not diagnosed with the stuttering disorder. And therefore, AWS partners in the dyad was assumed to be sympathetic to one another's speech struggle. It is because of this reason that when AWS Speaker prolonged the sound "s" for almost 15 seconds, AWS CP understood the speech struggle of the Speaker, and realized that it was important on his part to intervene at this juncture to facilitate the Speaker to come out of his stuttering event and eventually completes his sentence. Another possible explanation of exhibiting *Completion* behaviour by AWS CP in the dyad can be drawn from the fact that while encountering a profound form of stuttered speech of AWS Speaker, AWS CP might have become extremely sensitive to the "*time lost*" during the conversation. This sensitiveness was extended to the fact that AWS CP might have mistakenly interpreted the signal from AWS Speaker as an indication for him to complete the sentence. Previous research studies have also shown that an extended long pause of more than 300 - 600 ms at dispreferred locations within utterance results in either dispreferred turn-switching format between CPs (Kendrick & Torreira, 2015) or non-aligned responses which are reflected in terms of the exhibition of turn-taking behaviours from other CP in a conversational dyad (Roberts, Margutti, & Takano, 2011). Therefore, the preliminary finding from our examination continued to be in line with previous research findings that *Completion* behaviour is produced by AWS CP in anticipation to help the AWS Speaker in the conversational dyad, and not to offend him. It is, therefore, important on the part of speech clinicians to make AWS aware of such circumstances that generate such turn-taking behaviour of CPs during daily life conversations.

Another turn-taking behaviour that has found its place in the clinical reports of AWS is *Interruption* behaviour. During daily life conversations, CP interrupts the utterances of Speaker when the CP attempts to take up the floor and the Speaker, on the other hand, reluctant to give up the speaking floor. However, when such behaviour is exhibited by AWNS CP in a conversational dyad while conversing with

AWS Speaker, the AWS Speaker feels humiliated and offended for not allowing him or her to put across his or her viewpoints on the floor of conversation. In a way, such speaking situations add up to their list of “difficult speaking situations” which restricts them to participate in future engagements.

C₂: SC↔RR (Severe AWS CP ↔ Profound AWS Speaker)

In the second conversation, the researcher found several instances of production of Interruption behaviour by AWS CP (Severe) in response to the stuttered speech of AWS Speaker (Profound). However, due to space limitation, only one of the excerpts from the conversation (C₂) is discussed below:

27 CP { $\text{£} \rightarrow$ }: आपको↑ तो जब [I] वो आपसे ^^मिलने को ^^आई है↓।
↑या ^^आया है↓। देखने में

a:pkə↑ to jəb [I] vo a:pse ^^milne ko ^^ai: hai↓ ↑ya:
^^a:ya: hai↓ dek^hne mẽ

तो अच्छा ही↓ टीप-टॉप बनके ^^ही↓ तो आएगा आपके पास↓। या आएगी आपके पास↓।

to a^hʃa: hi:↓ ti:p-tə:p bənke ^^hi:↓ to a:ega: a:pke pa:s↓ ya:
a:egi: a:pke pa:s↓

“Whenever that person came to see you, he or she should have dressed up well to see you.”

28 S { $\text{£} \rightarrow$ }: नहीं +/.

nāhī: +/.“No”.

29 CP { $\text{£} \rightarrow$ }: हमें↑ उसके बारे में ^^क्या पता↓ कि अपने ↑वहाँ ल(//)ड़ती है↓? ↑वो ^^↑कैसे

həmē↑ uske ba:re mẽ ^^kya: pəta:↓ ki apne
↑vəhā:n l(//)ṛṭi: hai↓ ↑vo ^^↑kaise



र(//)हती है↓? ^^नहा ^^धो के भी आई है कि नहीं? कि परफ्यूम लगाया, फूस-फूस-फूस,

r(//)hti: hai↓ ^^nəha: ^^dho ke bhi: ai: hai ki nāhī: ki
pəɾəfju:m laga:ya: fu:s-fu:s-fu:s

मूँह गिला करा, मेकप करा और आ गई।

mū:h gila: kəra: mekəp kəra: ɔr aa gəi:

“How do we know if she fights at her place? How she lives at her place? Whether she took bath or not? If she applied the perfume, made the face wet, applied makeup and came.”

30 S { $\text{£} \rightarrow$ }: नहीं+/.

nāhī: +/.

“No”.

31 CP { $\text{£} \rightarrow$ }: या आ गया। दोनों के लिए केह रहा हूँ। एक के लिए नहीं केह रहा हूँ।

ya: aa gāya: donō ke liye keh rāha: hū:n ek ke liye nāhī: keh rāha: hū:n

“Or he came. I am talking about both of them. I am not leaving out any one of them.”

In the above conversational dyad, AWS CP (Severe) had shared his views on marriages in India with AWS Speaker (Profound). The researcher found that although AWS CP (Moderate) was considerably more sympathetic towards AWS Speaker (Profound) by facilitating the Speaker to complete his sentence, in the middle of his stuttering events, without any intention to claim for the speaking turn. The same, however, cannot be said in the current conversational dyad. Throughout the conversation, it was found that AWS CP (Severe) did not give AWS Speaker (Profound) enough time to put across his viewpoint. And therefore, interrupted the utterances of AWS Speaker (Profound) quiet frequently. One of the plausible reasons for the exhibiting such behaviour can be drawn from the fact that AWS Speaker had an extreme degree of stuttering severity level which might have had prompted the AWS CP to take up most of the conversation time by speaking up himself and hence, giving less time to the Speaker to share his viewpoint. Another plausible reason for the exhibition of this behaviour could be related to the concept of “time loss”. While conversing with AWS, CPs without the stuttering disorder (or, AWNS) usually feel the pressure of losing conversational time due to the occurrence of stuttering events. It is for this reason that, in normal daily life speaking situations, AWNS often intervene to claim their speaking turn so that a probable situation of communication breakdown for AWS Speaker can be avoided. It is, however, interesting that despite the involvement of both the participants with the stuttering disorder, AWS CP (Severe) exhibited similar turn-taking behaviour while conversing with AWS Speaker (Profound), as reported in the conversational dyads involving AWS and AWNS participants (Freud, et al. 2016).

Conclusion

To conclude, it is evident from the preliminary examination of two conversational speech samples that AWS CP (Moderate) had produced Completion behaviour in response to the stuttered speech of AWS Speaker (Profound). On the other hand, AWS CP (Severe) had produced Interruption behaviour in response to the presence of AWS Speaker (Profound). The significance of understanding these two distinct findings stemmed from the realization that it is extremely important to take into account specific circumstances that result in the production of such turn-taking behaviours during conversations. In the first conversation (C₁), AWS CP (Moderate) had patiently listened to the viewpoint shared by AWS Speaker (Profound). This is reflected in the way AWS CP (Moderate) had positively reacted to the stuttering events of AWS Speaker (Profound). On the other hand, in the second conversation (C₂), AWS CP (Severe) had premeditated chalked out the plan at the beginning of the conversation on how to put across his viewpoints while conversing with AWS Speaker who had a more severe form of stuttering disorder than him. Therefore, the instances of Interruption behaviour was produced more frequently in the presence of AWS Speaker (Profound) than actually confronting the stuttered speech of AWS Speaker (Profound) by AWS CP (Severe).

These circumstantial situations highlight the complexities of the conversational dynamics between the interactants in the dyad. The preliminary findings not only support the viewpoint that turn-taking behaviours are produced in response to the disordered speech of an individual. But it is also produced in response to the negative attitudes or stereotypes generally held by AWNS towards AWS. Although in the presence of only two conversational speech samples, it is not possible to generalize our findings to the entire AWS community. But the findings have certainly paved its way to model the speech therapy programs in such a way that AWS clients know and understand specific points in the conversations that send acoustic signals of their stuttering events to the listeners and therefore, invoke verbal behaviours as a reaction to such actions.

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Appendix

Transcription Symbol

Sequencing

- [A *single-left bracket* indicates the starting point of overlap.
-] A *single-right bracket* indicates the ending point of overlap.
- = A pair of *equal-signs* one at the end of a line, & the other at the beginning of a next line, indicate two scenarios:

a. If two continuous utterances produced by one speaker are joined by a pair of equal signs then it indicates that no pause or break was taken. This series of continuous utterances could also be broken down to accommodate overlapping or interrupting talk in between it. For example:

A: I went to the market=

B: [Oh really!!]

C: =[and saw J]ohn over there.

b. If two utterances are being produced by two different speakers, then the second utterance is “*latched*” to the first utterance, indicating no silence between the two utterances. For example:

A: =I got book from Rose.

B: =Alright.

Time-Interval

- (.) *Dot in parentheses* indicates a brief interval (+/- a tenth of a seconds) within or between utterances.

Gesture



A picture of a man with a downward block arrow indicates nodding of head of the person in agreement.



A picture of hand indicates hand gesture to perform non-verbal action. This is shown above the utterance.

-x- A hyphen with a cross in the middle followed by another hyphen indicates laughter. This is shown above the utterance. A short series of hyphens with a cross in the middle followed by another set of hyphens indicate a smiling gesture. For example:

A: Do you like this dress?

B: --x--

Yes.

On the other hand, a long series of hyphens with a cross in the middle followed by another set of hyphens indicate that the person is laughing or smiling while speaking. For example:

A: I am going to college.

B: -----x-----

Oh really! I thought you are going for the movie.

Characteristics of Speech Production

- An *underscoring sign* indicate some form of stress, via pitch, and/or amplitude. A short underscore indicates lighter stress than does a long underscore.
- ↑ An *Upward Arrow* indicates rising tone.
- ↓ A *Downward Arrow* indicates falling tone.
- [] A *solidus within square brackets* indicate multisyllabic word repetition which is shown immediately after the repeated word. For example: I would like to opt for Psychology [/] [gloss: I would like to opt for Psychology-Psychology-Psychology].
- +/. A *plus sign followed by a slash, and dot* indicates interruption which is used when an utterance is left incomplete by the speaker because the other person in the dyad interrupts the speaker. For example:

A: I am going to +/.

B: School.

A: Yes. I am going to school.
- : A *colon* indicates prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The longer the colon row, the longer the prolongation.
- [] An *empty square brackets* indicate that the speaker did not utter anything. The length of the space within empty square brackets indicate the length of the utterance.

Eye Gaze

{£→} A pound sign with rightwards arrow indicate looking towards.



An eye icon indicate that the speaker visually indicates the hearer (or, listener) to take the floor of the conversation.

Stuttering-Like Disfluencies

^^ A double up arrowhead indicates block which is shown immediately prior to the blocked segment without any intervening spaces. For example: ^^He is nice.

(/←ϕ) A slash followed by a leftward arrow with loop within round brackets indicate sound, or syllable repetition within a word. For example: ba(/←ϕ)by [gloss: ba-ba-ba-by].

(/«) A slash followed by a left-pointing double angle quotation mark within round brackets indicate whole word repetition. This is shown immediately after the repeated word. For example: He is eating banana and (/«) apple [gloss: He is eating banana and-and-and-and apple].

(/:) A slash with a colon within round brackets indicates prolonged segment which is placed after the prolonged element. For example: s(/:)omething [gloss: sssssomething].

Normal Disfluencies

&- An ampersand with hyphen indicates filled pause which is used immediately before the filled pause, or interjections. For example: &-um, or &-hmm. For example: I was going to &-um market, and was hit by a car from behind [gloss: I was going to umm... market, and was hit by a car from behind].

[»] A number followed by right-pointing double angle quotation mark within square brackets is used to indicate phrase repetition. This is shown immediately after the repeated phrase. For example: I was [»] going to market. [gloss: I was - I was - I was going to market].

+... A plus sign followed by three dots indicate an incomplete or abandoned utterance which is shown immediately after an incomplete utterance. For example: I like +... [gloss: I like....].

®.. A registered sign with two dots indicate revised utterances. This is shown immediately before the revised segment. For example: I like ®..I want this ball [gloss: I like...I want this ball].

/®.. A slash followed by registered sign with two dots indicate revised word. This is shown immediately before the revised word. For example: Which /®..Who is that girl? [gloss: Which..Who is that girl?].

Optimal Sonority Order of Onset Consonant Clusters in Pashto Language

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Abstract

Pashto spoken by the majority of people in Afghanistan and Khyber Pakhtun khwa province of Pakistan. It is also spoken as the first language by the minority group of people in Kashmir. This paper aims to examine the consonant clustering of Pashto language spoken in Kashmir in the context of sonority hierarchy. Languages of the world exhibit different sequencing of consonants allowed by the sonority sequencing constraint. The linear order of segments in a language is usually influenced by different phonotactic restrictions which only allows the optimal order of consonant sequences. These arrangements of consonant clusters within syllables are subjected to occur in sequences adjacent to each-other by their sonority value. The sounds which are most sonorous occur at the peaks while as the less sonorous sounds occur at the edges within the syllables (Clements, 1990, Hooper, 1976, Kiparsky, 1979). This pattern is generally followed by most of the languages of the world. The sonority order of segments is constrained in languages, what are the different constraints which put these restrictions on Pashto consonant clusters? The phonotactic constraints of these clusters are subjected to manner, place and voice features of the sound segments in Pashto language which determines the order of consonant sequences in the language. This paper reveals different clustering order of consonants at the initial position of Pashto syllables constrained by the sonority value and how the sonority of different segments effect the linear order of sound sequencing in Pashto language.

Key words: Pashto, Phonotactics, Syllable, Sonority, Constraint.

Introduction

Pashto language also called Pakhto is the member of Indo-Iranian group of indo European languages. It is largely spoken in Afghanistan as the official language and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. It is spoken by an estimated 60 million people spread all over the world through Pashtun diaspora (Ethnologue). A small fraction of Pashto speaking people resides in Kashmir who migrated from Afghanistan and Pakistan and became permanent members of Kashmir after the partition of India. Being a minority group and alienated from their majority community Pashto speakers in Kashmir still maintained their culture and identity. This paper focuses on the analysis of consonant cluster sequences at the initial position of the syllables of Pashto language which is determined by the

sonority hierarchy of these consonants. This will include the identification of various phonotactic constraints which are responsible for the type of sequences allowed in Pashto language. The constraints which are responsible for the type of sequences are both articulatory and perceptual. This paper is an attempt to illustrate some of these constraints of Pashto language in the light of Optimality Theoretic framework.

Sonority theory

Sonority is a phonological non-binary feature that categorizes sounds into relative scales. There are many variants of the hierarchy of sonority; a common one is vowels > glides > liquids > nasals > obstructions (Parker, 2016). In other studies the obstruents are further categorized as fricatives > stops according to the sonority order. It is an established fact that syllables allows the sequencing of clusters from less sonorous to more sonorous at the initial positions. This pattern is followed by the majority of the languages of the world. In syllables, a primary sonority function is to linearize segments: more sonorous sounds tend to occur closer to the peak. The theory of sonority says that different segment types have different inherent sonority levels (linked to acoustic energy or vocal-tract stricture, though somewhat obscurely), and that the compatibility of a segment with a given environment depends on the permissible sonority contours within and between syllables (Clements, 1990).

Sonority Constraints and Theoretical background

The consonant clustering are constrained in languages and these clusters are subjected to the sonority order of the segments. The general patterning of these segments into sequences is from less sonorous to more sonorous at the onset positions of syllable. Low-sonority onsets are preferred cross-linguistically. When a choice between two different available onsets must be made, this preference can be most clearly seen. For example, it is the lowest sonority member of an onset cluster that is reduced in Sanskrit reduplication (Steriade 1982, 1988; McCarthy and Prince 1986). In child language phonology, another example can be found; different children have shown a preference for low sonority in phenomena such as cluster simplification (blue > [bu], sky > [a], snow > [so] and truncation (balloon > [bu:n]) (Gnanadesikanikan, 1995; 1997 at Barlow). A low sonority onset is preferred because it is more distinct than a high-sonority onset from the syllable nucleus (Delgutte 1997). This implies that the cross-linguistic preference for low-sonority beginnings is functionally grounded, but it must be modelled within a specific phonological framework.

The preference for low-sonority onsets can be formalized within Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993; McCarthy and Prince 1995) as a family of constraints of the general type *ONSET/X, where X is a variable that ranges over each step of the segmental sonority scale. Since preferred codas are often those that are high in sonority [Hooper 1976; Zec 1988; Clements 1990], it is preferable to separately treat

limitations of onset and coda sonority. The individual *ONSET/X constraints are in a universally fixed ranking determined by the sonority scale, with the highest rank given to the most sonorous onset constraint. The *ONSET/X constraints must be given a constraint formulation that the (leftmost) onset segment in a syllable is correctly identified and the level of its sonority inspected (L. Smith, 2002).

***ONSET/X.** It says that the left most segment in the syllable doesn't have the sonority level X.

This constraint assumes the sonority order of segments at the onset position for the languages given as below:

*ONS/GLIDE>> *ONS/RHOTIC>> *ONS/LATERAL>>
*ONS/NASAL>> *ONS/VOICEDOBS>> *ONS/VOICELESSOBS

Prototypically, onsets contain an obstructive plus an approximant. In addition, the propensity to pattern a segment as a moraic is proportional to its sonority. These observations led to implications such as lower nuclei of sonority involving the existence of nuclei in a specific language from all higher classes of sonority. While such generalisations are strong, however, some have counterexamples, raising questions about the adequacy of sonority and how to grammatically encode it. A debate about its innateness has been revived by recent research on sonority. Experiments that ask speakers of different languages to rate the naturalness of or pronounce forms containing non-native clusters, for instance, demonstrate that universal limitations of markedness involving sonority predict accuracy on such tasks. Various studies, however, contradict the fact that this knowledge can be acquired by extrapolating statistical generalisations from the lexicons of those languages without prior bias with respect to preferred differentials in sonority. Computational algorithms that can calculate the relative sonority of acoustic samples directly and potentially segment them based on different phonetic parameters are an exciting development; these algorithms have contributed to automatic speech recognition. Connectionist networks have also been used to syllabify random strings of segments in Berber automatically. Sonority is a function of bidirectional excitation of competing segments over time in this approach, driven by global maximization of harmony using exponentially weighted constraints. The functional explanation of sequencing tendencies is another important issue. Some scholars have rejected the analysis of clusters in terms of well-configured sonority slopes in favour of an optimal ordering of segments to improve their auditory cue robustness. By their probability of helping the listener to recover critical aspects of the speech signal, this approach replaces sonority with perceptual constraints ranking phonological environments. In other related areas, cutting-edge technology has made a significant contribution, too. An Italian study with electromagnetic articulography, for example, shows a difference in gestural target coordination patterns for initial clusters such as /pr/ versus

/sp/ (a sonority reversal). This finding indicates that the two sequences have distinct prosodic structures, a crucial detail that is often downplayed- if "exceptional" clusters such as /sp/ are not actually tautosyllabic, then they actually confirm rather than violate the principle of sonority.

Onset Phonotactic Constraints in Pashto language

This paper illustrates the sonority order of onset consonant clusters which are responsible for the optimal output in the Pashto language. The phonological analysis of sonority constraints which is established on the basis of manner of articulation, place of articulation and voice features describes different allowed sequences of segments in Pashto onset clusters. On the basis of available data following initial consonant clusters were established in Pashto language.

Onset CC	examples	gloss
/pr/	/pro:t/	horizontal
/pɽ/	/pɽaq/	twinkling
/pl/	/pla:r/	father
/pj/	/pja:z/	onion
/tr/	/trix/	bitter
/tɽ/	/tɽap/	falling sound
/tl/	/tləl/	going
/tj/	/tjarə/	dark
/kr/	/krəka/	hate
/kɽ/	/kɽap/	Walking sound
/kl/	/klak/	hard
/br/	/brag/	multi colored
/bɽ/	/bɽastan/	mattress
/bj/	/bja/	again
/dr/	/dre:m/	third
/gr/	/gra:n/	costly
/gɽ/	/gɽaz/	Thundering sound
/tɽ/	/tɽak/	truck
/dɽ/	/dɽəm/	drum
/qɽ/	/qɽapu/	foodie
/mɽ/	/mɽa/	died
/ml/	/mla/	back
/mj/	/mjada/	stomach
/nj/	/nja:/	grandmother
/fl/	/flankai/	someone
/sp/	/spei/	dog
/st/	/stən/	needle
/sk/	/skor/	charcoal
/sx/	/sxa:/	rotten

/sq/	/sqər/	Father in law
/zb/	/zbərg/	saint
/zm/	/zməka/	land
/zr/	/zrə/	heart
/zj/	/zjaŋ/	yellow
/ʃp/	/ʃpa/	night
/ʃt/	/ʃta/	available
/ʃk/	/ʃkaŋu/	porcupine
/ʃm/	/ʃma:r/	count
/ʃn/	/ʃna/	bluish
/ʃl/	/ʃlo/	To cut
/ʃr/	/ʃraŋ/	Instrumental sound
/ʃt/	/ʃtəp/	Water sound
/ʃx/	/ʃxuan/	rumination
/xp/	/xpəl/	Own
/xk/	/xkər/	horn
/xr/	/xre:l/	shave
/ɣr/	/ɣrə/	forest
/ɣl/	/ɣla:/	theft
/tʃr/	/tʃraŋ/	Crying
/tʃt/	/tʃtəp/	Kissing sound
/dʒr/	/dʒranda/	lock

The type of onset consonant clusters which are allowed in Pashto is evident from the above table. The following types of combinations are found which are based on the manner of articulation:

1. Stop + trill, flap, approximant, lateral approximant

These clusters follow the sonority scale principle which is less sonorous to more sonorous. Stop consonants in this case are least sonorous followed by less sonorous segments of Pashto. This gives us an optimal form of structure which follows the sonority hierarchy scale by satisfying the constraint of sonority *ONSET/X. The value of X can be any onset segment cluster which satisfies sonority hierarchy:

*ONS/GLIDE>> *ONS/RHOTIC>> *ONS/LATERAL>>
 *ONS/NASAL>> *ONS/VOICEDOBS>> *ONS/VOICELESSOBS.

Assuming this sonority hierarchy for the Pashto onset clusters we get the ranking:

*ONS/GLIDE+STOP>> *ONS/RHOTIC+STOP>> *ONS/APPROXIMANT+STOP

This hierarchy of dominance can be evaluated with the help of OT tableau. A combined tableau has been taken for the evaluation process in which the violation marks of any constraint excludes the available candidates. Taking the input of segments with different sonority value, we get the following optimal sonority order of segments.

Input: stop+less sonorous segments	*ONS/GLID E+STOP	*ONS/RHOTIC+STOP	*ONS/Approx.+STOP	optimality
a. Stop+ trill				☞
b. Trill+ stop		*!		
c. Stop+ flap				☞
d. Flap+ stop		*!		
e. Stop+ approx.				☞
f. Approx.+ stop			*!	
g. Stop+ lat. Aprx.				☞
h. Lat. Aprx+ stop			*!	

The possible candidates are demonstrated in one frame above where for each optimal candidate a possible counterpart is generated for the evaluation process. The hierarchy *ONSET/X is placed horizontally individually for each combination which stands for different types of consonant clusters constraint by their sonority value. Candidates a, c, e, f emerges as the optimal candidates in Pashto language by satisfying the sonority hierarchy constraint while candidates b, d, f and h are excluded by violating the hierarchy constraint *ONSET/X.

This type of pattern is followed by all the consonants of the Pashto language in the onset consonant clusters subjected to the exceptions, if found in these clusters.

On the basis of place of articulation the Pashto onset consonant clusters disagree in their place feature. This means the consonants with same place of articulation are not allowed to make sequences in the syllables. This constraint can be represented as:

2. ***Place.CC** (adjacent consonants must disagree in place of articulation).

This constraint is highly ranked in Pashto language and is dominant to any faithful output and therefore restrict them to appear as the surface form. During the evaluation process this constraint exclude any possible candidates with same place of articulation which in this case is consonant clusters of segments with same place of articulation. Some of these combinations which are restricted in onset clusters of Pashto language on the basis of *Place.CC are bilabial stops, velar fricatives, velar stops etc.

Therefore the sonority constraint *place.CC is higher ranked in Pashto language which dominates the faith constraint IDENT-IO (identical input-output). This domination of markedness constraint over faithfulness constraint can be hierarchically represented as *Place.CC >> IDENT-IO.

This hierarchy can be demonstrated in the OT tableau with the aid of examples from Pashto language. Taking the input with same place of articulation but with different sonority value such as /pb/, /td/, /sz/ for the evaluation process, we get the following results:

Input: /pb/, /td/, /sz/	*Place.CC	IDENT-IO
a. /pb/	*!	
b. /td/	*!	
c. /sz/	*!	

All the candidates with same place of articulation and having different sonority value (voiceless obstruents are less sonorant than voiced obstruents) violates higher ranked constraint *Place.CC and satisfies lower ranked constraint IDENT-IO. The satisfaction of lower ranked constraint cannot be considered and there is fatal violation by all the possible candidates in the tableau. Therefore the onset clusters with different sonority value and same place of articulation are blocked in the Pashto syllables.

There are some sequences in onset cluster of Pashto language that agree in voice features. These segments with different sonority value show harmony in voice feature that is both the segments must possess same voice feature. This constraint of sonority can be represented as:

3. AGREE (VOICE). Two adjacent consonants must agree in voice.

This constraint is highly ranked in Pashto language and functions as wellformedness constraint which don't allow sound segments with different voice feature. For example a voiced segment must follow voiced segment and voiceless segment is followed by voiceless segment. In Pashto language this constraint is satisfied by clusters of fricatives and stops which occur in harmony of voicing, for example, fricative and plosive consonant sequences at onset clusters of syllable. The wellformedness constraint AGREE (voice) confronts the faithfulness constraint IDENT-IO (identical input-output) in the conflict to give an optimal output. Thus, it gives us the ranking AGREE (VOICE) >> IDENT-IO.

This ranking of constraint conflict can be illustrated in OT tableau with the help of examples from Pashto language. Taking the input /sp/ (fricative and plosive), the following optimal output can be evaluated.

Input: sp	AGREE (VOICE)	IDENT-IO
a. sp		
b. sb	*!	
c. zb		*
d. zp	*!	

Candidates ‘a’ and ‘c’ satisfies higher ranked constraint while as candidates ‘b’ and ‘d’ violates higher ranked constraint. Therefore candidates ‘b’ and ‘d’ gets excluded during the conflict and candidates ‘a’ and ‘c’ emerges as the optimal candidates of Pashto language.

However this pattern of clustering occur in reverse sonority order in Pashto language i.e. a higher sonority segment is followed by a lower sonority segment which violates the sonority sequencing constraint. The sonority sequencing constraint naturally allows the clustering from low sonority to high sonority of segments at initial position. Wright (2004, 51-52), says that the fricative-plosive and nasal-plosive may be reversed in some languages which is the case in Pashto language. Bell and saka (1983, 259-275) explained this feature in their study ‘reversed sonority in Pashto initial clusters’. However the study was about the consonants which belong to different class of consonants according to manner of articulation. This study finds the reverse sonority order consonants within same class of consonants i.e. Obstruents.

During the description of *Place.CC, it was found that the onset consonant clusters with same place of articulation and different sonority order are blocked in Pashto language. While as the constraint AGREE (VOICE) give license to some of such clusters which are found in Pashto onset clusters such as:

Consonant cluster	examples	gloss	Place
xk	xkər	horn	velar
tl	tləl	to go	Alveolar

These clusters in Pashto language are also supported by the manner of articulation constraint (difference in sonority value). The /xk/ is the combination of different types of manner such as fricative and plosive while as /tl/ is the combination of plosive and approximant.

The above argument between sonority constraint (2) and (3) gives us another constraint ranking in which AGREE (VOICE) is placed at higher rank than *Place.CC constraint. This ranking can be represented as AGREE (VOICE) >> *Place.CC.

Conclusion

This paper illustrated the optimal onset clusters of Pashto language spoken in Kashmir which are determined by the sonority value of each sound segment. The analysis was based on the different types of sonority constraints mainly place, manner and voice feature of sound segments to find the optimal onset clusters. This study finds that Pashto consonant clusters occur in increasing order of sonority at initial position of syllables. However the fricatives and plosives occur in reverse sonority order. The structures with reverse sonority order are optimized by the dominance AGREE (VOICE) which is higher ranked constraint in the conflict with *Place.CC. This paper evaluated the onset cluster of Pashto syllables while leaving the scope to evaluate the sonority order of Pashto syllable at different levels.

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Burushaski in Kashmir: Contact and Vitality

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Abstract

The present paper aims to examine the claimed language proficiency of Burushos in terms of four language skills i.e. understanding, speaking, reading and writing for their mother tongue Burushaski and other languages known them. The main purpose to obtain the information is to ascertain the language vitality for Burushaski and other languages comprising their linguistic repertoire.

Keywords: Language Proficiency, Language Vitality, Burushaski, ANOVA, Post-hoc

Introduction

Burushaski, also known by the names of Boorishki, Brugaski, Kanjut, Werchikwar and Mishaski, is a language isolate spoken by some 87,000 Burusho people in Hunza, Nagar and Yasin area of Northern Pakistan. Linguistically, Burushaski has been termed as a language isolate because it does not characterize the genetic relationship with the surrounding language families like Indic, Sino-Tibetan, Dardic etc. Ethnologue (2005) mentions Burushaski speakers in India but does not provide specific information about the number of speakers and their exact location. According to the members of this speech community 300-350 Burushos live in Srinagar. Burushaski speakers of Jammu and Kashmir are settled in and around a small locality by the foothills of Hariparbat in Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir. The locality is known as Mohalla Azur Khan, named after Raja Azur Khan. Jammu and Kashmir. Burushos are also reported to live in Tral (Pulwama), Batamaloo, and Dandusa in Bemina area of Srinagar. Burushos form a minority speech community of J & K. The dominant language which is spoken within this community is their mother tongue i.e. Burushaski. Burushaski is acquired mainly in the home domain. The other languages known to this community are Balti, Kashmiri, Urdu, and English which are acquired from various sociolinguistic contexts like school, environment, social interactions, mass media etc. All the five languages i.e. Burushaski, Balti, Kashmiri, Urdu and English form the linguistic repertoire of Burushos.

Methodology

The present study is based on the data collected from 76 language respondents during an intensive field work. The respondents were stratified on the basis of age and gender. The respondents were taken from Mohalla Azur Khan, Kathi Darwaza, Srinagar. All the respondents were the native speakers of Burushaski. In the present paper the claimed proficiency in terms of four language skills i.e. Understanding, Speaking, Reading and Writing has been examined on five point scale of proficiencies i.e. (0-nil, 1-very little,2-moderate,3-good,4-very good).The overall coding of the data has been done as under:

Nil	0
Very little	1
Moderate	2
Good	3
Very good	4

The Data for each respondent after codification was fed into an excel sheet and after that it was tabulated. Overall proficiency in languages was obtained by using SPSS version 14. ANOVA and Post hoc test were employed to check out the significant differences in proficiency (if any) among the three age groups.

Claimed Proficiency in Burushaski

Claimed Proficiency in Burushaski was elicited in terms of four skills- Understanding, Speaking, Reading and Writing. Table 1 shows the mean scores in these four skills.

	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Old Male (OM)	3.9	3.9	0.8	0.8
Old Female (OF)	4	4	0	0
Middle-aged Male (MM)	3.7	3.8	1.7	1.7
MF (Middle-aged Female)	4	4	0.4	0.2
YM (Young Male)	3.8	3.7	0.7	0
YF (Young Female)	3.9	3.9	0.1	0.1

Table 1: Mean scores of Claimed Burushaski Proficiency

Table 1 clearly shows that out of four components of proficiency i.e. Reading, Writing, Speaking, and Understanding, two skills Reading and Writing are close to zero. Proficiency in terms of Understanding is near to 4 on the five point scale and the data shows that it has remained

constant for most of the social variables. In case of Speaking skill the females score more as compared to males. The claimed proficiency in Burushaski also declines as we move from ‘Understanding’ to ‘Writing’ in all genders. Also within the Kashmir valley Burushaski literature is not available and majority of Burushos do not know the Burushaski script. So this low score of reading and writing skills are because of the lack of knowledge and practice in Reading and Writing Burushaski.

And those who claim to have proficiency in Reading and Writing make the use of either Roman or Persio-Arabic script to transliterate Burushaski. Thus it can be assumed that Burushos of Kashmir are proficient in two language skills of Burushaski i.e. Understanding and Speaking. Most of the Burushos in Kashmir do not know to read and write in their mother tongue Burushaski.

To ascertain whether there is a any significant difference between the mean proficiency levels of the three age group one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out which shows that there is a significant difference between the mean proficiency level of Burushaski speaking males between the groups with F value =8.30 and P value =.001.However there is no significance difference between the mean proficiency in case of the females. Thus post hoc test is not applicable.

ANOVA

	Old aged		Middle aged		Young aged		F	Sig (P)
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Male	2.00	.21	2.79	.98	1.90	.26	8.301	.001
Female	2.00	.00	2.14	.41	2.04	.31	.706	.500

Table 2: ANOVA of Claimed Burushaski Proficiency

Table 2 Shows that the mean proficiency level is highest in case of Middle aged males that is 2.79 with standard deviation of .98.It is least in case of Young aged males i.e. 1.90 with Standard deviation of .26.However the mean proficiency in females remains same in all the three age groups .

Since the difference is significant in case of Burushaski speaking males multiple comparison test (LSD) least significant difference test was employed to see the pair wise difference.

POST HOC TEST

Males

Dependent Variable	(I) age	(J) age	Sig.
Proficiency in Burushaski	Old aged group	Old aged group	
		Middle aged group	.003
		Young aged group	.694
	Middle aged group	Old aged group	.003
		Middle aged group	
		Young aged group	.001
	Young aged group	Old aged group	.694
		Middle aged group	.001
		Young aged group	

Table 3: Post hoc Test of Burushaski Claimed Proficiency in Males

The Table 3 depicts that Old aged males differ significantly in the proficiency level in comparison with Middle aged males with significance (p) value of .003. Similarly there is also a difference in the proficiency level when young aged male group are compared with the Middle aged male group with a significance (p) value of .001. It can be assumed that Middle aged male group shows higher score in the claimed proficiency as compared to the old aged males and young aged males. The possible reason for this variation may be due to the fact that middle aged males are relatively more conscious for linguistic vitality of Burushaski. Since this group is a transitional group and may have the feeling to maintain Burushaski for their identity. The assumption is supported by the fact that this group use Persio-Arabic script for writing of Burushaski language. The trend is also spreading to standardize the Persio-Arabic script for Burushaski. Burushaski Academy Hunza is planning Persio-Arabic script for Burushaski. Shahnaz Hunzai (2009) has published two volumes of Burushaski-Urdu Dictionary using Persio-Arabic script for Burushaski language.

Claimed Proficiency in Balti

Table 4 shows the mean scores of claimed Balti proficiency in terms of Understanding, Speaking, Reading and Writing.

	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
OM	3.5	3.3	0.4	0.4
OF	3.5	3.5	0	0
MM	3.2	3.1	1.6	1.6
MF	3.1	2.7	0.7	0.3
YM	2.5	2.2	0.07	0
YF	2.3	2.0	0.2	0.07

Table 4: Mean scores of claimed Balti proficiency

As can be seen from Table 4 the claimed proficiency of the respondents in case of Balti decreases from understanding to the writing skills. The skills of the respondents also decrease from Old age group to the Young age group. The reason behind it is that the social domain of elderly generation and the social domain of younger generation vary considerably. The elderly generation follows the traditional kind of social relationship in which the Balti speakers are of large number. The younger generation is exposed to the population of Balti speakers to a marginal level.

To ascertain whether there is a any significant difference between the mean proficiency levels of the three age group one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out which shows that there is a significant difference between the mean proficiency level of Balti speaking males and females between the groups with F value =7.569 and P value =.002.and F Value=3.552 and P value =.039 respectively.

ANOVA

	Old aged		Middle aged		Young aged			
		S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	F	Sig (P)
Male	1.92	.77	2.40	.93	1.21	.63	7.569	.002
Female	1.75	.35	1.73	.79	1.14	.70	3.552	.039

Table 5: ANOVA of Claimed Balti Proficiency

Table 5 Shows that the mean proficiency level in case of males is highest for Middle aged males that is 2.40 with standard deviation of .93.It is least in case of Young aged males i.e. 1.21 with standard deviation of .63. In case of females mean proficiency is highest in case of Old aged female that is 1.75 and low in case of Young aged female that is 1.14.

Since the difference is significant in case of Balti speaking males and females multiple comparison test (LSD) least significant difference test was employed to see the pair wise difference.

POST HOC TEST

Males

Dependent Variable	(I) age	(J) age	Sig.
Proficiency in Balti	Old aged group	Old aged group	
		Middle aged group	.130
		Young aged group	.031
	Middle aged group	Old aged group	.130
		Middle aged group	
		Young aged group	.000
	Young aged group	Old aged group	.031
		Middle aged group	.000
		Young aged group	

Females

Dependent Variable	(I) age	(J) age	Sig.
Proficiency in Balti	Old aged group	Old aged group	
		Middle aged group	.949
		Young aged group	.034
	Middle aged group	Old aged group	.949
		Middle aged group	
		Young aged group	.025
	Young aged group	Old aged group	.034
		Middle aged group	.025
		Young aged group	

Table 6: Post hoc Test of Claimed Balti Proficiency in Males and Females

The Table 6 depicts that Old aged males and females differ significantly in the proficiency level in comparison with Young aged males and females with significance (p) value of .031 and p value of .034. Similarly there is also a difference in the proficiency level when Young aged male and female group are compared with the Middle aged male and female group with a significance (p) value of .000 and p value of .025 respectively. The difference in the proficiency of old aged and middle aged males and females with young aged group is due to the fact that the respondents claimed that most of their domestic helpers during their childhood were from Balti tribe. In order to communicate with them they had to learn that language. But now days the trend has changed and the domestic helpers are being replaced by Kashmiri's. The younger generation does not have much need to learn Balti. Besides, other things the language is not carrying any economical resource for the population.

Claimed Proficiency in Kashmiri

Claimed Proficiency in Kashmiri was elicited in terms of four skills- Understanding, Speaking, Reading and Writing. Table 7 shows the mean scores in these four skills.

	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
OM	3.6	3.2	0.4	0.3
OF	3.1	2.3	0.3	0.3
MM	3.4	2.8	1.5	1.4
MF	3.1	2.1	0.9	0.4
YM	2.9	2.5	2.3	0.3
YF	2.6	1.5	0.8	0.7

Table 7: Mean scores of Claimed Kashmiri Proficiency

It is interesting to observe that the scores in Kashmiri Reading and Writing are quite low for all age groups of both genders. Another point which we observe is that for all the groups there is a steady decline as we move from Understanding to Speaking to Reading to Writing. In the case of different skills in different age groups there is not a systematic pattern other than that where females appear to show a decrease in proficiency as we move from older to younger age groups. Males, on the other hand show a decline in Understanding Kashmiri as we move from older to younger males. However, an opposite trend in Reading and Writing where younger males are observed to be more proficient than the older males. This may be attributed to the inclusion of Kashmiri at the school level Curriculum.

To ascertain whether there is a any significant difference between the mean proficiency levels of the three age group one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out which shows that there is a significant difference between the mean proficiency level of Kashmiri speaking males between the groups with F value =3.14 and P value =.05.However there is no significance difference between the mean proficiency in case of the females. Thus post hoc test is not applicable.

ANOVA

	Old aged		Middle aged		Young aged		F	Sig (P)
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Male	1.85	.56	2.27	.75	1.62	.68	3.145	.055
Female	1.50	.50	1.64	.52	1.41	.87	.431	.653

Table 8: ANOVA of Claimed Kashmiri Proficiency

Table 8 Shows that the mean proficiency level is highest in case of Middle aged males that is 2.27 with standard deviation of .75. It is least in case of Young aged males i.e. 1.62 with standard deviation of .68. However the mean proficiency in females remains almost same in all the three age groups .

Since the difference is significant in case of Kashmiri speaking males multiple comparison test (LSD) least significant difference test was employed to see the pair wise difference.

POST HOC TEST

Males

Dependent Variable	(I) age	(J) age	Sig.
Proficiency in Kashmiri	Old aged group	Old aged group	
		Middle aged group	.132
		Young aged group	.381
Middle aged group	Middle aged group	Old aged group	.132
		Middle aged group	
		Young aged group	.018
Young aged group	Young aged group	Old aged group	.381
		Middle aged group	.018
		Young aged group	

Table 9: Post hoc Test of Kashmiri Claimed Proficiency in Males

The Table 9 depicts that middle aged males differ significantly in the proficiency level in comparison with young aged males with significance (p) value of .018. Similarly there is no significant difference in the proficiency level when young aged male group are compared with the old aged male group. The Middle aged male group has higher level of claimed Kashmiri proficiency. The density of communication of Middle aged male group is quite thick because of various reasons and few are mentioned below:

- a. Mostly this group is earning source for the family. The majority of the group earn through government sector. The Government sector is dominated by the Kashmiri linguistic group. Thus, it becomes indispensable for this group to interact with their fellow beings in Kashmiri language. With the result this group relatively develops close affinity with Kashmiri language.

- b. This social group develops social relationship in their surroundings and in their offices with Kashmiri speakers. This also enhances linguistic affinity of this group to Kashmiri speakers.
- c. The respective families also engage this group for shopping various domestic and other items. Most of the shopkeepers are Kashmiri speakers. Therefore the frequent rapport with Kashmiri speakers is obvious.

Claimed Proficiency in Urdu

According to Table 10 the scores in Urdu Understanding, Reading, Speaking and Writing are quite high for all age groups of both genders except for old females where scores in reading and writing are low. Another Point which has been observed in the present study is that for all the groups there is a decline as we move from Understanding and Speaking to Reading and Writing. In case of different skills in different age groups there is not a systematic pattern other than that where females appear to show decrease as we move from younger to older age groups. Males on the other hand show a decline in understanding as we move from older to younger males. However an opposite trend in Reading and Writing were younger females are observed to be more proficient than older females

	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
OM	4	4	3.8	3.8
OF	3.8	3.8	2.2	2.2
MM	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.8
MF	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.6
YM	3.9	3.9	3.5	3.4
YF	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.9

Table 10: Mean scores of Claimed Urdu Proficiency

To ascertain whether there is any significant difference between the mean proficiency levels of the three age group one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out which shows that there is no a significant difference between the mean proficiency levels in males as well as females(p value>.050) (Table 11).Thus post hoc test is not applicable.

ANOVA

	Old aged		Middle aged		Young aged		F	Sig (P)
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Male	3.90	.20	3.83	.34	3.67	.49	1.203	.312
Female	3.00	1.13	3.66	1.07	3.86	.35	2.817	.073

Table 11: ANOVA of Claimed Urdu Proficiency

The Claimed mean proficiency level in Urdu remains consistent across all the age groups due to the fact that Urdu is placed at second number after Burushaski in their home domain for communicative purposes. Urdu is also the lingua franca across diverse linguistic groups in the valley. Due to this reason Urdu is also used for communication (Speaking & Reading) where the native language fails to communicate between the different linguistic groups. Language resource is found to be one of the important resources for economic development and stability in the societies. Urdu has occupied the status of economical resources across the country and abroad. In this context, Urdu has become the language of wider communication in Kashmir valley. This factor has due impact upon Burushaski speakers like other linguistic communities in the Valley. Therefore the consistency in claimed proficiency found in Urdu in the present study is apparent. As all the age groups across all the social variables hold the view that Urdu is the language which cannot be disposed for healthy survival.

Claimed Proficiency in English

Proficiency in English was elicited in terms of four skills-Understanding, Speaking, Reading and Writing. Table 12 shows the mean scores in these four skills. As can be seen from the Table 12 that all the four skills increases as we move from older generation to the younger ones except for Older females where all the four skills are considerably low. The reason behind such a fall in mean scores is that Old females are relatively lesser educated and comparatively have less exposure to the outer world as compared to the other age groups.

	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
OM	3.2	2.7	2.9	2.8
OF	0.8	0.5	0.8	0.6
MM	3.5	3.2	3.2	3.4
MF	3.6	3.4	3.7	3.6
YM	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.9
YF	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.8

Table 12: Mean scores of Claimed English Proficiency

To ascertain whether there is a any significant difference between the mean proficiency levels of the three age group one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out which shows that there is a significant difference between the mean proficiency level English speaking males and females between the groups with F value =8.133 and P value =.001 and F value=61.958 and P value =.000 respectively. Thus post hoc test is applicable for both males as well as females.

ANOVA

	Old aged		Middle aged		Young aged		F	Sig (P)
	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D		
Male	2.90	.74	3.35	.71	3.88	.30	8.133	.001
Female	.68	1.1	3.59	.57	3.70	.49	61.958	.000

Table 13: ANOVA of Claimed English Proficiency

Table 13 Shows that the mean proficiency level is highest in case of Young aged males that is 3.88 with standard deviation of .30. It is least in case of Old aged males i.e. 2.90 with standard deviation of .74. The mean proficiency in females is highest in case of Young aged females that is 3.70 with standard deviation of .49 and least in Old aged females with mean proficiency of .68 and standard deviation of 1.1.

Since the difference is significant in case of English speaking males and females multiple comparison test (LSD) least significant difference test was employed to see the pair wise difference.

POST HOC TEST

Males

Dependent Variable	(I) age	(J) age	Sig.
Proficiency in English	Old aged group	Old aged group	
		Middle aged group	.076
		Young aged group	.000
	Middle aged group	Old aged group	.076
		Middle aged group	
		Young aged group	.032
	Young aged group	Old aged group	.000
		Middle aged group	.032
		Young aged group	

Table 14: Post hoc Test of English Claimed Proficiency in Males

The Table 14 depicts that Old aged males differ significantly in the proficiency level in comparison with Middle aged males with significance (p) value of .032. Similarly there is a significant difference in the proficiency level when Old aged male group are compared with the Young aged group with significance (p) value .000. However there is no significant difference when old aged group are compared with the middle aged group.

The higher mean proficiency of Young aged males as compared to Old and Middle aged males is due to the reason that the educational institution from which they get education the medium of instruction is English. The exposure to mass media is high among the young males in

comparison to their older counterparts. More over young males are more mobile and have more exposures towards the English language.

Females

Dependent Variable	(I) age	(J) age	Sig.
Proficiency in English	Old aged group	Old aged group	
		Middle aged group	.000
		Young aged group	.000
	Middle aged group	Old aged group	.000
		Middle aged group	
		Young aged group	.698
	Young aged group	Old aged group	.000
		Middle aged group	.698
		Young aged group	

Table 15: Post hoc Test of English Claimed Proficiency in Females

The Table 15 depicts that Old aged females differ significantly in the proficiency level in comparison with Middle aged females with significance (p) value of .000. Similarly there is a significant difference in the proficiency level when Old aged female group are compared with the Young aged group with significance (p) value .000. However there is no significant difference when middle aged group are compared with the young aged group.

The differences in claimed proficiency level between the Old aged female group as compared to Middle aged female group and Young aged female group is due to the fact that Old females are relatively less educated confined mainly to their home domain and have less exposure to the mass media.

Claimed proficiency: Overall View

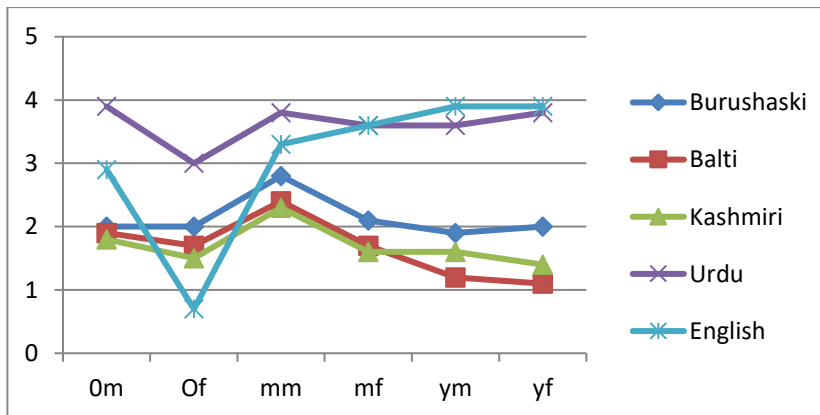


Fig. 16: Claimed proficiency in Burushaski, Balti, Kashmiri, Urdu, and English

Fig. 16 depicts the claimed proficiency in Burushaski, Balti, Kashmiri, Urdu, and English. The respondents claim least proficiency in Kashmiri (the dominant language of Kashmir valley) and maximum in Urdu (the official language of Jammu and Kashmir Valley). Burushaski, Balti and Kashmiri are closely placed and away from the Urdu curve indicating a close proximity of Burushaski, Balti and Kashmiri as compared to Urdu and English. The high claimed proficiency in Urdu can be explained by taking into account the skills which were taken into consideration for this study which included Speaking, Understanding, Reading and Writing. Burushaski language is not taught in schools, thus the scores for the skills reading and writing skills is very low.

Conclusion

Burushos, the community under study, comprise minority group in the Kashmir valley and have been living here for past 120 years. In spite of being a minority community, Burushos have maintained their language and culture and have kept themselves distinct from the main stream society. The present paper depicted the following points regarding the claimed proficiency of Burushos:

1. Highest Claimed proficiency is in Urdu followed by Burushaski. Considering inclusion of reading and writing skills which are higher in Urdu.
2. The Claimed proficiency of Burushaski is highest among the Middle aged males (MM). The possible reason for this variation may be due to the fact that Middle aged males are relatively more conscious for linguistic vitality of Burushaski. Since this group is a transitional group and may have the feeling to maintain Burushaski for their identity.
3. The Claimed proficiency of Kashmiri is highest among Middle aged males (MM). The density of communication of middle aged male group is quite thick because of various reasons and few are mentioned below:
 - a. Mostly this group is earning source for the family. The majority of the group earn through government sector. The Government sector is dominated by the Kashmiri linguistic group. Thus, it becomes indispensable for this group to interact with their fellow beings in Kashmiri language. With the result this group relatively develops close affinity with Kashmiri language.
 - b. This social group develops social relationship in their surroundings and in their offices with Kashmiri speakers. This also enhances linguistic affinity of this group to Kashmiri speakers.

- c. The respective families also engage this group for shopping various domestic and other items. Most of the shopkeepers are Kashmiri speakers. Therefore the frequent rapport with Kashmiri speakers is obvious.
4. The Claimed proficiency level in Urdu remains consistent across all the age groups among Burushos due to the fact that Urdu is placed at second number after Burushaski in their home domain for communicative purposes. Therefore, the consistency in claimed proficiency found in Urdu in the present study is apparent. As all the age groups across all the social variables hold the view that Urdu is the language which cannot be disposed for healthy survival.
5. The Claimed proficiency of English is highest in Young aged males (YM). It is due to the reason that the educational institution from which they get their education the medium of instruction is English. The exposure to mass media is high among the young males in comparison to their older counterparts. More over young males are more mobile and have more exposures towards the English language.
6. The Old aged female group(OF)has lower claimed proficiency in English as compared to Middle aged female group (MF)and Young aged female group(YF) is due to the fact that old females are relatively less educated confined mainly to their home domain and have less exposure to the mass media.

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Language Endangerment of Mewari: Study on the Changes in Speakers Attitude

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Abstract

Mewari is the language of Mewar region of Rajasthan. This region includes four districts, which are, Chittorgarh, Rajsamand, Bhilwara and Udaipur, and other than that, a few nearby parts of Madhya Pradesh. Among these, pure Mewari is spoken in Chittorgarh. Although the total population is as high as 17, 410, 568 (according to Census 2011), there is a rapid change in the attitude of its speakers, especially within the younger generation. One of the main reason observed is the dominance of Hindi, in terms of economic status, education qualification and home location (whether rural or urban). Moreover, Mewari does not have a script. As a result of which, although rich in folklores, these are nowhere documented. One reason for this is seen as unawareness of its speaker. According to a native speaker of Mewari, residing in Chittorgarh, the earlier edition of RBSE textbooks of EVS had a chapter on the Mewari language in Class 3, but the recent edition has removed this chapter. Thus, for the younger generation, they do not get to see any significant written work related to their language; as they see in other languages of their immediate environment, like Hindi and English. This paper studies the reason behind this change in attitude of the speakers, based on some observations and conversations with local people of Chittorgarh.

Key words: Mewari, Language Attitude, Economic status.

Introduction

Mewari, the language spoken in the Mewar region of southeast Rajasthan, belongs to the Indo-Aryan family of language. Mewari being the first language of this speech community, the second language for them is Hindi. The Mewar region includes four districts of Rajasthan, which are, Chittorgarh, Rajsamand, Bhilwara and Udaipur, and other than that, a few nearby parts of Madhya Pradesh. Among these, pure Mewari is spoken in Chittorgarh (Koshy, Abraham and R. Raj 2012). The following table gives the population count of each of these districts as per Census 2011.

POPULATION, CENSUS 2011			
Chittorgarh	Rajsamand	Bhilwara	Udaipur
1, 544, 3388	11, 56, 597	359, 483	451,100

This language does not have a script. Therefore, although rich in folklores, there is no documentation of its tales, songs or myths. According to Koshy, Abraham and R. Raj in *Sociolinguistic Survey of selected Rajasthani speech varieties of Rajasthani*, it is hard to find any literature of recent publication in Mewari. Some audio materials of cultural songs are found. Earlier, Mewari articles were published regularly in Hindi newspapers, but in the recent times, such articles are no more published anywhere.

This paper studies the change in the attitude of the speakers of Mewari and tries to find the reasons behind this change. The observations stated here are from Chittorgarh, a small town in Rajasthan.

Language Attitude of Mewari Speakers

Language endangerment can occur due to various reasons. There might not be just one reason for a language to be declared as endangered. Among these reasons, one of it is 'language attitude'. Language attitude is the speaker's attitude (whether positive or negative) towards his/her native language. Speaker's positive attitude towards its language makes a language flourish, whereas, a negative attitude bring crisis of survival. In this case, sometimes having a healthy population, does not guarantee that the language is safe. As David Crystal in his book *Language Death* states that speaker's population is not the exact indicator for marking a language as endangered. Thus, although the total population count of the Mewar region looks good from the data received from Census 2011; however, the total number of people speaking Mewari as their first language is less (according to a native speaker). Other than Mewari, people uses Hindi as their second language and most of the times, they learn it parallel to Mewari. Thus, using Mewari and Hindi alternatively, according to the demand of a situation.

Crystal (2000) suggests that many-a-times, it is not the number of speaker but it all depends on other factors like:

“...rate of acquisition by the children, the attitude of the whole community to it, and the level of impact of other languages which may be threatening to it.”

Likewise, Mewari witnesses a noticeable change in the attitude of its speakers, as a result of which, there is a noticeable variation in present generation children acquiring Mewari as their first language from their Mewari parents under the impact of Hindi as the threatening language. Preference of using Mewari as the first language varies from one situation to the other. Based on the above statement by Crystal, the use of Mewari

and its acquisition by children are mainly influenced by three main factors, as observed- location, education and economic status. An attempt has been made to see all these three factors distinctively, even though they are interrelated and influences each other to a great extent, as we would see in the next part.

With location we can say that the speaker's residence, whether in a rural or an urban area is a huge factor for him/her to use the language with the fellow speakers. In rural setup, people still uses Mewari as their first language, including the youngest present generation. Although the youngest generation learn Hindi as their second language, but many of the elderly people still uses only Mewari; with some of them being able to comprehend Hindi and some being not able to comprehend. For example, one of my acquaintance here in Chittorgarh, resides in a rural location. His mother, who is more than 75 years old, speaks only Mewari, but understands us when we answer her or ask something to her in Hindi. She even tries to use broken Hindi, while talking to us. The children from rural background learns Hindi in their school; using it and associating it as the language of the learned folks. As the children of my same acquaintance, talks with us in Hindi, fluently. The two younger among them three goes to a Hindi medium private school in the village itself and the older one goes to a separate Hindi medium private school a little bit far from the village. These children use Mewari in the village, but Hindi outside of the village. Even in our presence, they talk in Hindi with their father when we visit their home and vice versa. They aspire to come out of the village, study further and do something better.

As a part of my job, I get to visit Government schools established in different locations. In rural locations, it is commonly found that a child who begins to go to school as a 4-5 years old, uses only Mewari to communicate with his/her friends and teachers because that is the home language. The teachers share that those of them who get posted from a different language location, need to learn Mewari to communicate with these children. Gradually, as these children grow and spend more time at school, they start learning Hindi and using it in school. They begin to see Hindi as the language of schooling and education, as they become fluent in the language. And thus, comes the second factor, that is, education.

As children move out of their rural settings to attend school in the city, their language environment changes from Mewari to Hindi. As they grow up and pursue higher studies, they find the relevance of Hindi more in their professional life than Mewari. Even those children who attend government schools located in their village, see textbooks written in Hindi, although the teachers use Mewari as the medium of instruction with those who has just began to come to school (as mentioned above). Therefore, learning Hindi becomes important to be called a literate person. As these children grow up to get accepted for government services and settle in the city, they

use Hindi in their home and Mewari is used only with a selected few member of the family; mostly, with the older generation. Thus, whenever I have witnessed any government teacher speaking with their own children, they would use Hindi and at school, they would use Mewari, whenever the situation demands. It is not just with teachers, but anyone pursuing any profession in an urban region uses Hindi over Mewari. Both of my landlords, who own businesses, uses Hindi with their respective children. In the house of my previous landlord, there had never been any scope of Mewari. Both uncle and aunty were educated up to college level, so they talked in Hindi among themselves, and with their daughter and other members of the family. In my seven month's stay as their tenant, I have never heard them use Mewari even once. My present landlord uses Mewari with his wife who is not much educated, and with his parents who live in their nearby native village. However, with his children who are in their twenties now, he uses Hindi. And if he is not using Hindi sometimes, then it would be a mix of Hindi and Mewari where the primary structure of the language remains that of Hindi, including a few Mewari words. The children, two of whom have completed their higher education and the youngest of them three one who is pursuing his graduation, always talk in Hindi among themselves. Aunty speaks completely in Mewari with her husband (my present landlord) and the part-time house-help, but in a mix of Hindi and Mewari (like uncle) with her children, and completely in Hindi with the other ladies in the neighbourhood. Thus, after this, economic status becomes the third factor influencing a shift of speakers towards Hindi.

One of my close Mewari acquaintance living in Chittorgarh said that as speakers rise high in their economic status, they tend to move towards Hindi because the question of prestige comes in. Many people living in the city and doing financially well, neither teach Mewari to their children, nor use it among themselves because they consider Mewari to be the language of the backward folks; or, more than that, they see the relevance of Hindi more in their lives rather than Mewari. According to him, irrespective of their profession, people living in urban spaces use Hindi with their younger generation. Here, we move back to the first factor, that is, location. Some people use Mewari with their house-helps, vendors or anyone whom they see as coming from an economically lower status than them, but not with those who are economically at their equal level or higher than them. Another of my acquaintance, who lives in the urban side, says that in his family, nobody uses Mewari, not even his parents. He is in his early twenties and accepts that they have always used Hindi among the family members, except he sometimes uses Mewari with a selected few of his friends in rare occasions for fun. He also says that even in his neighbourhood, he has seldom heard anyone using Mewari. Instead, everyone prefers to use Hindi, although they know Mewari. Hence, except

for remote areas, Mewari is struggling to survive among educated and economically well-established speakers living in urban areas.

Conclusion

We can clearly see from the statement that Crystal (2000) made stating that rather than the number of speakers in a language, it is the rate of children acquiring the language, attitude of the present speaker community and the presence of a language threatening its existence, which determines whether a language is prone to endangerment or not. Thus, in the case of Mewari, we can see Crystal's statement being absolutely true. The three factors, location, education and economic status, influencing change in the attitude of the Mewari speakers are in a continuum, where each factor is intertwined with the other. Among the speakers, as there is no realisation of the language losing its importance, a rapid shift towards Hindi is strongly felt parallel to urbanisation. Unaware of the critical situation the language is in, the speakers make no effort to preserve the language and its literature. Hence, the attitude of the speakers is not in support of Mewari. As can be seen for the present generation, especially those who are living in urban areas, Hindi is gradually taking the place of their first language.

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Tense and Agreement in Kashmiri Verbs: A Paradigm Based Approach

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Abstract

Natural Language Processing is the process of extracting grammatical information of a word on the basis of morphemes it contains. It is the process of identification, analysis and description of the given language's morphemes and other linguistic units such as root words, stems etc. Morphological analyzer is a tool which identifies and analyzes the internal structure of given word and also extracts the morphological and grammatical information associated with it.

The present work includes the study of tense and agreement of Kashmiri verbs using Paradigm based approach taking only Intransitives into consideration. The verbs in Kashmiri get inflected for tense (present, past, future), number (singular, plural), gender (Masculine, feminine) etc.. This work is the first of its kind and will serve as an important pre-processing tool for developing a machine translation system for Kashmiri.

Keywords: Morphological Analyzer, NLP, Paradigm Based Approach.

Morphology

Morphology refers to the mental system involved in word formation or to the branch of linguistics that deals with words, their internal structure, and how they are formed. The focus of the present paper is to study the tense and agreement of Intransitive Verbs using Paradigm Based Approach. A paradigm includes all the possible word forms of a root word. Kashmiri verbs show most of the morphological complexities, taking a large number of inflections. It is pertinent to mention here that verbs in Kashmiri inflect for number, gender, person, tense resulting in a number of word forms of a particular stem or root.

Literature Review

So far various morphological analyzers have been developed for different languages using a number of approaches. Some of them are discussed below:

Stochastic Morphological Analyzer using a statistical tagging model has been developed for Japanese in 1994 by Nagata.

Finite State Morphological Analyzer for Hebrew is developed by Yona in 2004.

Morphological Analyzer for Telegu developed by rao.et.al, in 2007 was based on Word and Paradigm method.

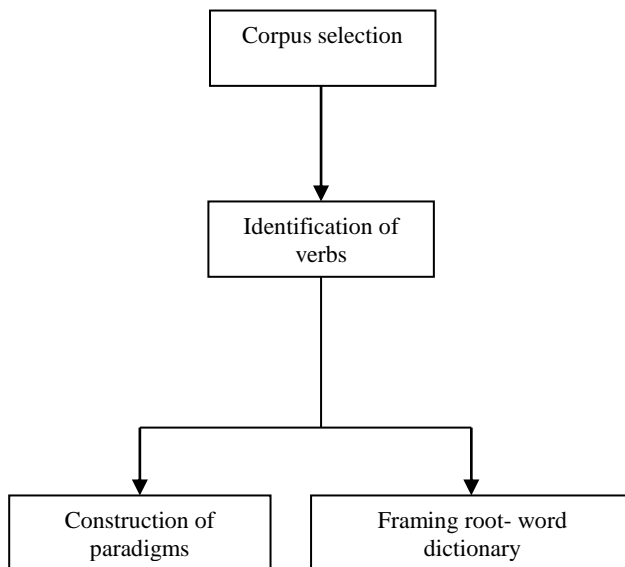
2.4 Morphological Analyzer for Marathi was developed by Bapat, et al., in 2010. Its methodology was based on the use of paradigm-based inflectional system combined with Finite State Machines (FSMs) for modeling the morphotactics.

1. Procedure adopted for the present work

The various steps involved for carrying out the present study are given below:

- Corpus selection from different sources- primary and secondary sources.
- Identification and selection of verbs from the corpus.
- Construction of Paradigms.
- Framing root word Dictionary.

The diagrammatic representation of the procedure adopted for the current work is shown below:



Paradigm Construction

Paradigm construction includes a Paradigm table and grammatical feature set associated with each word form. For the Paradigm construction, imperative form of the verb is taken as root word. The paradigm table includes all the possible word forms of the root word

while grammatical feature set includes Attributes. The analysis of Kashmiri Intransitive Verbs includes construction of Paradigms along with building of Lexicon (list of root words).

Attributes, an important part of the paradigm table includes: (lexcat) lexical category, TAM (tense, aspect and mood), Agr1 (agreement with the subject), Agr2 (agreement with direct object) and Agr3 (agreement with the indirect object). An important observation was that all the three types of agreements showed changes with the morphophonemic changes in the word forms.

For the current work, a number of Kashmiri Intransitive verbs were selected and analyzed. The whole process of paradigm construction and lexicon-building has been shown using the example given in Table 1. This table also includes WX-notation (a computer readable Language) of each word form:

Table 1. Paradigm for verb “پک” /pak/ ‘walk’

Root word-کھس			Attributes				
Tense	Word forms	Wx-notation	Lexcat	Agr1	TAM	Agr2	Agr3
Past	کھوٺنپ /kɔtus/	Kvvywus	v,	m,s,1	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsis/	kQhYjVYQYYs	v,	f,s,1	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsaj/	KvvywusE	v,	m,s,1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsaj/	kQhYjVYsE	v,	f,s,1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsav/	Kvvywsv	v,	m,s,1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsav/	Kvvywsv	v,	f,s,1	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsas/	Kvvywss	v,	m,s,1	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsas/	kQhYjVYss	v,	f,s,1	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsak/	KvvywK	v,	m,s,1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھوٺسپ /kɔtsak/	kQhYjVYsK	v,	f,s,1 ,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھوٺپ /kɔt/	kQhYwfy	v,	m, p, 1,	v,	any ,any, any,	any, any, any
	کھوٺپ /kɔt/	kQhYwfy	v,	m, p, 3,	v,	any ,any, any,	any, any, any
	کھوٺپ /kɔtsi/	KjVYQYY	v,	f, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھوٺپ /kɔtsi/	KjVYQYY	v,	f, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھوٺپ /kɔti/	kQhYwI	v,	m, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھوٺپ /kɔti/	kQhYwI	v,	m, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2

	/kəti:/						
	كھڑے /kətsaj/	KjVYE	v,	f, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	كھڑے /kətsaj/	KjVYE	v,	f, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	كھنڀو /kətiv/	Kwiv	v,	m, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	كھنڀو /kətiv/	Kwiv	v,	m, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	كھڙو /kətsav/	KjVYv	v,	f, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	كھڙو /kətsav/	KjVYv	v,	f, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	كھٽيس /kətis/	kQhYwis	v,	m, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھٽيس /kətis/	kQhYwis	v,	m, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھڙس /kətsas/	KjVYs	v,	f, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھڙس /kətsas/	KjVYs	v,	f, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھٽيڪ /kətik/	kQhYwiK	v,	m, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	كھٽيڪ /kətik/	kQhYwiK	v,	m, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	كھڙڪ /kətsak/	KjVYK	v,	f, p, 1,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	كھڙڪ /kətsak/	KjVYK	v,	f, p, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	كھوٽڪھ /kətuk/	KvvywuK	v,	m, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	كھوٽڪھ /kətsik/	kQjVYQYYK	v,	f, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	كھوٽيم /kətham/	KvvywHm	v,	m, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
	كھوٽيم /kətham/	kQhYjVYHm	v,	f, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
	كھوٽيس /kəthas/	KvvywHs	v,	m, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھوٽيس /kəthas/	kQhYjVYHs	v,	f, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھوٽيڪھ /kəthak/	KvvywHK	v,	m, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	كھوٽيڪھ /kəthak/	KvvywHK	v,	f, s, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	كھٽيو /kətiv/	kQhYwiv	v,	m, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	كھڙو /kətsav/	KjVYv	v,	f, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	كھٽيوم /kətivum/	kQhYwivum	v,	m, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
	كھڙوم /kətsvam/	KjVYvm	v,	f, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
	كھٽيوس /kətivu:s/	kQhYwivus	v,	m, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	كھڙوس	KjVYvs	v,	f, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3

Tense and Agreement in Kashmiri Verbs: A Paradigm Based Approach

	/katso:s/						
	کھتوکھ /kətiva:k/	kQhYwivK	v,	m, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھڑوکھ /katsvak/	KjVYvK	v,	f, p, 2,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھڑت /kot/	Kvvyiw	v,	m, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھڑ /kəts/	kQhYjVY	v,	f, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھڑوٹھ /kotum/	Kvvyiwum	v,	m, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
	کھڑم /kətsim/	kQhYjVYm	v,	f, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
	کھڑوٹھ /kotuj/	kQhYjVYm	v,	m, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھڑے /kətsij/	kQhYjVYQYYE	v,	f, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھڑوٹھ /kotuv/	Kvvyiwuv	v,	m, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	کھڑو /kətsiv/	kQhYjVYQYYv	v,	f, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	کھڑوٹھ /kotus/	Kvvyiwus	v,	m, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھڑوٹھ /kətsis/	kQhYjVYQYYs	v,	f, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھڑوکھ /kotuk/	KvvyiwuK	v,	m, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھڑوکھ /kətsik/	kQhYjVYQYYK	v,	f, s, 3,	v,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
Present	کھسان /kasa:n/	Ksan	v,	any, any, any	vA,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
Future	کھسہ /kasi/	KsHQYY	v,	any, s, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھسہ /kasaj/	KsE	v,	any, s, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھسو /kaso:v/	Ksvv	v,	any, s, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 2
	کھسہ /kasas/	Kss	v,	any, s, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھسہ /kasihas/	KsHQs	v,	any, s, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھسکھ /kasak/	KsK	v,	any, s, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھسو /kasvi/	KsvQYY	v,	any, p, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھسو /kaso:j/	KsvE	v,	any, p, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 2
	کھسو /kaso:s/	Ksvs	v,	any, p, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
	کھسو /kaso:k/	KsvK	v,	any, p, 1,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
	کھسکھ /kasak/	KsK	v,	any, s, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
	کھسہ /kashəm/	KsHQm	v,	any, s, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1

كەشەس /kashəs/	KsHQs	v,	any, s, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
كەشەكە /kashək/	KsHQK	v,	any, s, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
كەسە /kəsiv/	kQhYsiv	v,	any, p, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
كەسەم /kəsivum/	kQhYsivum	v,	any, p, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
كەسەس /kəsivus/	kQhYsivus	v,	any, p, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
كەسەكە /kəsivuk/	kQhYsivuk	v,	any, p, 2,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
كەسە /kəsiv/	KsHi	v,	any, s, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
كەسەم /kəsivem/	KsbYlym	v,	any, s, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
كەسەس /kəsivəs/	KsbYlys	v,	any, s, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
كەسەكە /kəsivək/	KsbYlyK	v,	any, s, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3
كەسەن /kəsən/	Ksn	v,	any, p, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, any, any
كەسەنم /kəsənm/	Ksnm	v,	any, p, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 1
كەسەنس /kəsəns/	Ksns	v,	any, p, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, s, 3
كەسەنكە /kəsənək/	KsnK	v,	any, p, 3,	iH,	any, any, any,	any, p, 3

The above table shows that each word form undergoes morphophonemic changes and takes different inflections. These inflections vary with number, gender, person and tense.

Consider the first word form in the table **پوکس /pokus/**, the morphophonemic changes reflect that the subject of the word is First Person, Singular and Masculine, and tense is Past. However, the number, gender and person of direct and indirect object can be any (either singular or plural, Masculine/Feminine, first/second/third Person). Similarly for the word form **پچس /pəʃis/**, Agr1 is First Person, Singular, and Feminine with no change in the tense as well as in Agr2 and Agr3. For the word form **پوکسە /poksaj/**, Agr1 is First Person, Singular and Masculine with no change in Agr2. But Agr3 is Second Person, Singular and gender can be any. The word form **پوکسەو /poksav/**, Agr1 is First Person, Singular and Masculine, Agr2 can be any and Agr3 is Second Person, Plural.

The word forms show most of the inflections in the Past tense, with less number of inflections in Future tense and remain same across Present tense. All the morphophonemic changes and their impact on Agr1, Agr2 and Agr3 with respect to Person, number, Gender and Tense is given in the Table 1.

Conclusion

The present paper involved the tense and agreement of Kashmiri Intransitive Verbs using paradigm based approach. The analysis involved the paradigm construction and lexicon-building. Paradigms were constructed on the basis of the inflectional properties and morphophonemic changes in the root word (verb). The construction of paradigms for the intransitive verbs led to an important observation that the intransitive verbs in Kashmiri (along with its inflections, etc) have a great deal of information related to subject and object contained in them. In most of the cases the Verb itself could present the sentence. Most of the Kashmiri Intransitive verbs forms taken for the present work behaved idiosyncratically i.e. for each Verb form a separate paradigm had to be constructed.

Future scope

Till date no morphological analyzer has been developed for Kashmiri and this work will act as an important milestone towards this direction which in turn will pave the way for developing a Machine Translation System for Kashmiri.

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Cases in Paddari Language

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Abstract

Paddari language belongs to western Pahari sub-group of Indo- Aryan language family. It is primarily spoken in Padder area of District Kishtiwari of Jammu region. As per the census of 2011 there are approximately 21,550 speakers of Paddari. The language has been enlisted in the endangered language list of UNESCO. In an attempt to document the language a detailed description of grammatical cases in Paddari language is given in this paper.

Keywords: Paddari, Endangered Language, Documentation, Case

Introduction

The Area

The Chenab valley of Jammu region is known for its cultural heritage, linguistic diversity and ethical values. The region comprises of Doda, Kishtiwari and Ramban districts. The overall population of Chenab valley as per the census of 2011 is 13 lacs approximately. The region share its boundaries with Anantnag district of Jammu and Kashmir to the north, the Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh and Kuthua district to the South, Udhampur district to the South and Salal Reasi Subdivision to the west. District Doda is situated in the middle of the valley. Majority of the area of Chenab valley comprises of hilly terrains. As said earlier Chenab valley is home to the variety of ethnic groups, the major languages which are spoken in the Chenab valley are Siraji, Bhaderwahi, Kashmiri, and Rambani. There are also some minor languages spoken in Chenab valley which are enlisted in the endangered languages group. These languages include Meshabi, Khash, Paddari, Khana, Hassadi Gojapuri etc. The diversity has thus provided a great scope to the researchers to carry out the cultural and linguistic studies in the area. The present paper is an attempt to carry out a linguistic study of one of the minor languages i.e, Paddari which is also enlisted in the endangered language list as the speakers of the said language are very few in number and needs to be documented for its protection and preservation.

Language

Paddari is an Indo-Aryan language primarily spoken in Paddar area of District Kishtawar of Jammu and Kashmir. According to G. A. Grierson, "Paddari is an Indo-Aryan language which belongs to the western Pahari sub-group of Indo-Aryan language family." As per the census of 2011, the overall population of Paddari speakers is 21,550 approx. of which 11,277 are males and 10,271 are females. Majority of Paddari people are settled on the hilly terrains of Kishtawar District. There are thirty villages in Paddar area in which Paddari is spoken. These villages are sparsely located and have least or no connectivity with main town of Kishtawar. The majority of the population of Paddari follows Hindu religion.

Methodology

An intensive fieldwork was carried out by the researchers in Padder area of Kishtawar region for the collection of data. The data was collected from the native speakers of Paddari language by recoding the responses of the informants. Highly sophisticated recorders were used to collect the data. Before the collection of the data a questionnaire comprising of almost 500 sentences was compiled by the researchers keeping in mind the cases present in the language can be identified from those sentences. Some questions related to the origin, history and cultural aspects were also included in the questionnaire. Apart from the questionnaire the interview method and observation method were also followed. The recoded data was then transcribed by following proper transcription rules. The analysis was also done according to the prescribed rules.

Case

Case is defined as the grammatical category which is determined by the syntactic and semantic functions of nouns and pronouns or in simple terms we can say that a case is a grammatical function of nouns and pronouns according to the relation with the rest of words in a sentence. Cases can be overt or covert depending on the type and family of language it belongs to. There many types of cases which can be classified on the basis of the occurrences and grammatical function in a particular language. In Paddari language following types of cases are found:

- **Nominative Case**

Nominative case is the case that identifies clause subjects in nominative-accusative languages. Nouns used in isolation have this case. Nominative case has no phonological representation in Paddari language; hence it is covert in nature. Examples are provided below:

/aũ baza:r gɛ:na:/
1SG-NOM market go-PRS
'I go to the market'
/to:ta: bu:d^h pe ona:/
Parrot-NOM tree PP be-PRS
'The parrot is on the tree'
/e: wo: k^hakaɖ ini/
3SGF-NOM there stand-PRS be.AUX
'She stands there'

• **Ergative Case**

Ergative case is the grammatical case that identifies the noun as a subject of a transitive verb. It is usually found in ergative-absolutive languages or the languages showing split ergativity. In Paddari language ergative case is found only in past form of the sentences.

/asa: baza:r e:k tso:r pakɖon/
3SGM-ERG market DET thief catch-PST
'He caught the thief in market'

/ta:mo: ba:gitʃo: lak^hi gəi:na/
3PL-ERG field pp walk-pst
'They walked around the field'

• **Accusative Case**

Accusative case is the case in nominative-accusative languages that marks certain syntactic functions, usually direct objects. In Paddari the case markers for accusative case are not overt. Examples are given below:

/ʃike:ri hiran pakɖo:na/
hunter-ERG deer-ACC catch-PST
'The hunter caught the deer'

/ɛ:ni tʃidijo:l ma:rijo:/
3SGM-ERG bird-SG-ACC kill-PST
'He killed the bird'

/e: tʃidijo:l e:ni:/
3SGF bird-SG-ACC see-PRS
'She sees the bird'

• **Dative Case**

Dative case is a case that marks indirect objects (for languages in which they are held to exist) or the Nouns having the role of recipient (as of things given), beneficiary of an action or possessor of an item. Examples of dative case in Paddari are given below.

/sita:ji mema:no ruti k^hlɛjin/
 Sita-ERG guest-PL-DAT food serve-PST
 ‘Sita served the food to the guests’

/ra:mə ʃa:mas kita:b ditijo ini:/
 Ram-ERG Shyam-DAT book give-PST
 AUX
 ‘Ram gave the book to Shyam’

• **Instrumental Case**

Instrumental case is a grammatical case used to indicate that a noun is the instrument or means by or with which the subject achieves or accomplishes an action. The noun may be either a physical object or an abstract concept. In Paddari instrumental case is shown by the postposition like /ze/. The examples are provided below:

/nau ek radzui ze rãḍo ini:/
 Boat DET. rope-SG INS tie-PST AUX-PRS
 ‘The boat is tied to the shore with rope’

/penki ze kaṭ^ho: ka:ṭa/
 axe-SG INS tree-SG cut-PRS
 ‘The tree is cut with axe’

/ra:mi mjo: kalmi
 ze tʃiṭṭ^hi: lik^hjoini/
 Ram-ERG 1SG-GEN pen
 INS letter write-PST
 ‘Ram wrote the letter with my pen’

• **Ablative Case**

Ablative case is a case that expresses a variety of meanings including instrument, cause, location, source or time. In Paddari language the ablative case markers are /mati/, /zəqu:/ etc.

Examples are as follows:

/ã: jḍ: dua:ri **mati** wĩḍza:ḍi gua:/
 3SG 1SG.GEN window ABL fall-PST be-AUX-PR
 ‘He fell down from my window’

/boq^hi **zəgu:** pani zaɖa: laɟona:/
tree-OBL ABL leaf-PL fall-PRS be-AUX-PRS

‘The leaves fall from the tree’

• **Genitive Case**

Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun. In Paddari, the Genitive case is shown by changing the declension of pronoun. Examples are as follows:

/ā:sab **mjō:** ādar e:n /
PROX.PL 1.SG.GEN home-PL be-AUX-PRS

‘These are my houses’

/ā:sab **mjō:** kita:b i:ni:/
REM.PL 1SG.GEN book-PL be-AUX-PRS

‘Those are my books’

/ε: **wosa** tʃɔ:k ana/
PEM-SG 3SG-GEN knife be-AUX-PRS

‘That is his knife’

• **Locative**

Locative case is a case that expresses location at the referent of the noun it marks. In Paddari locative case markers are /ene/, /pe/. Examples are as follows

/mjō: ɟəbar səku:l **ene/**
1SG.GEN child-PL school LOC

‘My children are in the school’

/to:ta: bu:q^h **pe** tʃaɖa: ona:/
parrot tree-OBL LOC climb-PRS be-AUX-PRS

‘The parrot is on the tree’

Conclusion

Paddari language is primarily spoken in Padder area of District Kistiwar of Jammu and Kashmir. It belongs to Western Pahari sub-group of Indo-Aryan language family. In this paper various types of case found in Paddari language are discussed. Different types of cases are found in Paddari language such as, nominative case, ergative case, accusative case, ablative case, dative case, genitive case and locative case. All but nominative and accusative cases are overt in the language. Different markers are used to represent different cases in Paddari language. As Paddari is enlisted in the endangered language list by UNESCO, the present paper is an attempt to document this language, which could help in protection and preservation of the language.

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Tense, Aspect and Situation Types in Mech

Spandan Chowdhury

Abstract

This paper provides a detailed account of the tense and aspect features marked on the verbs of the Tibeto-Burman language known as Mech [metʃ]. The language is mood-prominent with a primary distinction between realis and irrealis. Mech also has a rich aspectual system. In addition to tense and aspect, the paper describes the morphology of verbs according to Vendler's Aktionsart and the various situation types found in the language.

Key words: Tense, Aspect, Mech language.

Introduction

The Mech community belongs to the Bodo-Kachari group of tribes belonging to the northern part of the state of West Bengal in India. The Bodos of North Bengal (Jalpaiguri, Alipurduar and Terai regions) who settled along the banks of the river Mechi (which flows across India and Nepal) call themselves Mech. The Mech language has been classified as a severely endangered language by UNESCO (2010), and belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages under the Sino-Tibetan language family.

This paper is based on the variety of Mech spoken in Alipurduar District in West Bengal. For this study, primary data has been collected from the native speakers of Mech residing in Chhekamari village in Madarihat Tehsil, Alipurduar District, West Bengal. Tense and aspect are the two major categories of grammar which characterize the nature of events and states in the domain of human cognition, namely, time. The paper focuses on how the categories of tense and aspect are marked on the verb in case of the endangered language, Mech.

Research Objectives

The aim of this paper is to make a comprehensive study of the distribution of Tense and Aspect features in Mech language. The primary objectives of this paper are listed as follows—

- (i) To give an account of how tense and aspect features are expressed in the language.
- (ii) To identify the morphemes (free and/or bound) and separate lexical items (if any), which mark the tense and aspect in the language.

- (iii) To identify the morphological differences (if any) based on the aspectual classification of Vendler's Aktionsart and situation types.

Research Methodology

Since the language under study, Mech, is an undocumented language, no secondary data was available. Primary data was collected from native speakers of Mech residing in Chhekamari village in Madarihat Tehsil, Alipurduar District, West Bengal. Initially, a native speaker of Mech who is also fluent in Bangla, was consulted before the field visit and a basic word list of 200 words (Swadesh, 1952) and a few basic phrases were noted. Mech was found to be inflectional in nature, and the community is multilingual with knowledge of Bangla, Hindi, Rajbangshi, Rabha and Nepali. The young generation understands and speaks English as well. The use of their mother-tongue Mech is restricted to a few basic domains like home, market, etc. while they use the other languages (primarily Bangla and Hindi) in the other social domains.

Questionnaire Design

On the basis of the above information, the contact language was chosen as Bangla, and a questionnaire was designed, which was aligned with the research objectives of this paper. A detailed questionnaire was made with separate sections on all possible tense and aspect types to investigate these categories in the verbal morphology of the language. The questionnaire also focused on Vendler's aspectual classification of verbs and situation types, and four verbs were chosen for the study, one of each type. For studying situation types, various verbs which demonstrate typical situation types cross-linguistically were chosen. The questionnaire contained a total of 250 sentences, with 50 sentences for each of the four verbs based on Vendlerian classification ranging across all tense and aspect categories. Remaining 50 sentences, focused on the different verbs based on the various possible situation types.

Data Collection

Ten sets of the questionnaire were taken to the field and ten language consultants were selected by means of voluntary participation. Their consent was taken before collecting data and it was clearly stated that the language data will only be used for research and academic purposes. Initially, morpheme analysis was conducted based on data collected from eight language consultants. Average interview time was 1.5 hours per session per language consultant, and multiple sessions were scheduled on separate days for collection of the entire range of data. An initial analysis was made and the requisite morphemes were identified. After the initial analysis, data was collected from two language consultants and cross-checked. The analysis was thus cross-validated with other native speakers and was found to be consistent in nature. The analysis has been presented in detail in the next section.

Data & Discussion

In this section, the tense and aspect features of the Mech [metʃ] language has been described in detail, as observed from the data collected based on the methodology outlined in section 3.

Tense in Mech

In the case of Mech, tense is not marked on the verb. It was observed that Mech is an Aspect & Mood prominent language. The temporal structure of an event is specified by Aspect & Mood markings on the verb. The language marks irrealis and realis and through that, the distinction between future vs non-future is maintained.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. | əŋ | k ^h amani | məu-wə | |
| | 1SG | work | do-HAB | |
| | ‘I do the work.’ | | | (Present Tense) |
| | | | | |
| 2. | əŋ | k ^h amani | məu-wə-mun | |
| | 1SG | work | do-HAB-REALIS | |
| | ‘I did the work.’ | | | (Past Tense) |
| | | | | |
| 3. | əŋ | k ^h amani | məu-nəi | |
| | 1SG | work | do-IRR | |
| | ‘I will do the work.’ | | | (Future Tense) |

According to traditional classification between present, past and future tenses, sentences 1, 2 and 3 have been taken respectively. The verb does not show any marking with respect to tenses but uses aspect and mood markers to specify the location of the event in time. There is no separate marking for present tense. In order to mark the past tense, the realis marker (-*mun*) is used, whereas future tense is marked using the irrealis marker (-*nəi*).

Aspect in Mech

The aspect gives the internal temporal structure of an event—it highlights the unfolding of the predication, i.e., whether the event denoted by the verb is completed or in progress. Aspect marking is present on the verb. Among the viewpoint aspects, there are three types: habitual, progressive, and perfective aspects. In addition to these, we see a type of imperfective aspect which is specified by using Habitual & Progressive markers. Other Aspect Types studied are the situation aspect types, like inchoative, resultative, iterative aspect, etc. The following subsections will discuss the aspect types in detail:

Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect characterizes a situation as occurring regularly or habitually. Two bound morphemes {-wə, -nə} are used as suffixes to the verb root to indicate habitual aspect. These allomorphs are phonologically conditioned. The default marker for habitual aspect is -wə. The allomorph -nə occurs due to assimilation in place of articulation with verb roots ending with alveolar consonants, for example, *lit?* ‘Write’ in sentence 5. Realis marker (-mun) is added to indicate that the event is in the past. Habitual aspect is not marked in Irrealis [example 6].

- 4. əŋ ʃʌmpʰrəmbə pʰuŋa-o kʰamani məu-wə
 1SG daily morning-LOC work do-HAB
 ‘Every morning I do work.’
- 5. əŋ ʃʌmpʰrəmbə pʰuŋa-o laiɟəm lit?-nə
 1SG daily morning-LOC letter write-HAB
 ‘Every morning I write a letter.’
- 6. əŋ ʃʌmpʰrəmbə pʰuŋa-o kʰamani məu-nəi
 1SG daily morning-LOC work do-IRR
 ‘Every morning I will do work.’

The verb conjugation for habitual aspect is summarized in Table 1 for two different verb roots, *məu* ‘Do’ and *lit?* ‘Write’ showing both allomorphs.

HAB	məu (Do)	lit? (Write)	COMMENTS
PRS	məu-wə	lit?-nə	Allomorphs (assimilation due to preceding alveolar consonant)
PST	məu-wə-mun	lit?-nə-mun	Realis marker (-mun) is added to indicate that the event is in past
FUT	məu-nəi	lit?-nəi	Habitual aspect is not marked in Irrealis

Table 1: Distribution of Habitual Aspect Markers in Mech

Progressive Aspect

The Progressive Aspect of a verb expresses an on-going action. It is denoted by suffixing the bound morpheme -ɟəŋ. Realis marker (-mun) is added to indicate that the event is in past. However, there is no marking for Irrealis. In case of future progressive, the sentence structure always has an embedded clause—the subordinate clause indicates temporal location

as future and the verb in the main clause marks progressive aspect, and these two parts together produce the future progressive [example 8].

7. əŋ k^hamani məu-**ḍəŋ**
 1SG work do-PROG
 ‘I am doing work.’

8. bi belac^hia-o t^həŋ-a-nəi nai-nəi əŋ k^hamani-k^hou məu-**ḍəŋ**
 3SG evening-LOC go-PERF-IRR see-IRR 1SG work-ACC do-
 PROG
 ‘In the evening, he will go and see that I am doing work.’

The verb conjugation for progressive aspect is summarized in Table 2 for the verb root *məu* ‘Do’.

PROG	məu (Do)	COMMENTS
PRS	məu- ḍəŋ	
PST	məu- ḍəŋ -mum	Realis marker (-mum) is added to indicate that the event is in past
FUT	məu- ḍəŋ	No marking for Irrealis, Subordinate clause indicates temporal location as Future.

Table 2: Distribution of Progressive Aspect Markers in Mech

Imperfective Aspect

Imperfective aspect indicates an action or condition in which there is no fixed temporal boundary—the event is unfinished, continuous, or in progress. Under a broad classification, habitual and progressive aspects are a sub-type of imperfective aspect. However, the imperfective aspect described here is different in the sense that it is neither habitual nor progressive but continues in action for over a considerable stretch of time. No separate marker is found to be present for marking the imperfective aspect. It is marked by using a progressive marker (**ḍəŋ**) for Process Verbs (as shown in example 9).

9. əŋ ḍa gəlpə lit[?]-**ḍəŋ** ar gabənbə əŋ gəlpə lit[?] nəi
 1SG now story write-PROG(IPFV) CONJ tomorrow 1SG story write-
 IRR
 ‘I am writing a story now and I will write the story tomorrow.’

For other types of verbs like Stative, Accomplishment & Achievement verbs, the habitual marker (**-wə/-nə**) is used as shown in example 10 below.

10. əŋ ɖabənə bi-k^hou məjəŋ mən-nə ar əŋ unnaobə
1SG still 3SG-ACC good love-HAB(IPFV) CONJ 1SG later
bi-k^hou məjəŋ mən-nəi
3SG-ACC good love-IRR
'I still love her and I will love her later (as well).'

The marking pattern is the same as that of HAB/PROG aspects (c.f. Table 1 and Table 2).

Perfective Aspect

Perfective Aspect denotes viewing the event, which the verb describes, as a completed whole, i.e., the action is complete. In Mech, three allomorphs of the perfective aspect were observed {*-bai, -a, -o*}. The default perfective aspect marker for Non-Future is *-bai* (as shown in example 11 below).

11. əŋ k^hamani məu-**bai**
1SG work do-PFV
'I have (just) done the work.'
12. əŋ k^hamani məu-**bai**-mun
1SG work do-PFV-REALIS
'I have done the work (long ago).'

The realis marker (*-mun*) is added to indicate that the event is in the past (example 12 above). It may be noted that, when the realis marker is used with the perfective aspect, it indicates that the event time is in distant past. Perfective marker for Future is *-a* (example 13 below).

13. ɖohonp^hrai əŋ nəŋ-i k^hamani-k^hou məu-n-**a**-nəi jɛp-nəi
(By that time) 1SG 2SG-GEN work-ACC do(V)-CP-PFV-IRR drop-IRR
'By that time, I would have done your work.'

It is observed that in the case of non-motion verbs (like BE or STAY), the perfective aspect is marked by using the allomorph *-o* (as shown in example 14).

14. əŋ na-o ɖoŋ-**o**
1SG house-LOC be-PFV
'I am in the house.'

It is also observed that the conjunctive participle (*-nu*) loses the vowel *u* when the perfective marker (*-a*) is attached to the V1 of the explicator compound verb (ECV); consider the example in 13 above.

Inchoative Aspect

Inchoative aspect refers to the beginning of an activity or state. No specific marker for this aspect was found. The lexical item *furu* is used to indicate inchoativity. This item is homophonous with the Bangla noun *furu* 'start'. This combination of *furu* with the verb 'do' forms a verb complex (conjunct verb N+V). This verb complex does not have any separate

marking for denoting inchoativity. The noun *furu* has an inherent aspectual character indicating inchoativity. The verb complex as a whole serves to denote inchoative aspect.

15. bi k^hamani-k^hou **furu** k^hwaləm-bai
 3SG work-ACC start do-PFV
 ‘He started doing the work.’

Here, the regular DO verb root (*məu-*) is not used. It may be noted that in this case, the speaker treats the DO verb to be of an abstract nature since they give priority to the initiation of thought for doing the work—in order to start doing work, one must think of starting it first and then the action initiates. Since a component of thought is associated with the starting of the action denoted by the verb, they use abstract counterparts of the verb for inchoativity. Thus, multiple forms of same verb root DO exists based on semantic distinction by the feature [+/- abstract]: *məu-* [-abstract] & *k^hwaləm-* [+abstract], etc.

Resultative Aspect

It denotes the resulting state of an event. No separate marker was found for this aspect type. Perfective aspect marker **-bai** is used to indicate the Resultative aspect.

16. p^hulḡani-a bai-**bai**
 flower vase-NOM break-PFV(RES)
 ‘The flower vase broke.’

Iterative Aspect

Iterative aspect denotes 'several' repetitions i.e., it expresses the repetition of an event or state. A separate lexical item **t^haije** is used after the verb to mark Iterative Aspect.

17. bi gabbao d^hore guju-bai **t^haije**
 3SG ADV DUR cough-PFV ITERATIVE
 ‘He was coughing for a long time.’
18. bi biri c^həp-bai **t^haije**
 3SG cigarette eat-PFV ITERATIVE
 ‘He kept smoking a cigarette.’

It may be noted from sentence 17, that this usage is different from the Bangla compound verb “kaḡlo” (to have coughed once), used for denoting one-time occurrence of the event (Semelfactive), which is also distinguished in the language. The following example demonstrates this.

19. bi guju-nin ḡoḡ-o
 3SG cough-CP be-PFV
 ‘He coughed (once).’

Vendler’s Aspectual Classification of Verbs

According to Vendler’s *Aktionsarten* (Vendler, 1967), verbs are classified based on the properties or features of dynamism, duration and telicity, into four classes, namely, State verbs or Statives, Accomplishment verbs, Process verbs and Achievement type verbs.

	Dynamism	Duration	Telicity
State	-	+	-
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Process	+	+	-
Achievement	+	-	+

Table 3: Classification of verbs based on Vendler’s Aktionsarten

For the language under study, four verbs were taken according to this classification:

mən- (to love)	[STATIVE VERB]
məu- (to do)	[ACCOMPLISHMENT VERB]
litʔ- (to write)	[PROCESS VERB]
naigiriʔna- mən- (to find)	[ACHIEVEMENT VERB]

Results of the above analysis have been summarized in this work. A few examples of these verbs are shown in the next four sub-sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.4.

Stative Verb *mən-* (to love)

The stative verb *mən-* ‘love’ shows regular morphology as discussed earlier. An example is provided below for illustration.

20. əŋ biḍoḡ ja-nu məjəŋ **mən-nə**
1SG mutton eat-CP good love-HAB

‘I love to eat mutton.’

Accomplishment Verb *məu-* (to do)

The accomplishment verb *məu-* ‘do’ shows regular morphology as discussed earlier (as shown in examples 1, 2, 3 and in tables 1 and 2).

Process Verb *litʔ-* (to write)

The process verb *litʔ-* ‘write’ shows regular morphology as discussed earlier. An example is provided below for illustration.

21. əŋ laiɟəm **litʔ-ḡəŋ**
1SG letter write-PROG
‘I am writing a letter.’

Achievement Verb *naigiri?na- mən-* (to find)

The achievement verb *naigiri?na- mən-* ‘find’ shows regular morphology. However, the only difference is that they show an additional obligatory mood marker of positive or negative attitude regarding the achievement type event. This has also been discussed in detail by (Chowdhury, 2019). The achievement type verbs are usually compound verbs, and they show an assertive/negative mood in the form of a morpheme bound to the V1 and/or V2 of the explicator compound verb (ECV), i.e., the morpheme marks the status indicating the success or failure of the action involved. In case of a positive attitude indicating the success of the action, the allomorph **-n** is used to mark the mood on V1 of the ECV (example 22). To show negative attitude indicating failure, the negative is doubly marked, i.e., the allomorph **-bə** is marked on the V1 and the allomorph **-kʰoi** is marked on the V2 (light verb) of the explicator compound verb (example 23).

22. əŋ boi-k^hou naigiri?-n-a-**n** mən-bai
1SG book-ACC search-CP-PFV-ASSERTIVE get-PFV
‘I found the book.’

23. əŋ boi-k^hou naigiri?-n-a-**bə** mən-a-**kʰoi**
1SG book-ACC search-CP-PFV-NEG get-PFV-NEG
‘I did not find the book.’

As noted earlier, for compound verbs indicating positive attitude, the perfective aspect marker *-a* is used on V1, while the perfective aspect marker *-bai* is marked on V2. In contrast, for compound verbs indicating negative attitude, the perfective aspect marker *-a* is used for marking both V1 and V2 of the ECV. Thus, achievement type verbs differ in terms of morphology with respect to other three types.

Verbs according to Situation Types

Event verb, Process verb, Durative, Punctuative & Semelfactive verbs, Telic verbs, Atelic verbs (with and without Telic predicates) were studied. No irregularity was found and no additional markers were observed on the verb. It was seen that atelic verbs can be used as telic verbs when supported by a telic predicate (a predicate which limits its atelic nature).

- **Event Verb**

The event verb *bet* ‘explode’ is used as follows—

24. bom-ma **bet**-bai
Bomb-NOM explode-PFV

‘The bomb exploded.’

- **Process Verb**

The process verb *tʰabəiləŋ* ‘walk’ is used as follows—

25. bi iskul-ʃim tʰabəiləŋ-ɬəŋ

3SG school-GOAL walk-PROG

‘He is walking to school.’

- **Durative Verb**

The durative verb *naihəpʔ* ‘gaze’ is used as follows—

26. bi cʰəbi-kʰou gəbbaŋ nəpʰrai naihəpʔ-nə

3SG picture-ACC long time for gaze-IPFV(HAB)

‘He is gazing at the picture for a long time.’

- **Punctuative Verb**

The punctuative verb *ju* ‘hit’ is used as follows—

27. bi cʰeima-kʰou latʰi-juŋ ju-bai

3SG dog-ACC stick-INS hit-PFV

‘He hit the dog with a stick.’

- **Semelfactive Verb**

The semelfactive verb *mogon kʰep* ‘wink’ (compound verb showing noun incorporation) is used as follows—

28. bi əŋ-ni-jəŋ naihotʔ-nu mogon kʰep-bai

3SG 1SG-GEN-GOAL look-CP eye close-PFV

‘He winked while looking at me.’

- **Telic Verb**

The telic verb *guglai* ‘fall’ is used as follows—

29. bilai-ya ɬəŋpʰəŋ nəpʰrai guglai-bai

leaf-NOM tree ABL fall-PFV

‘The leaf fell from the tree.’

- **Atelic Verb**

The atelic verb *kʰatʔ* ‘run’ is used as follows—

30. bi kʰatʔ-bai

3SG run-PFV

‘He ran.’

The same verb becomes a telic verb when supported by a telic predicate as shown in example 31 below—

31. bi mail mɛnc^he k^hatʔ-bai
3SG mile one run-PFV

‘He ran a mile.’

Summary till now

In this section, we have seen various features associated with tense and aspect which are marked on the verb in Mech. We have seen that tense is ascertained by using a combination of various aspect and mood markers. It was seen that aspect is only marked by bound morphemes in the language, and all aspect markers are suffixes (exceptions being in cases of inchoative and iterative aspect). In the next section, the findings of this paper shall be summarized and a conclusion shall be presented in alignment with our laid down research objectives.

Conclusion

In this section, we summarize the findings as follows—

It was observed that the language does not mark tense, but rather it uses aspect and mood suffixes to indicate the temporal location of the event or action described by the verb. The primary distinction is made between realis and irrealis, and the language marks the past tense by using a combination of aspect marker and realis mood marker. Thus, tense is not directly marked on the verb.

It has been observed that there are three main aspects (Habitual, Progressive and Perfective) which are marked on the verb, whereas the Imperfective aspect is specified by using Progressive marker (*-dʌŋ*) for Process verbs, and Habitual marker (*-nə*) for Stative, Accomplishment and Achievement type verbs. The Habitual aspect is indicated by two suffixes {*-wə*, *-nə*}, with *-nə* being phonologically assimilated with respect to the place of articulation of the verb stem ending with alveolar consonant. However, the habitual aspect is not marked in case of irrealis. The Progressive aspect is usually marked by the suffix *-dʌŋ*, but for Future Progressive, the sub-ordinate clause indicates temporal location as Future and the verb in main clause marks Progressive aspect. There are three Perfective aspect markers {*-bai*, *-a*, *-o*}, the default marker for non-Future being *-bai*, and *-a* for Future. Whereas, the marker *-o* is used only for non-motion verbs (like ‘be’, ‘stay’, etc.). It is also seen that the achievement type verbs always use the marker *-a* to mark perfective aspect, irrespective of the temporal location of the event. It has been noted that, in case of Explicator Compound Verbs, the conjunctive participle (*nu-*) in V1 loses

the vowel *u* in presence of Perfective marker *-a*. Apart from these, in studying Inchoative, Resultative & Iterative aspects, it has been found that separate lexical items (*ʃuru* for Inchoative and *tʰaije* for Iterative) are used. Iteratives are distinguished from Semelfactives by using the participle *-nin* with the verb. The language also marks the assertive and negative attitude of the speaker on the achievement type verbs by using bound morphemes {-*n* / *-bə* / *-kʰoi*}.

The verb types of the language were also studied, namely event verbs, process verbs, durative verbs, punctuative verbs, telic and atelic verbs, etc. and they were observed to conform to the regular morphology as discussed in this paper. An aspectual classification of verbs were also made based on Vendler's Aktionsart and it was noted that the achievement type verbs differ from the other types (stative, accomplishment and process verbs) in the sense that, they mark an overall status of result of the activity, i.e., they mark a positive attitude (indicating success) or a negative attitude (indicating failure) on the verb.

A distinction was observed between two forms of the verb 'do' based on the binary feature [+/- abstract] — the (-abstract) verb form *məu* is used when the work is of concrete nature; when the nature of the work is abstract, the (+abstract) verb form *kʰwaləm* is used.

Mech has multi-language contact (with Bangla, Hindi, Nepali, Rabha, Rajbangshi, etc.), and thus it has the status of an endangered language due to the dominance of Bangla and Hindi in the region. The morphological analysis presented in this paper can be used for making any computational tool or interface which can help to increase language use among the community, or the analysis may be used for making morphological recognizer, analyzer and generator. There is future scope of work regarding how the language makes semantic distinctions in the choice of verb forms having same meaning (similar to choice of verb roots of 'do' based on +/-abstract feature, etc.).

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Letter Boundary Identification among Indic Scripts: A Kannada Case Study

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Abstract

Scripts of Major Indian languages originated from the Brāhmī script. Letters are the basic rendering unit of Indian language scripts. The scripts today are encoded in electronic format using UNICODE standards. Unicode has a catalog of millions of characters. However, Indic Script such as Kannada has around 16 vowels and 36 consonants listed in the Unicode chart. In addition to this, letters are also the combinations of these vowels and consonants like CV, CCV, CCCV, etc. Along with this adding various signs like Anuswara, Visarga, Chandrabindu, Nukta and Avagraha with these combinations of vowels and consonants multiplies the complexity of finding the boundary of a single letter. Thus it can be claimed that letters in Indic scripts are multi-byte character sets which takes the combinations of vowels, consonants and various signs in all shapes and sizes. This paper presents an overview of the algorithm for text processing which can be adopted to process the Indic scripts in the context of multi-byte character sets using Kannada Script as a case study.

Key Words: Multi-Byte Expression, letter boundary, Indic script, UNICODE, ISCII, Finite State Machine Diagram

Introduction

'Letters in Indic scripts are multi-byte character sets which take the combinations of vowels, consonants and various signs in different shapes' (Rejitha K.S, 2020). In text processing it is vital to identify the boundary of letter in Indic Scripts. The single Kannada letter 'ba:' (ಬಾ) is a simple combination of CV, having 4 bytes, whereas, the single Kannada letter 'stri:' (ಸ್ರೀ) is a combination of CCCV, having 12 bytes. Unlike English characters, 'In general, a typical Kannada character could be a V, a dead consonant, a CV, a CCV, a CCCV, or a numeral' (Mahadeva Prasad M., 2014.) Simple ASCII characters and punctuations are also subsets of this complex character set. This complex clustering of multi byte character sets poses certain challenges for computer programmers.

In order to process the Indic scripts, which presents such complexity, certain procedures and algorithms have to be developed. Extracting meaningful combinations of letters is a vital process for many NLP applications like n-grams, Morphological Analyzers etc.

The Kannada script developed from the Kadamba and Cālukya scripts, descendents of Brāhmī, were used between the 5th and 7th centuries AD. These scripts developed into the Old Kannada script. The Old Kannada Script, morphed into the Middle-Kannada script by 1500AD which later evolved into contemporary Kannada script. This Kannada script is used to write Kannada, Tulu, Konkani, Kodava, Badaga and some tribal languages.

Internal representation or encoding of text in Indian Languages may be viewed as the problem of assigning codes to the letters of the languages. The complexities of the syllabic writing systems in use have presented difficulties in standardizing internal representations.

Multilingual text processing is one of the essential requirements when it comes to digitization in India. Applications developed must cater to users in different languages. Encoding standards have emerged to deal with this multilingual content for representing text in computer application. ISCII and Unicode are such standards which came into existence to cater these needs. Today, developers across the world are committing themselves to providing Unicode support in all their applications.

ISCII Standard:

ISCII was evolved as a standard for Brāhmī based Indic Scripts by 1991. Some of the Features of ISCII are.

- ISCII is a single encoding representation for all the Indian Scripts.
- Upper ASCII region (160 - 255) is used for the letters of the language.
- Matras (vowel extensions) are given separate codes

The concept of Multi-byte expression came into picture when Indic Scripts were standardized in ISCII. The multi-byte expression of letters can vary from one byte to as many as 10 bytes for a syllable.

ISCII provides the usage of ‘*suruli*’ character to be used once or twice based to represent a conjunct or a pure consonant. This makes the processing complex since it results in more than one internal representation for the same syllable. Though representation at the level of a syllable is possible in ISCII, processing a syllable can become quite complex, i.e., linguistic processing may pose specific difficulties due to the variable length codes for syllables. Any number of arbitrary syllables can be formed in an ISCII string even though in practice it is limited in a script.

ISCII Kannada	A0	B0	C0	D0	E0	F0
0		ಓ	ಡ		ರಿ	EXT
1		ಔ	ಣ	ಲ	ರಿ	೦
2	ಂ		ತ	ಳ	್ರಿ	೧
3	ಃ	ಕ	ಢ			೨
4	ಅ	ಖ	ದ	ವ	ರಿ	೩
5	ಆ	ಗ	ಧ	ಶ	ರಿ	೪
6	ಇ	ಘ	ನ	ಷ	ರಿ	೫
7	ಈ	ಙ		ಸ		೬
8	ಉ	ಚ	ಪ	ಹ	ಠ	೭
9	ಊ	ಛ	ಫ	INV		೮
A	ಋ	ಞ	ಬ	ಠ		೯
B	ಎ	ಝ	ಭ	ತಿ	.	
C	ಏ	ಞ	ಮ	ತಿ		
D	ಐ	ಟ	ಯ	ಃ		
E		ಠ		ಠ		
F	ಒ	ಡ	ಠ	ಠ	ATR	

Table 2: ISCII Standard for Kannada

Unicode for Indian Languages:

Unicode is an attempt to standardize encoding for multilingual documents across scripts of all languages. In respect of Indian languages Unicode almost follows ISCII. It has provided encoding only for the most basic units of the writing systems which include the vowels, consonants and the vowel modifiers.

Unlike ISCII, which has a uniform coding scheme for all the languages, Unicode has provided individual planes for the nine major scripts of India. Within these planes of 128 code values each, assignments of values in ISCII is almost retained.

Unicode suffers from the same limitations as ISCII. 'suruli', the diacritic symbol that marks the pure consonant (Patil, Vijayalaxmi F. et al, 2019), adds up to the complexity of letter boundary identification, even though not practically used, but in theory n number of consonants can be added to make a consonant conjunct on n number of consonants keeping the 'suruli' as glue. There are some questionable assignments in Unicode in respect of Matras. A Matra is not a character by itself. It is used in representation of a combination of a vowel and consonant, in other words the representation of a medial vowel. A vowel and NOT its Matra is the basic linguistic unit. Consequently linguistic processing will be difficult with Unicode with Indian languages, just as in ISCII.

In initial stages of application development in India, text rendering was a major issue as syllabic writing system in Indic scripts adds to the complexity. Earlier applications gave more emphasis on text entry and display rather than computation. Therefore the standardizations developed are mainly concerned with aspects of writing system rather than linguistic requirements.

In Indic scripts complexities of writing systems includes a large number of written shapes, but linguist content can be specified using a small set of codes for vowels and consonants. The Designers of ISCII and Unicode compromised with smaller set of code but they also incorporated codes conveying rendering information. These codes follow Devanagari writing system which is not adequate for writing systems of the south. The sorting order of the writing system is also not maintained according to the specific language script. Developers have to take additional care in handling the order in their applications.

In order to process text for Indic Scripts, certain procedures or algorithms have to be followed. This procedure is described below using Kannada script as a case study.

Unicode Kannada Block

In Unicode encoding, Kannada Block is of the range from code point 3200 to 3327 (Hexadecimal: 0C80–0CFF). It consists of following types of characters.

Vowels (V):	ಅ, ಆ, ಇ, ಈ, ಉ, ಊ, ಋ, ೠ, ಎ, ಏ, ಐ, ಒ, ಓ, ಔ
Consonants (C) :	ಕ, ಖ, ಗ, ಘ, ಙ, ಚ, ಛ, ಜ, ಝ, ಞ, ಟ, ಠ, ಡ, ಢ, ಣ, ತ, ಥ, ದ, ಧ, ನ, ಪ, ಫ, ಬ, ಭ, ಮ, ಯ, ರ, ಱ, ಲ, ವ, ಶ, ಷ, ಸ, ಹ, ಳ, ಱ
Vowel modifiers (VM):	□, ◌, ◌◌, ◌ಃ, ◌ಃ, ◌ಃ, ◌ಃ
Suruli (S) :	ಠ
Matras (M):	◌ಌ, ಠಿ, ಠೀ, ◌ಏ, ◌ಊ, ◌ಋ, ◌ಠ, ◌ಠಃ, ◌ಠಃ, ಠಿ, ಠೀ, ಠಿಃ, ಠಿಃ, ಠೀಃ, ಠೀಃ, ಠಿಃಃ, ಠೀಃಃ
Nukta (N):	ಠಃಃ
Numerals (NUM)	೦, ೧, ೨, ೩, ೪, ೫, ೬, ೭, ೮, ೯
Characters found in Kannada Texts outside Unicode Kannada Block are	
Punctuations (PUNC):	Same as Latin and Devanagari Danda
Foreign Characters (FC):	Characters of Non-Kannada Unicode block. E.g. Roman Characters

Table 2: Unicode assignment for Kannada

The possible valid Kannada letters will be

- A vowel
- A vowel + Vowel Modifier
- A consonant
- One or more consonant + Matra
- One or more consonant + Nukta
- One or more consonant + Matra + Vowel Modifier
- One or more consonant + Matra + Nukta
- One or more consonant with surali at the at end of the word

Numerals and other characters like punctuations and foreign characters can be handled as per the objective of the text processing.

The Pseudo-code for Text Processing of Kannada Script:

The initial step is to read the first character.

Case 1: If the character is a numeral consider it as a letter.

Case 2: If the character is a vowel, check the next character

Case 2.1: If the character is VM then consider V+VM as a letter.

Case 2.2: If the character is not VM, then consider V as a letter.

Case 3: If the character is a consonant, check the next character

Case 3.1: If the character is any start character, concatenate all the states from start to previous state as a letter.

Case 3.2: If the character is a S then check for next character

Case 3.2.1: If the character is C then Go to Case 3

Case 3.2.2: If the character is other than C, concatenate all the states from start to previous state as a letter.

Case 3.3: If the character is N then concatenate all the states from start to current state as a letter.

Case 3.4: If the character is M, then check the next character

Case 3.4.1: If the character is any start character, concatenate all the states from start to previous state as a letter.

Case 3.4.2: If the character is N then concatenate all the states from start to current state as a letter.

Case 3.4.3: If the character is VM then concatenate all the states from start to current state as a letter.

Case 3.5: If the character is VM then concatenate all the states from start to current state as a letter

Case 4: If the character is a PUNC, Ignore and go to the next character

Case 5: If the character is a FC, Ignore and go to the next character

Finite State Machine Diagram

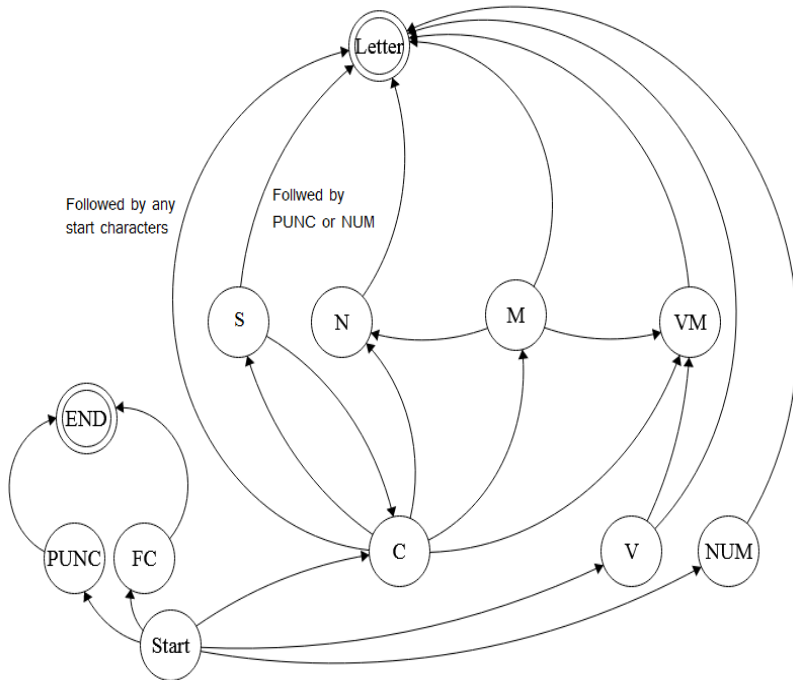


Figure 1: Finite State Machine Diagram of Kannada Letter boundary detection

Abbreviations in the diagram are; PUNC= Punctuations, FC= Foreign Character, C= Consonant, V=Vowel, NUM= Numeric Character, S=Suruli, N=Nukta, M=Matra, VM=Vowel Modifier.

Conclusion

Letter is the basic unit of Indic script, since the Indic letters are multi-byte expressions, and procedure for text processing is imperative for Indic scripts for recognizing the basic unit of the language script. This procedure is vital for some of the text processing NLP applications like N-Grams, syllable counters, Spell Checkers, Morphological analyzers, Sandhi Splitters etc.

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An Overview of Verbal Morphology in Karnai Pahari

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt at providing an overview of verb morphology of Pahari spoken in the Karnah area of district Kupwara, Jammu and Kashmir. The focus of the paper is the morphological analysis of the verb in terms of person, number and gender. The study is based on the data collected through a questionnaire framed for the purpose. The result from the analysis demonstrated that verbs in Pahari show inflections according to tense, number, gender and person. In the case of verb 'to be', the inflected forms do not appear to follow a systematic pattern and mostly show suppletion.

Keywords: Pahari, Indo-Aryan, Descriptive Study, Verb Morphology, Language Variety

Introduction

The term Pahari (literally 'of the hills/mountains') from a linguistic point of view is used for variety of languages, dialects and language groups, most of which are found in the lower Himalayas. Pahari is considered of ancient origins in the South Asian region.. Historically, it has been a very prestigious language, promoted by the Buddhist dynasty of the Harappa civilization. It has also been said that King Ashoka took a personal interest in promoting this language.

From a classification point of view, Pahari is a language of the Indo-Aryan language family. As already mentioned earlier, it has derived its name from Pahar 'hills and mountains'. As mountains have the tendency of isolating communities, the linguistic pockets in the mountains originating from the common source tended to have their own characteristics with certain similarities. All these dialects are commonly referred to as the 'Pahari' languages. The Pahari languages are spoken in the lower ranges of the Himalayas from Nepal in the east, through the Indian states of Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmiri, to Murree in Pakistan. To identify the different dialects/varieties of Pahari, the name of the place is used with Pahari. The present research work was conducted on Pahari spoken in Karnah tehsil of district Kupwara in Jammu and Kashmir, and can be called Karnai Pahari.

Verb Morphology

Morphology is one of the most important components of language grammar as a whole. It is the study of the way in which lexemes and word-forms are built up from smaller elements and changes that are made to those smaller elements in the process of building lexemes and word forms (Bauer, 2003). Traditional grammarians and modern linguists both have focused on this phenomenon as a part of the linguistic competence related to human beings, involving the ability to form and interpret words in their language. As a matter of fact, individual words and how they are formed is what speakers are most aware of, first is the spoken form and soon in the written text. Radford et al. (1999:145) writes. "All languages have words, and words are probably the most accessible linguistic units to the laymen...". Just as we acquire the knowledge of simple lexical items, we learn to construct more complex forms on the basis of the application of general derivational and inflectional rules to basic word stems.

Verbs are used to indicate the actions, processes, conditions, or state of being of people or things. Verbs play an integral role to the structure of the sentence. They constitute the root of the predicate, which along with the subject, forms a full clause or sentence. We cannot have a sentence without a verb. Verbs have modifications of four kinds:

1. Tenses.
2. Numbers
3. Gender
4. Persons

Methodology:

For this study, data was collected from tehsil Karnah of district Kupwara. Karnah is an administrative tehsil of district Kupwara. Karnah has 42 villages and lies 78 kilometers from the main town of Kupwara. The main data for this study collected from Karnah was supplemented from data collected from Kandi and Teetwal regions of Kupwara as well. The data for this study was collected from informants there and later supplemented by other secondary sources.

Analysis

Tense: The verb in Karnai Pahari were observed to inflect for present, past and future. Tense is normally indicated by the use of a particular verb form, either an inflected form of the main verb, or a multi-word construction

(which involves auxiliary verb). The main verbs are often accompanied by auxiliary verbs to mark the

past and the future tense. And in most of the cases the verb agrees with the number and gender of the

person. Verbs in Karnai Pahari are morphologically marked for tenses as:

1. Present tense
2. Past tense
3. Future tense

The different strategies were outlined to show the changes that verb present in a sentence goes through with respect to all the parameters taken into consideration.

The person wise tense formations in Pahari taking /dʒulna:/ “to go” as the model verb, are given as follows;

Present tense:

In the present tense, the verb agrees with the number, person and gender of the subject, and subsequently a change in the final CV cluster of the verb occurs.

The final CV cluster of the root verb is inflected to mark the present tense and to show agreement with the subject.

Markers: /-i:/, /-ã:/, /-e:/

Strategy 1: /Xna:/V → /Xdɪ:/V, Pres., 1P-Sg-F, 3P-Sg-F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Sg-F, 3P-Sg-F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents a part of verb.

For example:

/mẽ: baza:rdʒuldi:/

1P-Sg-F market go-Pres.

“I go to the market”

/o: baza:rdʒuldi:/

3P-Sg-F market go-Pres.

“She goes to the market”

Strategy 2: /Xna:/V → /Xdã:/V, Pres., 1P-Sg-M, 3P-Sg-M.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Sg-M, 3P-Sg-M. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents a part of verb.

For example:

/mē: baza:rdzuldā:/
1P-Sg-M market → go-Pres.
“I go to the market”

/o: baza:rdzuldā:/
3P-Sg-M market go-Pres.
“He goes to the market”

Strategy 3 : /Xna:/V → /Xde:/V, Pres., 1P-Pl-M/F, 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F, 3P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Pl-M/F, 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F, 3P-Pl-M/F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents a part of verb.

For example:

/əsi: baza:rdzulde:/
1P-Pl-M/F market go-Pres.
“We go to the market”

/tusi: baza:rdzulde:/
2P-Sg/Pl-M/F market go-Pres.
“You go to the market”

/o: baza:rdzulde:/
3P-Pl-M/F market go-Pres.
“They go to the market”

The root verb /**dzulna**:/is inflected to / **dzuldā**:/ in case of first person and third person masculine singular subject and / **dzuldi**:/ in case of first person and third person feminine singular subject. The form of the verb for first person, second person and third person plural subject be it masculine or feminine is the same i.e., /**dzulde**:/.The same form /**dzulde**:/is used in case of second person singular masculine and feminine subjects.

Some more examples:

/mē: it^he: a:jā:/ I come here
/tu: it^he: e:si:/ You come here
/o: it^he: e:nda:/ He comes here
/o: it^he: e:ndi:/ She comes here

/mẽ: zəmi:nda:r ā:/	I am a farmer
/tu: zəmi:nda:r a:sā:/	You are a farmer
/o: zəmi:nda:r he:/	She/he is a farmer

Past Tense:

In case of the past tense, the main verb in Pahari is accompanied by an auxiliary verb which shows a change with respect to number and person of the subject. The main verb also shows inflection in its final CV cluster from the root verb, besides showing agreement with the number and person of the subject, as is the case in present tense.

Markers: /-a:/, /-i:/, /-e:/

Strategy 1: /Xna:/V → /Xda:/V, Pst., 1P-Sg-M/F, 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F, 3P-Sg-M.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Sg-M/F, 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F, 3P-Sg-M. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents a part of verb.

For example:

/mẽ: baza:rdʒulda: a:seja:/
 1P-Sg-M/F market go-Pst. aux
 “I went to the market”

/tusi: baza:rdʒulda: a:se:/
 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F market go-Pst. aux
 “You went to the market”

/o: baza:rdʒulda: a:seja:/
 3P-Sg-M market go-Pst. aux
 “He went to the market”

Strategy 2: /Xna:/V → /Xdi:/V, Pst., 3P-Sg-F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Sg-F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents a part of verb.

For example:

/o: baza:rdʒuldi: a:si:/

3P-Sg-F market go-Pst. aux

“She went to the market”

Strategy 3: /Xna:/V → /Xde:/V, Pst., 1P-Pl-M/F, 3P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Pl-M/F, 3P-Pl-M/F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents a part of verb.

For example:

/əsi: baza:rdʒulde: a:se:/

1p-Pl-M/F market go-Pst. aux

“We went to the market”

/o: baza:rdʒulde: a:se:/

3P-Pl-M/F market go-Pst. aux

“They went to the market”

There is no obvious change in the main verb to distinguish masculine and feminine subjects for first person and second person, the verb form /**dʒulda:**/ is used for both. However the change is obvious in verb forms for masculine and feminine subjects for third person viz. /**dʒulda:**/ for masculine subject and /**dʒuldi:**/ for feminine subject. For plural subjects the same form of the verb i.e. /**dʒulde:**/ is used for first and third person subjects. However for second person plural subject, verb form /**dʒulda:**/ is used.

The following table presents the various inflectional forms of the auxiliary verb /a:sejã:/ used in past tense;

Person	MSg	MPI	FSg	FPI
1P	/a:seja:/ /a:sã:/	/a:se:/	/a:seja:/ /a:sã:/	/a:se:/
2P	/a:se:/	/a:se:/	/a:se:/	/a:se:/
3P	/a:seja:/	/a:se:/	/a:si:/	/a:se:/

The above table shows that the auxiliaries used for the first person and the second person is same for both masculine and feminine subjects viz. /a:seja;/ for first person and /a:se:/ for second person. However the change is obvious in third person auxiliaries for male and female subjects i.e. /a:seja:/ is used for third person male subjects and /a:si:/ is used for

third person female subjects; whereas the auxiliary for plural subject is same for all the three viz. first, second, and third person subjects.

Some more examples:

/mē: it^he: a:ja: a:sā:/ I came here

/o: it^he: a:ja: a:sā:/ He came here

/o: it^he: a:ji: a:si:/ She came here

Future Tense:

In Pahari language, most often, in future tense the final CV cluster of the verb shows inflection from its root verb and is accompanied by an auxiliary to mark the future tense.

Markers: /-ā:/, /-o:/, /-an/, /-i:/

Strategy 1: /Xna:/V → /Xsā:/V, Fut., 1P-Sg-M/F, 1P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive goes to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Sg-M/F, 1P-Pl-M/F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents the part of the verb.

For example:

/mē:	baza:rdʒulsā:	ga:/
1P-Sg-M/F	market	go-Fut. aux

“I will go to the market”

/əsi:	baza:rdʒulsā:	ge:/
1P-Pl-M/F	market	go-Fut. aux

“We will go to the market”

Strategy 2: /Xna:/V → /Xso:/V, Fut., 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive goes to another form depicted above when the subject is 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents the part of the verb.

For example:

/tusi:	baza:rdʒulso:	ge:/
2P-Sg/Pl-M/F	market	go-Fut. aux

“You will go to the market”

Strategy 3: /Xna:/V → /Xsan/V, Fut., 3P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive goes to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Pl-M/F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents the part of the verb.

For example:

/o: baza:rdzulsange:/
 3P- Pl-M/F market go-Fut. aux
 “They will go to the market”

Strategy 4: /Xna:/V → /Xsi:/V, Fut., 3P-Sg-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive goes to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Sg-M/F. Furthermore, ‘X’ represents the part of the verb.

For example:

/o: baza:rdzulsi: ga:/
 3P-Sg-F market go-Fut. aux
 “He will go to the market”

/o: baza:rdzulsi: gi:/
 3P-Sg-F market go-Fut. aux
 “She will go to the market”

The verb /**dzulna:**/ is inflected to /**dzulsā:**/, /**dzulso:**/, /**dzulsi:**/ and /**dzulsan**/ in agreement with the number and person of the subject. There is no obvious change in the main verb to mark masculine and feminine subjects in the first person, the verb form /**dzulsā:**/ is used for both. And the same form is used for first person plural subjects. The second person masculine, feminine take the same verb form /**dzulso:**/ for both singular and plural subjects. The verb from /**dzulsi:**/ is used for masculine and feminine subjects for the third person. And in case of third person plural the verb form used is /**dzulsan**/.

The main verb and the auxiliary /**ga:**/ together mark the future tense in Pahari language.

The various inflectional forms of the auxiliary /ga:/ are shown in the following table;

Person	MSg	MPI	FSg	FPI
1P	/ga:/	/ge:/	/ga:/	/ge:/
2P	/ge: /	/ge: /	/ge: /	/ge: /
3P	/ga:/	/ge: /	/gi:/	/ge: /

The auxiliary /**ga:**/ follows the same pattern of the auxiliary / **a:seja:**/ used in the past tense. The auxiliary /**ga:**/ shows no obvious change when used for masculine and feminine subjects in first person. Same is the case for second person masculine and feminine subjects where /**ge:**/ is used for both. The change, however, is clear for third person feminine subject viz. /**ga:**/ for masculine and /**gi:**/ for feminine subject. For all the plural subjects the form of the auxiliary used is /**ge:**/.

Verb ‘To be’:

Verb ‘to be’ in Pahari, the inflected forms are not observed to follow any systematic pattern, and are mostly suppletion.

Following are the person-wise tense formations in **Paharitaking** /**hu:**/ ‘to be’ as anexemplars.

Present Tense:

Markers: /-ã:/, /-a:/

Strategy 1: /hu:/V → /ha:/V, **Pres., 1P-Sg/Pl-M/F, 3P-Sg/Pl-M/F.**

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Sg/Pl-M/F, 3P-Sg/Pl-M/F. Furthermore, Verb ‘to be’ in Pahari shows suppletion.

For example:

/mẽ: zəmi:nɖa:r ha:/

1P-Sg-M/F farmer be-Pres.

“I am a farmer”.

/əsi: zəmi:nɖa:r ha:/

1P-Pl-M/F farmers be-Pres.

“We are farmers”.

/o: zəmi:nɖa:r ha:/

3P-Pl-M/F farmers be-Pres.

“They are farmers”.

Strategy 2: /hu:/V → /əse:/ V, **Pst., 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F.**

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F.

For example:

/ʈusi: zəmi:nɖa:rəse:/

2p-Sg/Pl-M/F farmer be-Pst.

‘You were a farmer’.

Strategy 3: /hu:/V → /a:sa:/V, Pst., 3P-Sg-M.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Sg-M.

For example:

/o: zəmi:nɔ̃a:ra:sa:/

3P-Sg-M farmer be-Pst.

‘He was a farmer’.

Strategy 4: /hu:/V → /a:si:/ V, Past, 3P-Sg-F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Sg-F.

For example:

/o: zəmi:nɔ̃a:ra:si:/

3P-Sg-F farmer be-Pst.

‘She was a farmer’.

Strategy 5: /hu:/V → /ə:se:/ V, Past, 3P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Pl-M/F.

For example:

/o: zəmi:nɔ̃a:r ə:se:/

3p-Pl-M/F farmers be-Pst.

‘They were farmers’.

Future Tense:

Markers: /-ã:/, /-i:/, /-ã:/, /-an/

Strategy 1: /hu:/V → /hoã/ V, Fut., 1P-Sg-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Sg-M/F.

For example:

/mẽ: zəmi:nɔ̃a:rhoã/

1P-Sg-M farmer be-Fut

‘I will be a farmer’.

Strategy 2: /hu:/V → /hosā/ V, Fut., 1P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 1P-Pl-M/F.

For example:

/əsi; zəmi:nɖa:rhosā/

1P-Pl-M/F farmers be-Fut

“We will be farmers”.

Strategy 3: /hu:/V → /o:sā:/ V, Fut., 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 2P-Sg/Pl-M/F.

For example:

/tʃisi: zəmi:nɖa:ro:sā:/

2P-Sg/Pl-M/F farmer be-Fut.

“You will be a farmer”.

Strategy 4: /hu:/V → /o:si:/V, Fut., 3P-Sg-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Sg-M/F.

For example:

/o: zəmi:nɖa:ro:si:/

3P-Sg-M farmer be-Fut.

“He will be a farmer”.

/o: zəmi:nɖa:ro:si:/

3P-Sg-F farmer be-Fut.

“She will be a farmer”.

Strategy 5: /hu:/V → /o:san/ V, Fut., 3P-Pl-M/F.

The above strategy shows the infinitive going to another form depicted above when the subject is 3P-Pl-M/F.

For example:

/o: zəmi:nɖa:r o:san/

3P-Pl-M/F farmers be-Fut.

“They will be farmers”.

Conclusion

This paper provides an account of the overview of the morphological analysis of KarnaiPahari verbs with respect to the tense, number, gender and person. From the analysis provided above, it can be concluded that verbs in Pahari show inflection according to tense, number, gender and person. In case of the present tense, the verb agrees with the number, person and gender of the subject, and subsequently a change in the final CV cluster of the verb occurs. The final CV cluster of the root verb is inflected to mark the present tense and to show agreement with the subject. In case of the past tense, the main verb in Pahari is accompanied by an auxiliary verb which shows a change with respect to number and person of the subject. The main verb also shows inflection in its final CV cluster from the root verb, besides showing agreement with the number and person of the subject, as is the case in present tense. In case of the future tense, the final CV cluster of the verb shows inflection from its root verb and is accompanied by an auxiliary to mark the future tense. While as in verb 'to be', the inflected forms are not observed to follow any systematic pattern, they mostly show suppletion.

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Code Switching and Code Mixing in Computer Mediated Communication among Kashmiri Multilinguals

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Abstract

In multilingual communities, people have a choice of code. They may decide to switch from one code to other or to mix codes even within very short utterances. Code switching and code mixing are the common phenomenon observed in the multilingual communities. The alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation is called code switching. In Kashmir more than one language is spoken. Kashmiri is the mother tongue, Urdu and English function as second language. Code switching and code mixing are the common phenomena observed. Bilinguals have been tested for the ability to understand and express themselves both verbally and in writing. (Grosjean; 1982). Code switching is not just limited to speaking but also has been seen in the text based communication. Text based communication comes under the realms of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). Computer Mediated Communication is the communication that takes place between human beings through the instrumentality of computers. (Herrings, 1996). Text based communication has seen a very fast growth in last few years with social networking sites such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram etc. playing the role of catalyst. The present paper aims to study code switching and code mixing in the computer mediated communication among Kashmiri multilinguals. The data is collected from natives of Kashmiri with urdu and English as second language from different social media platforms such as Facebook, instagram, twitter, WhatsApp. The data is analyzed taking into consideration Malik's (1994) reasons for code-switching in exploring the communicating patterns of Kashmiri multilinguals in CMC. The study revealed that the lack of facility is the main reason for code switching among Kashmiri multilinguals.

Key words: Code Switching, Code Mixing, Computer Mediated Communication, Multilingualism, Speech Communities

Introduction

When humans are communicating, they use certain linguistic tools which can broadly be called as codes. These codes help them to talk about different things, issues, emotions and other things. But what are these codes? In general terms – it is a set of abstract signals which can be produced and interpreted by humans. These codes are encoded by the addressor and decoded by the addressee. The British sociologist Basil Bernstein has given a restricted meaning of code. His distinction between elaborated and restricted codes was part of a theory of the nature of social systems, concerned in particular with the kinds of meanings people communicate, and how explicitly they do this, using the range of resources provided by the language. It is interesting to know why people use certain code to convey one meaning and other code to convey other meaning. Why do they shift code or mix code? Such type of situations give rise to a linguistic phenomenon called “Code Switching and Code Mixing.” In sociolinguistics, code is sometimes used as a cover term for dialect, language or variety. The phenomenon where the speakers change the code while speaking, for example, speaker of Kashmiri shift from Kashmiri to Urdu or English while speaking can be broadly called as code switching. Code switching is inter-sentential and code mixing is intra-sentential.

Code switching is a bilingual phenomenon, where the speakers know more than one language. Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977) explained code-switching as the “use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction.” According to Nomura (2003), speakers may not be aware that code-switching has occurred in their communication or be able to report which language they have used during a particular topic after the conversation. Thus code switching can be regarded as natural and sub-conscious phenomenon of bilinguals.

Code switching always has always a motive behind it. Whether it is conscious or sub-conscious, a purpose is always behind the switching. A study by Ariffin and Rafik-Galea (2009) showed that code-switching is discourse strategies employed by speakers to effectively communicate their intents and express social and rhetorical meanings in their conversation.

Code switching has always fascinated sociolinguists and sociologists. It has been observed in all bilingual environments. With the fast growth of

internet and social networking sites come as new medium or as third medium (speaking and writing being the other two mediums) of communication. Internet has a number of such sites where people come and interact with each other at any time and in any part of the world instantly.

Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and Instagram are among the leading social networking sites. These sites have made verbal and non-verbal communication possible and made it instant and easy. People of different backgrounds, ethnic group, religious beliefs, education, etc. use such platforms and interact within their group and also outside their group. Such interactions give rise to the demand for certain codes in certain situations, which gives rise to the phenomenon like code switching and code mixing.

Kashmir being a multilingual region, the natives use at least two languages viz Kashmiri and Urdu. The new generation uses English along with the former two languages. When these bilinguals communicate on social networking sites, they switch codes due to various factors. The factors responsible for such code switching is the concern of this study.

Related Literature

Computer mediated communication is relatively recent field. In this regard, various studies have been conducted.

According to Warschauer et al (2007), who have studied the language choice and language use in online domains in Egypt. Majorly people of Egypt know two varieties of Arabic; Classical Arabic(used in formal domains) and Egyptian Arabic (used in informal domains), and English(language of education). The study revealed that Egyptians mostly prefer English in online communication but Arabic is also used in Romanized script in the informal domain.

According to Su (2009), in Taiwan, three main languages are spoken; Mandarin, Taiwanese and Taiwanese accented mandarin. Mandarin holds the highest prestige in formal contexts, while Taiwanese accented mandarin is generally the most stigmatized and Taiwanese seems to be located in between. It was found that Mandarin is used mostly online with the use of Chinese characters.

Code switching as a bilingual practice has always been a Centre of interest for many sociolinguists. CS in online communication was first studied by Paolillo in 1996. Since, then it has gained a lot of scholarly attention. Paolillo studied CS in use-net News group soc.culture.Punjab. The studies revealed that English is predominantly used; Punjabi is restricted to the insertion of loan words and borrowing into English discourse. These loan words and borrowing are necessitated by talking about the Punjab region, Punjab and Punjab people (Paolillo, 1996:23)

Al Khatib & Sabbah (2008) studied language choice in mobile text messages among Jordanian University students. Their study indicated that the elements for the wide use of English or switching between Arabic and English is seen to serve the functions of greeting, quoting someone. Switching to English is seen as a mark of prestige, fill gaps in language or to serve the function of euphemism.

Parveen. S & Aslam .S (2013) studied reasons for CS in Facebook by Pakistani Urdu English bilinguals. The findings revealed that lack of facility, lack of registrational competence, along with habitual expressions are main reasons for code switching. Mood of speaker is also another contributing factor for code switching.

Hadei. M. (2016) studied social factors for CS in Malaysian-English bilinguals. The findings revealed that show identity is the most frequent reason for motivating the speakers to switch languages.

The study of Rashid and Bhat (2018) have studied language choice and language use in online communication among Kashmiri multilinguals. The study revealed that the language choice and language use of Kashmiri speakers is English while communicating online. English is the preferred language in formal domain as English is used to discuss about studies and technology. Urdu and Kashmiri are predominantly used in informal contexts while communicating online. Urdu/Kashmiri in online communication is used only in Romanized script. Perso-Arabic script is rarely used while using Urdu/Kashmiri in online communication

Methodology

The research design chosen for the current study is a mixed-method one i.e., both qualitative and quantitative. The CS data for the purpose of this

study is collected from Kashmiri speakers with Urdu and English as second language. A total of 100 messages is/were collected from social networking platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and Instagram. The data was collected from the participants falling in the age group of 18-35 years. After identifying the code switched and code mixed sentences, the elements in each sentence were identified and categorized according to Malik's framework. The reasons for CS given by Malik are as follows : Lack of facility, Lack of registral competence, Semantic significance, addressing different audiences, showing identity with a group, amplifying and emphasizing a point, Mood of the speaker, Habitual expressions, Pragmatic reasons and attracting attention. As the mixed method is adopted for the current study, the data was analysed qualitatively by transcribing it. For quantitative analysis, the findings were counted manually and displayed in a table in the form of number and percent.

Findings and Discussion

Malik (1994) names ten reasons for CS. In this study, these functions serve as a framework reasons for CS in a Kashmiri speech community. The table below illustrates reasons for CS found in the data collected.

Table 1. Reasons for Code-Switching Among Kashmiri Multilinguals

Reasons	Number	Percentage
Lack of facility	28	28
Lack of registral competence	20	20
To show identity with a group	16	16
Habitual expressions	12	12
Semantic significance	4	4
Pragmatic Reasons	3	3
To address different audience	5	5
To attract attention	0	0
To amplify or emphasize a point	5	5
Mood of speaker	7	7
Total	100	100

The table shows different reasons which are used by Kashmiri speakers during conversations. From the table, we can see that lack of facility accounts for 28 of the total 100 motives in different conversations. The second most frequent reason in this study is lack of registral competence, forming (20%) of the code switched elements found in the data. As outlined in the table, the next most reason for CS in the present study are

show identity(16%), habitual expressions(10%), mood of the speaker (7%), address different audience (5%),emphasize a point (5%), semantic significance (4%), pragmatic reasons(3%), and attract attention (2%), respectively.

Lack of Facility

Bilinguals or multilinguals often explain that they code switch when they cannot find an appropriate expression or vocabulary item or when the language of conversation does not have the particular word needed to carry on the conversation smoothly.(Malik ;1994).

Example:

Transliteration: /bina yimai ni pagah tuishan keh, I will go to Pehalgam festival'

Translation: *'I'll not turn up to tuitions tomorrow, I will go to Pehalgam festival'.*

In Examples the bilingual speaker preferred to use some words in English because she found them more suitable

Lack of Registral Competence

When certain vocabulary is not available to a speaker in the first language (L1), he or she switches to the second language (L2) during a dialogue. (Muthusamy 2009)

Example:

Transliteration: / yaar meri pen d̤raiv ko: virus huva hai....., I can't format it, usmai bohat data hai /

Translation: *My pen drive has got virus, I can't format it, it has lots of data.*

To Show Identity with a Group

Individuals switch particular type of codes to show belongingness or identity/ unity with a particular group. To show identity with a group, Di Pietro, reports that Italian immigrants would tell a joke in English and give the punchline in Italian, not only because it was better said in Italian but also it stressed the fact that they all belong to the same minority group, with shared values and experiences (cited in Malik, 1994).

Transliteration: / The current trends clearly indicate a PDP-CONG alliance but overall they are symbolic of the fact that in Kashmir its always “Kahan ravmich gaav /

Translation: *The current trends clearly indicate a PDP-CONG alliance but overall they are symbolic of the fact that in Kashmir its always “Kahan ravmucz gaav” (there is not unity among them).*

Habitual Expressions

CS often occurs in fixed phrases of greeting and parting, commands and requests, invitations, expressions of gratitude and discourse markers such as Oye (listen), you know or pero (but). (Malik; 1994)

Example:

Transliteration: /o reli! gari vanzi sarni mubarak. It iz relly a good news. Congrats brother/

Translation: *Oh really! Give my congratulations to family. It is really a good news. Congrats brother!*

Semantic Significance

Switching at a particular moment conveys semantically significant information. It is a communicative resource that builds on participant’s perception of two languages. Lexical choice conveys meaning during code-switching. (Malik 1994, Gumperz 1970, 1976, 1982, and Gumperz and Hernandez 1972). Listeners interpret code switching as an indicator of the speaker’s attitude, or communicative intents and emotions as code switching is a tool for conveying appropriate linguistic and social information. (Gal 1988).

Example:

Transliteration: *The mountains are calling sheeni bala:j ti khandi zahar*

Translation: *The mountains are calling there is a lot of snow and a lot of fun.*

Pragmatic Reasons

Speakers may code switch in order to call attention to the context of a conversation. He points out that sometimes the alternation between two languages is highly meaningful in terms of the conversational context. (Malik 1994) The sentence below is an example:

Transliteration: /they don't even leave you without attributing motives even in condoleces yes tengul pyov suyi zani dag. paid moroonz/

Translation: *They don't even leave you without attributing motives even in condolences. The one who wears the shoe knows where it pinches. Paid morons*

To Address Different Audiences

CS is also used when the speaker intends to address and welcome people from various linguistic backgrounds. (Malik 1994)

Example:

Transliteration: / *Assalamu alikum and good morning to all of our esteemed customers. Today we will launch new lawn suits. Keeps supporting us and keep shopping from us/*

Translation: *Assalamu alikum and good morning to all of our esteemed customers. Today we will launch new lawn suits. Keeps supporting us and keep shopping from us.*

To Attract Attention

In an advertisement in India, both written and spoken form, CS is used to attract the attention of the readers or listeners. (Malik 1994).

Example:

In collected data of hundred messages, no example of code switching in order to attract attention was found as it is applicable to written and spoken advertisements.

To Amplify and Emphasize a Point

When a speaker needs to stress a particular statement CS may occur. (Anderson 2006)

Example:

Transliteration: Abhi tumhare exams aarahe hai. Plz plz study well.

Translation: *Your exams are about to start. so please study well.*

Mood of the Speaker

When bilinguals are tired or angry, code switching takes place with a new dimension (Malik 1994). CS is triggered when the speaker is emotionally affected such as feeling upset, excited, tired, happy, surprised, and scared

or distracted. As a result, when the speaker is in the right state of mind, he/she can find the suitable word or expression. (Crystal 1987)

Example:

Transliteration: /kya: karne jana hai wahan : baraf to hai nahi kahi .
Kashmir is burning/

Translation: *Why do you have to go there, snow is nowhere. Kashmir is burning.*

Conclusion

The paper is set out to study the phenomenon of CS among Kashmiri multilinguals while communicating online. For the study data was analysed through data collected from various social networking sites like Facebook, twitter, instagram. The occurrence of CS was analysed by using Malik's ten reasons' approach to CS. It can be concluded that CS is quite apparent in the online communication of Kashmiri speakers. The findings showed that there are many reasons for this phenomenon. The ability of the speaker in speaking more than one language and the ability of the listeners in understanding the languages spoken play important roles when it comes to word choices and speech. The study has shown that 'lack of facility' is the most frequent reason for motivating the speakers to switch languages which is followed by 'lack of register', 'show identity', habitual expressions' 'moods of speaker', 'emphasising a point', addressing different audience', 'semantic significance', 'pragmatic reasons', and 'attracting attention' respectively.

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